

THE PROMOTION OF THE CULTURAL HERITAGE OF THE LATIN SETTLERS IN THE ISLAND OF NAXOS THROUGH A PROPOSED MODEL OF MANAGEMENT. A CASE STUDY.

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Abstract

In this report the creation of a documentation center in Naxos Chora in which the civilization of the capital of the Duchy of the Arhipelago will be displayed is proposed. It is about a proposal of a permanent exhibition in the newly renovated former Ursuline Convent-School and at present a Pastoral - Spiritual - Cultural Center "St. Ursula", belonging to the Catholic Archdiocese of Naxos-Andros-Tinos-Mykonos. Focusing on the tangible and intangible cultural resources bequeathed by the Latin settlers of the island, a theoretical model of museological management in the form of a case study will be analyzed. Through exhibits, explanatory signs and further visual material, as well as with the use of new technologies, the enhancement and promotion of the cultural heritage of a minority, which left indelible traces on the island, carving in a unique way the character of its cultural landscape is aimed.

Keywords: *Duchy of the Arhipelago, Latin settlers in the Cyclades, cultural landscape, promotion of cultural heritage, museological enhancement and management of intangible and tangible cultural heritage, cultural and religious diversity and conjunction (cultural osmosis), acculturation*

Introduction: purpose and methodology

The purpose of this research is to present and promote the cultural heritage during the rule of the Latins in Naxos, capital of the Duchy of the Aegean as well as its cultural survival during the Ottoman period ("the Duchy after the Duchy"). This is going to be underlined through a proposed model of museological management (Poulios, 2010-2012). Starting on the tangible and intangible cultural resources bequeathed by the Latin settlers of the island, as they have been collected and evaluated in the doctoral thesis by Kotsakis, i.e. under the prism of cultural and religious diversity and conjunction (Kotsakis, 2013)¹, a theoretical model of management in the form of case study²,

^[1] The relationship of the Catholic element with the, by far exceeding it numerically, native Greek Orthodox one in all the aspects of the cultural phenomenon will be examined in ten chapters (A to G), with particular emphasis on the testimony of artifacts bequeathed by Latin settlers on the island ("houses of faith", fortifications, fortified villas, coats-of-arms, etc.). The originality of the thesis lies mainly on the categorization and evaluation of the material culture, examined for the first time in both opposition and correlation with the Byzantine and Post Byzantine tradition of the island, under the prism of religious and cultural diversity and conjunction (culture osmosis) which occurred in the island between Orthodox and Catholics in the lengthy examined period. Thus a reconstruction of the cultural landscape of Naxos Island is achieved, as it was gradually developed from the early 13th century to the first decades of the establishment of the Greek State under the intense presence of the Latin element on the island.

^[2] A similar case study has been jointly developed with the lecturer of the Department of Philology of the Faculty of Kalamata, Dr. Maria Xesternou, in the field of "Education and Culture" for the course "Entrepreneurship and Management of Small and Medium Enterprises" under the program "Strengthening entrepreneurship innovative applications and elective courses- of students of the University of Peloponnese" of EPEAEK - Act: "Innovation unit and

will be analyzed, which resulted with the consent of His Eminence Archbishop of Naxos-Tinos, Nicholaos Prindesis, and Rvd Emmanuel Remoundos, Catholic parson of Naxos, whom we sincerely thank. Thus we shall prove that the research being carried out at University Departments of theoretical studies can be interconnected at least partially through practical applications with the local community (Lambrinouidakis, 2008 & Papaioannou, 2009) and be disseminated as a result in the society (Papaioannou, 2010a). At this point specific emphasis should be given on the program MONUMENTA "Local Communities & Monuments", which has recently closed seven years of action in Naxos (2007-2013), contributing in various ways to raising the awareness among the local community of the island in relation to its monuments (<http://tkm.monumenta.org>)³.

However before we move on to the presentation of the proposed management model, a brief historical overview of the history of the island and its cultural heritage shall be presented⁴.

Historical review

Naxos (figure 1) is an island rich in history. The surviving material remains are significant monuments of local cultural heritage, but also cultural heritage of the wider Greek and Mediterranean area (Sergis, Psaras, eds, 2006 & Kotsakis, 2013, chapter A "Historical review from antiquity to the establishment of the Greek State"). Until now there has been remarkable research mainly relating to ancient times (Lambrinouidakis, 2006) and the Byzantine past of the island (Mastropoulos, 2006), but the period of Latin rule (1207-1566), that will be analyzed, marked by the founding of the Duchy of Aegean headquartered in Naxos (Slot, 2012), and its survival during the Ottoman era that followed ("the Duchy after Duchy"), has been studied to a more limited extent (e.g. Remoundos, 2005 & Nafpliotis-Sarantinos, 2006 & Moshonas, Stylianoudi, 2009). Throughout the duration of the Latin rule, led by the Duke, Latin settlers of Naxos Island managed to have the island under their control. They divided it into feuds, commanding it in accordance to the "*Osanza de Loco*", meaning the "local customs"⁵. Nevertheless, after the Ottoman conquest and despite the submission of Naxos island to the new rulers (Slot, 1982), the habitants of western origin, descendants of the Crusaders of the Fourth Crusade, will preserve a significant share of social and economic power of the past centuries, benefiting vast areas of the land and making it somehow "state within a state", as evidenced by the existence of numerous fortified villas which were constructed during that period in the island. In addition, new families of western origin from other Aegean islands shall inhabit in Naxos, while from the 17th century Catholic missionary⁶ orders will settle there, under the patronage of France, acting under the spirit of the Counter-Reformation (Rvd Remoundos, 2006 & Kotsakis, 2007 & Kotsakis, 2013, chapter B "The Church of Naxos during the period of Latin and Ottoman rule").

Entrepreneurship at the University of Peloponnese", Operational Program "Education and Lifelong Learning" (E.P.E.D.V.M.) under the ESPA (2007-2013), funded by the European Union (European Social Fund) and national resources (Spiliopoulou - Xesternou, forthcoming).

