(three) and the council in Serdica in 343 (12), which Deligiannakis interprets as reflecting an increase in the number of Christian worshippers during the fourth century.

In the final chapter, the author reviews the failed success of Epiphanios, Bishop of the capital city of Salamis and associated with the rise of Christianity in Cyprus in the 5th century, in converting the Cypriot elite to his specific Christian idiosyncrasies, his monastic profile, his adherence to biblical literalism and hostility to intellectual Christianity and Greco-Roman culture and education.

Over the five chapters, Deligiannakis successfully paints a picture of the third and fourth centuries as a period dominated by a well-educated privileged class transforming into a comfortable Christian elite based largely on evidence from Kourion and Paphos, but also on the priorities of the restauration programme in Salamis after the fourth century earthquakes and later. Written evidence from Salamis also suggest the importance of the private domus for public administration and entertainment during this period. In addition, the private domus may have been the meeting place of early Christian congregations, but the author records no *domus/ aula ecclesies* in Cyprus. In this narrative, multiple religious groups including Pagans, Christians, Christian heretical groups, Samaritans and Jews co-existed and despite apparent hard-liners like Epiphanios, the bishop of Salamis, major confrontations are avoided during the third and fourth centuries.

Panayiotis Panayides and Ine Jacobs (eds) *Cyprus in the Long Late Antiquity: History and Archaeology Between the Sixth and the Eighth Centuries*. pp. 288, b/w and colour ills. Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2022. ISBN 9781789258745, hardcover £50.00.

The 17 chapters in this volume are organised into five sections: *Introduction* (two chapters), *Cyprus in between Empires* (five chapters), *Urban and Rural Perspectives* (five chapters), *Production and Objects in Use* (four chapters) and one concluding chapter.

In the first chapter, *Cyprus between the sixth and eighth centuries*, the editors place the 7th century with the Arab appearance at the centre of enquiry to pay equal attention to elements of interruption and continuity as society changes gradually from "antique" to "Byzantine". The first chapter draws on the following chapters to set up the narrative of an island initially prospering from the misfortunes of the eastern provinces and gaining strategic importance as an imperial base for the Persian campaigns. Less emphasis is placed on the disruption caused by the Arab raids in the middle of the seventh century, but rather on the recovery by focusing on a combination of re-evaluated archaeological and non-archaeological evidence. In chapter 10, Maguire characterises the years 600-800 AD as a period of resurgence as envisioned by Annabel Wharton, Tassos Papacostas, Charles Anthony Stewart and Luca Zavagno "when perhaps for the first time the potential of autocephaly was fully realised" (p. 143).

According to the authors, archaeologists in the past relied too much on historical sources and epigraphic testimony focusing on discontinuity (p. 4). However, archaeological evidence has also paved the way for reversing the narrative of destruction and collapse. Two important archaeological articles illustrate notable and balanced studies of disruption and continuity. Firstly, Marcus Rautman's seminal article from 1998 on the introduction of handmade cooking wares for the first time in a 1000 years to make up for the loss of imported wheelmade cooking wares. Rautman correlates the introduction of handmade cooking wares with the collapse of urban networks and long distance trade routes, strong evidence for the disruption of the existing world order. Smadar Gabrieli (eg 2020) has continued this research on the production of handmade cooking wares and has demonstrated continuous regional productions of this type of vessels into the 16th century. In *HEROM* 9, the perceived gap in the pottery sequence in the eighth to tenth century was addressed in the Eastern Mediterranean including contributions by Pamela Armstrong, Guy Sanders and Athanasios Vionis. Pamela Armstrong's important article from 2009 on the chronology of Cypriot Red Slip Ware/Late Roman D had already demonstrated that production continued into the 8th/early 9th century and why the presence/absence of Late Roman D cannot be used to date assemblages before or after the Arab raids.

