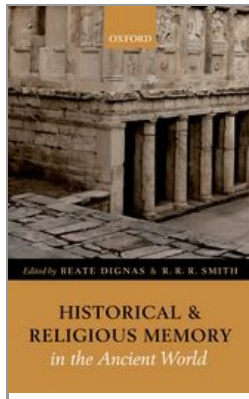


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## Historical and Religious Memory in the Ancient World

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### Building Memory

#### The Role of Sacred Structures in Sphakia and Crete<sup>1</sup>

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#### [+] Abstract and Keywords

Sacred structures incorporate several functions and meanings, and these can relate to memory on various scales and levels. This chapter looks at sacred structures in Sphakia, SW Crete, with reference also to the rest of Crete, during three periods: GACHER (ancient Greek religion, through the Early Roman period); LR (Late Roman, imperial Christianity); and the BVT (Byzantine–Venetian–Turkish period, Greek Orthodox Christianity). In Sphakia there are perhaps three GACHER sacred structures; at least twelve LR basilicas; and over one hundred BVT churches. The proportions of sacred structures for each of the three periods are more or less same for the whole island of Crete. The chapter considers the relationship between the number of sacred structures in a given period, and the scale and type of memory which might be involved. The

hypothesis is that the higher the number of sacred structures, the smaller the scale of memory in that sacred landscape.

**Keywords:** basilicas, Byzantine–Venetian–Turkish period, churches, Crete, Late Roman Christianity, sacred structures, Sphakia

### Introduction

Sacred structures are a key part of the materiality of memory, especially when they are built to last. Sacred structures can and usually do incorporate several functions and meanings, which can relate to memory on various scales and levels. My starting-point for this paper was the very different numbers of permanent sacred structures in Sphakia, south-west Crete in three different periods, as shown in Table 9.1. The table shows that in Greek–Early Roman Sphakia, there **(p.188)**

**Table 1. Numbers of permanent sacred structures for three periods in Sphakia.**

|   |              |
|---|--------------|
| Greek–Early Roman<br>(Ancient Greek religion)         | 3            |
| Late Roman<br>(Imperial Christianity)                 | At least 12  |
| Byzantine–Venetian–Turkish<br>(Orthodox Christianity) | At least 100 |



*Fig. 9.1. Simon Price building memory at Ag. Niketas, Sphakia, September 2008 (Photo: Author).*

were perhaps three permanent sacred structures; in Late Roman Sphakia, there were at least twelve; and in Byzantine–Venetian–Turkish (abbreviated in what follows as BVT) Sphakia, there were more than one hundred.

I wondered what the relationship might be between the number of permanent sacred structures in a given period, and the scale of memory in that particular sacred landscape. By scale of memory I mean how many people over what area know about the monument and feel some degree of attachment or involvement with it. The scale of memory can

range from large—institutional and regional, to small—personal and local. My hypothesis was that the greater the number of permanent sacred structures in a given period, the smaller the scale of memory in that sacred landscape. This hypothesis was **(p.189)** worth testing for at least two reasons: to know if there is a direct relationship between numbers of permanent sacred structures and scales of memory; and second, because knowing the scale of memory in a given landscape enables us to ask (and sometimes answer) further questions about it.

The structure of this paper is as follows. I shall summarize some useful approaches for investigating sacred landscapes. Then I shall discuss examples of sacred structures in Sphakia for each of the three periods already mentioned, while making some suggestions about the scale of memory involved in each. Next, I shall give examples of sacred structures elsewhere in Crete, to demonstrate that Sphakia is not necessarily exceptional. In the conclusions I shall return to my original hypothesis, hoping to have shown that there is indeed a direct relationship between numbers of permanent sacred structures and scales of memory.

### Investigating sacred landscapes

De Polignac established the importance of knowing and understanding the exact placement and location of sacred structures, including extramural sanctuaries such as that of Demeter and Kore on the slopes of Acrocorinth (de Polignac 1984, 1994; Bookidis and Stroud 1987, 1997). Alcock introduced the notion that zones or theatres of memory can be and were deliberately constructed. The transformation of the Agora at Athens in second century AD is particularly revealing. Older structures, including one fifth century BC temple, and two others drawing on classical material, were brought to the Agora; existing monuments were renovated, and in some cases made over for imperial use; and new buildings were constructed, including the Roman Agora 150 m to the east. The result was an emphatically Roman imperial environment which evoked carefully selected memories of the classical Greek past (Alcock 2002, 51–73).

Building memory involves choices—what needs to be remembered, and how? And who is it—individuals, groups—who determines all this? Where there is commemoration, there is usually also forgetting. Thus there can be theatres of oblivion as well as theatres of memory. The result of selective memory and forgetting is a chronology of desire, that is, a culturally produced/adjusted timeline based on what must be remembered and what must be forgotten. Permanent **(p.190)** structures, monumental or otherwise, often reflect changing chronologies of desire very accurately (Nixon 2004: 429–32).

One example is the Buddhas of Bamiyan destroyed by the Taliban in 2001, before 9/11 and the destruction of other monuments in the US. Buddhism had arrived in what is now Afghanistan in the third century BC. The Buddhas at Bamiyan, constructed in the fifth–sixth century AD, were the most conspicuous remaining evidence for Buddhism in Afghanistan, predating the advent of Islam in the seventh–eighth centuries AD. Since their construction, the Buddhas had had a complex history, directly reflecting religious and other changes in Afghanistan. The destruction of the Buddhas at Bamiyan was an attempt by the Taliban to create a theatre of oblivion. Thus although the intention of the Taliban

was to suggest a chronology of desire in which Buddhism was absent from Afghanistan by creating a theatre of oblivion at Bamiyan, their actions have instead resulted in a triple backfire. First, many more people now know that Afghanistan had indeed had an important Buddhist phase; second, the scale of the memory network of this particular Buddhist monument has been extended worldwide; and third, international efforts to reconstruct the Buddhas are under way, so that their destruction is effectively being reversed (Nixon 2004: 439–42; Buddhas of Bamiyan 2009).