^[3] Organization of five conferences open for public discussion on monuments, organizing events for the registration and preservation of oral testimonies for the archaeological research, editions-publications, educational activities, interventions for the protection of the monuments, research, weblog and website of the program.

^[4] This review is based on the main results of the above doctoral thesis, which I supervised. The hole text of the research's findings, which Mr. Kotsakis announced during his *viva* at the Department of History, Archaeology and C.R.M., University of Peloponnese (Kalamata, 06/26/2013) we tabled in the Institute of Syros to be included on the CD that was given to the students of the 3rd Inter-University Seminar on Sustainable Development, Culture and Tradition (Ano Syros - Historical Monastery Jesuit Fathers, 2. 9 - 7.9.2013).

^[5] It is about the local version of *Assizes of Romania*, the feudal code of french origin, as their application in the island formed an item of reconciliation with the previously existing local legal provisions.

^[6] Jesuits, Franciscan Minorits, Franciscans, Capuchins, Dominicans, both monks and nuns, Ursulines, Lazarists etc.

Figure 1. Map of the island of Naxos



The Catholic minority in Naxos during the Ottoman period, however relatively small, shall have a disproportionately powerful position within the society of Naxos, since its members besides being both landowners and diplomats of western major powerful states who kept diplomatic delegations in the island, shall enjoy support and a variety of protective measures for their community. In fact it was a western originated and of Catholic doctrine local leading class, members of which lived in groups mainly inside the medieval Castle of Chora, maintaining unbreakable bonds with the West and forming an integral part of it. In contrast, the local Greek Orthodox were those who experienced the consequences of the Venetian conquest of the early 13th century, who were included substantially in the class of serfdoms of the Latin local rulers, with the exception of some powerful families, where the phenomenon of participation in the political life of the Duchy was observed, but also at a later stage of some other families of notables, who were in frequent controversy and competition with the more numerous Latin landowners. The Catholics of the island were gradually and inevitably led to their partial cultural assimilation from the Greek Orthodox community and to their demographic decline. This Catholic community constitutes however a distinct population group, residue of the Latin rule on the island, which up to now has preserved its “hybrid” cultural identity that can be attributed to close contact and unbreakable relationship with the western world.

The cultural legacy of the Latin settlers of Naxos

The Venetian and the western heritage in general left indelible footprints in all the aspects of the cultural phenomenon of Late and Post Medieval period in Naxos, a fact to which the island partially owes its peculiarity. A brief presentation of the main tangible and intangible cultural resources shall follow, inherited by the Latin settlers on the island.

In Naxos a large number of churches and monasteries belonging to the Catholic doctrine exists (Spiliopoulou, Kotsakis, 2011 & Kotsakis, 2013, chapter C “Houses of faith and monuments of the Roman Catholic Church in Naxos”). The Catholic Cathedral, a building of the 13th century (Rvd Remoundos, Karystinaios, 2002), and the most important of the churches and the monasteries are located within the walls of the Castle of Chora⁷, while many are located outside the walls in

^[7] Ducal Chapel or Capella Casazza (13th/14th c.), Saint Anthony of Padua, the Catholic monastery of the Capuchins (17th c.), Our Lady of Loreto Chapel of Sforza-Castri, Chapel of the Ursulines Convent (Mater Dolorosa).

other neighborhoods of the city⁸. The churches of dual worship comprise a special category of sacred buildings, places of collocation of the two faiths and coexistence of the two religious communities⁹. These are normally two-aisled churches with a single internal worship space in which the one aisle was Orthodox and the other Roman Catholic. The period of construction of the sanctuaries of this kind lasted from the period of the Duchy of the Aegean (1207-1566) until the mid-18th century. Besides the churches of dual worship in Naxos “twin” structures exist, with distinct yet attached churches of both denominations¹⁰. Finally numerous Catholic chapels existed in the past in the island’s countryside¹¹, mainly near fortified mansions. Many of those Catholic churches converted into Orthodox ones after the foundation of the Greek State, associated with the loss of most of the power of Latin landowners on the island¹². Previously, however, the opposite phenomenon had been observed, when some Orthodox churches were granted *de facto* to the Catholic denomination¹³. Also in the Castle of Chora and in the mainland of Naxos are some buildings of the Roman Catholic Church and their orders, which were not houses of faith, but local housing of its clergy and monks¹⁴.

Latin rulers rendered their traces indelible on both the island and the field of fortified buildings (Kotsakis, 2013, chapter F "The fortifications and fortified complexes in the Latin Naxos"). Sanudi, wanting to consolidate their domination on the island and to provide protection from external and internal dangers, proceeded to the construction of fortifications both in Chora (Lower Castle or 'Castle of Chora': Kefalliniadis, 2000 & Vavatsioulas, 2009) and the mainland of Naxos as well (Upper Castle in central Naxos). However, Latin fortified structures are identified also in the countryside of Naxos (14th -19th). These are privately owned buildings (Kefalliniadis, 1980), which were generally fortified as farm houses (tower houses) or villas¹⁵ and used to perform

[8] Our Lady of the Snows (15th c.), Our Lady of Carmel, Our Lady of the Cat, Saint Catherine, Saint Nicholas, Saint Anthony the Abbot of the Knights of Saint John (15th c.), Saint Sebastian (early 16th c.), St. Mark (16th c.), Saint Barthelemy (early 16th c.),

[9] Holy Spirit or Saint Artemius Agidion, Saint John in the Tower of Belogna, “Kings” church in Upper Castle, St. John the Baptist in Upper Castle, Agios Nikolaos - Agios Dimitrios in Monoitsia, Virgin Mary Kanakariotissa in Sagri, Chapel of St. Francis in Sagri (within the Orthodox church).

[10] Saint Anthony - Panagia in Kambones, Saint Sebastian - Saint Theodosia-Taxiarchis in Chora.