Chapter 1 also highlights the importance of revisiting old excavations to engage with unpublished material and overlooked theories to attempt to break the bias created by the Turkish invasion of the island in 1974 of which the study by Pamela Armstrong is an excellent example. A study of the largely unpublished work of the Cyprus Survey on the north-western side of the Troodos Mountains would provide an invaluable extension of the large body of work done there in the 1990's and the 2000's and continued to be done. The *Life*

at the Furnace project working out of Peristerona Valley includes a study of the Roman ceramics collected by the Swedish Cyprus Expedition in Soloi.[1] Finds from the Swedish Cyprus expeditions have been revisited by a number of scholars during the past decade producing interesting new insights (eg. Papantoniou & Bourogiannis 2018).

In Chapter 2, Marcus Rautman masterfully recounts the history of the study of Cypriot Late Antiquity through the collection strategies of individuals, organisations, and institutions, through modern historical and archaeological narratives placing these in the context of nation building whether by foreign mandate or by independent government. This sets the stage for Fig. 2.9, which shows the explosive increase for Late Antique Cyprus in Google Books since 2000, a development that Rautman has himself been one of the important drivers of with several pivotal contributions. The later part of the chapter suggests a number of research areas yet underexplored, for instance with reference to the work of John Lund (2015). Rautman suggests that the differentiation of ceramic micro-zones on the island and coastal mainland in Hellenistic and early Roman period probably can be extended into Late Antiquity, which is established by an article by the reviewer in 2022.

In *Cypriot hagiography and the Long Late Antiquity*, Young Richard Kim addresses the change between the 4th and the 7th centuries based on his reading of two texts, the *Vita Epiphanii*, the miracle healing, heresy hunting fourth century bishop of Salamis, and Leontios of Neapolis's version of the *vita* of John the Almsgiver, the seventh century Patriarch of Alexandria, who was born in Amathus. Through the wide travels of Epiphanios around the Empire and to Persia, the fourth century is depicted as an interconnected world with the relatively stable intact structures of empire. The world of John is also interconnected, but Persian violence provides a common occurrence, which served as a moment for John to shine. The author argues that this reflects an epochal change already during the patriarchy of John. From the brief review of the two texts it is difficult to see a significant difference especially since the author also reminds the reader of the genre's non-historical character.

In chapter 4 on *The Arab invasions of Cyprus in the middle of the seventh century: the chronographical and epigraphic evidence revisited*, Evangelos Chrysos argues persuasively with Lynch (2016) that none of the available Christian or Arabic sources support the assertion that the Arabs established their authority over the island after either the first or the second raid in 649 and 650 (see also p. 81). The article includes a full translation by the author of the important twin inscriptions from the basilica of Soloi currently housed in the former Bishopric in Morphou into English as well as photos. The author does not consider the claim that the total number of captivated amounted to 170,000 people as highly misrepresenting. This correlates poorly with the estimations of the total Cypriot population during the 6th century as amounting to 200,000 and better with earlier estimations of the population as ca. 500,000.[2]

In *Contextualising the tax tribute paid by Cypriots during the treaty centuries*, Georgios Deligiannakis argues that the Arab raids were highly disruptive based on a comparative analysis of the tax tribute paid as indicated by a late ninth century source and 6th century examples from the wider region. The small amount of tax is used to propose that the Arab raids left the island so underpopulated that it could not pay much in tribute, which supports the great losses recounted in the Soloi inscriptions. Deligiannakis also suggests that the Caliphate seizing and incapacitated the maritime infrastructure of Cyprus was the cause. Zavagno and Panayides are the two authors most strongly disagreeing with Deligiannakis (see below), but it is difficult to ignore the evidence of the tax tribute, and several of the chapters (eg Vionis, Kassianidou) explore additional causes for the decline.

Chapter 6, *The prosopography of the Cypriot archbishops during the Long Late Antiquity: a reappraisal of the evidence presented in Byzantine Lead Seals from Cyprus* by Olga Karagiorgou opens with a useful introduction on the challenges of correctly interpreting and dating late antique seals. In the remaining pages, the author updates the prosopographic corpus of Late Antique Cypriot archbishops through a critical reading of the lead seals ascribed by Metcalf (2004 and 2014) to the relevant period correlated with published catalogues (Table 6.2-3). Karagiorgou also discusses the incidence of the transfer of Archbishop Ioannes and his flock in 691 to Cyzicus for seven years. Drawing on migration studies, the author interprets the appearance of the word kyprou, "of Cyprus", as reflecting the exiles' attempt to maintain a strong connection with their lost homes.