My second example of linking permanent structures with specific chronologies of desire is closer to home. The Martyrs' Memorial in Oxford was built in 1841, in a conspicuous location at the northern entry of the older part of the city (specifically on St Giles', near the junction of the two major roads from Woodstock and Banbury leading south into Oxford). This memorial commemorates the execution of Bishops Ridley, Latimer, and Cranmer, who were burnt at the stake for refusing to return to Roman Catholicism in the reign of Mary Tudor—not in this location, but on Broad Street, and not in 1841, but in 1555 and 1556. There is no monument on Broad Street itself, merely a commemorative yet undated inscription on the outer wall of Balliol, and a cross of cobblestones in the middle of the road. Clearly no one in the sixteenth century felt the need for any kind of permanent memorial, but people in the mid-nineteenth century did: apparently the Martyrs' Memorial was built 'as a conscious gesture of Anglican self-assertion amid fierce nineteenth-century religious disputes'. The points of interest here are the use of a conspicuous permanent structure to highlight a specific event as part of a particular **(p.191)** chronology of desire, and the double dislocation in time and space of the actual memorial.<sup>2</sup>

As will already be clear, this paper covers a long time-span. A diachronic perspective is part of archaeological survey work, and along with diachrony come, at least we hope, comparison and consistency across epochs covered by the Sphakia Survey. In other words, a long time-span, broken into several shorter periods, provides opportunities to ask questions about each one, and then to compare the answers. Very different answers then require further investigation. For example, given a more or less stable environment and a continually agrarian society, why do choices in settlement location in Sphakia vary from epoch to epoch (which they do)? Or, to consider the opening paragraphs of this paper, why do the numbers of permanent sacred structures in Sphakia vary so much from the Greek–Early Roman, to Late Roman, to BVT? Comparisons of different periods thus ensure consistency of approach, both in the actual Sphakia Survey, and in this more focused paper.

The work of this paper began some time ago when I made a study of the later sacred landscape of Sphakia from AD 1000–2000. This study was a kind of 'archaeological ethnography' (Hamish Forbes' useful phrase and part of the title of his 2007 book), with implications and, I hope, applications for antiquity. It combined my own long-term interest in ancient sacred landscapes with an area which I understood, thanks to the work of the Sphakia Survey team, and particularly the work of the team on the BVT period (Nixon 2006).

One of the things I was able to do was to compare the physical *locations* of BVT and twentieth-century sacred structures in Sphakia with *explanations* from reliable sources for their placement. ‘Location’ here includes information which can be observed or deduced by (p.192)

**Table 2. Location and explanation: Spatial and social factors in sacred landscapes.**

| LOCATION<br>(spatial)                   | EXPLANATION<br>(social)       |
|---|-------------------------------|
| 1. important resources and new activity | 1. human boundaries           |
| 2. visibility by land and sea           | 2. supernatural contact       |
| 3. liminal area                         | 3. specific events and places |
| 4. earlier significant structure(s)     | 4. vow                        |

looking only at the physical placement of sacred structures, while ‘explanation’ refers to information from oral or documentary sources, including maps. To put it another way, ‘location’ is spatial, and ‘explanation’ is social. By being spatially rigorous about the investigation of the placement of sacred structures, I could attempt to reconstruct the grammar of location—the logic or ‘grammar’ that underlies the nature and placement of religious and other sites—relevant to these particular sacred structures. Table 9.2 shows the main categories of location and explanation. I found that there were four basic types of location, and four basic types of explanation for outlying churches and icon stands over the millennium-long study period. I found, too, that these locations and explanations were useful in looking diachronically at other sacred landscapes (Nixon 2006: 19–31).

Looking at the four categories of explanation reveals that memory is embedded in these reasons for building sacred structures. Indeed, there are several overlapping types of memory, such as commemorating, summarizing, and legitimating. Some examples will illustrate these different memory types.

The North Porch of the Erekhtheion at Athens has deliberate gaps in its roof and floor. Why? So that the mark of a god on the rock of the Akropolis remained open to the sun.<sup>3</sup> The floor and roof gaps *commemorate* a particular encounter with the sacred.

Multiple sacred structures in a particular area serve to *summarize* the local landscape. An example is the set of churches in Khora Sphakion in central Sphakia (Fig. 9.2). One of the Khora churches is the church of Ag. Apostoloi, mentioned in a treaty of 1435, which resolved a dispute over pasturage between two families [the present (p.193)]



Fig. 9.2. View of the temple, basilica, and church at Tarrha (Photo: Author).

structure is sixteenth century]. The treaty mentions several other churches in the area. Since then still other churches have been built in Khora Sphakion. The *Song of Dhaskalogianni*, which tells the story of Dhaskalogianni's revolt against the Turks in 1770, laments the loss of Khora's 100 churches in the revolt. Dalidakis has catalogued thirty-seven churches in the immediate area of the village, plus five others in the surrounding area. The position of these churches, their continuing use (or not), and their condition all help to summarize this particular landscape in terms of its resources and its history.<sup>4</sup>

The Heroon at Toumba near Lefkandi, built in the mid-tenth century BC is a possible example of *legitimizing* memory. The Heroon (**p.194**) is a large and conspicuous structure (50 × 14 m) overlying two burials with lavish grave goods, surrounded by other smaller graves dating from 900 BC (Popham et al. 1993). Part of the Heroon's function may have been to make visible and legitimate a particular claim to the immediate area.