[11] Saint James, Saint Magdalene and St. John the Baptist - Saint Francis near Chora, Agios Stefanos and Monastery of Franciscans in Agidia (S.S. Annunziata), Agioi Saranda and Entry of Virgin Mary - Saint Sebastian in Agidia, Vathykoiliotissa Mary, Birth of the Virgin in Kato Villages, Birth of the Virgin in Sagri, Birth of the Virgin in Kato Potamia, Agia Paraskevi and Agios Antonios in Potamia, Virgin Theoskepasti in Potamia, Agios Mamas, Assumption of Mary, Agios Antonios in the Kambones, Agios Ioannis in Kalamitsia, Saint John the Baptist of Paratrehos, the Transfiguration of Christ, St Anargyroi, St. Dorea (*Corpus Domini*), Saint Nicholas of Tolentino, Saint Pantaleon and St. Blasius of Chalki, St. Ignatius of Kaloxilos, St. Francis Monoitsion, “Frankish” church in Upper Castle, Agios Nikolaos of Filoti, Agios Antonios Apeiranthou, Church of the Ascension of the Virgin in Apollo, Agios Petros.

[12] Saint Artemius, Agia Paraskevi of Potamia, Virgin Kanakariotissa, Agios Nikolaos - Agios Dimitrios in Monoitsia, St.Nikolaos in Filoti , Agios Antonios Apeiranthou, Lady Theoskepasti of Kato Potamia, St. Doria (*Corpus Domini*).

[13] Fotodotis Monastery, Monastery of Agia, Monastery of Agios Thallelaios, Monastery of the Holy Cross in Sagri, Lady Theoskepasti in Potamia or “Agios Mamas”, Agios Stefanos in Agidia, Saint Anthony Monoitsion, Saint Nicholas of Tolentino.

[14] Castle of Chora: Archiepiscopal Chancellery (former ducal Chancellery, 13th c.), Monastery - School of Capuchins (17th c.), Jesuit Monastery (17th c.) - later French Commercial School (1891-1927), Convent - Ursuline School (18th / 20th c.).

- Mainland of Naxos: Capuchins Monastery in Monoitsia, who worked as a school for Orthodox children, Resort of Jesuits in Kalamitsia (17th c.), Ursuline Resort on the western side of the valley of Melanes, Archbishop Resort by Mitropolou (Mensa Archiepiscopale), close to Potamia (17th c.).

[15] Region of Chora - Agidia, six (of Paratrehos, of Paleologos etc.); area of Potamia, eight (of Coccus, of Della Rocca, of Mousou Mari etc.); area of Melanes, three (of Sanudo at the Kambones, of Della Rocca and Mavrogenis in

functions such as safety, recreation, overseeing the production process, exploitation of the large landed property, and also to project the social status of their owners¹⁶. These fortified villas had adopted architectural elements of western origin defensive architecture (e.g. battlements, machicolations, draw stairs, entrance on the first level, "boxes" etc.), combining the western architecture with the Cycladic. The older fortified villas of Naxos are attributed to the years of the Duchy of the Aegean and were constructed mainly by local rulers such as the one on Kourounochori (second half of the 14th c.) or that of Paratrehos (early 15th c.), that belonged to the ducal family. However, most of these were constructed during the Ottoman period, particularly during the 17th century, and belonged to Latin landowners¹⁷. In addition, over the centuries, some Greek Orthodox families became very powerful acquiring towers, such as the family of Kokkoi in Potamia and possibly in Agia (17th c.) as well the family of Markopolites at Akadimoi and Kerami (late 18th c.). Another category of fortified buildings of Naxos are the "fortified monasteries", belonging primarily to the Orthodox Church¹⁸. Besides the Orthodox fortified monasteries, there are fortified mansions of the Roman Catholic Church and its monastic orders in the island¹⁹. The total number of the approximately seventy fortified buildings within Naxos are an exception in the Aegean and the wider insular area²⁰, a phenomenon that we can find in parallel perhaps only in Mani (Spiliopoulou, Kotsakis, 2008-2012).

One of the most characteristic material remains of Latin infiltration practices and cultural elements in Naxos is the existence of marble coats-of-arms in the lintels of mansions and fortified villas belonging to Latin powerful families²¹, as well as on tombstones²², which were engraved from the late 14th until the end of the 19th century (Kefalliniadis, Slot, 1980 & Kotsakis, 2013, ch Z "Coats-of-arms of Naxos"). It comes to about 180 coats-of-arms belonging mainly in Latin families of the island, including the dukes' houses and other rulers of the Cyclades²³. The existence of such a large number of coats-of-arms in proportion to the size and population of the island, a phenomenon perhaps unique in the Hellenic area, reflects the social reality of Late Medieval and Post Medieval Naxos. During this period a group of powerful Latin families had prevailed and exploited the productive wealth of the island and its workforce as well. Over the centuries, this practice was directly linked to feudalism that was transplanted to the island and more generally in the Aegean after the Fourth Crusade (Kallivretakis, 2005), and was imitated by some Greek orthodox wealthy

Kourounochori); southwestern plains region of Naxos (Leivadia), five (of Belogna, of Oskelos etc.) - Sagri area, six (of Somarippa, of Barozzi, the tower-pigeon of Della Rocca etc.).

[16] Social and economic context of operation of fortified buildings of the landowners of Naxos were:

- The holiday homes and recreational areas (or more rarely permanent homes) of mainly Latin landlords, who were normally lived in a mansion in the castle.
- Their fortified character with the combination with the lack of sight to the sea ensured the protection of their owners from potential pirate and predatory raids, but from possible internal threats as well.
- There were in irrigated locations and highly fertile, making them local financial centers due to the high production levels of agricultural products. Landowners, having as a base of operations their towers, were supervising the cultivated areas and used to store the production in the basements of their towers or premises around them. Also they controlled the sources of water and constructed water mills in "coastal areas", which with the energy of running water, were grinding the grain.

[17] Tower of Belogna in Galanado, tower of "Paleologos" in Sagri, tower of Barozzi in Chalki, tower of Barozzi in Filoti, tower of Sforza-Castri in Apeiranthos and others.

[18] Chrysostomos monastery just outside Chora, Photodotis monastery in Danakos, Holy Cross, St. Eleftherios and Archangels monasteries in Sagri, monasteries of Phaneromeni and Ypsiloteria close to Egares.

