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A crusader, Ottoman, and early modern Aegean archaeology : built environment and domestic material culture in the Medieval and Post-Medieval cyclades, Greece (13th-20th Centuries AD)

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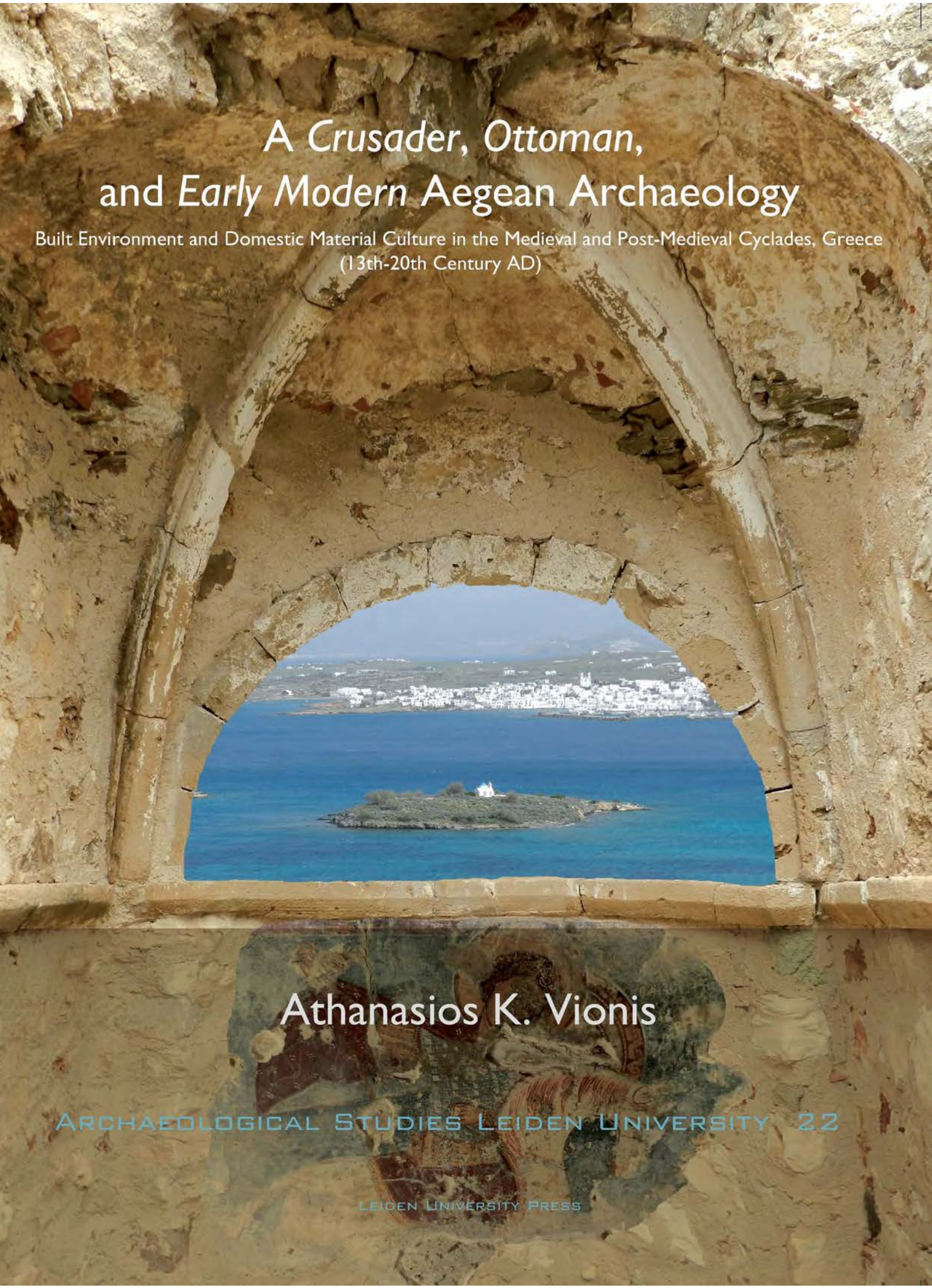

A *Crusader*, *Ottoman*, and *Early Modern* Aegean Archaeology

Built Environment and Domestic Material Culture in the Medieval and Post-Medieval Cyclades, Greece (13th-20th Century AD)

Athanasios K. Vionis

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A *Crusader*, *Ottoman*, and *Early Modern* Aegean Archaeology

ARCHAEOLOGICAL STUDIES LEIDEN UNIVERSITY 22

A *CRUSADER*, *OTTOMAN*, AND *EARLY MODERN* AEGEAN ARCHAEOLOGY

BUILT ENVIRONMENT AND DOMESTIC MATERIAL CULTURE IN THE MEDIEVAL AND POST-MEDIEVAL CYCLADES, GREECE (13TH – 20TH CENTURIES AD)

ATHANASIOS K. VIONIS

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Acknowledgements

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1. Introduction

> 'At the arrival of the meanest Bey of a Galliot, neither Latins nor Greeks ever dare to appear but in red caps, like the common Gally-slaves, and tremble before the pettiest officer. As soon as ever the Turks are withdrawn, the Naxian nobility resume their former haughtiness: nothing is to be seen but caps of velvet, nor to be heard of but tables of genealogy; some deduce themselves from the Paleologi or Comnenii; others from the Justiniani, the Grimaldi, the Summaripa's...'
> Joseph Pitton de Tournefort (1718, 168)

1.1 THE CYCLADIC CASE STUDY

The Cycladic islands (Figs 1.1 and 1.2) have always been a desirable holiday destination for most European and overseas tourists. Monuments and archaeological sites of all historical periods on the islands are accessible and generally admired, particularly those of Greco-Roman antiquity, dominating both Greeks' and foreigners' perception of what is *Greek* and what defines Greek culture and identity. Monuments of the Byzantine, Venetian and Ottoman eras, however, are remarkably well preserved and comprise evident markers of the most recent centuries of Cycladic history.

The large number of Late Medieval *kastra*-settlements in the Cyclades, Byzantine churches and secular buildings of Venetian and Ottoman date, all comprise important evidence for the examination of socio-economic conditions and living standards in the *Post-Roman* Aegean. Venetian aristocratic families, whose names and descendants still exist today (Summaripa, Venieri, Dellarocca, Ragoussi, Ghizi, Baffi and others) were entrusted in the early 13th century with the task of extending and developing the *Repubblica Serenissima*'s trading activities in the Aegean, Cyprus and the Levant. Most of these families (having intermarried with local populations) still retain the memory of their noble rank and tell the stories of their ancestors' deeds.

The incorporation of the Cyclades into the Ottoman Empire in the second half of the 16th century started to blur the picture of Late Medieval daily material life. Post-Medieval humble domestic architecture in Cycladic towns and tower-houses in villages and the countryside, notarial deeds, dowry documents and foreign travellers' accounts and drawings offer ample evidence for investigating commercial activities, daily life and socio-cultural identity.

It is the combination of the aforementioned material remains and related socio-historical factors that made me write this book, in order to provide 'an archaeology' of the period, and unravel the story of island material life in the pre-Modern Cyclades.

More specifically, this monograph examines the *built environment* and the *domestic material culture* of the Cyclades islands in the Aegean, from the Venetian era, through the years of Ottoman domination and the Early Modern period (13th-20th centuries AD). The aim is the reconstruction of everyday domestic life in towns and villages, the identification of socio-cultural identities that shaped or were reflected on pre-Modern material remains, and the history of island landscapes through the study of certain aspects of material culture. The term 'material culture' here refers to island settlement layout (fortified settlements-*kastra* and undefended nucleated villages), domestic buildings (housing of urban character, peasant housing and farmsteads), ceramics (locally produced and imported glazed tableware), internal

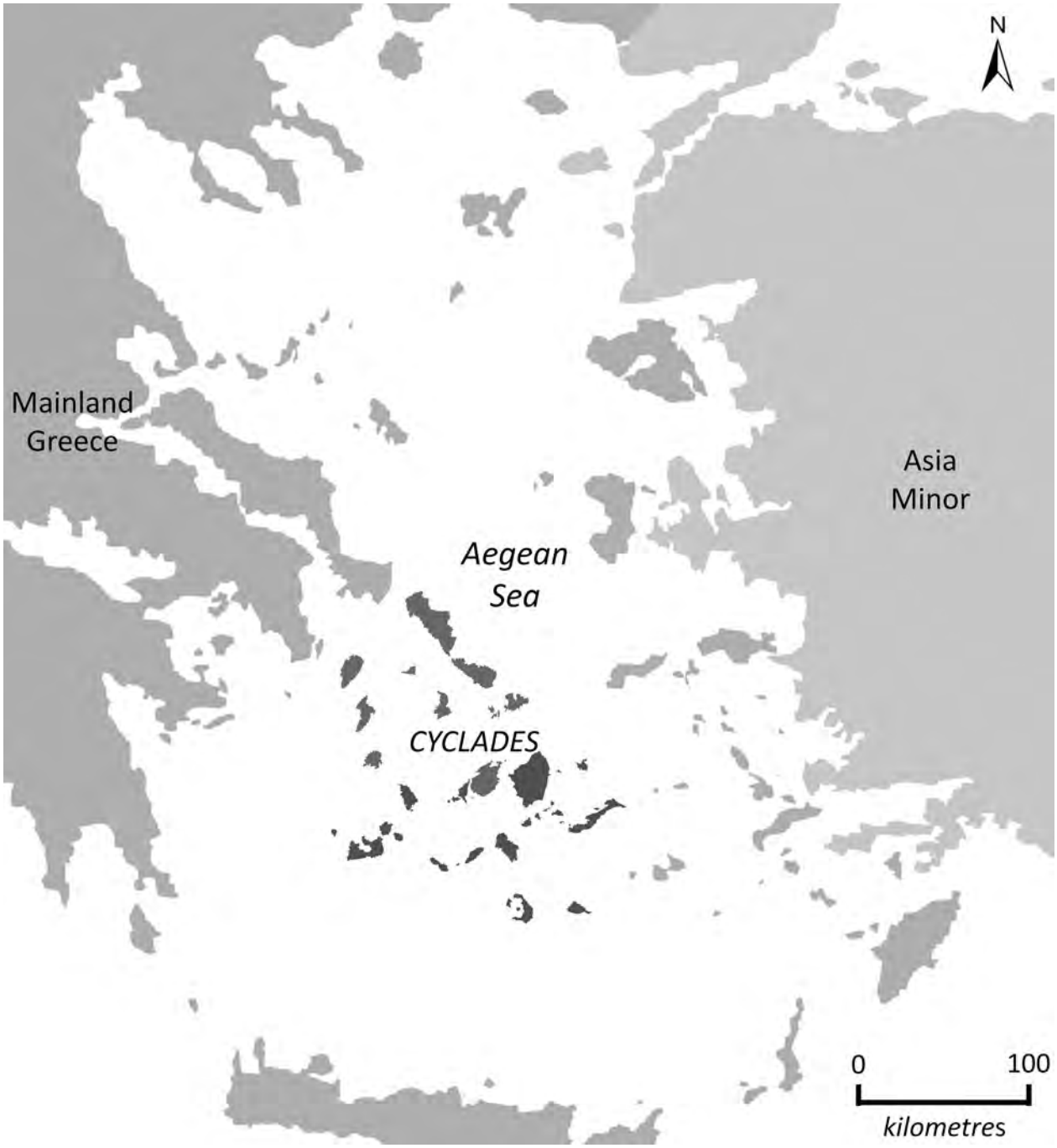


Fig. 1.1 Map of the Aegean and the Cyclades

fittings (built structures and mobile fittings) and island-costumes (male and female dress codes). Special focus is placed on the identification of socio-cultural identities with the aim to explain changes in material culture and society through comparison with other neighbouring regions (*i.e.* Medieval and Post-Medieval Mainland Greece and other Aegean islands, Italy and Asia Minor). It goes without saying that housing and portable household artefacts are of prime importance since they provide abundant

Fig. 1.2 Map of the Cyclades islands

information about past social behaviour and living standards.

The study of *Crusader*, *Ottoman*, and *Early Modern* archaeology and society in Greece has been generally neglected by archaeologists and other scholars, with few notable exceptions, *e.g.* the archaeological surface surveys on the Cycladic islands of Melos and Keos (Renfrew and Wagstaff 1982; Cherry *et al.* 1991). The ultimate aim of this book is to provide a synthetic analysis of Medieval and Post-Medieval material culture and society in Greece, taking the Cyclades as case study. It is an inter-disciplinary study, involving the disciplines of Archaeology, Topography, Architecture, History, Art-History, Social Anthropology and Ethnography. Primary data collected during archaeological survey, as well as published data and studies from a variety of disciplines and methodological backgrounds are analysed and given their socio-economic and cultural interpretation with the aid of textual information.

The basic contribution of this study is to provide a fine example of how varying aspects of Medieval

and Post-Medieval material culture represented in different sources throw light on changing human behaviour. It also sets the basis for the establishment of Medieval and Post-Medieval Archaeology and Material Culture Studies in Greece, in parallel to on-going developments in Northwest Europe and the Unites States. Thus, the main points of reference for the present study and its contributions can be summarised under four headings:

a. Review of the historical and socio-economic background: scanty information about the social and economic history of the Cyclades has been collected from a variety of sources in order to pinpoint population trends, economic developments and social formation and how these relate to material culture and domestic life.
b. Review of previous studies: a presentation of previous studies attempts to pull together descriptive information on the structural development of housing forms in the Cyclades from different sources, providing the basis for the final quantification and interpretation of domestic space use. In addition, a short review of the research on Medieval and Post-Medieval pottery in Greece, accompanied by a typo-chronological catalogue of the most common Medieval and Post-Medieval ceramic forms, provide the basis for the discussion of aspects concerning eating habits and table manners.
c. Gathering and presentation of primary archaeological data: since the archaeological record for the Medieval and Post-Medieval periods in Mainland Greece and the Cyclades is still developing, representative original data on settlements, domestic architecture and pottery has been collected in the field. The detailed presentation of this data is a first attempt to establish a typo-chronological sequence for a variety of aspects of pre-Modern material culture in the Cyclades.
d. Integration of previous studies with original data and their socio-economic and cultural meaning.

1.2 CYCLADES RESEARCH PROJECT

The Cyclades Research Project is the field project undertaken by the author on seven Cycladic islands for the collection of archaeological data, which form the core of this study. A field-survey and study permit was granted through the British School of Archaeology at Athens and its former director Dr David Blackman. The permit was issued by the 21st Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities (Dr M. Marthari, director) and the 2nd Ephorate of Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Antiquities (Dr Ch. Pennas, former director). The project was carried out during 1998, 1999 and 2000 with the assistance of Dr Eleftherios Sigalos (Leiden University) in 1998-1999 and Velissaria Vanna (University College London) in 1998.

Seven islands were selected for this study by the author, primarily on the basis of data availability and access to permits granted for archaeological research by the relevant archaeological authorities. The Late Medieval defended settlement of Kephalos on Paros was studied in detail; all surface remains were recorded with the aid of a *theodolite* and a digital plan was produced with the aid of ArcView and MapInfo. The site was gridded and all visible surface potsherds were collected. The surrounding area of Choria Kephalou was only partly field-walked in 2000. In 2001-2002, the remaining area of Choria Kephalou was surveyed by the author, a staff member of the 2nd Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities at that stage, carrying out an extensive surface survey in selected areas around Paros; only grab samples were collected. The Late Medieval remains of the castle-site of Apano Kastro on the neighbouring island of Naxos were also topographically recorded using a *theodolite* and a digital plan was produced with the aid of the MapInfo. Pottery grab samples were collected after the site was divided into three different zones. Survey work in the Late Medieval sites of Kastro and Zephyria/Millo on the island of Melos was based on a previous comprehensive study published by Guy Sanders (1996). The sites were re-examined in order to identify further evidence for Late Medieval and Post-Medieval activity, while pottery grab samples were collected from different zones. The Post-Medieval deserted hamlets of Mavro Chorio on Siphnos and Ismaili on Tinos were also topographically recorded, but low visibility did not allow the systematic collection of surface ceramic finds. In-situ study of a confined number of potsherds provided a preliminary dating for these sites. Finally, examples of Post-Medieval and Early Modern housing were studied from the still inhabited town of Plaka on

Melos, Chora on Ios, and the village of Aidonia on Andros.

All the aforementioned selected sites cover the period between the early 13th and late 19th centuries, as well as all types of island settlement-forms; from Late Medieval fortified settlements and hamlets to Post-Medieval towns, villages and Early Modern farmsteads. The study of these deserted or still inhabited settlement-sites provides sufficient evidence for island settlement layout and housing. Associated surface ceramics facilitate settlement dating and determine settlement character and type, providing additional information about socio-economic practices and cultural contacts. An additional study of domestic furniture and traditional costumes was carried out in local Folklore museums, enriched by further bibliographical research.

1.3 STRUCTURE OF THE BOOK

It should be noted that the review of previous studies does not aim towards the complete presentation of every single published article or book relevant to the subject of this monograph. There has been a selective choice of representative studies that employ a wide range of theoretical and methodological approaches. Primary research into Venetian textual sources or Ottoman tax-registers was by no means possible to include, as this involves specialised knowledge of a different nature, while the orientation of this study is mainly archaeological. It should also be realised that the present study does not comprise an exhaustive presentation and discussion of all tangible aspects of material culture and their meaning. Considering regional and micro-regional diversities between islands and island-groups in the Aegean, an attempt has been made to provide an analysis of representative samples of the material culture record. It is certain that a richer collection of archaeological evidence in the sense of more architectural data (*i.e.* the number of surveyed houses) or a larger number of surface potsherds would have provided a more integral picture of continuity and changes in the domestic sphere (architecture and household artefacts). However, it is not the aim of this study to trace specific developments of a single aspect of the material record. It is a comprehensive and interdisciplinary study, aiming towards the understanding of changing domestic behaviour and living standards through space (the Cycladic islands in relation to the rest of the Aegean) and time (from the Late Medieval to the Early Modern era).

Chapters 2 and 3 provide a general theoretical and historical background to the study of material culture in the Post-Roman Cyclades. Chapter 2 summarises the meaning of various aspects of the *built environment* and *domestic material culture* and reviews the study of Medieval, Post-Medieval and industrial societies in Europe and the Aegean, in order to perceive the chronological boundaries and the limitations of archaeological data dealt with throughout this study. It also and most importantly outlines the methods undertaken for the understanding and interpretation of the Cycladic built landscape, the diachronic use of domestic space and changes in household behaviour and domestic material culture. Chapter 3 presents a review of the economic, political and population changes in the Cyclades from the 13th to the 19th centuries based on related primary information published by contemporary historians. The information on published literature included in this Chapter is as detailed as possible (also in the form of charts and graphs), and functions as the basis and background information for interpreting continuity and change in material culture and society.

Following the background information on historical and socio-economic developments, Chapters 4 and 5 provide a sound presentation and analysis of secondary data for the development of settlement layout and housing from the Late Medieval to the Early Modern period. Chapter 4 provides an overview of methodological approaches to the study of Aegean island-settlements and housing. It includes studies about a number of islands in the Cyclades, mainly published by Greek architects and art historians in article- and book-form. Chapter 5 comprises a presentation of different settlement and housing forms for each period, *i.e.* the Late Medieval to early Post-Medieval, and the Post-Medieval to Early Modern periods. This preliminary classification and dating of settlement and housing types is made on the basis of already published works, mainly written by architects.

Chapter 6 provides a detailed presentation of the primary archaeological data gathered by CY.RE.P., *i.e.* a

detailed outline of settlement organisation and layout in the Cyclades, through the presentation of the topographical survey and historical development of deserted and still inhabited settlements and their house-types on the seven islands of Paros, Naxos, Melos, Ios, Siphnos, Tinos and Andros. Following, Chapter 7 provides a detailed analysis of aspects concerning changes in settlement patterning, settlement layout and housing in the Cyclades throughout the period in question, partly based on the quantification of published information presented in the form of graphs (Appendix I). The analysis in this chapter is not solely based on the 'traditional' archaeological presentation of settlement-forms, house-types and their chronology; it also discusses aspects of settlement formation and household organisation of a primarily agrarian society from environmental, functional, socio-economic and ideological or symbolic perspectives. Moreover, it draws parallels with other Aegean regions, providing examples of identity formation and how that is reflected on the built environment.