### Sacred structures and memory in Sphakia

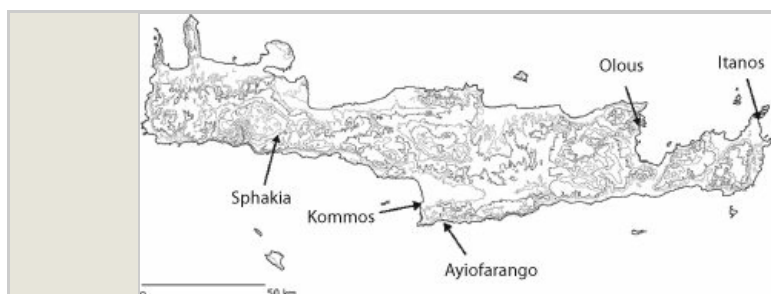
In this part of the paper I will provide examples of sacred structures in Sphakia for each of the three major periods (Greek–Early Roman, Late Roman, and BVT). Fig. 9.3 shows the location of Sphakia within Crete, along with some of the other areas and sites discussed.

The example for the Greek–Early Roman period is the temple (possibly dating to the classical period) at Tarrha (15.20 × 7.60 m), with its later Late Roman basilica and BVT church (Fig. 9.4). The temple's construction of cut stone blocks indicates major investment in terms of time and expense. The site was chosen because of its visibility by land and by sea, near the mouth of the Samaria Gorge. The temple marks the presence of significant resources, both of the coast, and of the inland area invisible from the sea. It may have been dedicated to Apollo—certainly there was a major cult of Apollo at Tarrha, and, like other poleis on Crete, Tarrha received a theoros from Delphi in 220–210 BC. More importantly, however, here was also a local story involving the nymph Akakallis who mated with Apollo. This story is a good example of a well-known type of myth that related a



particular locality to the wider Greek world by claiming that a particular deity did something in this very place. Thus the temple at Tarrha is an example of a large scale of memory in its time, with a large area, including the Panhellenic sanctuary at Delphi, and a large amount of visibility.<sup>5</sup>

The plan in Fig. 9.5 shows how subsequent sacred structures have used the site. It is important to note that the temple site was not used continuously; as so often, this is not a case of true cult continuity. The Late Roman basilica made use of the main lines of the temple, but the BVT church (as is usually the case for BVT churches built over **(p.195)**



*Fig. 9.3.* Map of Crete showing areas and sites discussed (Sphakia Archive).

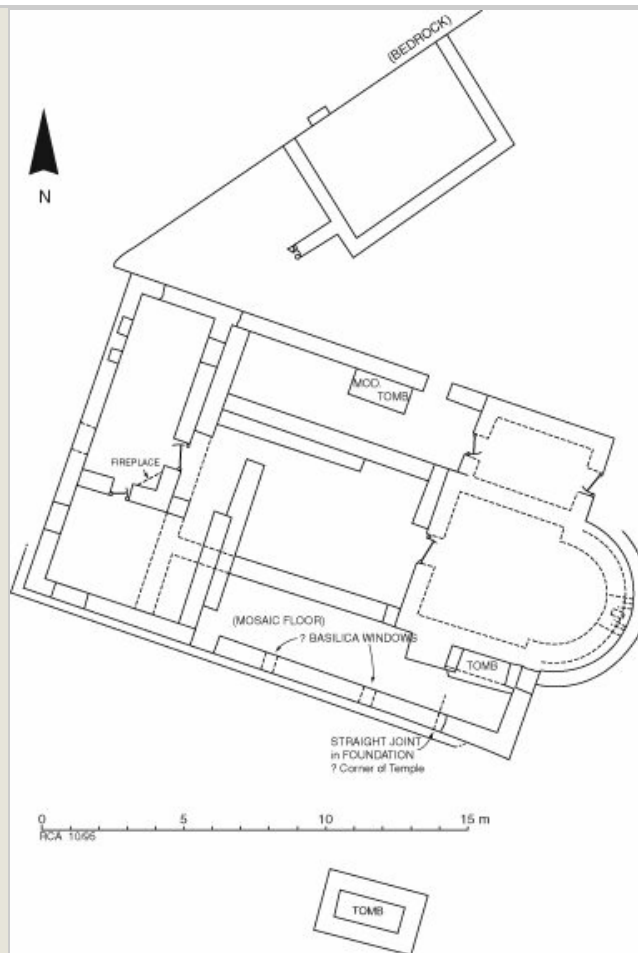
Late Roman basilicas) is much smaller. These variations in size are important and will be discussed later on.

Our Late Roman example comes from another coastal site, that of Loutro, the ancient Phoinix. Fig. 9.6 shows that there were no fewer than five Late Roman basilicas on the east side of the Loutro



*Fig. 9.4.* Four churches in Khora Sphakion. Ag. Apostoloi is above the road at the top right (Photo: Author).