[19] Small tower of Katsagra, Kalamitsia, small tower in Capella Casazza.

[20] Andros, Amorgos, Santorini, Campos of Chios, Thermi of Mytilini, Samos, Rhodes, Euboea, Crete.

[21] Bologna, da Corogna, Rizieri, Coronello, Sommaripa, Barozzi, Cagnolo, Sforza-Castri, Della Rocca, Grimaldi etc.

[22] Dalle Carceri families, Crispi, Barozzi, Sommaripa, Sforza-Castri, Della Rocca, Grimaldi, De Lastic etc.

[23] Sanudo, dalle Carceri, Crispo, Loredano, Schiavo, Pisani.

families²⁴ as well being a tangible example of imitation by the native element of the west. In the abovementioned categories are added coats-of-arms of the Grand Masters of Rhodes, coats-of-arms of foreign countries²⁵, emblems of Catholic archbishops and monastic orders²⁶, as well as emblems of Orthodox bishops and Orthodox monastic brotherhoods (Brotherhood of the Holy Sepulchre).

Specific mention should be made of the emblem of the Order of Ursulines, which depicts the flaming heart of Christ with a cross, surrounded by a crown of thorns located inside the building of the monastery. In addition, on the lintel of the external entrance, a coat of arms with a cross can be seen, on top of which the seven stars of Ursa Major stand out, while in the base there is a Latin inscription: "SERVIAM" 1664. This was the emblem of the female students of the School (figure 2): The constellation of Ursa Major over the cross refers to the name of the Order (ursus = bear), while the Pole Star indicates the path that leads to love. Note that this practice is identified and in the so-called 'talking coats-of-arms' of different families, where the display of a heraldic symbol refers to the name of the family to which it belonged.

Figure 2. The emblem of the female students of the Ursuline School in Castle of Chora Naxou



Another coat-of-arms of particular importance is that of the ducal family Crispi (figure 3), because it clearly reflects the cultural diversity and conjunction (cultural osmosis) between the two elements of the island. The ducal coat-of-arms, symbol of Latin domination over the island, flanked by two locals from Naxos, one playing the traditional bagpipe (tsabouna) and the other dancing, which indicates the mood of the Latin power for the cultivation of a local-Naxian identity based on a local cultural background.

Figure 3. The coat-of-arms of Crispi in the atrium of the Archaeological Museum of Naxos



[24] Cocci, Markopolites, Sarantinoi, Kondylides, Raftopouloi and others.

[25] Of Venice, France, England, Austria, the Netherlands, Sweden and others.

[26] Ioannites, Jesuits, Capuchins, Salesians, Ursulines and others.

Besides the material remains, the surviving written sources are also testament to the period that is being examined and the relations between the two communities. The records provided to us by European travelers who visited the island from late 14th to 19th century²⁷ comprise one source, the other being references of the Apostolic visitors of the Roman Catholic Church (Kotsakis, 2013, chapter H "The evidence of the travelers and Apostolic visitors, 14th-19th c."). According to reports on social and religious situation of the Catholic communities of Cyclades sent to the Holy See, fifteen-registered apostolic visitors were found to have been in Naxos (17th-18th c.), providing us with valuable information, mainly through the observation of the relations between the two communities, concerning the demographic composition of the island, the number of inhabitants, the history of the secular and sacred buildings of the Latin settlers. However, their provided information on the nature of cohabitation of the Orthodox with the Catholics is often controversial for obvious reasons.

A second major category of written sources is the Naxian notarial documents, published and unpublished (Kotsakis, 2013, chapter I "The evidence of the notarial documents, 16th-19th c."²⁸). During the first three centuries of the Latin rule (early 13th - early 16th c.) a great lack of documents is being observed, still the number of the surviving notarial documents is only a minimal sample of the intense legal activity that had taken place in Naxos in the contemporary and recent years. In order to reconstruct the image of the island during the period under review, particularly useful is considered "The Archive Velasti", now found in the Local Archives of Naxos (Kokolakis, 2009)²⁹. Editors of the notarial documents of these archives, covering the period 1541-1892, were several notaries ("notarioi") and chancellors ("kantzellarioi") of the island, while most of them (202) are written in Greek. The use of Greek language by people of Latin origin and doctrine, reflecting their linguistic assimilation is remarkable. The bilingualism reflected in "mixed" documents, written primarily in Greek and Italian or Greek and French, partly reflects the "hybrid" nature of the culture developed in the island, through the common coexistence of heterogeneous elements.

"Latin Church and Society in Late Medieval and Post Medieval Naxos (13th-19th c.)" Proposal for a permanent exhibition in the Pastoral – Spiritual - Cultural Center "St. Ursula" (former Ursuline Convent)

On 16/03/2013, at the castle Chlemoutsi of Ilia, the former Minister of Culture and Sport, Costas Tzavaras, inaugurated the permanent exhibition entitled "The Age of Knights-Crusaders in

^[27] Nicolò da Martoni (late 14th c.), Joseph Bryennios (early 15th c.), Cristoforo Buondelmondi (early 15th c.), Cyriacus of Ancona (mid 15th c.), Bartolomeo "dalli Sonetti" (late 15th c.), Benedetto Bordone (early 16th c.), Nicolas de Nicolay (mid 16th c.), Tomaso Porcacchi (late 16th c.), Francesco Lupazzolo (early - mid 17th c.), Mathieu Hardy (mid 17th c.), Marco Boschini (mid 17th cent.), Jean Thévenot (mid - late 17th cent.), Marquis of Nointel (late 17th c.), Placide de Reims (late 17th c.), Bernard Randolph (late 17th c.), Francesco Placenza Napolitano (late 17th c.), Vincenzo Coronelli (late 17th c.), Robert Saulger (late 17th c.), Joseph Pitton de Tournefort (late 17th c.), François Tarillon (early 18th c.), Thomas Salmon (early 18th c.), Lord of Charlemont (mid 18th c.), Choiseul-Gouffier (late 18th c.), Sonnini de Manoncourt (late 18th c.), Abba Della Rocca (late 18th c.), Guillaume-Antoine Olivier (late 18th c.), Ignaz Lichtle (late 18th c.), William Martin Leake (early 19th c.), Francis Darvin (early 19th c.), Francis Sommaripas (early 19th c.), Andrien Dupré (early 19th c.), Ernest Ledhuy (mid-19th c.), Ludwig Ross (mid 19th c.), Pückler - Muskau (mid 19th c.), Ernst Curtius (mid 19th c.), Jean Alexandre Buchon (mid 19th c.)