[1] https://saxoinstitute.ku.dk/research/classical-archaeology/life-at-the-furnace/

[2] Michaelides 1996, 143 n. 23 with reference to calculations by T. Potter, cf. Papacostas 2001, 108 n. 7; See also Rautman 2014, 43.

Luca Zavagno regards Cyprus as a political and above all economic middle ground between the Umayyads and the Byzantines. In *Cyprus and its sisters: reassessing the role of large islands at the end of the Long Late Antiquity (ca. 600–ca. 800)* the author addresses the multifaceted role played by the islands of Cyprus, Sardinia, Sicily and Crete in the relevant period based on a combination of archaeological and written sources. In a sweeping overview, he creates this very evocative image of islands as "eternally 'dancing' between integration, isolation, and connectivity" (p. 81). Based on the evidence for Byzantine *archontes* and ceramics from the Byzantine Empire, Zavagno proposes that Cyprus served as a middle ground between the Ummayads and the Byzantines. The relatively few pages do not allow for a detailed presentation of the large amount of data necessary to create an overview of the role of the four islands, which makes it difficult to be critical. For the archaeological evidence from Cyprus, Zavagno refers to his article from 2011–12 (and to the chapter by Panayides), at a time when the dating of Late Roman (400-700) ceramics in Cyprus was critically revisited although it was recognised that this process was in its infancy (eg Zavagno 2011–12, note 131). Pamela Armstrong's 2009 article was pivotal in creating the awareness of the extended chronology of Late Roman pottery types. Unfortunately, with the exception of the work of Smadar Gabrieli (eg 2020), no revised studies of the Cypriot pottery of the Long Late Antiquity have materialized until now (see Armstrong & Sanders below). There is still no mature typology of Cypriot pottery based on stratified and quantified contexts, only tantalizing glimpses such as the discovery of Late Roman D Ware workshops in Cilicia (Jackson *et al*. 2012).

In *Cypriot cities at the end of Antiquity* Panayiotis Panayides examines the changes in the built urban environment in the seventh and eights centuries. The examination focuses on Salamis, Paphos, Amathus and Kourion and it is richly illustrated with plans and photos of the structures discussed. Panayides has carefully constructed his overview from what is often briefly mentioned structures and deposits in older archaeological reports. It is clear from the glimpses that the French excavations at Amathus have unearthed of copious amounts of pottery and finds from the relevant period, that these may provide the much-needed stratigraphy and typologies when published. Other finds will be difficult to revisit, confirm or qualify due to location or not having been kept for storage. It is remarkable how much of the rebuilding described involves installing so-called artisanal units. In the discussion, Panayides states that life continued "unabated" after the raids (p.111) citing written sources describing continued worship and pilgrimage, and peace agreements involving shared spaces of worship. He considers the change a "deliberate restructuring" rather than a "decay". Certainly, the construction of workshops including metal and glass production does not reduce the population to squatters; it demonstrates the survival of economic exchange, but at what scale? The evidence that many complexes, luxurious private mansions, public and religious spaces get downsized, subdivided and taken over by workshops in the second half of the seventh and eighth century, when "former public spaces were converted into industrial and commercial quarters" (p.111), and that hoards are deposited does support a major economic transformation. Panayides warns against monocausal historical explanations, and chronology is very important if we hope to differentiate between the result of a specific event and a series of events combined with long-term processes. The evidence from Amathus and its hinterland is the most convincing for the continuity of regular interregional exchange, and a quantified publication of this material would improve the development of this interesting narrative. However, the revision of the seventh-ninth century pottery chronology addressed in the following chapter is even more important.