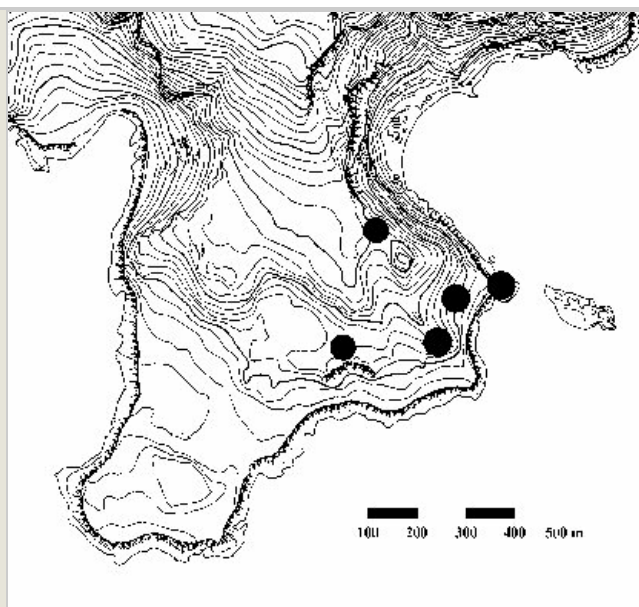
**(p.196)**



*Fig. 9.5. Plan of the temple, basilica, and church at Tarrha (Sphakia Archive).*

**(p.197)** peninsula, all built in the sixth–seventh century AD, and all placed so that you could see them as you arrived in Phoinix by sea. The other harbour on the west side of the peninsula was out of use by this time because of a major geological event known as the Great Uplift. These sacred structures are built, not out of cut stone, but out of mortared rubble, sometimes with brick. The two best preserved examples are the North basilica, 11.7 m wide × 25 m long including narthex; and the East basilica, 14 m wide × 30 m maximum. The Phoinix basilicas are an example of competitive basilica-building. They made Late Roman Phoinix memorable for its conspicuous display





*Fig. 9.6.* Partial plan of Loutro–Phoinix, showing five Late Roman basilicas (Sphakia Archive).

(p.198) of both wealth and Christianity.<sup>6</sup> The scale of memory here is regional and urban.

For the BVT period, there are three examples: Ag. Pavlos, Timios Stavros, and Ag. Ioannis sto Lakko. Ag. Pavlos (Figs. 9.7 and 9.8) is a small ( $6.5 \times 8.30$  m) cruciform stone-built structure built on the shore in the tenth–eleventh century AD, below the later village of Ag. Ioannis. The local story is that St Paul baptized the first Christians on Crete here, because there is fresh water. The church was established by Ag. Ioannis Xenos who founded seven other religious establishments on Crete. This church is different in form and in size from the temple and basilicas considered earlier. The church lies on a major coastal route, and there is still fresh water here (you dig for it in the gravel at the shore).



*Fig. 9.7.* Ag. Pavlos, close-up with sea in background (Photo: Author).

(p.199)



Fig. 9.8. Ag. Pavlos, view from the sea (Photo: Author).

**(p.200)** The position of the church on the coast—the outermost edge of Crete—marks the most external boundary of the island. The story of the first baptisms has large claims for Christianity on Crete, made not through a Late *Roman* basilica, but through an Orthodox building. Ag. Pavlos makes early Orthodoxy both visible and memorable. The scale of memory here was once Cretan, and is now local. Note that there is a long and therefore interesting gap between the time of St Paul and the date of the construction of this church, as in the case of the Martyrs' Memorial. Clearly it had become very important in the tenth–eleventh centuries to make a strong and visible statement about Christianity in general and Orthodox Christianity in particular—to add to an existing chronology of desire. The reason for this statement is obvious when we recall that the Arab occupation of Crete, lasting a little longer than a century, had come to an end in AD 961. And indeed, the *Life* of the saint tells us that St John Xenos was effectively *re*-evangelizing the island of Crete after the short, but clearly perceived as dangerous, occupation of the Arabs (Nixon 2006, 62–5 and n. 70).

The Venetian church of Timios Stavros (Fig. 9.9), below the inland village of Mouri (now deserted), is located near the junction of two gullies in a sea of gravel in the Ilingas

Gorge. There is a spring in a cave on the opposite side of the gorge. The church is in fact threatened by the predictable annual deposits of gravel, which are now higher than the entrance to the church, so that new protection around the church has had to be added. Given the obvious problem of the gravel, why did people build Timios Stavros here? The answer is that the church lies on a local boundary within Sphakia—the line separating the two communes of Anopoli and Khora Sphakion. Communes (*koinotites*) varied in size according to the resources they contained; those in Sphakia were on average 52 km<sup>2</sup> in area. In addition to, and probably because of, the church's position on this humanly constructed boundary, Timios Stavros was also a place for *xekatharisma* ('out-cleaning'). If you were a shepherd falsely accused of animal theft, you had to come and swear your innocence in the relevant church (Nixon 2006, 81–3, 132–3). The scale of memory here lies at the commune level, and is therefore smaller than that for Ag. Pavlos.

The scale of memory at the third and final BVT church discussed here is smaller still. Ag. Ioannis sto Lakko (Fig. 9.10) is a Venetian church on the Frangokastello Plain in east Sphakia. A lakkos is a dip **(p.201)**



Fig. 9.9a. View of Timios Stavros (Photos: Author).