Chapter 8 provides a brief history of research carried out on Medieval and Post-Medieval pottery from excavations and surface surveys in Greece, Cyprus and the Near East, followed by a detailed presentation of the main ceramic tableware (local and imported) of the 11th to early 20th centuries (typology, description and chronology). The final part of Chapter 8 comprises a detailed catalogue of selected potsherds (with pottery-drawings in Appendix II) from the collection of surface ceramic finds from the sites surveyed by CY.RE.P.

Having provided an analysis of the meaning of structural changes and developments in the built space, the following three chapters discuss aspects of daily life within the domestic 'shell'. Domestic daily life is translated here as food, diet and dining manners, internal fittings and domestic privacy and comfort, costumes and fashion. Having reviewed the main pottery shapes and glazed ceramic wares, Chapter 9 comprises a comparative study on the subject of diet and dining fashions in the Mediterranean and the Aegean during the Late Medieval and Post-Medieval periods. It further discusses the evolution of dishes and eating habits in the Venetian- and Ottoman-dominated Cyclades on the basis of written documents, pictorial evidence, ethnographic parallels and local traditions, as well as on conclusions drawn from the pottery-data collected by CY.RE.P. Chapter 10 presents aspects of domestic comfort and furniture through a parallel presentation of data collected during fieldwork on the islands and examples in Folk Museums (*e.g.* wooden low tables, chairs, chests, cupboards, and built features, such as niches, stone-built beds, hearths). Chapter 11 discusses aspects of personal attire and clothing fashions through a survey of published literature (and travellers' accounts and drawings). It presents evidence for island costumes, and their description and typology, followed by a discussion on changing costume fashions, personal appearance and the formation of socio-cultural identities.

Finally, Chapter 12 presents a special case-study of 18th-century Paros, in an attempt to review all different approaches applied earlier on different aspects of material culture, as an illustration of how changing human behaviour can be read through the analysis of different sources (textual, pictorial, ethnographic, historical, archaeological). The concluding Chapter 13 summarises how settlements were shaped, how household interiors were arranged, and how domestic material culture can be read as evidence for domestic behaviour, with an attempt to 'reconstruct' domestic life of the Late Medieval, Post-Medieval and Early Modern periods.

2. Built Space and Domestic Material Culture

2.1 INTRODUCTION

The study of past societies is fundamental to the archaeological discipline. The interpretation of material remains is the ultimate purpose of archaeologists, who normally seek to explain continuity and change in all aspects of material culture. The meaning, however, of material culture is a rather complex one and its study includes a wide range of *objects*, borrowing methodologies from a wide range of disciplines. *Material culture* includes many aspects of culture, such as settled landscapes and settlements, religious and secular buildings of all types, as well as domestic furnishings. Domestic material culture refers to items related to home life, such as ceramics, aspects connected with diet and eating manners, dress and costume fashions, other items connected with furniture and domestic comfort.

This chapter introduces the range of topics dealt with in this book. An attempt is made to define the meaning of specific aspects of material culture and the built environment, and briefly discuss the methods employed by previous and contemporary studies in Northwest Europe. This reading of methodological approaches to material culture in the West forms the path followed in this study in order to interpret a wide range of material remains from the Cyclades of a chronologically broad period in time.

2.2 THE STUDY PERIODS

2.2.1 The Medieval Period

The Medieval period in Northwest Europe is generally defined in the years between 500 and 1500 AD. It is a period also referred to as the *Middle Ages*, usually related to notions of darkness, ignorance, backwardness and vulgarity, starting with the wide spread of Christianity and ending with the late phase of the Renaissance in Italy. Medieval archaeology in Europe started to show interest in the study of fine art and religious buildings and castles already in the 19th century. Its real takeoff, however, only came in the early 20th century and the inter-war years, with systematic excavations of Medieval sites in town and the countryside. Its recognition as a discipline came in the 1950s and 1960s when large excavation projects all over Europe and the study of social and economic history aimed at the interpretation of Medieval monuments and understanding of Medieval societies and everyday life. The years of crisis in the 14th century or the *High Middle Ages* in Northwest Europe have traditionally been seen as a period of economic and demographic decline. According to the British ceramic expert David Gaimster, however, the archaeological record confirms social mobility and material comfort and sophistication in a subsequent transitional phase between the middle 15th and middle 16th centuries (Gaimster 1994, 287; Gaimster and Nenk 1997, 188).

Medieval archaeology in Greece was generally neglected until a couple of decades ago, with the exception of studies on Byzantine painting and ecclesiastical architecture. Official interest in the material remains of the Greek Middle Ages had to wait until the foundation of the Byzantine Museum in Athens in 1914 (Kotsakis 1991, 67). The systematic excavations in the Athenian and Corinthian *agoras* in the 1930s and 1940s by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens have had a profound effect on pottery chronology and the interpretation of material culture in its historical context (Lock 1995).

The specific terms *Byzantine* and *Middle Ages* historically refer to the period following the foundation of Constantinople as the capital of the Eastern Roman Empire in the 4th century AD. The period, however, between the 4th and early/middle 7th centuries

is archaeologically known as *Late Roman* due to continuity in material culture and the Roman tradition. It has now been widely accepted by archaeologists and historians that the term *Byzantine* refers to the era between the 7th and middle 15th centuries. Similarly, ceramic traditions did not change after the conquest of Constantinople/Istanbul by the Ottoman Turks on May 29th, 1453, while the period following the fall of the Byzantine capital is also referred to as *Post-Byzantine*.

The Byzantine period is archaeologically subdivided into Early (7th – middle 9th centuries AD), Middle (late 9th – early 13th centuries) and Late (early 13th – middle 15th centuries). This is the chronological division also used throughout this book. The High Middle Ages (or *Late Byzantine* period) in Greece lasted for approximately two-and-a-half centuries, in the years between the Fourth Crusade in 1204 and the Ottoman conquest of Constantinople in 1453. Although the political-chronological boundaries for this period are not applicable to different parts of Greece, the term *Frankish* is used to refer to the period of feudal Western domination (*e.g.* Latin-Frankish-Venetian) in the Aegean (between the early 13th and middle 15th centuries), without necessarily attributing a cultural meaning to the term. In general, there seems to be a chronological overlap for the period of the Middle Ages in Greece and the rest of Europe, mainly referred to as *Medieval* and *Late Medieval* throughout this book.

2.2.2 The Post-Medieval Period

The period between the end of the Middle Ages and the impact of the Industrial Revolution in Britain and other parts of Northwest Europe is generally known as *Post-Medieval*. Those three hundred years between 1450 and 1750 saw a dramatic social and economic change in the British Isles (Gaimster 1994), but much of central and southern Europe remained primarily agrarian and heavily dependent on subsistence agriculture until the early 20th century.

Post-Medieval archaeology is a rather developed discipline in much of Northwest Europe and Britain, having concentrated primarily on the study of rural landscapes, vernacular and ecclesiastical architecture and funerary data, especially since the 1960s, with the establishment of the *Society for Post-Medieval Archaeology*. The discipline is generally known as *Historical Archaeology* in central and southern Europe. The main study-topic of the archaeology of the Post-Medieval era is that of 'the pathways on the move towards modern ways of life' (Johnson 1996, 1).

Until its formal establishment in the 1960s, Post-Medieval archaeology was viewed as a vital complement to archive-based historical studies, although the emphasis was mostly placed on field archaeology (Gaimster 1994, 283; Bayley and Crossley 2004). Over the past thirty years, Post-Medieval archaeology in Britain, Northwest Europe and the United States has largely focussed on the comprehensive study of *urban material culture*, such as ceramics, furniture, domestic utensils and secular architecture, mainly through excavation and the use of probate inventories. Thus, a more synthetic approach has emerged with the blending of related disciplines, such as documentary research, social anthropology, art and architectural history, folk-life studies and ethnography, in order to explain archaeological phenomena and household behaviour (Gaimster 1994; Allison 1999).

Unlike most European countries, Post-Medieval archaeology is sadly non-existent as a discipline in Greece. The relevant Departments of Antiquities, known as *Ephorates of Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Antiquities* of the Greek Ministry of Culture primarily aim at the protection of Byzantine and Post-Byzantine monuments, undertaking restoration works of ecclesiastical art and a confined number of rescue excavations. Landscape archaeology and the study of domestic architecture and material culture, have been largely neglected, with the exception of research in glazed ceramics (Papanikola-Bakirtzi 1999). The great potential in the study of Post-Medieval Greece was only realised in the 1980s and 1990s with the growing number of field survey projects undertaken by foreign schools of archaeology. The study of settlement patterning and layout of deserted and still inhabited villages aimed at the understanding and interpretation of the spatial arrangement of material culture and lifestyles in rural areas. Such a study was initiated in central Greece by the Durham-Cambridge Boeotia Project through the exami-

nation of remaining surface traces of houses, surface ceramics, Ottoman village archival registers and old maps (Lock 1986; 1996; Kiel 1990; 1992; 1997; Bintliff 1997a; 2000; Vroom 2003; Sigalos 2004; Vionis 2006a).

The Post-Medieval period in Greece chronologically coincides with the era of Ottoman rule, between 1453 (when Constantinople fell to the Ottoman-Turks) and 1821 (when the Greek War of Independence was declared). It is a period that has been defined on political rather than cultural grounds; a notable social and economic change appeared in Ottoman Greece around the middle 18th century with the gradual rise of the Greek middle class of merchants and traders. Different parts of the previously Byzantine lands and the Crusader states officially entered the Ottoman Empire at variable times; the Cyclades became fully incorporated into the Empire in 1579 AD. The study of this period in Greece is still not fully developed due to several reasons; the dominant view of the Ottoman-Turks as 'violent' and 'corrupted' is only one of those. On the other hand, accessibility to textual sources is mostly confined, in contrast to the rich written records in Northwest Europe, while published studies in Greece usually fail to relate narrative texts to material data.

2.2.3 The Early Modern Period

The Early Modern era in Britain and much of the Continent has been marked by the *Industrial Revolution*, which transformed European societies through the technological organisation of production and the factory system. The Industrial Revolution is dated from 1750/60 to 1830, although industrialisation became more intense in Europe and the Unites States during the 19th century with the increased factory-based production and the involvement of men, women and children in factory labour-forces (Landon 2002, 290; Palmer 2004, 1).

The Early Modern era in Europe has been largely the study-period of Industrial Archaeology as much as of Post-Medieval and Historical Archaeology in general (Crossley 1990; Palmer 2004). Apart from emphasis on the preservation and recording of buildings of industrial architecture, industrial archaeologists are involved in the study of changing industrial technologies, the availability of mass-produced goods and their impact on social change and household behaviour. Although the disciplines of Post-Medieval and Industrial Archaeology have traditionally been seen as two separate areas of research, they are both dealing with industry-related topics, such as ceramic production, mining, glass-making etc, but also everyday life and products of 'leisure' activities (Gaimster 1994, 301-3).

Artefacts such as coffee-cups and clay tobacco-pipes provide direct evidence for the appearance of exotic habits, such as smoking and coffee-drinking in various parts of Europe, indicating the social standing of those who consumed such products. The rise of leisure activities and domestic comfort during the Post-Medieval and Early Modern periods, with extra rooms added to the simple house of the Middle Ages, is nonetheless associated with capitalism. Research on the spread of capitalism focuses on how material goods are produced, circulated and consumed, as well as the social and economic values people place upon them (Johnson 1996, 6).

Although Greece and southern Europe have not experienced the Industrial Revolution in the same period and in the same sense that Britain and Northwest Europe have, its indirect impact is attested in the historical fate and the material culture of Europe as a whole. The Industrial Revolution in Britain and the introduction of steam engines led to the economic transformation of household textile manufactures in various parts of the Ottoman Empire (Sigalos 2004, 87). This, in its turn, resulted in heavy taxation and led to social and nationalist revolutions in the Balkans, beginning with Greece in 1821. Meanwhile, the gradual emergence of the Greek middle class of merchants and traders since the middle 18th century and the rise of capitalism, led to the introduction of the 'neoclassical' architecture-style and the 'rise of comfort' in the domestic sphere in Greece at the turn of the 19th century. The archaeology of the Early Modern period in Greece is still in its infancy but it is a rather active new branch of research officially initiated by the Greek Ministry of Culture.

The Early Modern period in Greece spans the early 19th to middle 20th century. In contrast to methodological advances and approaches developed in

Europe by Post-Medieval and Industrial Archaeology, Post-Roman material culture in Greece has been solely the subject of the discipline of Folk-Life Studies. The early 1990s, however, have seen a change in Greek archaeological thought, with the introduction of the discipline of Social Anthropology. The main object of Folk-Life Studies is the recording, description and classification of pre-Modern artefacts and popular traditions (*e.g.* traditional songs, myths, cooking recipes), while Social Anthropology follows a more delving and interpretative method of research (Nitsiakos 1992). A blending of related disciplines, such as Archaeology, History, Art-History, Social Anthropology and Folk-Life studies has been employed in this study in order to trace continuity and change in settlements, domestic architecture and internal fittings, ceramics and eating manners, costumes and dress-fashion, from the 13th to the 20th century.

2.3 BUILT SPACE

2.3.1 Settlement Patterns and Layout

Settlement layout and settlement patterning, in other words, settlement analysis and landscape archaeology have been two major branches of the Medieval and Post-Medieval archaeological disciplines in Europe. Issues such as the location of towns, villages, hamlets, roads and ports, as well as distances between settlements, and their relationship or accessibility from one to another are major topics of investigation through the combination of topographic, geographical and architectural data. This understanding and interpretation of space and its spatial elements can provide the basis for a better understanding of the material culture within settlements and houses (Orser 1996).

Methods for the study and interpretation of landscape change and settlement patterns have been borrowed mainly from the discipline of geography. It has been argued that landscapes, settlements and architecture entail functional, economic, ideological, power or symbolic meanings and identities. Roberta Gilchrist (1994), for instance, has carried out a study of gender and Medieval landscape, exploring how gender in Medieval monasticism influenced landscape contexts and strategies of economic management.

The archaeological study of settlement location and change through time was essentially introduced in Greece during the 1970s and 1980s with the rise of field archaeology and intensive surface survey by foreign archaeological schools (*e.g.* the British School of Archaeology at Athens and the American School of Classical Studies at Athens). Diachronic changes of population densities, settlement patterns and settlement types, socio-cultural systems and patterns of local exploitation were the main areas of research of the Melos Survey Project (Renfrew and Wagstaff 1982). Similar methods and strategies were undertaken by succeeding archaeological projects in Greece, refining methodologies and introducing new scientific techniques to the study of landscape exploitation and settlement history (Bintliff and Snodgrass 1985; Bintliff 1991; 1999; Cherry et al. *1991; Jameson* et al. *1994; Mee and Forbes 1997).*

As has been noted in the introductive chapter, this book presents the results of CY.RE.P. and provides a window into the study of settlement patterning and settlement layout during the Late Medieval, Post-Medieval and Early Modern periods. Indeed, this study of island settlement change and organisation is based on a selective number of archaeological sites in the Cyclades. It is supplemented, however, by comparative studies from other, previously intensively, surveyed regions in Greece (*i.e.* Melos and Keos in the Cyclades, Boeotia in central Greece, Argolis and Messenia in the Peloponnese), while results can be tested against them for parallel analysis. Settlement analysis is an immensely important part of Post-Roman archaeology in the understudied regions of Medieval and Post-Medieval Greece. A large part of this study is focussing upon settlement history and settlement organisation in the Cyclades. This has been done in an attempt to establish an archaeology of the period, and interpret other more artefact-specific aspects of material culture.

The establishment of Late Medieval fortified towns throughout the Cyclades, for example, is viewed in relation to political, socio-economic and symbolic changes of the period, while their relation to other aspects of the physical environment is also encountered. For example, the relatively great distances between the main town of the island of Naxos and its inland villages during the Post-Medieval period

seems to have dictated inter-village contacts, confining the peasants' social life and determining at the same time the town's degree of sufficiency on agricultural subsistence goods. In addition, elite and power elements in Cycladic settlements are reflected in settlement layout and the location of the former in central portions of towns and villages. The Late Medieval central tower (the feudal lord's residence), for instance, is always located on the highest point of the defended settlement overlooking the community and other residences (of lesser status) around and below it.

2.3.2 Vernacular Architecture

The study of vernacular buildings and their architecture has known great popularity and development in Britain and much of Europe since the 1960s as a subject-topic of the disciplines of Medieval and Post-Medieval archaeology. The term *vernacular* applies to buildings of a traditional, humble and non-formal architecture and construction, in contrast to *polite* buildings such as castles, towers, palaces and churches. A large number of vernacular houses survive in England from the 15th century onwards; this possibly reflects the increasing economic fortunes of people and their ability to build more substantial houses (Johnson 1996, 155).

Vernacular architecture has been a major study-area of everyday life at all levels of society. After all, this has been the main aim of historical archaeology in Europe: the examination of changes at all levels of society as opposed to only among elite groups (Hundsbichler 1997). Vernacular architecture is perceived as an integral aspect of landscape and the built space, and its study should address a series of questions regarding its construction, internal arrangement and the use of domestic space, not in isolation, but in relation to the settlement and the immediate environment. Although vernacular architecture in England, for example, was initially studied solely on typological grounds, it was later realised that it should be placed in its historical and social context, and treated as a product of cultural change and meaning (Johnson 1993; 1994).

The study of vernacular architecture in Greece has been the subject of architects, rather than archaeologists, while remains of Post-Roman housing have only recently begun to be scientifically excavated and recorded. It would not be an exaggeration to note that detailed, analytical and interpretative studies of Greek domestic architecture of the Medieval and Post-Medieval periods have been overlooked until very recently due to the country's over-concern with the Classical past (Sigalos 2004). Greek archaeology has not yet shown interest in the study of Post-Roman domestic structures in general. The Aegean islands seem to have had a better fortune than other parts of Greece as far as the preservation of traditional architecture is concerned. Although the demand for tourist accommodation on the Greek islands has been growing fast since the 1960s, the passing of new legislation aimed at the protection of Medieval and Post-Medieval structures, showing respect towards existing building traditions.

The study of Medieval and Post-Medieval domestic architecture in the Cyclades is approached in a typo-chronological as well as interpretive manner throughout this book. Apart from providing an account of dated house-types, it is attempted to explore aspects of domestic privacy and household organisation in Cycladic housing. In addition, research focuses on the changing nature of the Cycladic house, originating from the single-unit multi-functional Late Medieval domestic structures of defended settlements. Housing evolved from a single-unit shell to a more complex construction with different areas reserved for special activities, while space became more 'private' as socio-economic changes were introduced and Western middle-class notions started to penetrate island-societies from the 18th century onwards.

2.4 DOMESTIC MATERIAL CULTURE

2.4.1 Ceramics, Diet and Dining

Vessels made of clay and used for cooking, serving, storage and transport have been the main means of dating and studying social change at all periods and social levels. The foundation of the *Medieval Pottery Research Group* in Britain in the 1950s promoted the study of Medieval and Post-Medieval ceramics and porcelain. Although primarily a dating tool, ceramics offer a direct indicator of social and economic beha-

viour. The change of domestic ceramics in Northwest Europe during the Late Medieval to Early Modern period, for instance, is linked to broad economic and cultural trends (Gaimster and Nenk 1997, 171). The refinement of dining manners and changes in dietary habits is a result of cultural-economic trends in Northwest Europe of the time, with an increasing emphasis on the individual and the use of individual serving settings. A similar shift from multi-functional to separate rooms reserved for different household activities, and with a greater degree of comfort and privacy, has also been noted in the study of vernacular architecture for the period following the High Middle Ages (Johnson 1996; Gaimster and Nenk 1997).

In Greece and most of southern and central Europe, Medieval and Post-Medieval pottery was the main aspect of domestic material culture that attracted the scientific interest of archaeologists since the 1930s. Although primary concern and attention was given to glazed decorated pottery, as opposed to the bulk of unglazed common wares of daily use, it is true that the chronology of Medieval and Post-Medieval ceramics is continually being refined. Recent excavations at Corinth seem to have provided answers to most problems of fine tableware chronology and classification due to the unparalleled collection of stratified ceramics in association with coins (Sanders 1987; 2000). Similar attempts for a finer pottery chronology, and the study of pottery function and social change have also been attempted by ceramic specialists working for excavation and survey projects in many parts of Greece since the 1980s (Bakirtzis 1980; 1989; Korre-Zographou 1995; Armstrong 1996; Papanikola-Bakirtzi 1999; Vionis 2001b; 2006a; Vroom 1998a; 2003; Dori *et al.* 2003).