In chapter 9 on *Kourion in the Long Late Antiquity: a reassessment*, Pamela Armstrong & Guy Sanders take up the work on the pottery started by Armstrong in 2009 and on coins by Sanders in 2020 and impressively combine their efforts and data. Based mainly on a review of the correlation between coins and Late Roman table wares in Athens, the authors revisit the chronology of the destruction and final abandonment of the Episcopal Precinct in Kourion. Careful analysis of the minting and conditions of coins from the destruction and abandonment layers and a coin hoard found in the lowest level of the bishops' latrine, Armstrong and Sanders argue convincingly for a re-dating of both the destruction and final abandonment of the Episcopal Precinct in the eighth century rather than the second half of the seventh century. At the end of the chapter, the authors offer an interpretation of the three phases of destruction reconstructed by Megaw based on a series of earthquakes in 746-49. The article is well-illustrated, but it would have been useful to see examples of the conditions of preservations of coins so important for this revision. Analysing the pottery and the coins together is very powerful, and clearly demonstrates the need for a thorough review of existing typologies especially of the Late Roman 1 amphora type. The revision presented in this article potentially affects all the articles drawing dates from pottery and coins.

Richard Maguire discusses the shift from columns to piers in the chapter on *Cypriot church architecture of the Long Late Antiquity* based on supply, spoliation, and function. The technology of combining stone columns with timber superstructures was by late antiquity approximately 1500 years old and not likely to be replaced because of the danger of fire or earthquake, which is just as old, and Maguire rejects all of the above explanations. Although the evidence is scarce and highly fragmented, Maguire suggests instead the long-term iconodule character of Cypriot worship as the cause, which in fact correlates well with the narrative established on early Cypriot Christianity by Georgios Deligiannakis in the volume addressed at the beginning of this review.

In chapter 11 on the *Long Late Antiquity in the Chrysochou Valley*, William Caraher and R. Scott Moore provide a detailed and careful analysis of the phases and chronology of two locations excavated by the Princeton Cyprus Expedition in Polis. The stratigraphy of the structure of unknown function in EF1 is important for the dating of the second phase of the South Basilica "as late as the early or mid-eighth century". The chapter is another example that carefully recorded stratigraphies and finds will be instrumental in the revision of the Long Late Antiquity.

Based on data from the SeSaLaC archaeological project in the Xeros River Valley, Athanasios K. Vionis establishes a convincing narrative of rearranged settlement structures in the chapter on *A boom-bust cycle in Cyprus at the end of Antiquity: landscape perspectives for settlement transformation*. After a period of intense settlement growth and development of secondary local centres, previously nucleated settlements appear to break up and disperse with nucleation gradually shifting to new settlements and agricultural niches at higher altitudes towards the end of the seventh and the beginning of the eighth century (p. 171). The explanations draw on a combination of European-wide phenomena, demographic trends and climate changes. In his article on the distribution of the rural basilicas, Nikos Kyriakos (2019) argued for a correlation between rural churches, good agricultural land and infrastructure. Vionis' map of hypothetical catchment areas based on the placement of urban and rural basilica and settlements highlights the possibility of contested areas. The area with the highest number of rural basilicas is the border zone between Kition and Chytroi, which include second tier bishopric towns in Leukosia and Tremithus. A similar argument may be made on the south coast where the second tier bishopric town Neapolis is placed between Kourion and Amathus.

In chapter 13, *Local sculptural production in Cyprus at the end of Antiquity: a challenging dating?*, Doria Nicolaou presents two limestone chancel screens from a modest rural basilica in Petrera on the Mesaoria Plain excavated in 1962. Based on comparative analysis of architectural decorations from the Mesaoria and the Kourion region, the author ascribed the screens to the same workshop. For convincing stylistic reasons, Nicolaou does not accept the current 6th century date. She tentatively suggests a date in the seventh or eighth century. The existence of a Cypriot stone masons' workshop producing architectural decorations for old and new, rural and urban churches in different regions in the seventh and eighth centuries is an excellent example of the continuity of interregional networks in the Long Late Antiquity.

In *Fighting the demons and invoking the saints: prolegomenon to a study of Christian ritual texts in late antique Cyprus*, Paweł Nowakowski presents a study of Christian charms or amulets from Cyprus. Nowakowski argues for a change in practice, when folded lead tablets previously used for binding spells became an acceptable vehicle for protective Christian amulets. Stone and pottery were also used for longer texts and gems, glass and metal for shorter ones. The author persuasively places the amulets in a Middle Byzantine context. The chapter includes two appendices with critical readings and translations.