**(p.202)**



*Fig. 9.9b. View 2 of Timios Stavros.*

or hollow where there is good soil and some moisture. Ag. Ioannis sto Lakko (St John in the Hollow) is small and architecturally undistinguished (6.50 × 3.75 m), except for one feature: the earlier Christian spolia placed in conspicuous parts of the church, such as the corner to the right of the doorway. Such spolia can be used as a reminder that Crete was Christian long before it was occupied by the Venetians (1211–1669); in other words they are a visual expression of a particular chronology of desire. Ag. Ioannis sto Lakko is only one of many BVT churches to incorporate Late Roman spolia. The church is visible from one of the local villages, and does not have a commanding view of its own. It is therefore the epitome of a local outlying church, positioned to recall local resources and visible only over a short distance (Nixon 2006, 70–3, 154–5, Plates 3, 4, 21. For a larger church using many more spolia in a similar way, compare the ninth-century Church of the Panagia at Skripou near Orkhomenos; Papalexandrou 2003, 63–77). The scale of memory at Ag. Ioannis sto Lakko, however, is very small and focused on a particular locality. **(p.203)**





*Fig. 9.10. Ag. Ioannis sto Lakko, with capital built into south-west corner of church (Photo: Author).*

#### **(p.204) Sacred structures and memory elsewhere in Crete**

Table 1 showed that in Sphakia there were relatively few Greek–Early Roman temples, rather more Late Roman basilicas, and a great many more BVT churches. This numerical pattern is similar for the rest of Crete as well, so it is not that Sphakia is aberrant.<sup>7</sup> The purpose of this section is to provide examples showing that other features of the sacred landscapes suggested for Sphakia might also occur elsewhere in Crete: two examples for the Greek–Early Roman period, and one each for the Late Roman and BVT periods.

The site of Kommos on the coast of south central Crete has both a Minoan and an Iron Age phase. Within the Iron Age comes a series of three temples. Temple C (11.44 × 8.85 m) is the third and latest of these. It was built after 400 BC of cut stone (once again indicating a major investment of time and expense). Its architectural form is Cretan, with a bench, a rectangular hearth, and two internal columns. A banqueting room was attached to Temple C along its north wall during the Late Hellenistic period.

Temple C lies immediately above two earlier sacred structures. The earliest sacred structure here, Temple A, was a small, simple rectangular shrine constructed around 1025 BC. The north wall of Temple A partly reused the façade of the large palatial

structure Building T, built in the Late Minoan I period but by then ruined and deserted. Temple A was succeeded by Temple B (8.08 × 6.40 m), which was built around 800 BC and went out of use at the end of the seventh century. Temple B included a tripillar shrine of Phoenician type, testifying to the prime position of Kommos for maritime connections. Part of Temple B's west wall can be seen running at an angle under Temple C. We have here a succession of three sacred structures, the first of which (A) was certainly deliberately positioned on top of a monumental Minoan wall. The second (B) directly overlies the first, **(p.205)** and, after a gap of more than 200 years, the third (C) was built over the second.<sup>8</sup>

All three temples were very deliberately positioned, temple over temple over shrine over monumental Minoan building. The use of earlier significant structures is a recurring feature in the construction of sacred landscapes, and in this case it is combined with a location which is highly visible by land and by sea. The scale of memory for Temple C is major and Cretan.

The second example for the Greek–Early Roman period comes from east Crete, in the area of two *poleis*, Olous on the coast and Lato inland. The temple at Dera is on the ancient boundary separating Olous on the north and Lato on the south. The map devised by Chaniotis on the basis of epigraphic evidence shows two versions of this boundary. These hypothetical boundaries are based on ancient toponyms, many of which are still in use. Indeed, the overall boundary line follows lines only recently superseded in Greece by the new system adopted in the late 1990s—the system of communes (*koinotites*), already mentioned above, grouped into eparchies and then nomes. Much of the suggested boundary between Hierapytna (modern Ierapetra) and Lato follows the later boundary between two eparchies, Mirabello and Ierapetra. Along the north the suggested boundary follows the line of communes lying east-south-east of modern Neapolis. The temple at Dera sat on or very near the latter line, highlighting the boundary between Olous and Lato.<sup>9</sup> The scale of memory represented here is at least at the *polis* level, and therefore highly important in this part of Crete.

The examples for Late Roman Crete lie on either side of the Olous–Lato area. At Itanos in extreme eastern Crete, there was **(p.206)** an incidence of competitive basilica-building similar to that at Loutro–Phoinix. Two basilicas on either side of the harbour area would have been conspicuously visible to anyone sailing into Itanos.<sup>10</sup> And west of modern Herakleion, the two sixth-century Late Roman basilicas at Chersonesos, both with mosaics, also on either side of the harbour, suggest a similar pattern of competition.<sup>11</sup> At Itanos and Chersonesos, the scale of memory here is similar to that at Loutro–Phoinix, that is to say regional and urban.

For the BVT period we move back to central Crete. Down in the middle of the Ayiofarango, a gorge running down to the south coast, is the church of Ag. Kyriaki, which lies in a relatively open (and arable) area, with a nearby spring. In other words the church is a reminder or summary of this small area and its resources. The biggest resource package in the Ayiofarango lies at the north end of the gorge, conspicuously marked by a monastery. Moni Odigitria is a large establishment, visible from a distance,



and much closer to the major resources of the Mesara Plain (in which lies the site of Kommos discussed above). By contrast the resource package in the area around Ag. Kyriaki is so much smaller that this area is effectively below village level in settlement terms. Even so, this local resource package was significant enough to attract people in other epochs as well as the BVT period, as shown by the presence of Early Minoan tholos tombs, and a Greek–Early Roman sanctuary. The area is marked by a conspicuous purple outcrop. But this large natural feature was not enough to mark the area properly, so there still had to be a church. The scale of memory here is small and local (Blackman et al., 1977: 71–4; Nixon 2006: 123–6).