The study, however, of food and food-ways in Medieval and Post-Medieval Greece began in the late 1990s with the growing interest and research into Ottoman ceramics imported from the Iznik and Kütahya workshops in Asia Minor. Excavations in the district of Saraçhane in Istanbul (Hayes 1992) and elsewhere have produced large quantities of these glazed tableware types produced in Anatolia, initially thought to have reached only wealthy Ottoman households. Archaeological research in Greece has similarly identified locally glazed and unglazed wares, while a fairly recent study of Post-Roman ceramics and dining habits in Greece (Vroom 2003) has proved innovative for the archeological study of Byzantine and Ottoman societies.

Deserted settlements/*kastra* and villages in the Cyclades, studied by CY.RE.P., have produced a wide variety of glazed and unglazed pottery, which is included in this book. The aim is to contribute to the study of Post-Classical Greece not only through the dating of potsherds and sites in the Cyclades, but also through ceramic functional analysis as well as historical and ethnographic research in food and dining in this part of the Aegean. My methodological approaches to the study and interpretation of ceramic finds from my project in the Cyclades rely greatly on recent developments in historical archaeology and (Medieval and Post-Medieval) ceramic research in Britain. Thus, apart from providing a catalogue of closely dated decorated and undecorated pottery, this study also examines dietary preferences and dining fashions during the Late Medieval, Post-Medieval and Early Modern periods in the Cyclades, through the examination of pottery function and shapes, local economic and cultural trends, historical and ethnographic research.

2.4.2 Furniture and Domestic Comfort

The study of furniture and internal fittings is a research branch complementary to vernacular architecture and household archaeology. Furniture is part of domestic material culture and its study was primarily initiated by Folk-Life Studies, later on replaced by Historical Archaeology and Material Culture Studies. It is one of the least developed areas of material culture research, Britain being the exception with the study of extremely detailed probate inventories of personal and household utensils and furnishings. The complicated relation between furniture and architecture is fundamental, as the dividing line between architecture and furniture is not always clearly marked (Roaf 1996, 21). For example, a stone bench built against a wall within a house is both furniture and part of architecture. Research on vernacular architecture and domestic fittings in England (Johnson 1996) has shown a remarkable transformation in domestic comfort during the period between 1400 and 1800, when household furnishing gradually moved away from being a fixed architectural setting to being mo-

vable goods. Once again, the emphasis on the individual and the rise of domestic privacy, comfort and individualism become more evident; the use of benches declined over the centuries, while chairs, stools and beds made their appearance. Poorer households, however, were deprived of such commodities before the 18th century, according to the Braudelian rule that 'poor people had few possessions' (Braudel 1985, 283).

Greek archaeology has never attempted to study furniture and the use of interior space in Medieval and Post-Medieval households. Studies of domestic furniture in the past have been the subject of Folk-Life Studies and were mainly descriptive and typological in character. It was only very recently that archaeologists outside Europe became more interested in furniture as functional and status symbol artefacts within the domestic sphere, with particular reference to ancient cultures of the Mediterranean and the Middle East (Herrmann 1996). My aim is to incorporate research on furniture and comfort in Cycladic households into the broader study of the use of internal space and change in domestic material culture during the post-Roman era. Architectural data was collected during the course of my field project in the Cyclades, supplemented by foreign travellers' accounts, dowry documents and ethnographic research. In the case of the Post-Medieval Cyclades, for example, fixed-built structures, such as a hearth, a built-in bed (serving for sleeping as well as for storage beneath it), or a niche (serving as a cupboard instead of a wooden structure), can be considered as furniture (Vionis 2005). The same practice is also noted in the Islamic world and in traditional Turkish and Persian houses in particular (Braudel 1985; Rogers 1996). Previous ethnographic studies on some Aegean islands have shown that mobile furniture was not very common. On the island of Crete, for instance, there was no need for wooden furniture in single-roomed houses, due to lack of internal space and Cretan lifestyle, with most daily activities taking place outdoors (Imellos 1987/89, 105).

2.4.3 Costumes and Fashion

The study of dress and fashion has been another subject of Historical Archaeology in Northwest Europe; Folk-Life Studies, however, have been the most active branch of research in this area. As Braudel (1985, 311) has rightly argued, the history of costume involves a wide variety of procedures, such as raw materials, production, manufacturing costs, cultural stability, fashion and social hierarchy. Fashion (especially among the upper classes initially and the rising middle classes later on) was constantly changing, while Europe remains an interesting jigsaw of different traditional costumes and related artefacts (such as jewellery and other accessories). The study of dress, its change through time and across social groups involves the decoding of the socio-economic, cultural and symbolic meanings it entails.

The Early Modern dress in Greece has been studied in remarkable detail, considering that most published works (mainly by Folklorists) comprise illustrated catalogues of traditional costumes. Not much attention has been given to the social meaning of dress and the input of Ethnography and Social Anthropology in deciphering trends. The accounts of European travellers (who visited the Cyclades throughout the Post-Medieval and Early Modern periods) comprise the main source of information about costumes on the Aegean islands. Travellers often accompany their descriptions of island costumes (mainly the female dress) with drawings in remarkable detail. A good number of travellers' accounts and drawings of Cycladic costumes dated between the late 16th and late 19th centuries have been preserved. The aim of this book is to examine continuity and change in dress and fashion through time, based on available sources, such as Western travellers' accounts and drawings, comparative examples from museums and documentary descriptions in dowries. My intention is to give costumes an equal share in the study of domestic material culture and interpret its elements and meaning in socio-economic, cultural and symbolic terms. After all, costumes and outward appearance played a key role as a characteristic of one's social status, religious direction and ethnic origin within traditional societies, becoming the main indicator of one's self-identity (Vionis 2003, 204).

Dress fashion in the Cyclades did not change very much during the past five hundred years or so. Although some modifications are detectable, it seems that in most insular places in the Mediterranean costumes remained unchanged from one generation to

another (Vionis 2003). Clothes and clothing items were handed down from parent to children, forming an important part of the dowry (Cassar 1998). Particular attention is paid to the socio-cultural meaning of the formal dress or 'Sunday best clothes', signifying wealth, prestige and the social rise of individuals (Bada 1992). Special attention is given to the meaning of changing dress-fashions as an expression of ethnic identity formation, especially during the 19th century. The example of Greeks dressed in European style or *alafranga* (instead of the *foustanella* or kilt) after the establishment of the Greek State displays the penetration of Western trends in Greek society (Clogg 2002, 52).

2.5 CONCLUSION

The historical, socio-economic, cultural and identity factors comprise the basic methods and approaches employed for the interpretation of both primary data and secondary sources. Material data is always supplemented by surviving textual sources, pictorial evidence and ethnographic parallels, and tested against comparable studies in Northwest Europe, where the Archaeology of the Medieval and Post-Medieval eras has been developing already since the 1950s.

3. The Social and Economic History of the Cyclades

3.1 INTRODUCTION

No clear boundaries can be drawn between the Medieval and Post-Medieval Cyclades Islands. Although they are nowadays regarded as a uniform island-group, each Cycladic island retained till Early Modern times its distinctiveness and their inhabitants their special characteristics in accent, dress code and historical fate. Despite their insularity and individuality, the Cyclades shared common experiences; Ottoman influence, for example, was less marked (populations of Turkish origin never settled on this island-group), while Latin influence was more prominent and maintained throughout the period of Ottoman domination (Kolodny 1974; Slot 1982, 13). During the Medieval, Post-Medieval and Early Modern periods Constantinople/Istanbul functioned as the political, administrative, economic and cultural centre of the Byzantine and Ottoman Empires respectively, and nearly all Aegean islands were orientated towards this 'Hellenic-spirited' capital (Spiridonakis 1977). The Cyclades and the island of Chios in the Eastern Aegean remained under Latin rule until 1566, while successive Ottoman Sultans granted them special privileges. As a result, community organisation and self administration developed there more than in any other part of present-day Greece (Kasdagli 1999; Koukkou 1980). The geographical distinction between 'Mainland Greece' and the 'Greek islands' or between islands and island-groups did not necessarily exist in the mentality of Medieval islanders, since physical limits or boundaries kept changing over the centuries. Larger islands such as Naxos and Paros, for instance, were important city-states during the Classical period; in contrast to their Classical glory, they were nothing more than islands of little significance within the vast Late Roman Empire.

The chronological subdivisions followed throughout this study are: the Late Byzantine period or era of Venetian occupation (ca. 1207-1566), the period of Ottoman domination (ca. 1566-1821) and the Early Modern era (ca. 1830-1900). This chapter reviews the main historical events that shaped the historical fate of the Cyclades in pre-Modern times. It also provides the socio-political and economic framework, essential for the discussion and interpretation of domestic material culture and the built environment. It begins with a discussion on the accounts of foreign travellers and continues with an overview of the main historical and economic developments. After a short introduction to the Early and Middle Byzantine period, the chapter discusses economic developments, social stratification and population cycles for each period separately, making comparisons with the situation on other Aegean islands and Mainland Greece. A few examples are often drawn from the material culture record in order to pinpoint the general pattern of socio-economic changes and how they affected daily life. The dates given above are by no means absolute, since there were times when the islanders were paying tribute to both Venetian and Ottoman authorities, while for some islands the period of Venetian occupation ended later than for others, *e.g.* Tinos remained under Latin authority until 1715.

3.2 GEOGRAPHY AND GEOMORPHOLOGY

Located in the Southern Aegean sea or *Archipelago*, the Cyclades nowadays (Fig. 3.1) comprises 34 islands, 20 of them inhabited. A total of over 100 islands and islets in the Cyclades cover an area of 2572 km^2. Naxos is the largest, measuring 428 km^2. The Cycladic island-group is divided into three parallel zones or groups. The islands of Andros, Tinos, Mykonos, Rhenia, Naxos, Mikres Cyclades and Amorgos form the eastern zone. Gyaros, Syros, Paros, Antiparos, Sikinos, Ios and Anaphe form the central

Fig. 3.1 Map of the Cyclades islands

zone, while the western zone comprises the islands of Kea, Kythnos, Seriphos, Siphnos and Pholegandros. The islands of Melos, Antimelos, Kimolos, Santorini and Therasia are of volcanic origin and form a different group.

The majority of the islands have steep rugged schist, gneiss, or marble and limestone-mountains. Like Santorini, the Cycladic island group is of volcanic origin and, apart from limited outcrops of the limestone and Mesozoic schist basement, it is made up of tuffs and lava flows (Sanders 1996, 147). The different types of local limestone and marble are used intensively as building material. Farm houses, field walls, field boundaries, animal shelters, defensive walls are built of the local schist stone. The granite of Tinos, the obsidian of Melos and Antiparos, the volcanic rocks and hydraulic material of Santorini, the fine white marble of Paros, and various metals and minerals (emery in Naxos, iron in Seriphos, Siphnos and Kea) have always been exploited and used in local architecture and industry.

The climate in the Cyclades is mild. The winds are quite strong throughout the year, even during the summer months, and rainfall is very low. This is due to geographical and topographical factors; the mountain ranges of the Peloponnese and Crete prevent the pluvial winds from reaching most of the islands. Only in the biggest and most mountainous islands, such as Naxos and Andros there is higher rainfall. The period between April and September is the driest. The 18th-century French botanist and traveller Pitton de Tournefort (1718) mentions that 'the earth was so parched, that it required a little deluge to allay its thirst; the cotton, the vines and the fig-trees would be quite burnt up, were it not for the dews, which are so abundant'.

3.3 FOREIGN TRAVELLERS' ACCOUNTS

The founding of Latin states in the Eastern Mediterranean offered security and provided the impetus for exploration to a long list of Western travellers who started visiting the Cyclades and other Aegean regions a couple of centuries after the Fourth Crusade. Geographical, political and trade sea-routes were the main interests of the first group of travellers during the 14th and 15th centuries, while after the Renaissance and the extension of the Ottoman Empire into Europe, the interest of Western Europeans shirted towards Greece with its glorious ancient past and its contemporary life-ways. The textual accounts and the pictorial evidence most travellers published are of great importance for the study of the Post-Medieval and Early Modern Cyclades, since there is a considerable lack of Greek written records and historical sources. Buondelmonti in the early 15th century (Legrand 1897), Thévenot (1687), Randolph (1687), Wheler (1682), Sauger (1699), Tournefort (1718), Sonnini (1801), and Bent (1885) are some of the travellers who visited the islands in the Late Medieval – Early Modern eras. Their observations were undertaken by the order of West European governments or certain individuals who had commercial interests in the Aegean region.

The descriptions that travellers provide about soil fertility and agricultural products, contemporary state of affairs, daily life and customs of the islanders, enable us build up a picture of the settlement patterning, population, economy and everyday life in this insular part of the Aegean. Nevertheless, traveller accounts should be treated with caution. It has been argued that not all of them were equally concerned with the matters mentioned above. The French botanist and traveller Joseph Pitton de Tournefort (Fig. 3.2) was interested in the natural history of the islands of the Archipelago (1718); others were interested in the antiquities of the places they visited, while Bent (1885) collected information on island customs and folk traditions. It is not surprising that some travellers had never actually been to the Cyclades themselves. Bennet and Voutsaki (1991, 366) refer to them as 'armchair travellers'. Such travellers had composed their imaginary accounts based either on letters written by European missionaries in Athens, or on information from already published travellers' literature. It is evident, for instance, that Frieseman (1789), who published his book in French, copied Tournefort (1718) in most of his account. Tournefort, on the other hand, has left one of the most important testimonies of the 18th century, since he travelled in the Aegean, and his account includes all kinds of information about population, agriculture, local economy and public affairs. Although there were travellers who had been on the islands, not all of them actually visited their interior.

Fig. 3.2 The French botanist and traveller Joseph Pitton de Tournefort

Some of them did not leave the main ports, while information about anything but the main town could have come from other sources. Their observations were therefore limited to those areas they saw themselves (Bennet and Voutsaki 1991, 367), while what they actually saw was nothing else but the harbour, the chief town of each island and the towers where the local elite accommodated and entertained them.

The first group of travellers who visited the Aegean Sea and the Eastern Mediterranean by the end of the 14th and the beginning of the 15th centuries were more of geographers, political agents and traders interested in the geophysical character of islands and Aegean coastal regions (Tselikas 1990, 8-14). The Florentine priest Christoforo Buondelmonti (Legrand 1897) was one of the leading travellers and geographers in the East whose maritime knowledge and interest in commercial sea-routes were printed on his original work in Latin, titled *Liber Insularum Archipelagi*. There followed a number of other geographers who produced the so-called *Portolani* and *Isolaria*, hand-drawn or printed maps of sea-routes, and navigational texts about islands and island-ports. The Venetian Bartolomeo dalli Sonetti (1898) who published his work in verses in 1485, the French André Thevet (1575) who produced maps of many islands, and the Ottoman-Turkish seaman Pîrî Re'is (Kahle 1926) who published his navigational work in 1521, are some of the works that include maps of the Cyclades. The strategic significance of the Aegean Archipelago during the Late Medieval and Early Ottoman period is clearly emphasised by the published works of both Western (Venetian, French) and Ottoman cartographers throughout the 15th and 16th centuries. Some of these early maps of the Aegean are simply copies of earlier sources. The general awareness of the inadequacy of Ptolemy's ancient map and the increased need for more detailed geographical and maritime information during this period is striking. The majority of the Cycladic *isolarii* (maps and navigational narratives) provide useful information about ports and island towns of the period. Since other historical sources are not widely available or published, these maps contain valuable references to the establishment and growth of fortified settlements in the Cyclades.

Inspired by Renaissance ideals and the human sciences, the second group of travellers visited Greece in order to compile descriptions of archaeological sites and places well-known since the Classical period. Cyriacus of Ancona (Simopoulos 1999a), an Italian diplomat, was the first known traveller to describe archaeological sites and collect antiquities in the first half of the 15th century. From the late 16th century onwards, and especially during the late 18th and later, the number of romantic foreign travellers' accounts of ruined archaeological sites increased dramatically. Some of these accounts contain general or less detailed information about contemporary daily life, while their narrative bears specific biases, as a result of their authors' social, political and cultural backgrounds (Angelomatis-Tsougarakis 1990, 13).

The third group of foreign travellers is obviously the most important one, since they provide a great deal of information about settlements and population numbers, agriculture, economy and daily life. The extension of the Ottoman Empire into Europe during the 15th and 16th centuries provoked the curiosity of most European nations about this powerful political and military state and its economic system, as well as about the behaviour, beliefs and customs of the people who inhabited it (Tselikas 1990, 9). The first detailed descriptive accounts of most Aegean islands began in the second half of the 16th century, when rising powers such as France, England, Austria and the Netherlands sent informers and consuls to observe and record interesting data (in order to establish a strong commercial presence in the Aegean ports of the Ottoman Empire). André Thevet (1575) and the Italian Thomaso Porcacchi (1620) were amongst the first travellers to describe the islands as feasibly as possible, providing information of social, economic and cultural nature (Tselikas 1990, 10). Even missionaries and monks were sent to the Aegean islands in order to found monasteries and schools, and preach the Roman Catholic dogma and Latin culture. Very often they sent reports back to Paris and Rome, describing Greek-Orthodox superstitions, religious customs and church property, such as the account of the Jesuit monk François Richard (1657) who lived in Santorini. Such Catholic religious and cultural establishments on the Aegean islands were not always seen negatively by local Orthodox populations; learning Italian (the language of international trade)

by Greeks was followed by financial rewards, as on the islands of Crete (McKee 2000, 124), Syros, Andros and Naxos.

Meanwhile, after the loss of Crete by the Venetians and the subsequent replacement of Mediterranean commerce by France, England and the Netherlands, a great number of island-ports attracted European merchants and consuls who were in close contact with the local upper class. The Greek elite usually entertained Western travellers, diplomats and merchants and provided information about local economy, society and everyday life. This is how textual evidence about productivity, food resources, diet, dining, household interiors and costumes was composed, while most of these accounts were accompanied by drawings and engravings depicting costumes, interiors of houses and island-landscapes. Apart from information of a more scientific character, Pitton de Tournefort (1718) for instance, provided a textual description of the islanders' customs and manners, as well as detailed accounts and drawings of their costumes. Similarly, the work of the French ambassador in Istanbul, Marie-Gebriel-Florens-Auguste compte de Choiseul-Gouffier (1782), enriched with a descriptive narrative and exceptional drawings, remains a milestone in the history of travel literature (Tselikas 1990, 13).

Although there is reliable detailed information about daily life in most travellers' accounts of the 16th-19th centuries, textual evidence needs to be used wisely, especially when it comes to population figures and settlement size. As Bintliff (1977, 553-4) has pointed out, some travellers, having difficulties in calculating the population of a specific region, very often either quoted figures from much older travel books, or misinterpreted the poll-tax paid by the non-Muslim male population. Angelomatis-Tsougarakis (1990, 14) notes that although it was very common that foreign travellers had to depend more on other people for the greater part of their information, they rarely cited the original source.

3.4 THE BYZANTINE PAST

3.4.1 Late Antiquity

The *Late Roman* period or *Late Antiquity*, as it is known in archaeological contexts, covers the period between the early 4th and middle 7th centuries. The vast Byzantine Empire was administered on the basis of relatively small *provinces* while Constantinople remained its centre of secular authority. Many islands (such as Melos and Paros), rich in natural mineral resources, were relatively prosperous and flourishing, while coastal settlements functioned as processing and exporting centres (Sanders 1996). The same level of settlement recovery, agricultural and economic prosperity has been noted in some regions of the Greek Mainland, such as central Greece and the Peloponnese (Bintliff and Snodgrass 1985; Bintliff 1999; Davis *et al.* 1997).