^[28] A list of 23 major collections of published documents of the era is presented, including 2.000 of Naxian origin mostly documents (15th-19th c.). Reference is also made in unpublished notarial documents, most of which are kept in the Archives of the Catholic Archdiocese of Naxos and the Local Archive of the island, filed under the G.A.S. (General Archives of the State).

^[29] Thanks to Dr. M. Kokolakis, former archivist of the Local Archive of Naxos, Mr. Kotsakis managed to gain access to this important archive and integrate it as a case study in the relevant chapter of his thesis (chapter I 9.2 "The Archive Velasti").

Morias”, organized by the sixth Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities of Patra. The exhibition focuses on an interesting and critical historical period of the Principality of Achaia (13th-15th century AD.), in which the shell of the castle is included as a museum context. It is placed in the halls of the castle and wards of the inner yard. Its purpose is the promotion of the medieval Frankish Greece focusing on Frankish Ilia (Spiliopoulou, 2011), but also generally in the Middle Ages in southern inland Greece, projecting the rich archaeological reserve of the region, derived primarily from excavations in medieval sites of Peloponnese (Ralli, 2007). The exhibition is structured into five sections³⁰ and the visitor is able to follow different pathways, without the risk of losing the notion of the narration. As Mr. Tzavaras stated also this is the first and unique museum for the Frankish rule in our country, a major development for Ilia and for Greece as well.

On correspondence of the new permanent exhibition at the Castle Chlemoutsi in this report is proposed the creation of an exhibition in the newly renovated former Ursuline Convent/School and now Pastoral – Spiritual - Cultural Center "St. Ursula", owned by the Catholic Archdiocese of Naxos and Andros-Tinos-Mykonos (figure 4). This permanent exhibition, entitled “Latin Church and Society in Late Medieval and Post Medieval Naxos (13th-19th c.)”, will display the history and culture of the Latin settlers in the capital of the Duchy of the Archipelago itself (Zias, 2006), the Chora of Naxos, partly constituting the first Ecclesiastical Museum of the Roman Catholic Church in the Aegean and at the same time a second Museum of Latin rule in our country.

Figure 4. The sign of entry into the Pastoral - Spiritual - Cultural Center "St. Ursula"



The history of the Order of Ursulines and their Convent /School at Naxos Chora

Catholicism was introduced to Naxos after 1204 (Rvd Remoundos, 2006), when the Duchy of the Archipelago was founded on the island (1207-1566) and Latin settlers came, mainly of north-Italian origin. The starting point for the transition from the Venetian to the French sphere marks the arrival and settlement of French, predominantly of Catholic monks, originally Jesuits (1627) and then the Capuchins (1628), who were later followed by others such as Ursulines (1739), Lazarists (1783) and Salesian (1891). These monastic communities operated under the spirit of the Counter-Reformation, aiming to upgrade the position of the Roman Catholic Church but also to strengthen the status of the French crown in the Cyclades, through the creation of French-language education

[30] A. Castle Chlemoutsi a network of castles and medieval villages. Glarentza. Gothic monastic architecture and western influences in the Orthodox church architecture.
 B. The advent of the Latins and the establishment of the Principality of Achaia. Knightly virtue and the nobility.
 C. Faith and worship. The sacred buildings of the Knights: decoration and function.
 D. The life of the residents of the Principality.
 E. Economy and trade, relations and communications. Morias in the medieval ecumene.

networks. Gaining feuds on the island and taking advantage of large areas of landed property, offered important charity and especially educational work, both for the Catholics and the Orthodox as well, at a time when darkness of thought and illiteracy prevailed in general. Among the famous French educational institutions in Naxos are the Jesuit School (1628-1878) which was later renamed to French Business School (1891-1927) and the Ursuline School (1739-1976) which is the center of the present essay.

The Order of the sisters of St. Ursula or Ursulines, who were known as Angelins, was the most significant to act in Naxos during the Ottoman period. This female Order was founded in 1533/1535 from the Italian Angela Merici. The first Ursulines who came to Naxos in 1726 were of Italian origin and came from Tinos but remained for a few years in the island. However, later, in 1739, the French Ursulines were settled in the Castle of Chora, who were invited by the Jesuits to undertake the education and the good upbringing of girls, mainly of Catholic families of the island. During the prelacy of Antonio Matturi (1733-1748), in the south of the main square of the Castle, in a plot that had been purchased in 1678 by the abbot of the Jesuits, Robert Saulger (Slot, 2012), the famous namesake School for Girls was built for that purpose, the subsequent Hellenic-French Ursulines Gymnasium of Naxos (1931-1975), which dominates in subsequent form in the same position until nowadays. In the building a preexisting medieval tower of square plan view was incorporated, which was part of the outer shell of the Castle (early 13th c.). On the outskirts of the city of Naxos, in the area named Katsagra, there was also the orchard named after it with fruit and ornamental trees, as well as facilities for games and leisure for students of the School. On the west side of the valley of Melanes, few hundred meters opposite the homonymous village, is also being preserved the abandoned resort of the Ursuline nuns, which according to local oral tradition ceased to operate in the mid 1960s.

In the original building of the School for Girls during the interwar period a significant extension took place which altered the medieval character of the castle and its urban planning was disrupted. In 1922 the Ursulines bought an old house, two more in 1924 and nine more in 1930. At the time a massive three-storey building of the current Ursuline School was constructed at the place of these old buildings, occupying a greater space (**figure 5**). In October 1944 the building of the Castle of Chora went under attack from fire by the British forces, who were attempting to prevent the withdrawal of the German occupying forces from the island. British warships and aircraft bombed and destroyed a significant part of the castle, including the Ursuline School. The nuns were forced to take refuge in their land, others in Katsagra and others in Melanes. In December 1944, the ambassador of France financially supported the Ursulines and in 1945 twice the French warships brought building materials while their crews helped in the repairing of the damages. These repair works of the building lasted until the summer of 1946. The school operated until 1975/1976, while the last Ursulines nuns left the island in 1977, shortly after its closure³¹.