Since the 1990s, Kassianidou has been instrumental in the recognition of the extensive copper production dating to Late Antiquity. In chapter 15, *Mining and smelting copper in Cyprus in Late Antiquity,* she provides a rich synthesis of the Cypriot copper production in Late Antiquity correlating the great wealth and demographic growth associated with the earlier part of this period with the increased copper production. In the final part of the chapter, Kassianidou addresses the end of ancient copper mining. Except one sample from Argaka slagheap near Polis which may stretch into the eighth century (see also Vionis, fig. 12.8), the latest 14C dates all fall within the seventh century (p. 219). Inspired by David Mattingly's (2010) hypothesis of widespread ecological disaster in Wadi Feinan, Jordan, the author poses the question if the results of the anthracological analysis indicate that charcoal production was pushed into more remote areas with a higher elevation because of over-exploitation. Based on the SCSP and TAESP data, Neil Urwin (2013) modelled the charcoal consumption of Skouriotissa

for TAESP, articulating the relationship between potential sustainability and area held in reserve for this purpose. In order to address the possibility of a supply crisis, the above mentioned project *Life at the Furnace*, is currently studying changes in vegetation based on soil sampling of paleosoils and testing if LiDAR can be applied to identify ancient forestry and charcoal production in the Troodos Mountains. Indeed, the close collaboration with different sciences continues to develop the archaeological toolbox.

In the final chapter of this section, *The material culture of daily living in late antique Cyprus: a view from the metal collections of the Department of Antiquities*, Eftychia Zachariou-Kaila presents a group of metal artefacts in the Cyprus Museum dated to the sixth and seventh centuries. The bronzes are of course particularly interesting because of the Cypriot copper production, and Zachariou-Kaila reminds us of the metal working workshops associated with basilicas in Paphos, Amathus and Agia Trias (see Panayides above). The study of bronze artefacts is one of the potential research areas suggested by Rautman (see above). The study by Bursa & Pitarakis (2005) is an excellent example, and in 2021 Hussein published an object centred approach to the Cypriot copper trade based on Roman bronzes in the British Museum of Cypriot provenance. It seems a next important step would be to analyse the metal of types of vessels with a wider distribution in Cyprus such as the bell-shaped jug from the Amathus Agora hoard to test the provenance.

In the concluding chapter, *The 'fuzzy' world of Cypriot Long Late Antiquity: continuity and disruption betwixt the global and local*, Jody Michael Gordon provides an in-depth review of the volume asking if "a Byzantine Dark Age redux [is] warranted?" As the title suggests, the author zooms in on the fuzziness of interpretation created by multiple voices, and how fuzziness should stimulate more multicausal thinking about binary themes. The chapter ends with an insightful appeal to "access the didactic powers" of archaeology to insure our continued relevance by providing valuable lessons for today's challenges.

The volume has a very useful index not only of places and names but also of different types of buildings and finds, such as 18 different entries of pottery. Although they have different provenances, the amphorae are grouped in one entry whereas other types are specified according to wares eg Dhiorios cooking pots and Egyptian Red Slip Ware. Certain years are discussed by multiple authors in this volume, and sometimes cited differently eg the years of the two raids – are they 649 and 650 or 653 (see Gordon note 9), and the treaty between the emperor Justinian II and ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwan in 685, 686-688, or 688. In these cases, it would have been valuable to cross-references more consistently to other discussions and different interpretations in the same volume. The volume is richly illustrated with excellent quality maps, plans, drawings and photos in black and white and colour.

Both volumes are well produced and a pleasure to read. They are successful in bringing together relatively scarce archaeological and written sources to inform on each other, while drawing cautiously on parallels from the surrounding regions. Both volumes demonstrate the central role of the powerful Cypriot church in the transformation of the island through the Extended Late Antiquity, and both volumes provide real insights into critical periods, the first to the period when Christianity got a real foothold into the urban centres of Cyprus; the second to the period when, paraphrasing Gordon, "high levels of connectivity ceased, and the size and variety of networks decreased" "slowly and in a piecemeal manner giving way to a society that was 'Byzantine' rather than 'antique'" (p. 1).

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