As survey work undertaken by the author on the island of Paros has shown, most settlement sites of the period between the 5th and early 7th centuries were located close to the coast, while their centres were focussed on a nearby basilica church. The Cyclades acted as island supplier stations of commercial importance in the Late Roman Empire for vessels following the route from Spain and Italy to Constantinople and the Syro-Palestinian coast, through Sicily, the Ionian Sea, the Cyclades and finally Cyprus (Simopoulos 1999a, 186). Agriculture was the main source of revenue in this part of the Aegean, as in other parts of the Eastern Roman Empire throughout Late Antiquity (cf. Mango 2002). The majority of the population resided in villages and small settlements scattered in the countryside as well as in flourishing maritime market towns with access to regional and international trade. The Late Roman period was ended with the Arab expansion in the shorelines and islands of the Aegean region. The period of relative economic and social stability, with a strong central government and well-organised Church-administration (testified to by plentiful material evidence all over the Byzantine Empire in the form of elaborate basilicas and sites of commercial importance), gave place to the so-called *Dark Ages* of Byzantium. How 'dark' this era actually was, is still a matter of serious debate amongst historians and archaeologists.

3.4.2 Early Byzantine Period

Island- and coastal-communities in the Eastern Mediterranean seem to have suffered the Arab invasions and raids from the 640s to the middle 10th century. Archaeological and literary evidence bears testimony to the changes that followed from the second half of the 7th century onwards. It is true that the great majority of thriving Late Antique cities 'shrank to a fortified and defensible core which could support only a very small population, housing the local rural populace and, where present, a military garrison and an ecclesiastical administration' (Haldon 2010, 77). The temple-site of Hadrian and Antoninus Pius at Sagalassos in Pisidia (SW Asia Minor), for example, located on the large commanding terrace to the Southeast of the lower city, was enclosed by a fortification wall after the abandonment of the civic centre of Sagalassos in the late 6th century, probably functioning as a refuge place (or defended hamlet) till the middle 13th century (Vionis *et al.* 2009, 149). Similarly, in the region of Tanagra in Boeotia (central Greece), the small fortified hilltop of Kastri (site TS18) is identified as a 'refuge settlement' of the period, after the abandonment of the ancient city of Tanagra 2 km to the Northeast (Fig. 3.4), where a crudely-built surrounding defensive wall and fragments of the so-called *Slav* handmade pottery dated between the late 6th and 8th centuries have been noted (Vionis 2008, 34).

Crete functioned as a naval base from 823 to 961 for Arab forces (traditionally seen as) ravaging the Aegean. A number of studies (cf. Curta 2005; Lambropoulou and Moutzali 2003-4; Penna 2001; Rautman 1998; Varrias 1998) have shown that archaeological evidence (*e.g.* coins, ceramics, buildings) suggests a period of general contraction but not a period of total devastation and catastrophe. However, historical traditions, unsystematic and extensive individual work led us to believe otherwise until very recently.

It is possible that the defeat of the Byzantine fleet in 829 may have provided a good opportunity to Arabs based on Crete for raids on small and unprotected Aegean islands (Sanders 1996) but there must have been other more secure places amongst the Cyclades at the same time. Isolated evidence from certain islands indicates that at least some of the Cyclades were still inhabited and quite important within the borders of the Aegean world. Some sites on Melos (Sanders 1996, 148) have produced early lead-glazed White Wares from Constantinople, providing ceramic evidence of continuity into the late 8th or early 9th century. Late variants of the LR1 amphora-type (dated to the 8th and 9th centuries) have been excavated in Naxos (Fig. 3.3), suggesting continuing settlement in places along the coast with economic links to the capital (Vionis *et al.* 2009, 155-6). Moreover, restorations in the Church of *Ekatontapyliani* on the island of Paros during the 7th, early 8th and late 10th centuries (Varrias 2000, 277) indicate that the islands must have contained sufficient population for which it was catering by that time.

Fig. 3.3 Late variant of the LR1 amphora-type, Pyrgos Cheimarou, Naxos (A. Vionis)

Similarly, the question of mass immigration, conquest and devastation of the Greek Mainland and the

Peloponnese during the late 6th and 7th centuries by Slavs has recently been re-examined. Material remains of the *Slav* tradition, such as handmade pottery and bow fibulae, are not enough to suggest the presence of large numbers of Slav populations or their prominence over the Byzantine periphery. Their habitat-type has not yet been archaeologically traced in Serbia and Greece (but has been found in the present-day Czech Republic, Slovakia, Poland, South Russia, Romania), while the so-called *Slav* handmade pottery has indeed been found but only in small numbers (Nystazopoulou-Pelekidou 2000, 20).

The dating and interpretation of the *Slav Ware* has been much debated. Fairly recent excavations, however, in the Peloponnese (Argos, Olympia, Tiryns, Isthmia, Corinth and Sparta) have revealed fragments of handmade pottery in late 7th-10th– and 12th-14th–century excavation contexts. The occurrence, however, of this handmade ware together with fine wheel-made pottery in the same archaeological contexts may indicate a peaceful habitation of Slav- and Greek-speaking people rather than a violent presence (Gregory and Kardulias 1990; Gregory 1993a; Sanders 1995; Avraméa 1997; Anagnostakis and Poulou-Papadimitriou 1997; Poulou-Papadimitriou 2001; Vroom 2003). It might also indicate that incoming Slavs were *hellenised* or assimilated to local Greek populations quite soon, adopting local (wheel-made) pottery traditions, as well as housing construction methods and types. This would possibly explain the limited presence of *Slav* material culture in today's Greece. However, the *Chronicle of Monemvasia* (Veis 1909) still remains the main written testimony for the 'violent' presence of Slavs in Greece, while its authenticity and the quality of evidence cited have often been questioned (Lambropoulou *et al.* 2001, 189-90).

3.4.3 Middle Byzantine Period

The period between the 10th and 12th centuries has been characterised as a time of great Byzantine accomplishments, especially during the first half of the 11th century, with increased growth on demographic, economic and socio-cultural levels (Harvey 1989). The system of 'themes' or *themata* (with clear geographical identities and in full operation since the first half of the 8th century) imposed a more centralised administrative control over the Empire, a very difficult task indeed, bearing in mind that controlling, defending and taxing such a large number of scattered islands can be problematic (cf. Haldon 2010; Hetherington 2001). This system of *themata* or administrative units replaced the Roman provincial administrative system, while the governor of each *thema* (always liable to the Emperor) was granted tasks for administration, tax collection and leadership of provincial military groups (Kazhdan and Epstein 1985). The first hints of recovery in the countryside and the increase in rural settlements appeared during the 10th century, as a result of the 7th-8th century administrative reforms throughout the Empire.

The 11th century in particular represents a break in Aegean insular history, with many economic, social and administrative transformations (Malamut 1982, 350). By the late 10th century the Churches of Paros and Naxos were electing their own Bishops, since they managed to form the Metropolis of *Paronaxia* after disjoining from the Metropolitan of Rhodes in *c.*1083 (cf. Darrouzès 1981). Both Churches were well represented in episcopal lists, while a number of bishops of Paros and Naxos attended ecumenical councils from 431 to 680 (Vionis 2006b, 463). At the same time Byzantine victories over the Arabs provided greater security among insular communities. The Cyclades' flotilla also joined the Byzantine fleet in naval operations in the Adriatic in *c.*1107 (Varrias 1998). The increase of island population and the rise of settlement or resettlement of certain islands signifies the beginning of this new era for the area. The Arab geographer Al Idrisi, who travelled among the islands in *c.*1153 found most of them inhabited (Chatzidakis 1994). Isolated finds of *Sgraffito* and *Green and Brown Painted Ware* (late 11th and early 12th centuries) on the island of Melos (Sanders 1996, 148) possibly indicate a dispersed settlement pattern. On the other hand, widespread surface potsherds from Middle Byzantine amphorae (*Saraçhane Type 61*) possibly provide contrasting evidence for a non-domestic (*i.e.* apiarian) use of the landscape in Northern Keos (Cherry *et al.* 1991, 355-7).

Farming was the prime occupation during the Byzantine era. Farming settlements and villages were scattered across the Byzantine countryside and it seems

that the provinces were focusing upon and were connected to urban centres administratively, ecclesiastically and commercially. As is evident in relevant texts of the period, society was divided into three groups: army, clergy and farmers or *georgoi*. The issue of an agricultural law known as the *Farmer's Law* (*Nomos Georgikos*) in the 7th or 8th century is still a matter of debate between Byzantinists. This compilation of legal codes is rather problematic in nature, *e.g.* its nature, the description of certain agricultural and animal husbandry activities in specific Byzantine territories, and the degree of independence of the Byzantine farmer (Gounaridis 1993, 12; Harvey 1989, 15-16; Kazhdan and Epstein 1985). *Geoponika* is another source of the 10th century with information on land-use and cultivation, animal husbandry and weather forecasting (Rautman 2006, 158). It seems that in most Byzantine lands, intensified *polyculture* (producing more than one agricultural product) was a common practice along with stock-breeding. This was possibly the result of the loss of Byzantine lands in North Africa, the Near East and the Balkans, primary sources of wheat for large urban centres, such as Constantinople (cf. Kazhdan and Epstein 1985).

Changes and developments have been noted in provincial urban centres, *e.g.* Corinth, Thebes and Athens, where the settlement layout follows the Late Roman urban plan but develops more freely, making use of the building material left *in situ* (Vionis 2006b, 464). Workshops and houses tended to cover the few remaining public places of the ancient towns; Athens developed a soap and dye industry while Corinth and Thebes were engaged in glass and silk production (Kazhdan and Epstein 1985; Scranton 1957; Symeonoglou 1985; Thompson and Wycherley 1972). The island of Andros was an equally important silk producing centre of the Middle Byzantine period, especially during the 12th century (Jacoby 2000).

Similarly, a number of archaeological surface surveys throughout Greece (Armstrong 1989, 1996; Bintliff and Snodgrass 1985; Bintliff 2000; Cherry *et al.* 1991; Davis *et al.* 1997; Mee and Forbes 1997) have provided material evidence for relevant recovery and re-settlement of the rural landscape during the Middle Byzantine period.

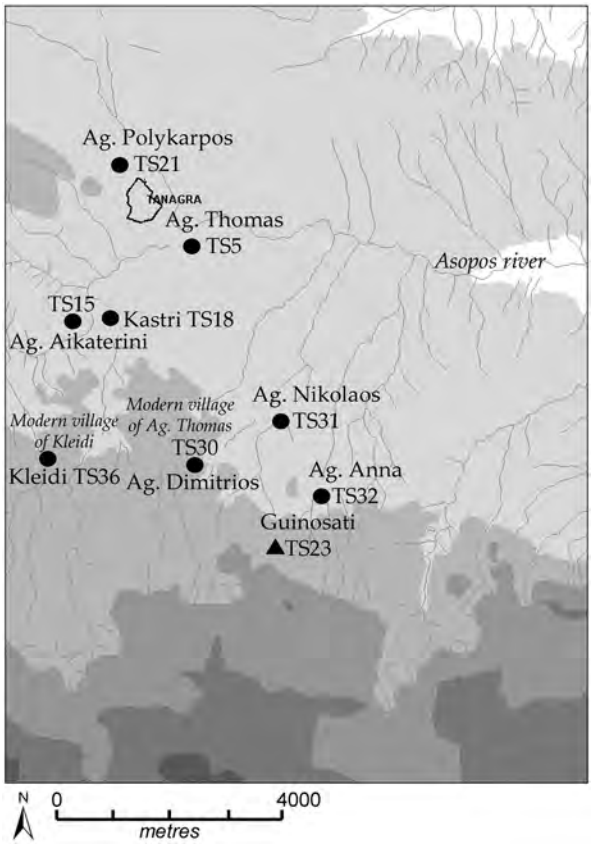
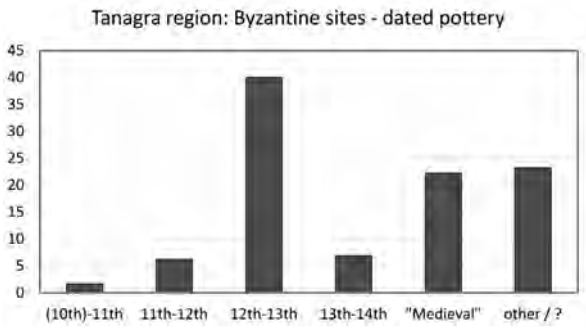


Fig. 3.4 The region of Tanagra, Boeotia, with sites of the Middle Byzantine-Frankish periods (A. Vionis)

Apart from the village or *chorion* (defined as a cluster of houses surrounded by farming land/fields), the isolated hamlet or *agridion* was another type of rural site in the Byzantine countryside, nearer to the cultivated land in the outlying parts of the village's territory (Dölger 1927 in Armstrong 2002, 344; Gounaridis 1993, 29-30; Harvey 2008, 330). The model of a Byzantine village published by Ducellier (1986, 187-8) is probably the closest to Byzantine reality. A 'village' was a nucleated settlement, composed of surrounding vegetable gardens, a wider area of cultivable fields, pasturelands, isolated farmsteads and hamlets (occupied by peasants/serfs). According to Antoniadis-Bibicou (1965, 365), village desertion reached its highest point during the second half of the 14th century, when the pandemic known as the Black Death broke out in Constantinople and the Byzantine provinces (Stathakopoulos 2008, 313-4).



Graph 3.1 Percentages of dated pottery from sites in the region of Tanagra (A. Vionis)

Ceramic data recovered during the course of intensive surface survey by the *Ancient Cities of Boeotia Project* in the rural hinterland of the ancient city of Tanagra in central Greece (Fig. 3.4) has shown widespread signs of recovery in the Byzantine countryside between the 11th and middle 13th centuries (Vionis 2004-5, 572; 2008, 35). Middle Byzantine settlement is well-attested in the territory with diagnostic surface pottery reaching its peak between the middle 12th and middle 13th centuries (Graph 3.1). These new settlements of different size established across the landscape are interpreted as small nucleated hamlets and villages located at regular intervals (reminiscent of the modern nucleated village pattern). The location of those settlements are both lowland-non-defensive and hilltop-defensive, usually concentrated around churches, possibly functioning as parish-churches for each settlement (J.L. Bintliff pers. comm.; Vionis 2008, 35). What this settlement density across the Middle Byzantine countryside might suggest is that the fertile lands after the *Dark Ages* had begun to become a sought-after resource, and a rising population was available to exploit it and be exploited by others. Agricultural intensification was intended to meet the growing demand of major urban centres.

A phenomenon similar to that in Boeotia can be noted also in the Middle Byzantine Cyclades (*e.g.* Naxos), where humble churches usually signify extensive rural settlement and agricultural intensification. There were instances during the Middle Byzantine period, however, when peasants went through difficult times for the sake of urban revival and aristocratic well being. The development, for example, of large land-ownership during the 10th century by the local aristocracy, meant the increase in the numbers of *paroikoi* or dependent peasants and the subsequent concentration of agricultural produce from the countryside to the cities (Gounaridis 1993; Kazhdan and Wharton-Epstein 1985). The village, however, remained the principal economic unit of the Byzantine countryside throughout this period.

3.5 THE FRANKISH/VENETIAN ERA

3.5.1 Studies of the Frankish Aegean

The main sources of reference concerning the social (and partly the political) history of the Medieval Cyclades are very fragmentary. Works of modern historians such as William Miller's *The Latins in the Levant* (1908) and Nicolas Cheetham's *Medieval Greece* (1981), although 'out-dated' (Lock 1995, 31), are still the main historical works, providing a substantial basis for researchers of the Late Medieval Aegean. The British historian Peter Lock (1995) with his work, *The Franks in the Aegean, 1204-1500*, has tried to move away from previous historians' over-concern with political and military history and has produced an interpretative work, placing the Frankish Aegean in its social and economic context within the wider Mediterranean world. Moreover, the work of the Dutch historian Ben Slot, *Archipelagus Turbatus* (1982) is a substantial and still valid reference for medievalists; it comprises an account of the agrarian, feudal and ecclesiastical regime of the Frankish Cyclades, incorporating a wealth of fascinating fiscal and demographic data. Slot, though, is mainly concerned with the later period of Venetian colonisation and the early period of Ottoman domination, *c.*1500-1718. The fact, however, that not many Western or local (Cycladic) sources have come down to us, makes the work of the economic and social historian even more difficult. The accounts of foreign travellers (mainly of the Ottoman period) provide a relevant but not always reliable picture of island life and economy.

3.5.2 Colonising the Cyclades

What was the reason behind the Venetian lords' initiative to occupy the Cyclades? What was the attraction of these Aegean Islands for the Venetian Repub-

lic to delegate rights of occupation to private individuals (Miller 1908)? According to Lock (1995, 12), the struggle against Islam as well as trading rights, along with income derived from agriculture and exploitation of natural resources, were the prime reasons for possession of the Aegean or *Archipelago*. Located in the middle of the Aegean Sea, the Cyclades could serve as shelter and revictualling stations controlling maritime routes, thus they were commercially crucial for Venice, one of the developing Italian naval powers in the Mediterranean, together with the Republics of Genoa and Pisa (Kasdagli 1987; Nafpliotis-Sarantinos 1986). It seems that the Aegean functioned also as a transit zone of high-priced items from the East (Lock 2006, 391). Miller (1908, 43) and Cheetham (1981, 223) have argued that acquiring trading privileges was a simple affair, the conquest and holding, however, of such a large group of islands would have been a costly and laborious matter for Venice, and would too severely tax the resources of the State.

Ruling Dynasties	years of rule
Marco I *Sanudo*	1207-1227
Angelo	1227-1262
Marco II	1262-1303
Guglielmo I	1303-1323
Niccol I	1323-1341
Giovanni I	1341-1361
Fiorenza	1361-1371
Niccolo	1364-1371
Niccolo III dalle Carceri	1371-1383
Francesco I *Crispo*	1383-1397
Giacomo I	1397-1418
Giovanni II	1418-1433
Giacomo II	1433-1447
Gian Giacomo	1447-1453
Guglielmo II	1453-1463
Francesco II	1463
Giacomo III	1463-1480
Giovanni III	1480-1494
Francesco III	1500-1511
Giovanni IV	1517-1564
Giacomo IV	1564-1566
Joseph Nasi	1566-1579

Table 3.1 The two ruling Dynasties of the Duchy of the *Archipelago* (data source: Miller 1908, 653)

The task for planting colonies in the Aegean was left to 'the young and the bold' (Lock 1995, 12), to Venetian aristocrats or 'Vikings' of the Greek *Archipelago* (Cheetham 1981, 224). Marco I Sanudo, who had previously helped his uncle Doge Enrico Dandolo during his expedition to Constantinople, became the first ruler of the *Duchy of Naxos* or *Duchy of the Archipelago*. The Sanudi and the Crispi Dynasties (Table 3.1) ruled the Duchy of Naxos, the longest-lived Latin Duchy in the Aegean, for more than three centuries (from 1207 to 1566). These Venetian opportunists had to retain friendly relations with the 'mother city' and to further its commercial interests (Cheetham 1981, 224). At first, they technically had to acknowledge the suzerainty of the Latin Emperor of Constantinople (Lock 2006, 421), and later on they were tied to the Prince of Achaia, while the direct authority of Venice was confined to the years between 1494 and 1500 and then between 1511 and 1517.

In that respect, the Cyclades formed a separate *state*, the Duchy of the Archipelago, with the island of Naxos as its capital. The rest of the islands (Table 3.2) were distributed between the principal followers (who got the title of *barons*) of Marco I Sanudo (Fotheringham 1915). There has been a long discussion about what defines a 'medieval colony' in the Mediterranean. It is generally accepted that both lordships or principalities in the Archipelago, as well as territorial possessions (*e.g.* Crete) under the direct control of the distant power of Venice, all fall within the category of 'colony' (Prawer 1980; Jacoby 1989a; McKee 2000, 7). Considering that throughout the period of Venetian occupation in the Cyclades certain Dukes and Duchesses of the Archipelago were themselves permanent residents of the city of Candia in Crete and participants in the Council (consequently tied to the control of the Venetian Senate), made the island principalities another colonial possession. This also explains the growing antagonism between the Venetian Republic and the increasingly expansive Ottoman Turks for possession over Crete and the Aegean islands, especially from the 15th century onwards, making life on the islands particularly hard, with negative effects on economy and demography (Kasdagli 1987).