^[31] Since the early 18th century Ursulines had settled also, founding an organized monastery in 1862, where they live until nowadays. Facilities of Ursulines were also in Nauplion (1916-1920), Kalamata (1920-1924) as well as in Athens (1947 - until nowadays).

Figure 5. The newest building of the Ursuline School (1930)



The existence of the French emblem in the wall of the monastery bearing the date 1737 or 1757 is indicative of the powerful role of France in the region (Vavatsioulas, 2009). The French factor continued to play an influential role in the Catholic community of the island after the foundation of the Greek State as well. Undoubtedly, however, the most important disseminators of French letters and French culture in the post-revolutionary Naxos were the members of the Catholic orders, either of French origin or brought up that way, who continued their activities on the island and during the lifetime of the free Greek State (19th – 20th c.). The descendants of these French missionaries of the Counter-Reformation era, alongside with the very important educational work both for the offspring of the Catholics and Orthodox as well, contributed due to their "special" relations with France to maintain until today to some extent a hybrid “Greek-Latin” culture character of Naxos, particularly in the area of “Greek-Latin” cultural coexistence: in the Castle of Chora³².

In 1986, the building of the Ursulines and their convent and school was purchased by the State for cultural purposes. Today it houses the Local Archive of Naxos and other services. The department however of the Ursulines School which neighbors with the Archaeological Museum and belongs to the Roman Catholic Church, was restored in 2012 and was converted to a space for exhibitions and cultural events, as well as a place of hospitality through the creation of the related infrastructures (e.g. bedrooms, elevator, etc). So while the building is nowadays abandoned by the nuns, however it continues to be a center of culture for the local community.

The facilities of the School are now mainly used by three different organizations:

a) The Catholic Archdiocese of Naxos - Tinos - Andros - Mykonos, which owns the old building (first half of 18th c.), where the nuns' cells and dormitories of schoolgirls are found (figure 6 and 7).

[32] The intense French influence in the area of the Catholic community of the island is clearly reflected in a photograph of 1926 where the enormous in size French flag of the Ursulines School dominates in the highest point of the castle. It is also worth noting that almost all the managers and directors of the Catholic schools of the Castle were Frenchmen and Frenchwomen, while the partially destroyed by the hostilities of World War Ursuline School was rebuilt, as mentioned above, again at the expense of the French government. The closure subsequently of the internationally renowned Ursulines School (1975-1976) and the departure of the last of the Ursulines nuns in the mid-70s will also mark the end of the era of French Catholic missionaries in the island, which began during the Counter-Reformation.

Figure 6. The chapel of the Ursuline's Convent, the entrance of its old building and the entrance of the Jesuit's Convent



Figure 7. The entrance of the complex along with the emblem of the Ursuline School in the lintel



- b) The National Youth Foundation, which owns the newest building (1930), where the schools of the Faculty, was granted to the municipality of Naxos for 30 years as a place of cultural interest.
- c) A smaller in size building that abuts to the previous two and still remains the property of the Ursuline nuns, within lies among others their chapel (figure 8).

Figure 8. The part of the complex of the Ursuline Convent, which remains in the ownership of the Order



In the older six-level magnificent building of the Ursuline School that belongs to the local Roman Catholic Church, extensive renovation and highlighting projects of the internal main area were made in the last years and were completed recently³³. The inauguration of the building, named "Pastoral - Spiritual - Cultural Center St. Ursula", took place in August 2012 (<http://www.naxos-news.gr/?aid=19403>). With the installation of an elevator, the base of which is found in the ground floor of the building, near the orthodox church of Agia Kyriaki, people with disabilities have the ability to access the Castle. The site is open daily, except Sundays, 11.00 - 13.30 and 18.00 - 20.30, while there are guided tours by the Catholic deacon, George Palamaris. Also a brochure is distributed (http://www.e.axos.eu-/files/033/oursoulines/Sxoli_Entypo.pdf).

Pastoral – Spiritual - Cultural Center "St. Ursula"

The eight proposed sections of the exhibition “Latin Church and Society in Late Medieval and Post Medieval Naxos (13th -19th c.)”

The following eight sections are proposed, based on explanatory signs, accompanying illustrative material, maps and exhibits that exist or may arise, and the use of New Technologies (Papaioannou, 2010b):

- Important stages of the history of Naxos from antiquity to the creation of the Greek State
- The Church of Naxos during the period of Latin rule and Ottoman domination
- Places and saints of Catholic faith in Naxos

[33] On the first floor there is the reception room, which is still under planning. On the second floor there is a large lecture hall and meeting rooms, and some dorms, while a portion is intended to be used as School for Conservators. On the third floor there is a collection of archaeological findings including some coats-of-arms of Latin families of the island, while columns are preserved and incorporated in the building (*spolia*), probably coming from ancient and early Christian monuments of the island. On the same floor there is also a library and a guest house with a communal kitchen and shower. On the fourth floor is the entrance to the Ursuline School from the side of the castle. There ends and the elevator connecting in this way the Castle with the outside the walls city of Naxos. Upstairs one can see the old dining room of the monks of the monastery, while other halls are used as art galleries. On the same level there is also a patio with view of the interior of the island and the sea. Finally, on the fifth floor, there's the room of the keeper of the building, as well as other bedrooms, which are under development (see also online browsing on the Center "St. Ursula": <http://s1073.photobucket.com/user/tiniakinews3/slideshow/touristika/ktiriom%20ursulinon%20naxos%202012/?albumview=slideshow>)