### **(p.207)** Preliminary conclusions

By comparing information for three periods—Greek–Early Roman, Late Roman, and BVT—both in Sphakia and in the rest of Crete, I hope to have shown that the *number* of permanent sacred structures may well correlate inversely with the scale of memory built into them, and accruing to them, depending on successive chronologies of desire. I would venture to suggest, too, that this inverse correlation has a general application to the study of sacred landscapes of whatever time and place. A single sacred structure may well involve more than one of these memory types. In terms of the scale of memory, there will always be a balance between wider claims—links to Delphi or to Constantinople—and the actual reach of memory—the size of the memory theatres, and the size of the theatre of oblivion.

Thus in general, if the number of permanent sacred structures is low, then the scale and extent of the memory network associated with each one will be large, as in the case of the Greek–Early Roman examples, which functioned at the level of larger sectors of Crete such as major *polis* territories. But if the number of permanent sacred structures is high, then the scale and extent of those memory networks will be far smaller, as for the BVT outlying churches, whose significance is usually local (typically no greater than commune/*koinotis* level).

In focusing on permanent sacred structures we have to remember that there will almost always be other, less permanent, sacred structures. While memory will also be attached to those less permanent structures, it does mean that those memories are neither so visible, nor so permanent.

Building permanent sacred structures is a *choice*. For example, the BVT churches considered in this paper are architecturally very simple. Similar structures could have been built in the Greek–Early Roman period, and in the Late Roman period—the raw material was literally almost everywhere and the actual construction techniques were and are very simple—and yet they were not.

And finally, to add the all-important variable of *time* to the development of sacred landscapes: it does seem true that within a given period earlier sacred structures in a particular landscape will mark sites of greater importance and wider memory. Over time, other permanent sacred structures may be added, often marking smaller spaces with a shorter ‘reach’ of memory. This is certainly the pattern **(p.208)** within the BVT period.

The question remains as to why it did not happen in the two earlier periods examined here.

Chronologies of desire, and therefore of memory and forgetting, will always exist, and will always keep changing. I turn now to three other specific examples, all with well-studied contexts. Stonehenge, an example from a very different time and place, has had long periods of oblivion, as well as very focused periods of memory—but mainly within the UK. Because of its size and location on a major route, Stonehenge has ‘always’ been known about, but often very differently explained—Geoffrey of Monmouth in the eleventh century says Merlin dismantled a Giant's Round in Ireland and rebuilt it in Wiltshire, a nice chronology of desire linking Stonehenge with both Aeneas and King Arthur (thereby accommodating important both pagan and Christian elements). But the cover page for the 1610 edition of Camden's *Britannia* shows a map of Roman Britain with cameos around the edge, one of which includes Stonehenge, thus making some kind of connection between the monument and the advent of Roman civilization. More recently Stonehenge has been described as a contested landscape where at least two other chronologies of desire converge: on the one hand, the notion that Stonehenge represents an aspect of national identity to be preserved and protected (government agencies such as English Heritage); and on the other, the belief that Stonehenge is a living spiritual site to be used (modern festival-goers). Stonehenge has thus been an important part of chronologies of desire linked with various aspects of English identity. When feeling about this identity is strong, powerful institutions become directly involved, resulting in a large-scale, *national* memory network, and indeed national control. Only in 1986, however, did Stonehenge, Avebury, and associated sites become a UNESCO *World Heritage Site*.<sup>12</sup>

The Parthenon, on the other hand, has attracted wide attention—both inside and outside the Greek world, however defined—and often controversy, more or less continuously since its construction in the **(p.209)** fifth century BC. Anyone visiting the Akropolis at Athens today sees the Parthenon in its restored fifth-century glory—minus the Frankish Tower nearby and the mosque inside it. This nineteenth-century restoration, sanctioned and paid for by the newly independent Greek state, makes vivid a chronology of desire involving a great deal of forgetting, and it says more about the importance of nineteenth-century Greek yearnings for direct links with the fifth century BC (while forgetting the presence of foreigners, both Franks and Ottoman Turks), than about the total history of this unique monument (Nixon 2004, and see now Hamilakis 2007: 243–6). So the Parthenon has commanded a very large scale of memory, and for a very long period of time, some 2500 years.

The small church of Ag. Spyridon on the edge of the village of Ag. Ioannis in Sphakia provides a strong contrast. It is only one of several churches in this village, which was almost deserted by the late 1980s when the car road first reached it. The scale of memory for Ag. Spyridon was always very small and very local. But there is a twist in the tale of Ag. Spyridon, because it too involves a restoration. It had fallen into ruins, and was rebuilt in the 1990s, soon after the arrival of the car road. Inside the restored church is a photograph of the ruin. There is also a plaque giving a more permanent record of the

individual donors who paid for the restoration. These women and men are all 'expatriates' of the village of Ag. Ioannis, now living in other Sphakiote villages, in the city of Khania on the north coast of Crete, and in Montreal. A sacred structure in ruins, in this case a church, sends a powerful message: it represents the visible disintegration of a particular landscape, and a break in the continued communication of memory. Each church in the sacred landscape of Sphakia (as elsewhere in BVT world) is a particular node in a public memory network. If a church 'dies', then part of that network is gone: it is not just the church that will be forgotten, but the landscape as well. This restored and now re-functioning church has therefore been brought back to life, and the surrounding landscape has also in some sense been resuscitated. But although the geographic spread of the expatriate donors who paid for the restoration is wide in spatial terms, the overall scale of memory still involves relatively few people and focuses on a very local monument (Nixon 2006, 85–7, 102).