Rulers	island possessions
Marco I Sanudo	Naxos
	Paros
	Antiparos
	Melos
	Kimolos
	Syros
	Siphnos
	Kythnos
	Sikinos
	Ios
	Amorgos
	Pholegandros
M. Dandolo	Andros
J. Barozzi	Santorini
G. Quirini	Astypalaia
Ghisi *brothers*	Tinos
	Mykonos
	Skopelos
	Skyros
P. Giustiniani	Kea
	Seriphos
L. Foscolo	Anaphe

Table 3.2 The seven Venetian families ruling in the Cyclades around 1212 (data source: Cheetham 1981, 224; Nafpliotis-Sarantinos 1986, 69; Lock 1995, 147-8)

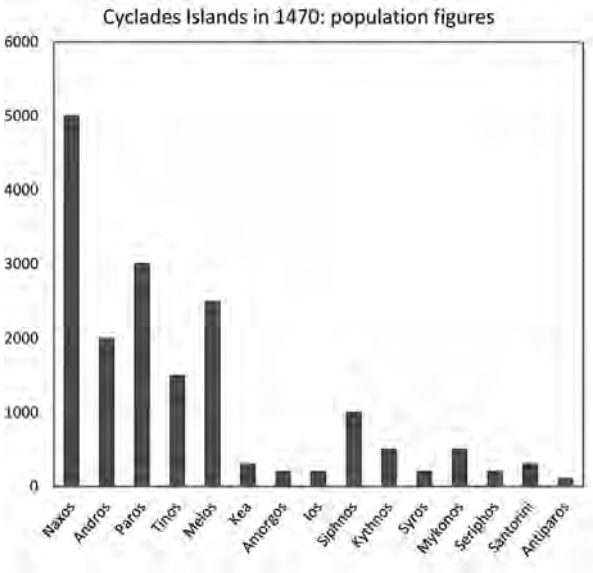
Cyclades Islands	population
Amorgos	200
Andros	2000
Antiparos	100
Ios	200
Kea	300
Kythnos	500
Melos	2500
Naxos	5000
Paros	3000
Santorini	300
Seriphos	200
Siphnos	1000
Syros	200
Tinos	3000

Table 3.3 Population figures for most of the Cycladic islands in the 15th century

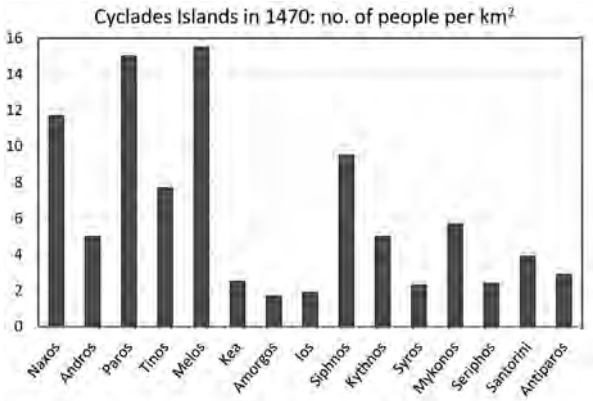
3.5.3 Population Decline and Growth

The sources about the number of people inhabiting the Cyclades during the period of Venetian domination are very fragmentary and not always reliable. Koder (1977, 232), Slot (1982, 284-9, Appendix I) and Topping (1986, Appendix II) cite population figures for most of the islands for the year 1470 from G. Rizzardo (*La Presa di Negroponte fatta dai Turchi ai Veneziani nel MCCCCLXX,* ed. E.A. Cicogna, Venice 1844). Most scholars regard this source reliable. Although population figures for the smaller islands seem very low (Table 3.3), they suggest that the Cyclades were neither depopulated nor uninhabited during the 15th century.

Population figures given for the islands of Chios (10,000 Greeks and fewer than 1000 Latins) and Negroponte or Euboea (50,000) in Balard (1977, 9) and Luttrell (1989, 146) for the year 1395 suggest a density of 13 and 12 people per km^2 respectively. This further concurs with densities of the larger Cycladic islands in 1470 (Graphs 3.2 and 3.3). As has previously been noted by Luttrell (1989), Topping (1986) and Koder (1977) a group of the larger Cycladic islands (such as Naxos, Andros, Paros) had an average density of 8.5 to 15 people per km^2. The density on the smaller islands (such as Santorini, Syros, Siphnos, Antiparos) ranges between 2 and 6 people per km^2. Similarly, as Koder (1977) has pointed out, the density on the island of Euboea in the 15th century was approximately 11.2 per km^2, while for Cyprus it was about 11.4 and Crete almost 20.

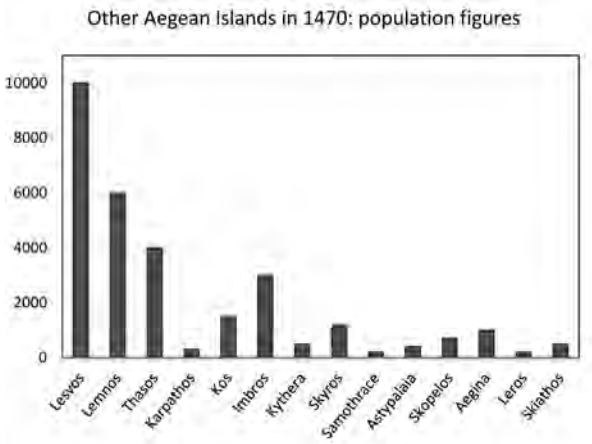


Graph 3.2 Population figures per Cycladic island in 1470 (data source: G. Rizzardo, *La presa di Negroponte fatta dai Turchi ai Venetiani nel MCCCCLXX*, ed. E.A. Cicogna, Venice 1844)

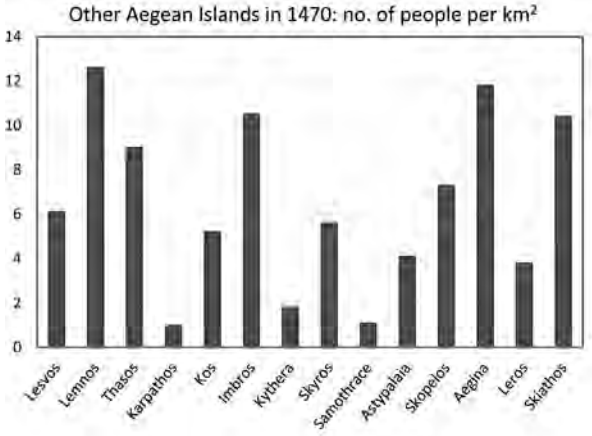


Graph 3.3 Approximate number of people per km^2 in 1470

Graphs 3.4 and 3.5 provide comparative information for other Aegean islands (placed on the graph according to size, from largest to smallest, from left to right). It is clear that larger islands (Lesbos, Lemnos and Thasos) contained considerably larger numbers of inhabitants. The density on some of the smaller Aegean islands (Skiathos, Aegina, Skopelos) is more varied than in the Cyclades; the difference, however, in densities between smaller (1 to 7 people per km^2) and larger islands (9 to 12 people per km^2) in the Aegean is retained.



Graph 3.4 Population figures for islands in the Sporades, the Dodecanese, the North and East Aegean in 1470 (data source: Topping 1986; Karidis and Kiel 2000)



Graph 3.5 Number of people per km^2 on other Aegean islands in 1470

Although it could be argued that these figures and average population densities in the Late Medieval littoral Aegean suggest in most cases under-populated islands when compared to contemporary places in the Western Mediterranean (Topping 1986, 231), factors such as war, epidemics and physical disasters should also be considered. Considering that in the Frankish period settlements were nucleated (Renfrew and Wagstaff 1982; Cherry *et al.* 1991; Davis 1991), it becomes evident that, indeed, small islands (such as Antiparos, Santorini, Seriphos), containing simply one such settlement, could not receive larger numbers of population. Those small fortified towns and villages, with no more than 250 houses (measuring

20-50 m^2) in the case of Kimolos, or up to 50 houses in the case of Antiparos (Philippa-Apostolou 1978) could not accommodate more than 250-1000 inhabitants.

3.5.4 Cycladic 'Feudalism'

There have been long discussions and debates on the administrative and economic system of the Frankish states in the Aegean. Some contemporary scholars (Dimitropoulos 1997, 22) leave the question of the 'feudal system' in the Cyclades open. It is very likely that most of the islands contained considerable numbers of inhabitants to encourage the Venetian lords to establish themselves and the feudal or pseudo-feudal system in the Cyclades. It is assumed, however, that most of the islands were divided into a number of fiefs. The Jesuit father Robert Sauger (1699), who travelled during the second half of the 17th century, informs us that Marco Sanudo introduced the feudal system in the Cyclades and divided the island of Naxos (with a total area of 428 km^2) into 52 or 56 fiefs, which he distributed among his companions, and this system had been in place until 1720, when it was abolished by the Ottomans (Fotheringham 1915, 68, 79; Wagstaff 1982a, 68; Nafpliotis-Sarantinos 1986, 73). The controlling presence of feudal towers of the Latin elite, still in use until the early 18th century, in the countryside of Naxos and Andros further testify to that (Dimitropoulos 1997, 24). Based on information referring to the number of fiefs on the island of Naxos, Wagstaff (1982a, 68) has calculated that an area of 7.67 km^2 would normally comprise one fief (*e.g.* Melos may have possessed as many as 19-20 separate fiefs).

A *topos* or seigneurial estate included many elements of the Cycladic countryside: hilltops and slopes, terraced fields, cultivable tracts used as grain fields and orchards, and land used for grazing, while certain *topoi* may have been shared between two or three owners (Kasdagli 1999, 162-3, 167). In the Peloponnese, each fief was composed of so many *stasias* or holdings of unfree peasants, which (in addition to rents) made small payments in kind in recognition of overlordship, further providing the lord with regular services or *dispotico* (Longnon and Topping 1969, 23; Wagstaff 1982a, 68). Similarly, the symbolic 'recognition' of the seigneurial estate-lord by the peasant, required at times payment in kind, such as a chicken, an apple or a pair of bitter oranges (Dimitropoulos 1997, 24). Whether Byzantine or Western in origin, it is certain that the economy and the relationship between peasant and landlord signify a particular mode of production in the agrarian society of the Cyclades (Kasdagli 1987; 1999).

The Duke of Naxos, although in charge of a large number of islands, was dependent on the Frankish Prince of Achaia, and also consulted the Venetian Republic on many political, economic and administrative matters, while the Duchy was governed according to the Assizes of Romania. The 'Assizes' however were a law (written down in its surviving form between 1333 and 1346 but originating in the first decade of the previous century) inspired from and based on Western feudalism, with characteristics such as vassalage, fief-holding and military organisation. Slot (1991, 199) has argued that 'the fact that the Frankish lords of the islands got large parts of their revenues in products which were negotiable on the international market (silk, cotton, cereals, wood) is a strong argument for the colonial character of the economy'.

Fief-holders could be Latin or, in certain cases, Greek in origin. A catalogue of fiefs and fief-holders (Nafpliotis-Sarantinos 1986, 74-5), shows that only three out of nineteen feudal families in Naxos were actually Greek (the *Anapliotis*, the *Kokkos* and the *Mavromatis*). Kasdagli (1999, 167) argues that five out of forty-seven listed lords in Naxos were of Greek origin (the additional two were the *Diasitis* and the *Barbarigos*). The family of Kokkos seems to have been of Latin origin but had become 'Hellenised' (and Orthodox) after the end of the 16th century. It is certainly true that most of these landholding families in Venetian colonies and principalities were linked with the Latin aristocracy through intermarriage at least by the middle 17th century. This, however, was the result of a slow processes of internal transformations which had began in the 14th century.

3.5.5 Social Groups

It has been argued (Lock 1995, 149) that the Latin Dukes were probably able to leave the local (Greek)

landowners undisturbed, who, together with the Latin gentry that had originally followed Sanudo, formed the landholding class of *cittadini* (Table 3.4). The Dukes supported themselves from rights to salt and mineral production and from taxes levied on agricultural products, while it is not clear whether the marble and limestone resources of the islands were exploited (Slot 1982, 48-9; Frazee 1988, 72-3). Plunder (*e.g.* piratical raids) seems to have been another important part of their income, according to recent studies (Lock 2006, 438).

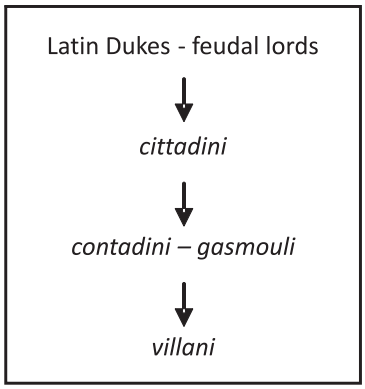


Table 3.4 Social classes in the Cyclades during the period of Venetian domination

There is also evidence that aristocrats or major landowners of Greek origin already existed and continued to play an important role in economy and society (Fotheringham 1915, 73; Nafpliotis-Sarantinos 1986, 73-4). Moreover, the Latins needed the support of the Greek aristocracy for control over the peasant majority (Lock 1995, 277), at least in the early period of their rule. More Greek populations possibly entered the landholding Latin class throughout the Frankish period, but it seems that the majority of fiefs remained in Latin hands (Kasdagli 1987, 354). The fate of the local landowners or *archontes* in the Cyclades after the arrival of the Venetians is not entirely clear; the same could be argued for the case of Venetian Crete. Cretan noble families resisted very insistently and fought continuously after they were dispossessed of their lands and status by the Venetians; as a result, the indigenous land-owning classes were to profit from their resistance by acquiring back the land that was confiscated (Gasparis 1997, 35-8; McKee 2000, 69). This evidently explains regular peasant uprisings and revolts in both Venetian Crete and Naxos. Greek *archontes* (who had possibly lost most of their landed properties) must have initiated the so-called 'Greek' revolt in the aftermath of the 1363 rebellion in Crete and the Naxos' peasant uprising during the rule of Marco II Sanudo (1262-1303). A different picture is drawn for the fate of the Greek upper class in Latin Constantinople, where, as Jacoby (2008, 73) has successfully illustrated, Greeks served in the imperial administration and contributed to the growth and economic activity of the city.

People who enjoyed free status, of Latin or Greek origin formed the class of *contadini* or country folk (Table 3.4). The daily social and economic intercourse between Latins and Greeks of the feudal class resulted in intermarriages between the two communities. This practice, however, obviously threatened the distinctive 'noble' character of the Latin community. Greek blood entering the landholding class would mean that unfree Greek peasants could ultimately move into the class of free citizens. Therefore, one of the Republic's regulations was that the children of a Greek mother and a Latin father would have to retain the unfree status of the mother (Jacoby 1989b, 10; Lock 1995, 291). This was a general policy of the *Serenissima*, which officially discouraged mixed marriages even on the lower levels of society in places such as Venetian Crete (McKee 2000). This group of people (born of Italian fathers and Greek mothers) formed the class of *gasmouloi* (Table 3.4), and could obtain property but their descendants could never inherit it. *Gasmouloi* appear for the first time in Byzantine chronicles, such as that of Akropolites and Pachymeres (Lock 2006, 440). They had to provide special services on land and sea, while many of them became pirates on Greek or Latin vessels (Lock 1989). The class of *villani* or serfs (the successors of the Byzantine *paroikoi*), dependent on their masters and bound to the land itself, did not survive after the end of the 15th century. There are historical hints (Slot 1982, 49) that on the island of Tinos many of these peasants were allowed to pass to the class of free peasants during the same period. Frazee (1988, 72) explains this phenomenon as being a result of agricultural prosperity during the 13th-15th centu-

ries. The status of the *villani* in the early period of Venetian domination in the Cyclades seems to have been similar to that of the Western European serfs, whose person and property was bound to the landlord (Kasdagli 1987, 352). It is also interesting to note the important 13th-century reforms concerning the treatment of *villani* in Venetian Crete: the treaty of 1219 allowed serfs to directly refer to the Duke of Crete (instead of the feudal lord they belonged to) for justice and legal matters (Gasparis 1997, 39). The sharp difference, however, between the base and the peak of the Medieval economic and social pyramid, *i.e.* the many impoverished and the few wealthy, remained as such throughout the Frankish period.

There were a few exceptions though, when a small number of peasants found themselves on a satisfactory economic level by the middle 14th century in Crete and by the 15th century in the Cyclades. The 'solidarity' that sometimes characterised the Latin population is mainly due to their being a minority 'in a landscape dominated by Greeks' (Lock 2006, 436). They were living on larger islands and in towns and ports, while the countryside was left to the Greeks; only Greeks and the lower classes in general occupied settlements in the countryside (Luttrell 1989, 153; Jacoby 1989b, 10). Miller (1908, 687) describes the experiences of an ambassador who visited Paros and Naxos at the beginning of the 16th century and noted aspects of everyday life and elevated lifestyles in island towns. He mentions that the ambassador found the towns of Paros and Naxos very pleasant, while the local lords honoured him with dances, receptions and festivities.

3.5.6 Ethnic and Religious Groups

It seems that the Cycladic population was composed of different ethnic and religious groups, at least since the early 16th century, before the Ottoman conquest. The number of Latins on the islands was small. It has been argued (Slot 1982, 14; Luttrell 1989, 147; Lock 1995, 149) that the Latins constituted less than ten per cent of the population on the larger islands, while population of the Latin rite in the Cyclades constituted 20% in total. Latin presence was prominent on the islands of Tinos and Syros: 5000-6000 or 50% in Tinos and 2000 or 95% in Syros. In about 1500, however, about 20% of the Cycladic population followed the Catholic rite. Some of these seem to have been converted Greeks, like the predominantly female inhabitants of Siphnos who, according to Buondelmonti (Legrand 1897), followed the Roman rite although they knew no Latin (Lock 1995, 149). Catholics were certainly a minority overall, the vast majority of whom resided in towns and ports (never in the countryside). The capital of the Duchy of Naxos numbered only 442 Latins in 1666-1667 and 302 in 1678 (Luttrell 1989, 153; Kasdagli 1999, 25). Similarly, Venetians were the minority also in other parts of the Aegean that kept stronger links with Venice, such as Crete (Gasparis 1997; McKee 2000). Generation after generation these noble families certainly grew in number; yet, they remained a minority group. It should also be noted that, in contrast to the Cycladic case, Crete was a destination not only of noble families, but also immigrants of all social ranks from other Venetian colonies or Venice itself; this population established themselves on the island as farmers, traders and specialised craftsmen.

Although the majority of the population was Christian (of the Greek Orthodox and Roman Catholic rite), there is evidence that a small number of Jews was established on the islands (especially on the larger ones, such as Naxos) at least by the beginning of the 16th century. André Thevet (1575) mentions Jewish populations on several islands and although no exact number is known, their presence must have been quite insignificant (Slot 1982, 14). Furthermore, Jews seem to have been engaged in the wine trade; the first record of a Jew, selling a vineyard in Naxos, is dated to 1511 (Kasdagli 1999, 27). Substantial Jewish communities existed on other large islands, such as Rhodes and Crete. This is confirmed by documents, which refer to the plague that ravaged most parts of Western Europe in the middle 14th century, and mention that the Black Death affected both urban centres and Byzantine provinces. In 1348, considerable numbers of urban and peasant populations in Crete perished. In order to reinforce the island's population, the Duke of Crete made a proclamation in 1353 that anyone settling on the island would directly be assigned Venetian citizenship; anyone but Jews (Gasparis 1997, 77). Documents of the period, however, confirm the presence of Jewish populations

involved in trade activities in many Venetian-dominated parts of the Aegean.

Hasluck (1908-09, 223-8; 1910-11, 151-81) has argued that a small number of Albanian populations re-settled deserted or semi-deserted small islands in the later 16th century, just after the firm establishment of Ottoman control in the Cyclades. He also noted that the period between 1566-1580 was one of depopulation of small islands such as Amorgos, Anaphe, and Ios (Ios is supposed to have been repopulated by Albanians in 1575). Contemporary historians (Slot 1982, 14) do not agree with Hasluck's arguments, suggesting that an Albanian immigration at the time of the conquest of Albania by the Ottoman Turks in the 15th century seems more convincing. Similarly, new evidence from the Ottoman Imperial Archives (Kiel 2007) indirectly reveals that previous estimates and traditions on the 'depopulation' of most Aegean islands in the 16th century should be regarded with caution. The vast majority of the Christian Cycladic population was composed of Greeks and Albanians. A definite conclusion on the exact date of the Albanian settlement in the Cyclades, however, has not yet been reached. It is possible that Albanians were already settled in the Cyclades by the 1500s, while in the case of Andros (where a larger number of them is to be found) their first settlement is estimated between 1384 and 1427 (Paschalis 1934; Slot 1982; Giochalas 2000).