- The fortifications and fortified complexes of Latin and Greek Orthodox in Naxos
- Coats-of-arms of Naxos - The transplantation of feudalism and the Heraldry in the capital of the Duchy of the Archipelago
- Public and private life through the testimonies of the written sources
 - A. Travelers and apostolic visitors (14th-19th c.)
 - B. Notarial documents (16th to 19th c.)
- The Catholic community of Naxos today and its relations with the Orthodox element. Harmonious coexistence of cultures
 - A. Cultural Tourism Routes
 - B. Educational program of visits for pupils / students

First section: the milestones of history of Naxos from antiquity up to the foundation of the Greek State

- Naxos before the Venetian conquest (ancient, Byzantine period)
- The Fourth Crusade and the establishment of the Duchy of the Aegean by the Venetian Marco Sanudo (1207-1566)
 - The period of the Sanoudo dynasty (1207-1383)
 - The period of the Crispo dynasty (1383-1566)
- Naxos during the Ottoman domination
- Naxos during the Greek Revolution
- Naxos after the foundation of the Greek State
 - Emphasis is given on the Later Medieval and early modern period correlated directly to the Latin presence on the island.

Second section: The Church of Naxos during the period of Latin and Ottoman domination

Ecclesiastical history of Naxos from the 13th to the 19th century is presented. Emphasis is given on the arrival and installation of the French missionaries in Naxos and the Cyclades in general, as well as their numerous activities on the island.

- The establishment and progress of the Roman Catholic Church in Naxos and its relations with the Orthodox element
- The activation of the Roman Catholic Church in the Aegean during the period of the Counter-Reformation and the phenomenon of the Unia
- The arrival and activation of Catholic monastic orders in Naxos: the role of France and Venice's attitude regarding the settlement of the French missionaries in the Cyclades
 - French educational institutions: School of Jesuits (1628-1878) - later French Business School (1891-1927), Ursuline School (1739-1976), etc.
 - Education: scientific publications of the Jesuits in various languages, religious theater in the Aegean
 - Charity and social contribution of Catholic missionaries
 - Agricultural sector: introduction of cultivation of citrus and other citrus fruits etc.
- The foundation of religious congregations by Catholic civilians undertaking religious and charitable activities³⁴
- Mapping of catholic monastic orders in other Cycladic islands

^[34] In Naxos three religious congregations are recorded: the Holy Body of Christ initially and His Holiness the Crucified or Holy Passion or later the Holy Cross, Our Lady of St. Rosary and Congregatione Mariana: Purificazione della Beatissima Vergine (Candlemas).

- Mapping of the catholic monastic orders and their action on Tinos and Syros

Third section: Houses of faith and monuments of the Roman Catholic Church in Naxos

In this section are being categorized, mapped and presented the monuments of the Roman Catholic Church, houses of faith and non, and the Catholic cults of the island as well:

- Houses of Catholic faith in Naxos: Castle and the other districts of Chora, the hinterland of Naxos
- Sanctuaries of “dual worship” and “twin churches”.
- Sacred buildings converted to houses of faith of the other denomination: Orthodox churches converted into Catholics and Catholic churches converted into Orthodox.

Additionally the following are being displayed:

- Scale Model of the Catholic Cathedral in Chora, Naxos
- Mapping and ways of access to houses of faith and monuments of the Roman Catholic Church in the Castle and other neighborhoods of Chora
- A map indicating the location of all the places of the western worship and the monuments of the Roman Catholic Church in the hinterland of Naxos and their road accessibility or a combination of traditional paths that have been restored
- Mapping of saints and worship places of the Roman Catholic Church in the rest of the Cyclades, with emphasis on Tinos and Syros

Fourth section: The fortifications and fortified complexes of Latin and Greek Orthodox in Naxos

In this section the fortifications and fortified complexes of Latin and Greek Orthodox on the island are being categorized, mapped and presented:

- Medieval castles of the Byzantine period: Castle of Apaliros (SW of Naxos, near Sagri), Castle of the Monk (NE end of the island)
- Medieval castles of Latin rule: Castle of Chora (Castel Basso), Apano Castle (Castel d 'Alto)
- Fortresses of the Roman Catholic Church
- Castle monasteries of the Orthodox Church
- The fortified buildings or tower-like villas of the landowners of Naxos: Castle of Chora of Naxos and its hinterland.

Complementary exposed:

- Plan and scale model of the Castle of Chora marked with its main fortification elements and monuments (ecclesiastical and secular)
- Map indicating the location of the “Apano Castle”, the fortified buildings of Roman-catholic church, castle-like monasteries of the Orthodox Church, and the accessibility road or a combination of paths, which is in use
- Map indicating the location of the fort buildings of the landowners of the hinterland of Naxos and their road accessibility or its combination of paths, which are in use
- Mapping of the towers and fortified houses on other Aegean islands

Fifth section: Coats-of-arms of Naxos - The transplantation of feudalism and the Heraldry in the capital of the Duchy of the Archipelago

The major coats-of-arms of Naxos, which reflect the social reality of the island during the Late Medieval and early modern times are being categorized, presented and mapped:

- Coats-of-arms of dukes and other rulers of the Cyclades
- Coats-of -arms of Latin families and other feudal landowners of Naxos
- Coats-of-arms of the Grand Masters of Rhodes
- Emblems of Catholic archbishops and Catholic monastic orders
- Emblems of Orthodox bishops and Orthodox monastic brotherhoods (Brotherhood of the Holy Sepulchre)
- Symbols of foreign countries
- Coats-of -arms of wealthy Greek Orthodox families

Sixth section: public and private life through the testimonies of written sources

A. Travelers and Apostolic visitors (14th-19th c.)

Chronologically are listed the names of travelers and Apostolic visitors who came to Naxos and maps are being displayed as well as engravings from travel editions:

- Travelers (14th-19th c.)
- Apostolic visitors (17th-18th c.)
- Maps and engravings of Naxos from travel editions

Additionally the following are being listed:

- Characteristic quotes from travel editions and reports of Apostolic visitors on the inhabitants, the natural environment and monuments of the island, and the relations between Orthodox and Catholics.