This paper ends with two suggestions for future work on permanent sacred structures and their role in consolidating memory on various scales. It is clearly useful to know at least roughly how many **(p.210)** permanent sacred structures there are in the period or periods under scrutiny, as this number correlates inversely with the scale(s) of memory, and can often provide the key to understanding the chronologies of desire built into each set of structures.

First, in periods where there is sufficient information, it might also be useful to explore the relationship between the social standing of the people responsible for commissioning, if not always building, permanent sacred structures, the number of those sacred structures. Thus in the case of the Sphakiote and other Cretan examples discussed, further research could explore the possibility that temples were the product of urban elites, and that Late Roman basilicas may have been a more bourgeois phenomenon, while small BVT churches were built by free peasant families who owned their own land—in other words, to suggest that fewer high status people built a low number of Greek–Early Roman temples, while a high number of low-status peasants built a high number of BVT churches. Work on this topic would be valuable only as long as the notion that the decision to erect *permanent* sacred structures is always a choice, but not always directly linked to the social standing of the builders.<sup>13</sup>

Second, it would certainly be useful to pick up on Ober's recent point about the importance of social networks for collecting useful information (2008: ch. 4, especially pp. 134–51). Sanctuaries of whatever type have always been places of interaction with an important role in the exchange of useful information. Permanent sacred structures declare themselves as visible and memorable places in their respective landscapes, with an important role in social networks, as well as their own scales of memory. Border sanctuaries (of whatever scale) make the area of the relevant boundary not only visible and memorable, but also potentially negotiable.

The sanctuary of Delian Apollo between Dystos and Zarex on the island of Euboia almost certainly marks the boundary between these **(p.211)** two ancient settlements—a line which is similar, at least in part, to the more recent commune boundary between the

*koinotites* of Dystos and Zarakes. Although the scale of memory for this sanctuary was small, and of local relevance to this part of Euboia, the sanctuary will have been a focus for local social networks. Such border sanctuaries can often be further contextualized with reference to their local resource packages, using (where appropriate) modern commune boundaries as a starting-point.<sup>14</sup> On a somewhat larger scale, Kato Symi, back in Crete, may in some periods have had an important role as the regional focus of converging social networks in a mountainous area, possibly linked with multi-polis initiation ceremonies for ephebes (Erickson 2002; Chaniotis 2006: 200–2). And finally, Kilian-Dirlmeier has shown that the four major sanctuaries at Pherai, Perachora, Olympia, and Samos had very different social networks (however these were constructed, and by whom) in the eighth century BC, to judge from the widely varying numbers and origins of dedications made at each of them, with many from areas well beyond the core of the Greek world at the time.<sup>15</sup>

In conclusion, this paper began with the widely varying numbers of permanent sacred structures in three different periods in one part of Crete. I hope to have established that these numbers correlate inversely with the scale of memory associated with the temples, basilicas, and churches in the three periods considered. Permanent sacred structures may also be important as places for the transmission of useful information through social networks. Permanent sacred structures are certainly a visible way of building memory on local, regional, and international scales, and their treatment over time provides an accurate reflection of changing chronologies of desire.

### (p.212) Abbreviations

*IC Inscriptiones Creticae*

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### Notes:

(<sup>1</sup>) This paper draws in part on the work of the Sphakia Survey. As always for work involving Sphakia, I thank the people of Sphakia for their help, especially with information

about recent sacred landscapes. I thank also the Greek Archaeological Service and in particular the staff of Khania Ephoreia for granting the necessary permits; the Canadian Institute in Greece; the various agencies which funded our work, including the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada, the Institute for Aegean Prehistory, the Arts and Humanities Research Council, and the Craven Fund, Oxford; and the other senior members of the Sphakia Survey: Drs Jennifer Moody (co-director), Oliver Rackham (botany and historical ecology), and Simon Price (history). For more information about the project please consult the Sphakia Survey website at <http://sphakia.classics.ox.ac.uk>. Dr Marlia Mango helped with information about church-building in Syria for which I am most grateful. The Sackler Library and its staff have been as always helpful and patient. And I must acknowledge a special debt to Simon, with whom I built memories of various kinds over thirty years, and who helped me with this paper as with so many others.

(<sup>2</sup>) Most recently, an inscription commemorating both Protestant and Catholic martyrs of the Reformation associated with Oxford and Oxfordshire was put up in the University Church, as a memorial of reconciliation, ‘designed to create common memory’—another double dislocation in time and space, and connected with current fears of growing religious hatred by Christians and others for Muslims within the UK, MacCullough 2008. Both the Martyrs' Memorial and the new inscription were erected centuries after the original martyrdoms, because of later feelings towards the past in the nineteenth and twenty-first centuries. Both are part of specific chronologies of desire, the one emphasizing divisions within Christianity, the other suggesting that unity is preferable to separation.

(<sup>3</sup>) The mark is either from Poseidon's trident (Pansanias 1.26.5) or from Zeus' thunderbolt; Dinsmoor 1975, 187–90; Travlos 1971, figs. 281, 285; Hurwit 1999, fig. 176.