Historical studies (Kiel 1997) and archaeological surface surveys (Bintliff 2000; 2001; 2007) carried out in other parts of Greece, have shown that the late 15th and 16th centuries were, on the contrary, a period of population growth and economic recovery. This clearly shows the varied fate of different parts of the Greek world. More peaceful conditions and stable grounds for prosperity and growth were amongst the prime characteristics of provinces under direct Ottoman rule during the early Post-Medieval period. Most of the still Latin-dominated Aegean islands went through a time of stress and instability during the first half of the 16th century, *e.g.* pirate raids, continuous warfare between the Venetian Republic and the Ottoman Empire, taxes imposed on the islanders by both Venetian and Ottoman authorities. There is evidence for the practice of piracy among the Cycladic islanders at least since the second half of the 15th century. It was possibly the Duke of Naxos or the lord of Paros who financed the construction of vessels for the protection of the islands, undertaking at the same time pirate raids against other Aegean lands (Krantonelli 1985, 241; Lock 2006, 438).

3.5.7 Production and Economy

It is certainly a painstaking task for the archaeologist or the economic and social historian to reconstruct Late Medieval economic trends and Aegean living standards. Written sources are mostly absent and church records or the work of historians and travellers can only provide a very general picture of economic and daily affairs. The English historian Peter Lock (1995, 241) has argued that 'British medievalists used to the relative abundance and sophistication of evidence pertaining to medieval English estate administration, cannot expect the same level of comment on the baronial estates in the Aegean, where the evidence is simply lacking'.

Consequently, conclusions can only be general, while comparative examples must be drawn from other parts of Greece or the Mediterranean, in order to get a general picture of the Late Medieval Cycladic society. A first attempt would be to examine the number of churches constructed, renovated or redecorated during the Byzantine and Venetian periods in the Cyclades. The Dutch historian and Ottoman architecture specialist Machiel Kiel (1992) has carried out a similar study; working on the Ottoman tax registers of central Greece, he has argued in favour of the spread of Post-Byzantine Christian culture thanks to the tolerant Early Ottoman administration. In Naxos (Fig. 3.5), the number of churches which were built, as well as the number of all those churches (Early, Middle and Late Byzantine) that were decorated with frescoes reached its peak during the 13th century (Graph 3.6), the early period of Venetian domination on the Cyclades (Vionis 2003). Would these numbers mean that the beginning of the Venetian period marked the beginning of a period of social prosperity, tolerant administration and economic recovery?

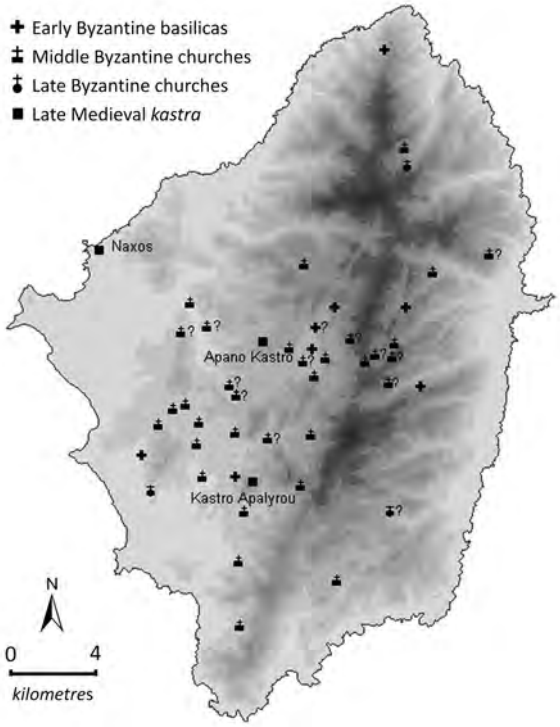
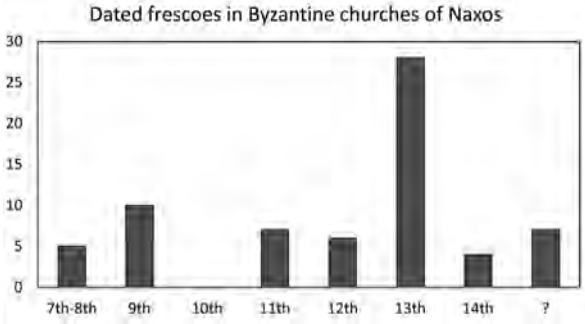
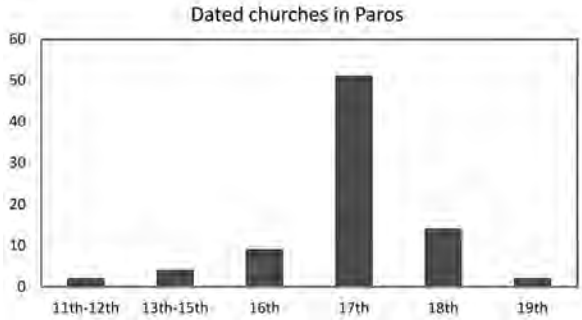


Fig. 3.5 Early, Middle and Late Byzantine churches on Naxos (A. Vionis)



Graph 3.6 Number of dated layers of frescoes in Byzantine churches on Naxos (A. Vionis)



Graph 3.7 Number of dated churches on the island of Paros (A. Vionis)

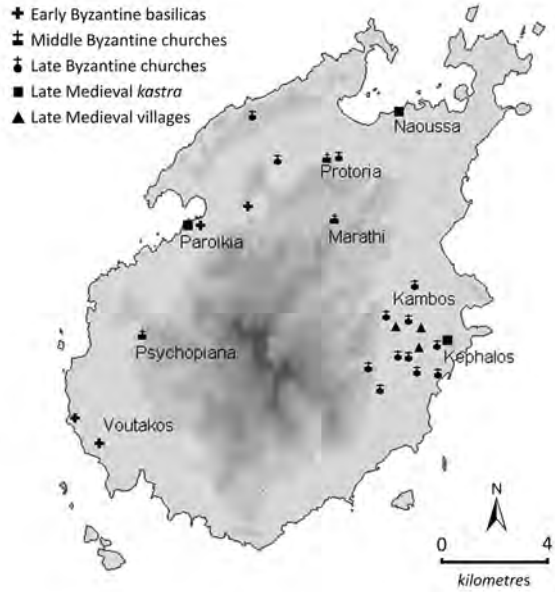


Fig. 3.6 Early, Middle and Late Byzantine churches on Paros (A. Vionis)

In Paros, on the contrary, there are no more than a dozen churches built during the Frankish era (Graph 3.7), a feeble number compared to the statistics for the decorated churches of Naxos. The largest concentration of rural churches dated to the Late Frankish period (on the basis of their construction material and the architectural style of their shrines) was identified by CY.RE.P. in East-Southeast Paros (Fig. 3.6). This difference in numbers, however, between churches built or decorated during the Frankish period on both islands could be explained by the fact that regional variations within this island group and the Aegean in general, are themselves important factors that determine such differentiation. Naxos is one of the largest, well watered and most fertile of the two hundred or so Aegean islands (Lock 1995, 242). The wind-exposed plains of Paros can hardly boast any olive trees, in contrast to the olive-thriving sheltered central basin of Drymalia in Naxos (Kasdagli 1999, 17). Different resources on an island or region make it more favourable than other islands, while external factors (*e.g.* its geographical position within or out-

side trade routes) surely influence these 'micro-economies' and regional growth patterns in the Aegean (cf. Bintliff 1997b).

It is well known that in pre-industrial societies, agrarian productivity was the main source of subsistence. In the case of the Cyclades, distinct economies were established on fertile and less fertile islands, mountainous areas and valleys, mineral-rich and volcanic regions. Agriculture, stockbreeding, and to a lesser degree navigation and commerce, as well as exploitation of mining resources were the basic elements that comprised Cycladic production, subsistence and economy (Slot 1982, 18). It is noteworthy that only about 15% of the Cycladic lands is arable. Lock (1995, 243) summarises that 'recent work on the Byzantine agrarian economy carried out by Alan Harvey and others has suggested that the 12th century was a period of economic expansion and of consequent population growth, and that this growth continued into the early 14th century'. Miller (1908, 616) argues that towards the end of the 15th century 'Melos and Naxos were the most flourishing of the Cyclades', the former being rich in saltpetre, pumice, and millstones. There are also references to the exploitation of Parian marble and its export to Venice (Miller 1908, 617).

It seems that after the firm establishment of Latin domination in the Aegean (especially in the early 14th and during the 15th-16th centuries) most of the islands must have seen an age of prosperity, with the growing Latin commercial presence in island-harbours (Luttrell 1989, 147; Gasparis 1997, 228). Crete and its port of Candia provide once more a standard example of a major export centre of agricultural produce and an intermediate transhipment port along shipping routes from the Veneto to the Levant. A similar economic and demographic pattern is also noted for most European countries of the time, with a period of decline during the third quarter of the 14th century, mainly as a result of the bubonic plague (Le Roy Ladurie and Goy 1982). Although the port of Naxos and capital of the Duchy was not an important trade centre itself, intensive exploitation of agricultural lands (in the late 13th - early 14th and 15th-16th centuries) provided relative stability, which is well attested in the built environment and the material culture record. The defended settlements and the concentration of populations within them, always seen within the wider historical consequences in the Mediterranean and the regional shifts in the Aegean, do not seem to reflect a period of greater threat, instability and insecurity. Most of the *kastra* or walled settlements were built in accessible land and close to the coast. The Venetian fleet, frequently present in the Aegean, and the Venetian merchants' involvement in trade at the same time, promoted the establishment of such posts along the island-coasts of the Aegean Archipelago. Moreover, the economic crisis of the Byzantine Empire in the middle 14th century, with the devaluation by nearly 50% of the Byzantine currency and its replacement by the Italian one in the international exchange market (Linnér 1995), gave the Venetian Republic and its satellites a confirmation of economic security. Georgio I Ghisi (1303-1311) of Tinos and Mykonos and Niccolo I Sanudo (1323-1341) of Naxos issued their currency during the first half of the 14th century (Vassileiopoulos 1987, 262).

Jacoby (2000, 22-35) provides a substantial introduction to the silk industry in Greece just before and after the Latin conquest. It seems that the Byzantine Empire held the monopoly of silk production and trade in the Mediterranean. Kazhdan and Epstein (1985, 78) inform us that in 1147 the Normans abducted silk producers from Thebes and Corinth in order to transmit their craftsmanship to Sicily. The island of Andros, along with other towns of Mainland Greece (*e.g.* Thebes, Corinth and Euboea) had developed silk industries by the time of the Latin conquest. During the 12th century Andros was known for the production of a high-quality silk fabric imitating an Islamic textile, in high demand within the Empire and in the West (Jacoby 2000, 22-3). It is possible, however, that the silk industry in Andros ceased to develop after the Latin conquest, when the Greek *archontes* were replaced by Western merchants, more familiar with Western trade and marketing networks. Some of the skilled artisans of Andros may have fled to Thebes after 1207. The island produced no silk fabrics after that date, being exclusively known for its skeins of high-grade twisted silk fibres, called 'capelletti d'Andria' (Jacoby 2000, 29). In contrast to the case of Andros, silk was further developed in Thebes during the early years of Frankish rule and there must have been an important demand

for Theban silks in Latin Greece and the Western Mediterranean. The lifestyle of the imported Latin class of the islands and the social status of its members gave priority to the acquiring of such prestige items to be showed off during social gatherings and festivities in their courts, as a Venetian ambassador to Naxos and Paros describes (Miller 1908, 687). The same tradition of showing off symbols of power and prestige, such as exotic desirable possessions, was very common amongst the elite in most of Northwest Europe during the Renaissance (cf. Jardine 1996).

The beginning and middle 16th century, nonetheless, must have been a period of population decrease, due to warfare and Ottoman raids in the Aegean islands. But what are the explanations for this period of relative stability in the Cyclades between the early 13th and late 16th century? Sanders (1996, 158-9) notes that the evidence from Melos is that at the beginning of the 13th century this moderately fertile and mineral-rich island was sparsely inhabited with a dispersed population of about 200 inhabitants. Since the same situation is possibly valid for other smaller islands, there must have been a pressing need for the new rulers in the Archipelago to encourage immigration and to ensure exploitation of their acquisitions. Therefore, large parts of these islands had been left barren for quite a long time, and the Venetian lords' need for organised housing to lure settlers to colonise these wastelands, certainly was a major concern. As a result this period was one of recovery of small-island settlements, such as Astypalaia, Antiparos, Anaphe and Kimolos. Moreover, the 13th, 15th and early 16th centuries are periods of settling and resettling in the Cyclades. The establishment of fortified settlements in Antiparos, Kimolos, Sikinos and Pholegandros during the 15th and early 16th centuries in flat and accessible terrain, possibly suggests a reduced concern for security and a more stable political environment with a desire to house the occupants close to their fields (Sanders 1996, 159).

Miller (1908, 618) has seen the period of Venetian domination as beneficial to the islands, for the corsairs were wiped from the sea, and the frequent presence of a Venetian fleet in Cycladic harbours gave the inhabitants a sense of security. Although Miller's assumption probably seems exaggerated, there must be some historical truth in it. The frequent presence of Venetian merchants in the Aegean, as mentioned above, made the area a hinterland of Italian-dominated markets, so that local maritime trade began to develop (between Crete, Negroponte, Modon and Nauplion) and room was made in this carrying trade for Greek vessels. Lock (1995, 252-3; 2006, 391) also concludes that the role of the Aegean as a transit zone for the products of the East was more important for the home economy of the Venetians and the Genoese than the products of the Latin Mainland. Wine, olive-oil, cheeses and other Aegean and Cretan products had also found a special place in long-distance trade already since the 11th and 12th centuries (Jacoby 1999, 50-1; 2009, 377-9; Lock 2006, 391).

The Cyclades, located in the middle of sea-routes between Venice and Constantinople, undoubtedly played a very important role not only as regular ports of call for commercial ships but also as part of the Venetian trade network in the Eastern Mediterranean, with obviously positive effects in local island economies. Another explanation for the relative prosperity of the larger islands between the 13th and 15th centuries was the fact that most of them remained under the direct control of their lords, the Sanudo and the Crispi families (Wagstaff 1982a, 61). When the islands were administered by absentee lords, as it happened in the late 16th century with the Jewish merchant Joseph Nasi, who was granted the administration of the Duchy by Sultan Selim II, sole interests in acquiring revenues often disregarded the general socio-economic well-being of their fiefs. However, some of the old rulers of the islands in the troubled 16th century (*e.g.* the Crispi in Naxos, the Sommaripa in Andros) retained their possessions temporarily by paying tribute to the Sultan.

3.6 THE OTTOMAN ERA

3.6.1 An Historical Outline

The history and archaeology of the period of Ottoman domination in Greece have never received the attention they deserve, mainly because of the nationalist ideology of the modern Greek state (Davis and Davies 2007, 3). Monumental architecture, such as mosques, baths, and Christian churches, is what has survived until modern times. A large number of sur-

viving written documents of the Ottoman period, however, are invaluable sources for the reconstruction of economy and daily life in the South Balkan world. The *tahrir defter* or inventory of taxable resources of 1670 (BBOA, T.D. 800) was until very recently the only surviving inventory discovered in the Ottoman archives (Davis 1991, 143), relevant to the Cyclades and published by Slot (1982), providing a very good source for the economy of the period in question. Kiel (2007) has discovered and has recently published the 1570 *tahrir* (BBOA, T.D. 484) containing information on four islands of the Western Cyclades. More data, however, need to be drawn from the Ottoman archives, a laborious work that can truly contribute immensely to the study of economy and society in Ottoman-dominated areas of present-day Greece. But before moving on to the discussion of economic trends in the Cyclades during the period of Ottoman domination, it is necessary to examine matters concerning the historical background, administrative organisation and population changes in the 250 years that followed the period of Venetian domination.

The 16th century can be considered as a transitional period in the Cyclades. The coastal raids of Hayreddin Barbarossa (Fig. 3.7), Ottoman corsair from the island of Lesbos, as well as the levying of tax revenues on the islands by both the Portuguese-Jewish duke Joseph Nasi and Venice, had a negative effect on the Cyclades. Nasi delegated the administration of the islands to another Iberian Jew, Francesco Coronello, whose principal function was to wring from their inhabitants as much money as possible apart from the need to make a profit from the Duchy (Cheetham 1981, 254). At the same time the Eastern Mediterranean was convulsed by a new war (1570-73) between the Ottomans and the combined forces of Venice and the Spanish monarchy. The most striking events of this war were the Ottoman conquest of Cyprus and the crushing defeat of the Ottoman fleet off Lepanto by Don John of Austria (Cheetham 1981, 254-5). This period of instability and warfare was ended, temporarily, when the Cyclades were finally incorporated into the Ottoman Empire in 1579 (Tinos remained under Venetian protection until its conquest by the Ottomans in 1715). The Veneto-Turkish war of Candia in the years 1645-1669 caused more conflict in the Aegean, and the Venetians dominated the Cycladic area once more by regaining control of the islands for a short time. In the second half of the 18th century, another conflict in the Aegean, the first Russo-Turkish war (1771-1774) disturbed the already unsettled affairs in the area. During the Russian enterprises in the Aegean, the Cyclades came under the control of Russia and Catherine II. The islanders promised faith and devotion to the Empress and the 'blond nation', carried away by the dream that Russia, an Orthodox country, would help them revolt and regain their freedom.

Fig. 3.7 Hayreddin Barbarossa, corsair and Grand Admiral of the Ottoman fleet

3.6.2 Administrative Districts

The highly organised administrative, military and economic system in the Ottoman Empire during the period between 1450 and 1566 is believed to have given the Ottoman State a relative unity and stability (Stiles 1989, 66). Different regions, however, had their own resources and economic trends as well as a different administrative organisation, although the

central government (*i.e.* Istanbul and the Sultan) remained unchallenged. The Cyclades belonged to the province of *Rumelia* and was part of the administrative sub-district or *eyalet* of the Aegean Archipelago (*Cezair-i bahr-i sefid*). These islands formed the administrative area or *sancak* of Naxos and the Small Aegean Islands and were under the authority of the *Kapudan Pasa* or *Kapudan-i Derya*, the Grand Admiral of the Ottoman fleet. Kapudan Pasa co-ordinated all naval affairs of the Empire from his base in the Imperial Arsenal (*Tersane-i Amire*) at Istanbul (Davis 1991, 142-3). Some of the Cycladic islands were not under the authority of the Kapudan Pasa. Andros and Syros belonged to *velide sultana* or the Sultan's mother, while Tinos was the *timar* (tax area of a few family landholdings) of an Ottoman chief (Moschovakis 1998, 113), the so-called *sipahi* or *timar*-holder and cavalryman.

3.6.3 The Formation of 'Koinotites'

The special position of the Cyclades within the province of *Rumelia* was confirmed by certain privileges granted to them by successive Sultans. Such privileges were the imperial decrees or *ahdname* (Slot 1982, 78) under which the islands had originally been incorporated into the Ottoman Empire in the 16th century (Koukkou 1980; Davis 1991, 143), without resistance to the Ottoman regime. The origin of the Ottoman community system has been much debated and sought in the Greco-Roman tradition and the Byzantine past. It seems, however, that it was born and developed during the Ottoman period as a result of the special administrative arrangement for conquered peoples (Kontogiorgis 1982, 31).