B. Notarial documents (16th-19th c.)

Characteristic documents that enlighten aspects of the social reality of 'Greek-Latin' Naxos are exhibited and demonstrate the complex relationship between Orthodox and Catholics, which cultivated the climate of rivalry between the two communities.

Additional information about the nature of documents is given:

- Editors of notarial documents were notaries and chancellors of the island
- The vast majority of those are written in Greek
- The use of Greek by the Latin settlers reflects their linguistic assimilation
- Bilingualism is reflected in 'mixed' documents (Greek and Italian or Greek and French), partly reflecting the "hybrid" nature of the culture developed on the island, through the common coexistence of heterogeneous elements.

Seventh section: The Catholic community of Naxos today and its relations with the Orthodox element. Harmonic coexistence of cultures

- Catholics of Naxos however continue to form a distinct ethnic group, keeping their 'hybrid' cultural identity, which is due to their close contact and unbreakable relationship with the western world.
- Catholics of Naxos are now fully integrated into local society, being amongst their most prominent members, as their important social activity and contribution proves.
- We owe the recent renovation and conversion of the former Ursuline Convent School into the current Pastoral - Spiritual - Cultural Center "St. Ursula", which is a "beacon of culture" for the local community, to the important social activity and contribution of the Catholic Archdiocese of Naxos and Andros-Tinos-Mykonos.

Eighth section

A. Cultural Tourism Routes

Their proper state of preservation and their accessibility via the existing road network or preserved pathways are the basic criteria for the selection of the western monuments to be included in the proposed cultural routes. Significant non-adjacent western monuments (religious and secular) are included as well.

- Visiting the Castle of Chora: fortifications, medieval-Renaissance urban plan system, ecclesiastical and secular buildings
- Visiting the Catholic churches of Burgo and those of the rest districts of Chora
- Hinterland of Naxos
 - Route with the main monuments of the Roman Catholic Church (houses of faith or not)
 - Route with the main fortified villas
 - Combination of both

The proposed cultural routes are displayed as follows:

- Maps labeled with the accessibility road, footpaths or their combination
- Use of new technologies (video projections, virtual reality, etc.), focusing on the history and monuments of the island during the period of Latin rule and 'Duchy after the Duchy "(13th-19th c.)

B. Educational program of visits for pupils / students

An educational program of visits, offered for pupils/students and teachers is proposed. A Synthesis of educational walks being represented on virtual reality (ICT applications) are included as well which would be implemented following the principles of multi-sensory learning.

When the pupil / student groups reach the island, they will be hosted for a few hours in the Center "St. Ursula" so as to be trained on a Museum Educational Program, which includes:

- a. Visiting of the eight thematic sections exhibition
- b. Screening of a twenty minute videotape presenting the history, culture and monuments of Late Medieval and Post Medieval Naxos
- c. Educational programs and games for students with the use of New Technologies

Conclusions

"The Latin Church and Society in Late Medieval and Post Medieval Naxos (13th-19th c.)" The museographical vindication of the local collective memory of a minority and the trigger for a sustainable touristic development

In the present case study the planning and housing of a permanent exhibition in the Pastoral - Spiritual - Cultural Center "St. Ursula" (former Ursuline Convent-School), owned by the Catholic Archdiocese of Naxos-Andros-Tinos-Mykonos was proposed. Through eight thematic sections the highlighting and promotion of the cultural heritage of a minority, that left permanent traces on the island, carving in a unique way the physiognomy of its cultural landscape is intended (Antzoulatou-Retsila, 2005, chapter B' 2 "The museographical vindication of the local collective memory and experience" & Antzoulatou-Retsila, 2005, chapter C' 8 "The expression of the memory: a museological approach").

The development of cultural tourism at regional and national level (Kostakis, 2003 & Dionysopoulou, 2012) requires taking proper measures to conserve, promote and make the most of the cultural heritage of each region (Bitsani, 2004 & Zounis 2012). Actions designed to promote cultural heritage through tourism should be made in accordance with the terms of a sustainable

development (Kouri, 2010), which, beyond the protection of the environment, includes the cultural development as well. Routes of Cultural Tourism proposed in the first part of the eighth section are oriented to the above requirements (Karavasili, Michelakis, 1999).

Finally, the program of the educational visits to be included in the second part of the eighth section (Papaioannou, 2007) is based on the main pedagogical principles of the self-motivation, supervision and action learning. It uses multimedia and hypermedia tools (Roblyer, 2006) and provides new educational potential approach to the cognitive subject³⁵ in the present case of cultural resources offered by Naxos, hoping to attract as many school groups in the Cyclades as possible as well as French language educational institutions in Greece and abroad building an important cradle of education in our country. Because we should not forget that the former Ursuline School, which now houses the Pastoral - Spiritual - Cultural Center "St. Ursula", was the first school created for girls in the Greek area, but also in the entire eastern Mediterranean, within the Ottoman domination, when Pirates were ravaging the Archipelago.

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^[35]The new under proposal detailed Curricula for the Greek School adopt the international bibliography (Cross, 2007 & Contact, 2010) and adhere to the belief that "The introduction of the Technological Information and Communication Technologies (ICT) in education is fundamentally changing the way in which people receive and process information" (Kron, Sofos, 2007 & Local History, Guide for the teacher, 2011). In the field of the didactic of history, apart from the textual narration, the importance of the digital environment on the diffusion of the historical knowledge is recognized. Thus, the digital visual narration is utilized as an "alternative approach of the past" and hyperlinks of the digital text enable the reader to follow his own personal path of conceptual mapping, escaping from the tight interconnections of ordinary footnotes (Vosniadou, et al, 2006), favoring therefore "the critical process of the historical material". Additionally is noted that Internet strengthens "as a teaching tool, discovering forms of learning and contributes to the development of collaborative and communication skills, creating an appropriate learning environment to enhance teaching with «authentic» learning experiences" (*Local History, the educator Guide*, 2011). As for the use of VR (Virtual Reality) it satisfies the human need of representation, which played a three-fold key role in societies since prehistoric times: the machine participates, as means of representational, the man, who interacts and the real world from whom information that will contribute to the creation of virtual digital creation shall be collected (Iatrou, 2003).

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