(<sup>4</sup>) Dalidakis 2008, with catalogue of the forty-two churches, and maps, 107–9; Nixon 2006, 55 n. 61 for the relevant lines of the *Song of Dhaskalogianni* (Barba-Pantzelios 1947, ll. 951–2); see also pp. 69, 84, 107. The *Song's* figure of 100 churches was perhaps intended to give a coded view of Khora Sphakion as a well-resourced area, rather than an accurate count. Cf. Deffner n.d. (?1928), 132, who says that there were forty-five Venetian churches in Khora, not ‘more than sixty’, as incorrectly quoted by Nixon 2006, 55 n. 61.

(<sup>5</sup>) Price 1999, 19–25 and 2005; theoros from Delphi, Faure 1969, 327–32 and Perlman 1995, 128–31.

(<sup>6</sup>) Richard Anderson drew the plan of Phoinix–Loutro, part of which is shown in Fig. 9.6. I am indebted to Jennifer Moody for the suggestion that all five basilicas would have been visible to sailors approaching from the east. Cf. also Nixon 2006, 61.

(<sup>7</sup>) Estimated number of Greek–Early Roman temples in Crete: c. twenty-four (three in Sphakia, plus twenty-one elsewhere in Sporn 2002, with maps, pls. 2–4); estimated number of Late Roman basilicas in Crete: c. 100 (Volanakis 1987 catalogues 87, plus 12+

in Sphakia); Rackham and Moody (1996, 181, with map p. 183) estimate 3000 BVT churches in Crete, including those within settlements, though cf. Nixon 2006, 53 n. 60 and see also the end-paper maps in Gallas et al. 1983.

<sup>(8)</sup> Shaw 2006, 30–35 and 41–50 gives a clear account of all these structures; the back end-paper has the Kommos Southern Area Period Plan in colour, showing very clearly the superposition of the temples over the monumental Minoan structures below. See also Figs. 30 (the Greek sanctuary from the north-west); 39 Temple C (left) and Banquet Room A1 (right) after clearing; 41 (restored plan of Temple C). Cf. also Nixon 1991.

<sup>(9)</sup> Chaniotis 1996, 318–32, nos. 54–6, treaties between Lato and Olous, c. 118/115 BC; 338–51, no. 59, treaty between Lato and Hierapytna on the south coast, c. 111/110 BC; 358–6, no. 61, treaty between Lato and Olous, c. 110/109 or 109/108 BC; map with commune boundaries, plate 6; map with hypothetical ancient boundaries between Lato and Hierapytna, plate 7. Cf. also Chaniotis 2006. For a discussion of sanctuaries and the boundaries of Praisos see Whitley 2008, 244–6.

<sup>(10)</sup> Itanos: Greco et al. 1998, 586, plan 587; 2000: plan 548. Sanders 1982, 89–90, notes that Basilica A (probably early sixth century) is on top of, or converted from, an earlier temple, and that Basilica B is built of ‘very rough reused stone’. *IC* III. Iv. Praef. pp. 75–6 speculates that there was a temple on the small hill at the site, and that a ‘Byzantine’ chapel was built over it (said by locals to be dedicated to Ag. Katerini); this chapel is said to be distinct from the church and two baptisteries elsewhere on the site.

<sup>(11)</sup> Chersonesos: Basilica A, which may have replaced an earlier temple, has high quality mosaics which are very similar to those of Basilica B. Basilica A could ‘date to anywhere in the first half of the sixth century’. Basilica B can be more precisely dated to the early sixth century; Sanders 1982, 95–101; cf. also Volanakis 1987, 257–8.

<sup>(12)</sup> General source for stone circles: Burl 2000. Geoffrey of Monmouth, and fourteenth-century MS. depiction of Merlin (Egerton 3028 fol. 40v, British Library), Bender 1998, 402–4, fig. 1.9; Chippindale 2004, 20–7. Stonehenge on the 1610 cover page of *Britannia*: Hingley 2008, 40–1, fig. 1.5; I am grateful to Peter Thonemann for telling me about the Hingley book. Stonehenge as modern contested landscape, Bender 1998, especially chs. 3–8; Chippindale 2004, ch. 16. Stonehenge as part of a World Heritage Site: UNESCO World Heritage 2009.

<sup>(13)</sup> Greek–Early Roman temples and Late Roman basilicas could be financed by multiple donors as well as by large-scale donors; Burford 1969, 35–39, 81–7; Dignas 2002, 23–4, 149–50, 212–13; Mango 1985, 61–4 (for example, ‘subscription funding’ made it possible for smaller scale donors to pay for one or more sections of mosaic pavements). But it might be possible to tell which kind of donation predominated in which periods. Small BVT churches were put up by the people who owned the land on which they stood. They were traditionally built of local materials, and the vast majority of them do not have wall-paintings (which would have involved the payment of a non-local artisan).

(<sup>14</sup>) Chatzidimitriou 1997, 1999; Fachard forthcoming 2009. The location of this sanctuary and its relevance for the ancient boundary was already known. The more recent *koinotis* boundary between the communes of Dystos and Zarakes lies on or near the sanctuary—in other words this boundary relates to local resource packages both in antiquity and in more recent times. Simon Price and I would like to thank Sylvian Fachard for a memorable visit to Euboia in spring 2008, when he took us to this and other sites on Euboia, and shared his extensive knowledge of the area with us.

(<sup>15</sup>) Kilian-Dirlmeier 1985 analysed the Greek and non-Greek offerings at these four sanctuaries and found widely different patterns of dedication origins, both within the Greek world and outside it. For example, Pherai had the smallest total number of dedications for this period (77) with 2.6% from Phoenicia, while Perachora had a total of 438 dedications, with 74% from Phoenicia.



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