The first of these decrees was granted by Sultan Murad III in 1580, and it was similar to the one granted to Chios. It was renewed (after the inhabitants of Naxos asked for it) in 1628/29 and then in 1646 by Sultan Ibrahim I (Dimitropoulos 1997, 29). According to the terms of these documents, the islands retained substantial rights of self-administration and self-determination (Kontogiorgis 1982, 122-37; Davis 1991, 143). Among the most important of these were the protection of land-ownership of the Christian population, allowance for Christians to build new, or restore old, churches and prevention of the practice of *devşirme* (*i.e.* recruiting of Christian male children from their families to enter the *Janissary* elite army division). The islanders were responsible for their economic management, without the central authorities (*i.e.* the Porte) being directly involved; petitioning the Porte, however, in the case of grievances was another privilege (Kontogiorgis 1982). It has been noted that these community decrees were developed in areas where the influence or presence of the central political administration was minimal, while local affluence was the result of the 'omission' of a particular district by the central government. Communications between the inhabitants of the Cyclades and the Kapudan Pasa were often mediated by the office of the *Dragoman* of the Fleet, a high-ranking post always filled by a member of the Greek elite of the Phanari district in Istanbul (Davis 1991, 143). The Dragoman, in a sense, functioned as an intermediary between Aegean island communities and the Ottoman authorities, and facilitated communication between Greek-speaking Christian communities and Turkish-speaking Ottoman officers.

The representatives of the Kapudan Pasa in the Cyclades, from the 17th century onwards, were the *Vaivode* or *Aga* or *Zambites*, the local governor, whose task was the collection and forwarding of taxes to the Kapudan Pasa and the overseeing of the islands in his stead. It is noteworthy that there were cases where communities under the authority of the Kapudan Pasa were granted privileges that enforced the wider absence of any Ottoman element in the local administration of the region. The *Vaivode* was appointed by the local population and was usually Greek.

From the 17th century onwards, decrees developed further in such a degree that local communities took-up control, almost replacing in a way the Istanbul-based Ottoman government (Kontogiorgis 1982, 124-5). In one of the following *ahdname* of Sultan Ibrahim (1615-1648) it was mentioned that during the reign of Süleyman I (1520-1566), the inhabitants of the islands could elect one of their own people as a *Bey* (landlord). Apart from his police functions, the *Vaivode* sometimes replaced the *Kadi* or judge, who may or may have not been resident on the islands. The system appears to have been modified later; in the case of Mykonos, it appears that around 1647, a new period for the organisation of the individual is-

land communities (*koinotites*) began, with the election of the first *archontes* or *proestoi* (also called *demogerontes*, *kotzambasides* or *epitropoi*) (Table 3.5). They were elected annually by the 'respectable' citizens and were responsible for raising the taxes from individual households and of other payments due to the Ottoman administration. The hierarchical system of administration (from the Sultan to the Christian population) remained unchanged and unchallenged throughout the period of Ottoman domination, with the Porte being outside the island administration and at the same time always approachable in case of grievances (Dimitropoulos 1997, 32).

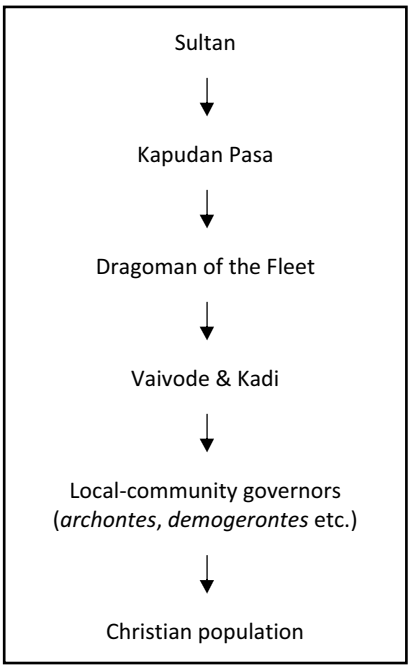


Table 3.5 The governmental organisation of the Cyclades islands during the period of Ottoman domination

3.6.4 Ethnic and Religious Groups

The Ottoman *millet* system administered subject peoples according to their religious beliefs, rather than their ethnicity. The Cyclades were still composed of different religious groups, the majority of which was constituted by Christians of the Greek Orthodox and Roman Catholic Churches. Greeks of Byzantine origin and Albanian newcomers followed the Greek Orthodox rite, while the small number of Latins established after the Fourth Crusade still followed the Roman Catholic denomination. As it has been mentioned above, Catholic Latins were gradually 'hellenised', especially after the end of the 16th century, as a result of the special economic, political and religious privileges granted to Greek Orthodox communities. The Orthodox Bishopric of *Paronaxia* (*i.e.* the Church administrative unit of Paros and Naxos) was re-established in Naxos in 1553 (Kambanellis 1991, 46).

Information on population comes mainly from foreign travellers, with the exception of the 1670 (Slot 1982) and the newly discovered 1570 (Kiel 2007) *tahrir defterleri*. Apart from the evidence for Orthodox and Catholic populations discussed earlier, it seems that there was a limited number of Muslims living on the islands in the 17th century. In an account of Jesuit missionaries in Naxos, it is mentioned that in the years 1627-1643 there were about 70 Turks living on the island, that is, Muslims whose wives were mainly Greek-Orthodox (Laurent 1935, 337; Katsouros 1989, 717-8). It is not always clear, however, whether these people were originally of Turkish origin or previous Christians who later accepted Islam. Tournefort (1718) mentions that when he had visited Naxos a few years earlier, ten to twelve families from the island had become Muslims. As is obvious, the term 'Turk' in the case of Naxos is identical with 'Muslim', although a Muslim might have been of Naxian origin (Vionis 2003, 202). Slot (1982, 14) further argues that among these Muslims of the islands, the Christians converted to Islam constituted the majority, but there were also immigrants from other parts of the Empire. The number of Muslims in the Cyclades must have been no more than 100-150 (who were socially isolated), while for Naxos, Slot (1982, 14) refers to the existence of a small Armenian community. It has been suggested that the few Turks or Muslims on the islands were never welcomed. By 1821 there were no Turks remaining in Naxos. The few Turkish-sounding place names and material remains they left behind still attest to their previous existence in Naxos (such as the spring of *Hasan Aga* in the interior of the island, built in 1759).

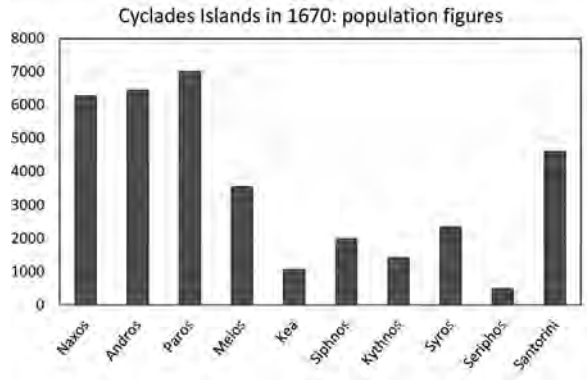
Although a limited establishment of Albanian populations onto some of the Cyclades (*e.g.* Ios) during

the Ottoman period (around 1575) is a general historical tradition more or less in doubt by several scholars who contradict Hasluck's (1908-09; 1910-11) views, there may be some historical truth. It is certain that Albanians settled the northern part of Andros, possibly as early as the beginning of the 15th century, while a document of 1521 mentions that a number of Albanians from Andros settled in Sicily (Giochalas 2000, 20). The *tahrir defter* of 1670 (BBOA T.D. 800) informs us that the principal Albanian village of Amolochos in Andros numbered 187 families (cf. Slot 1982). The villages of Arna and Gavreion in the Northern part of the island of Andros were also two equally important Albanian villages. These Albanian villages were distinguished by their lofty sites, widely spaced Γ-shaped and long-houses, while their inhabitants retained their dialect, which very much resembled that of Southern Euboea (Hasluck 1908-09, 225; Giochalas 2000, 18, 61).

A number of scholars have suggested the presence of Jewish populations on larger islands, but their exact number is not known. It is assumed that Jews invited by Josef Nasi (Duke of Naxos from 1566 to 1579) mostly occupied the neighbourhood of Evriaki in the town of Naxos. Josef Nasi's economic power and influence upon Sultan Selim II was renowned. One of Nasi's aims was the acquisition of a big island to house all Jews of the Diaspora (Sarris [no date], 265-6). Naxos and Cyprus were first on his list, but his wish was never accomplished.

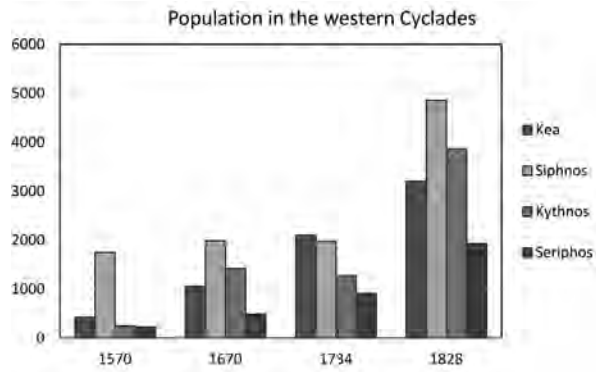
3.6.5 Population Decline and Growth

Wagstaff and Cherry (1982, 148), discussing population change on the island of Melos during the Ottoman period (based on information given mainly by travellers) have concluded that it remained relatively stable with some slight increase down to *ca.* 1730. A sharp and continuous decline, however, is suggested for the second half of the 18th century, but the former level may have been regained before the outbreak of the Greek War of Independence. Comparing the information given by foreign travellers and the 1570, 1670 (Graph 3.8) and 1734 *tahrir defterleri* for the islands (Slot 1982, 290; Wagstaff and Cherry 1982, 148; Bennet and Voutsaki 1991, 369; Kiel 2007, 42), we can draw some general conclusions on population change throughout the Ottoman period.



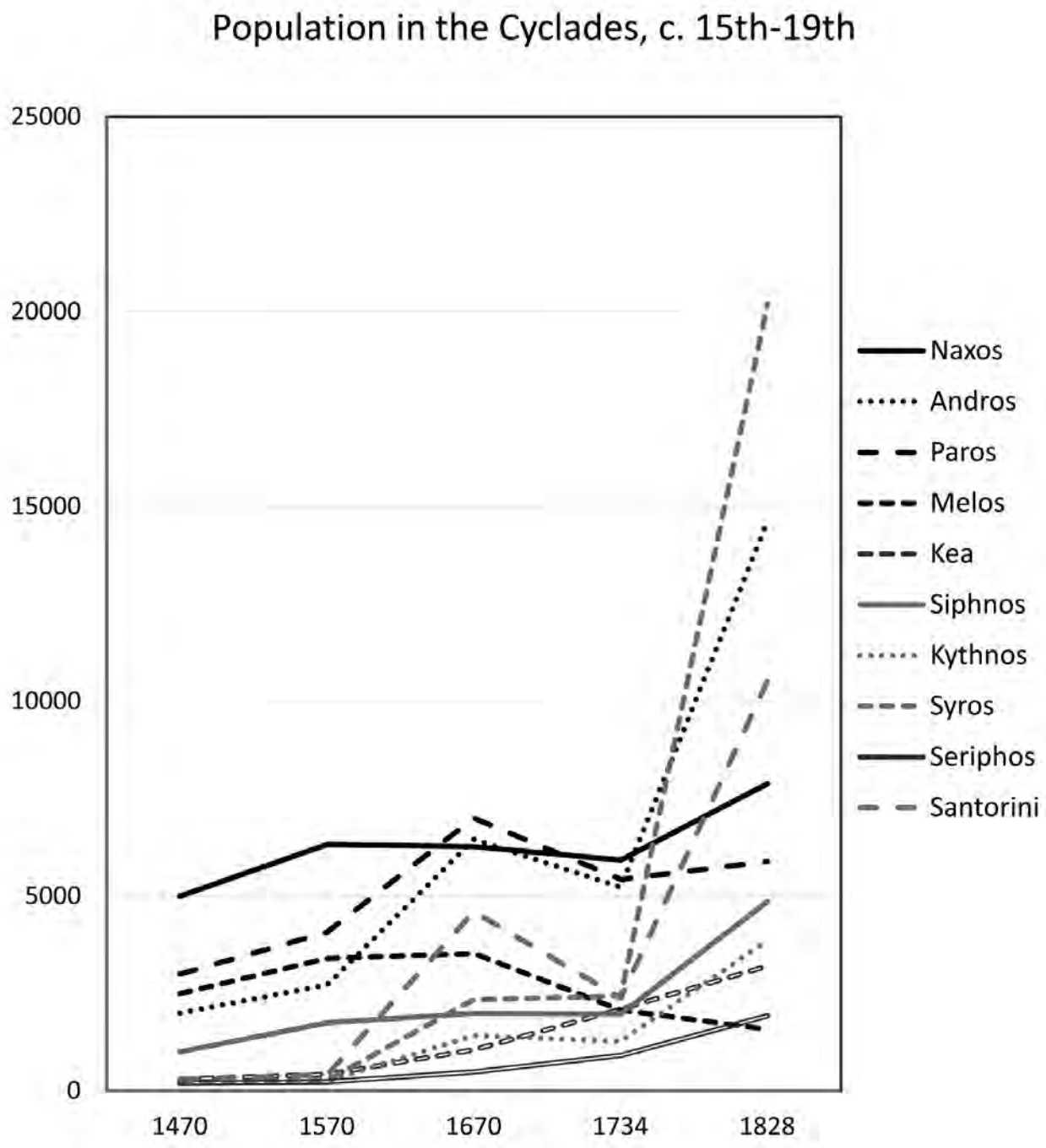
Graph 3.8 Population figures on Cycladic islands according to the 1670 *tahrir defter* (data source: Slot 1982)

A comparative example of population change on four islands of the Western Cyclades (Kea, Siphnos, Kythnos and Seriphos) on the basis of reliable data from the 1570, 1670 and 1734 *tahrir defterleri* shows us a stable population increase throughout the period of Ottoman domination (Graph 3.9). It is also clear that population on Siphnos and Kythnos remained stable or decreased only slightly between 1670 and 1734.



Graph 3.9 Comparative population figures for the islands of the Western Cyclades throughout the Ottoman period according to the Ottoman *tahrir defterleri* of 1570, 1670, 1734, and the 1828 census of the Greek state (data source: Slot 1982; Kiel 2007)

Aspects of population change and demography are not always easy to determine. It seems that population in the Cyclades slightly increased from the later 16th to the middle of the 18th century (Graph 3.10 and Table 3.6), with possibly a short period of population decrease during the years of the war of



Graph 3.10 Population change on ten Cycladic islands from 1470 to 1828 (data source: Slot 1982; Topping 1986; Kiel 2007)

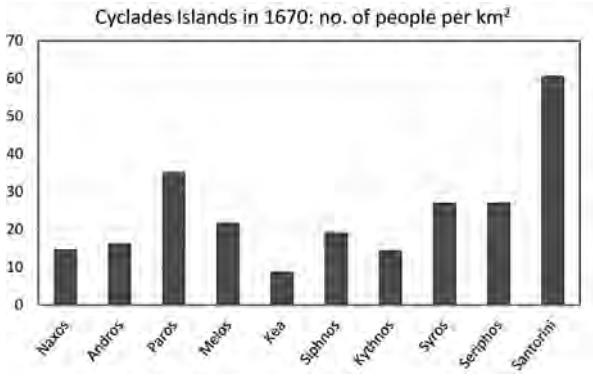
Candia (1645-1669). Siphnos, for instance, must have contained sufficient numbers of population to explain the colonisation of smaller neighbouring islands, such as Kimolos, Sikinos and Pholegandros, in the late 16th and early 17th centuries (Komis 1999, 300; Slot 2001, 60). It seems, however, that 'lost' populations in the Cyclades were replaced by newcomers from Crete and other littoral places in the

Aegean after the end of the war of Candia (Komis 1999, 300). A period of instability and population decrease also occurred in the second half of the 18th century as a result of the Russo-Turkish war, while population recovered in the early 19th century, just before the Greek War of Independence. The average population density for most of the islands on the basis of the 1670 *tahrir defter* is around 15-20 people per km^2 (Graph 3.11). The islands of Paros (35 people per km^2), Syros and Seriphos (27 people per km^2), and finally Santorini (60 people per km^2) were rather more densely populated. This was certainly a period of relatively improved conditions, if we consider the fact that in 1470 the average population density of the larger islands was between 8.5-15 people per km^2.

Islands	1470	1570	1670	1734	1828
Naxos	5000	6320*	6270	5920*	7883
Andros	2000	2720*	6450	5230*	14,618
Paros	3000	4075*	7000	5432*	5884
Melos	2500	3400*	3530	2070*	1580
Kea	300	430	1080	2100	3202
Siphnos	1000	1750	1990	1970	4859
Kythnos	200	250	1420	1270	3865
Syros	200	270*	2340	2436*	20,197
Seriphos	200	230	485	912	1930
Santorini	300	410*	4600	2380	10,577

Table 3.6 Population figures for ten Cycladic islands from 1470 to 1828 (data source: Slot 1982; Kiel 2007). Figures with * are calculated on the basis of population densities in comparison to islands with known population figures for 1570 and 1734

It has previously been argued that the period following the Ottoman establishment in the Balkans was a time of general economic and demographic decrease. Recent and on-going documentary research into the Ottoman archives in Istanbul, Ankara and Sofia, however, as well as a number of surface surveys in Greece have proved that the 15th and 16th centuries, the so-called period of *Pax Ottomanica*, was a time of population increase and economic recovery. Thus, it seems that the Ottoman Empire did not move away from the extensive growth taking place in the rest of the Mediterranean and European world (cf. Faroqui and Erder 1979). Consequently, translated and published Ottoman censes records concerning the Cyclades (Slot 1982; Kiel 2007), contradict traditional views about the total devastation and abandonment



Graph 3.11 Number of people per km^2 on the Cycladic islands in 1670

of many islands after Barbarossa's attacks in 1537. Kea, Siphnos, Kythnos and Seriphos were certainly not deserted in 1570; rather, they had recovered their populations to a considerable extent (Kiel 2007).

One has to examine various aspects that might have effects on population increase and decrease and other aspects of historical demography, *e.g.* familial behaviour, illnesses and plagues, natural disasters and warfare, socio-economic systems (Komis 1999, 260-1). Wagstaff (1982a, 68-9) has noted that the flourishing condition of the later 17th and early 18th century in Melos was replaced by a depression in the second half of the 18th century. Western travellers of that period reported that much abandoned land could be seen, that the whole face of the island had changed, and that population had declined drastically. As Bintliff (1977, 554) has argued, the picture described above was the result of the earthquake that struck the main town of Melos in 1738, the subsequent diseases (due to inadequate burial of the dead), the collapse of sanitary conditions, and the sinking of land around the city (potential source of malaria). All this resulted in the abandonment of the town by the survivors and the founding of the island's capital at Kastro in the vicinity of the ancient town of the island. Meanwhile, the Russo-Turkish war that followed in the second half of the 18th century resulted in many islanders following the Russians after their departure from the Aegean in 1774 (Komis 1999, 300). The same situation can be observed in the previous century, when the plague of 1647 and the war of Candia in 1645-1669 had negative consequences on economy and demography.

3.6.6 Production and Economy

The Cyclades were possibly producing the same kind of agricultural products as earlier throughout the period of Ottoman domination, perhaps with some variation between wartime and peacetime, according to prevailing needs. It has been argued (Wagstaff and Auguston 1982, 130) that during wars, Melos for instance, was credited with supplying armies with cereals, beans, pulses, and other such products, but in time of peace the islanders preferred to grow large quantities of cotton for export. French trade with the Archipelago boomed during the late 17th and early 18th centuries, years of continued warfare in the Western Mediterranean, such as the War of the League of Augsburg (1688-1697) and the War of the Spanish Succession (1701-1713). These unsettled affairs in the Western Mediterranean world made valuable even the comparatively small but accessible surpluses of the Cyclades. It is also true that after the 16th century, Western Europe's need for cheap raw material to feed its thriving cloth industry, especially in the 17th and 18th centuries, found access to Mediterranean and Aegean sources (Inalcik 1973). Price rises, moreover, during the Napoleonic Wars (1793-1815) may have produced an economic revival in the Cyclades, just before the outbreak of the Greek War of Independence. Similarly, grain prices in countries such as Italy and Spain were notably high during the late 16th and early 17th century. This possibly explains the colonising process on small Cycladic islands (*e.g.* Kimolos, Sikinos, Pholegandros) during this period for agricultural purposes, since Ottoman presence in this area of the Aegean was not so intense and islanders could sell their products to European vessels relatively easier (Slot 2001, 60). The economic and population crisis of the late 16th and 17th centuries throughout Europe was followed by a spectacular boom during the 18th, when European population was increased by approximately 36% (Le Roy Ladurie and Goy 1982).

Travellers' accounts note the pronounced agricultural character of the islands' economy. In some cases travellers are invaluable sources of information, since the Cyclades were not as fortunate as the Mainland in having sufficient numbers of surviving Ottoman tax registers (apart from the information we retrieve from the published *tahrir defterleri* of 1570, 1670 and 1734 for only some of the islands). Variation between different types of soils meant differentiation between fertile and less fertile islands. Travellers praise the quality of wine produced in Melos and Santorini, both islands volcanic in origin and rich in minerals. The traditional *pezoules* or field terraces, still dominating the rural Cycladic landscape, were an old effective way to cultivate the remotest and most arid and barren of fields, by keeping both soil and water in its place. It is reported that many crops, fruits and vegetables were grown on the islands, such as wheat, barley, oats, sesame, cotton, olives, melons, figs, lemons, oranges, grapes, beans, gourds and courgettes. Animals were also important, mainly for local consumption. Goats, sheep, oxen and pigs were bred, while cheese was also a major product. Polyculture and animal husbandry protected peasants on most Aegean islands from the possibility of a bad harvest, providing cash to meet tax and other economic obligations (Laiou* 2002).

Tables 3.7 and 3.8 provide the percentages of taxed products from nine Cycladic islands according to the 1670 *tahrir defter*. Wine and grains were produced in greater quantities than other goods, while silk was also important. It is clear that the Cyclades during the second half of the 17th century followed a more traditional or 'extensive' system of cultivation, where the production of wine, wheat and barley was dominant. Although herds of livestock (mainly sheep) represent only 2.3% of the total taxed products on nine of the islands, it must have been sufficient to cover local subsistence needs in wool, milk and cheese. There must have been enough pastureland after all, given the fact that bare-fallowing on a two-year rotation was characteristic under the traditional system of cultivation. Tournefort (1718, 168-9) informs us that the fields never rested, while a rotation was reported, in which year one was devoted to wheat, year two to barley and year three to a haphazard mixture of cotton, pulses and melons. Information on the number of farms and farm size is almost completely lacking from the sources (Wagstaff and Auguston 1982, 131), although there is interesting information on the land-tenure system of *voli*. In this land-tenure system, the owner of a large non-enclosed tract of land had the right to pasture his animals on it, while others could own smaller parts of the *voli* on which they could grow crops (Bennet and Voutsaki 1991, 377).

Taxed products	Naxos	Andros	Paros	Melos	Kea	Siphnos	Syros	Seriphos	Santorini
All grain types	17%	18.3%	30%	23.6%	27%	20%	26.8%	22.5%	24.5%
Broad-beans	0.1%	0.7%	0.1%	0.6%	1%	4%	1.6%	-	-
Vetch	0.05%	0.1%	0.7%	0.4%	1%	-	-	3%	3.7%
Garden Tax	1.2%	2.7%	1.6%	0.5%	1.6%	-	2.7%	-	0.1%
Cotton & Flax	0.2%	0.1%	3.8%	0.3%	0.8%	6%	2.5%	1.2%	2.1%
Olive oil	3.3%	6%	0.1%	1.3%	0.5%	6%	0.9%	-	-
Fruits & Figs	7.8%	15%	1.3%	0.4%	3%	-	16.5%	1%	1.1%
Silk	0.1%	38%	-	-	4%	-	0.1%	-	-
Honey	0.04%	0.2%	0.03%	0.07%	0.6%	-	0.4%	-	0.07%
Wine	64.6%	11.8%	54.5%	64.5%	42%	62%	42.5%	65%	61.7%
Pigs	0.5%	0.3%	0.4%	0.2%	0.2%	-	0.3%	-	0.3%
Sheep	-	2.6%	1.3%	2%	4.6%	2%	3.4%	5%	0.3%
Mills & Presses	0.7%	0.6%	0.6%	0.4%	0.3%	-	0.4%	-	0.4%
Mines	1.5%	1.7%	1.6%	0.9%	-	-	1%	-	0.9%
Beans & Pulses	2.4%	0.9%	2.7%	4.5%	0.2%	-	0.3%	2%	3%
Walnuts	0.4%	0.2%	0.3%	0.2%	-	-	0.2%	-	0.2%
Velanidi Oak	-	-	-	-	10%	-	-	-	-

Table 3.7 Taxed resources and products on nine Cycladic islands, with the representative percentages of the tax paid by each island according to the 1670 *tahrir defter* (data source: Slot 1982; Kiel 2007)

Taxed products	Averages
Wine	52%
All grain types	23.3%
Mines	6.8%
Fruits & Figs	5.2%
Silk	4.9%
Sheep	2.3%
Olive oil	2%
Cotton & Flax	1.9%
Beans & Pulses	1.8%
Garden Tax	1.2%
Velanidi Oak	1.1%
Vetch	1%
Broad-beans	0.9%
Mills & Presses	0.4%
Honey	0.2%
Pigs	0.2%
Walnuts	0.2%

Table 3.8 The total percentage of tax paid for each product by nine Cycladic islands altogether in 1670

Islands	Tax in Akçe	Kg per Hh
Naxos	65,008	915
Andros	91,323	1250
Paros	146,159	1836
Melos	80,649	2015
Kea	43,297	3460
Syros	39,226	1481
Seriphos	9360	1437
Santorini	93,554	1792

Table 3.9 Approximate kilograms of cereals available per household each year, according to the tax (in *akçe*) paid in 1670 for wheat, barley and mixed grains

There is evidence for the export of cups of acorn or *velanidi*, wine, barley and silk from the island of Keos (Bennet and Voutsaki 1991, 376), silk from the islands of Andros (representing 38% of its total taxed products in 1670) and Tinos (Papadia-Lala 1991-93) already since 1655. Andros and Tinos were the two major production centres of silk-fibre in the Cyclades throughout the period of Ottoman domination, silk being a luxury good in itself. Likewise, although *velanidi* from Keos is held to have been the island's major product exported to the Western Mediterranean (already as early as 1627) in considerable quantities (a cash-crop providing a high income to the inhabitants), it did not exceed 10% of the island's taxable products in 1670. This is something many would argue provides evidence for the practice of illegal trade between the Cyclades and the Western Mediterranean. The 1670 register makes it clear that wine and grain, still, were the major products of Keos (Kiel 2007, 43-5). Table 3.9 shows that the kilograms of grain (cf. Karidis and Kiel 2000 for cal-

culation methods) equivalent for each household on the island of Keos in 1670 were 3460 (the highest amount compared to the rest of the islands). Although no definite formula of kg of cereals per household has been worked out (it is calculated to about 300 per person) the annual quantity calculated for Keos, divided by five (the average number of people in a family), makes 692 kg per person. This is clearly far above subsistence level, showing that the island could feed a much greater population (the number of households almost doubles 60 years later) or that it could be exported in order to provide a substantial income for some of the island's inhabitants. Naxos has the lowest amount of grain for each family, *i.e.* 915 kg per household or 183 kg per person. This figure is obviously lower compared to other islands, but still provided the vital minimum, a fact contradicting traditional views of famine and oppression in Ottoman dominated areas. Keos was a relatively wealthy island also during the second half of the 16th century, as shown by the 1570 *tahrir defter* (Table 3.10). The higher the tax paid per household, the more indicative of people's affluence. There does not seem to be a great difference in living conditions between 1570 and 1670, apart from a few confined cases (*e.g.* Siphnos and Seriphos, Table 3.10).

Islands	1570			1670		
	Hh	Tax load	Tax per Hh	Hh	Tax load	Tax per Hh
Kea	86	75,000*	872 *akçe*	220	179,783	817 *akçe*
Siphnos	350	60,000*	171 *akçe*	414	140,871	340 *akçe*
Kythnos	50	25,000*	500 *akçe*	296	186,245	629 *akçe*
Seriphos	46	33,330*	725 *akçe*	101	52,833	523 *akçe*

Table 3.10 Approximate tax paid per household on four islands of the Western Cyclades in 1570 and 1670 (data source: Kiel 2007). Taxes paid in 1570 (figures with *) are calculated according to the rate of 1670 for better comparison between the two years

Generally, the 17th century seems to have been a period of population and economic development, also attested in the built environment. After the firm establishment of Ottoman control in the Cyclades, church building activity reached its height. An example of this can be given from the number of dated churches and monasteries built on the island of Paros from the 15th to the end of the 18th century (Graph 3.7 and Fig. 3.8).

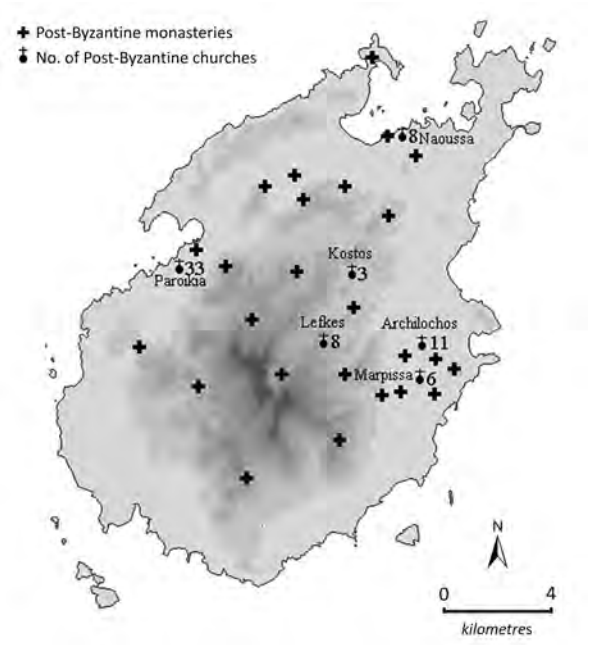


Fig. 3.8 Post-Byzantine monasteries and churches on the island of Paros (A. Vionis)

Cycladic agricultural products were particularly valuable in the wide market, the islands being located within major shipping routes in the Aegean. Large and small vessels found safe anchorage in Cycladic ports en route from the Western Mediterranean and Europe to Northern Greece, Istanbul and Anatolia (Bennet and Voutsaki 1991, 380). Numerous maps of islands' harbours drawn by travellers and geographers, as well as the positioning of foreign consuls acting for various countries (such as the Venetian Republic, England, France and the Netherlands) since the early 18th century testify to the importance of the islands and their involvement in sea-borne trade. Bennet and Voutsaki (1991, 380) claim that the island of Kea had possibly been involved in the activity of trading itself; Pouqueville (1821, 70-1) lists seven trading ships from Kea for 1820. Slot (1982, 28) referring to the 17th century, mentions merchants from Keos in Venice, along with those of Andros, Siphnos and Melos. Published written sources (cf. Kasdagli 1999; Slot 2001) suggest that it was only in a few cases where a minority of Greek and a majority of Hellenised aristocrats of the old Venetian noble land-owning class were engaged in sea-commerce and trading of goods. The

breakthrough in Cycladic economy was initiated and gradually developed by a rising class of middling people (primarily Greek in origin and not wealthy enough), who slowly invested in small-scale enterprises, shipping goods in their *caiques* (large fishing boats) from the late 17th and early 18th centuries. The port-tax or *gümrük* is not mentioned amongst the taxable products and sources of Kea, Kythnos and possibly Siphnos, although all of these islands had perfect harbours; as a result, one of the greatest and profitable activities in some of the Cyclades escaped taxation (Slot 2001, 64).

Davis (1991, 141), studying a number of sources related to agricultural production and tax-payments from the islands of Kea and Seriphos, has argued that a substantial surplus production was created in the Ottoman Cyclades. This 'production beyond subsistence' was accomplished through strategies that did not entail increased yields on individual plots of land and resulted in the generation of a substantially increased production for the islands. The income from this output was employed to meet tax obligations, to underwrite an elevated lifestyle for an elite, to develop the infrastructure of the community, to support the bureaucracy, and even in part to purchase supplementary subsistence products. The evidence for the last 50 years of Ottoman domination presented by Davis (1991,154-5, Table 3) suggests that the islands were producing a surplus of subsistence agricultural products capable of meeting taxation demands. Davis' conclusion contradicts Slot's presentation (1982, 267) of the sorry state of affairs at the end of the 17th century (as a result of oppressive Ottoman taxation). Davis (1991, 173) draws four basic conclusions concerning the relationship between overall production and productivity in subsistence agriculture on Kea in the Ottoman period:

1. external taxation does not appear to have been the sole motivation for encouraging production beyond subsistence, at least by the end of the Ottoman period;
2. the island was capable of generating a substantial surplus through the export of velanidi, its principal cash-crop;
3. the production of this surplus did not necessitate the intensification of productivity in subsistence agricultural crops;
4. the production of subsistence goods remained at a level that was sufficient to provide for local needs, but in no way strained the resources of the island.

Economic trends of this kind have surely had certain effects on settlement patterns, material culture and island everyday life. During the Ottoman period settlements were still nucleated, with the population living permanently in the main (usually fortified) settlements. Towards the end of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th century more single-family farmsteads appear in the landscape, and a more rural, probably impermanent settlement outside the defended centres occurred. This is excellently illustrated by Davis (1991, 138-9), who argues that the absence of rural farmsteads during the Ottoman period in Kea has to do with an 'extensive' or 'traditional' agricultural practice. According to this extensive agricultural practise, previously discussed by Halstead (1987), a farmer resides in a nucleated settlement, travelling (when agricultural duties demanded it) to various parcels of land scattered and fragmented through the operating dowry system. Davis (1991, 196) further argues that very few farmers would have been able to purchase and assemble sufficient amounts of land to 'de-centralise' and make permanent residence on the land, outside the main defended centres. Although in 17th-century Lesbos (Karidis and Kiel 2000, 205-10) the subsistence wine and grain production, replaced by intensification of olive-growing, affected settlement change and re-location, the incorporation of the Cyclades within trading networks resulted in adaptations to the local economies that did not affect the settlement system (cf. Davis 1991).

Although provincial in terms of administration and location, the Cyclades provide a very good ground for examining long-term change in the Late Medieval and Post-Medieval periods, for the islands remained almost self-autonomous and self-governed throughout the Ottoman era, thanks to the establishment and development of the *koinotites*. However, one cannot be 'insular' when examining aspects of economy and society; the islands functioned as part of the Ottoman Empire. What were the reasons for prosperity and decline in the Ottoman Empire? What was the effect (if any) on provinces such as the

Aegean Archipelago? Is there a difference in economic trends between 'town' and 'countryside'? Does the economic situation of the Cyclades agree with the general economic pattern?

As has already been noted above, the 15th and 16th centuries have traditionally been seen by Greek and Balkan historians largely as a period of total devastation and decline, mainly because of the Ottoman conquest in the middle 15th century. Relatively recent work by historians and archaeologists (Bintliff 2000; 2001; Davies and Davis 2007; Kiel 1992; 1997) has shown that the early period of Ottoman domination was one of population growth and economic recovery after the troubled end of the Frankish period. New lands were added to the Empire, population and economy grew, while monumental architecture reached its zenith, especially during the reign of Süleyman the Magnificent (1520-1566). In such a centralised (at least in the early period) state as the Ottoman Empire, the ability and personality of the individual, in this case of the Ottoman Sultan, was very important (Stiles 1989). This remains a reliable argument if we consider the fact that in the later period (*i.e.* from the 17th century onwards) the Empire became decentralised and its rulers less capable in matters of administration and decision making. In contrast, the 16th century in the Cyclades is considered as a transitional period until the islands were incorporated into the Empire in the last quarter of the century. Subsequently, a period of gradual stability, economic recovery and population growth took place (with short periods of decline in the third quarter of the 17th and the later 18th centuries) mainly due to the islands' more secure local administration, surplus production and involvement in domestic and international trade. On the other hand, the Ottoman Empire as a whole seems to have survived beyond the period of the great *Pax Ottomanica*. It was characterised by a rapid decline in the later 16th and early 17th century but a period of stability and slight recovery came in the later 17th and 18th centuries. Population explosion, the breakdown of the *timar* system, inflation, the end of conquests, and Ottoman conservatism as far as industrialisation is concerned, are the main causes of decline following the Golden Age of Süleyman the Magnificent (Inalcik 1973; Stiles 1989). The Cyclades seem to have taken advantage of the privileges they were granted, including their right to almost self-administration and self-determination. They were always responsible for their own economic affairs, having the last word on decision-making. Their location in the Archipelago and the frequent appearance of European vessels in island ports have had positive effects in economy and trade, as contacts with the Western part of the Mediterranean and Northwest Europe became more pronounced.

3.7 THE EARLY MODERN PERIOD

It has been suggested that the Greek War of Independence of 1821 was a social rather than national movement against the Ottoman Empire. The emerging middle class of merchants and traders, as well as the lower classes of labourers and farmers found excellent ground for rebellion against a foreign government. On the other hand, the Catholic (Greeks or Hellenised Venetians) landowners, most of them descendants of the old aristocratic Venetian colonisers, as well as the *kotzambasides* (*i.e.* wealthier local governors) refused to take part in the rebellion, for they feared to lose their positions and privileges (Skliraki 1989). This period between 1821 and 1900 is characterised by a constant growth in activities in the countryside (at the beginning and middle of the 19th century) and a more intense participation in wider trading patterns and communications. The continuous battle between the social classes of landowners (the old upper class), merchants and traders (the emergent middle class), and the agricultural labourers (the lower class) is also noteworthy.

Some of the Cycladic Islands, such as Melos and Kea (Wagstaff 1982a, 69; Sutton 1991, 386) were the first places to join the Greek revolt, by providing financial help as well as pilots for many of the ships from the allied islands. After the establishment of the Modern Greek State in the early 1830s, however, the scenery changed drastically, with the incorporation of the Cyclades into the newly founded Kingdom of Greece. The islands became the administrative province of the Cyclades (*nomos Kykladon*), with the town of Ermoupolis on the island of Syros as its capital. The Cyclades lost the self-autonomy they enjoyed during the Ottoman period, to join the highly centralised Greek State. Although taxes assessed after the establishment of the Modern Greek state were lower than

those in issue during the Ottoman period (since the head tax was not included), the Ottomans' tax-farming system was maintained, while 'Athens simply replaced Istanbul as a centre of control' (Davis 1991, 154).

Population grew steadily throughout the 19th century in the Cyclades. It is noteworthy, however, that the average number of people in a family (in Europe, the Balkans and the Aegean) during the first half of the 19th century was four (Komis 1999, 315), slightly smaller than 4-4.75 of the Ottoman period (Kiel 2007, 44). The detailed censuses of the island of Syros provide a representative example of population development throughout the 19th century (Table 3.11). The short period of population decrease in 1854-1856 was probably the result of the Crimean War (Wagstaff and Cherry 1982, 151-2). Outward migration at the same period may have contributed to this pattern, which seems to have been the islands' response to the forces of contemporary Greek life (Sutton 1991, 384-5). But did this population increase, reflect economic growth as well, and if so, how?

Year	New town of Ermoupolis	Old town and villages	Total
1828	13,805	6392	20,197
1834	12,392	4551	16,943
1848	19,410	5092	24,502
1853	19,981	4671	24,652
1856	16,830	4144	20,974
1861	18,511	4567	23,078
1870	20,996	5484	26,480
1879	21,540	5406	26,946
1889	22,104	9469	31,573
1896	18,760	8996	27,756
1907	18,132	9193	27,325
1920	18,663	5933	24,596
1928	21,416	6247	27,663

Table 3.11 Population figures for the new town of Ermoupolis, the old town and the countryside villages on the island of Syros from 1828 to 1928 (data source: Kolodny 1969/70)

A large number of refugees from still Ottoman-dominated areas, such as Chios, Psara, Crete, the Peloponnese as well as Asia Minor, fled to Syros between 1821 and 1829 since this 'Roman-Catholic' island was under French protection. The temporary refugees' huts set on the coastline of the future Ermoupolis port, became a town numbering 13,805 people in 1828. The population of Syros, living away from the turbulent events of the Revolution, formed a powerful human resource that quickly established small-scale companies providing timber, iron and rope for shipbuilding. These newly built vessels were intensively used for the transport of goods in the Aegean and the Black Sea, and steadily provided the capital for the construction of a whole commercial fleet (Kolodny 1969-70, 254-9). As a result, shipping became the major 'industry' of the Cyclades after the War of Independence, from 1835 onwards. The emergence of Ermoupolis not only as the major port of the newly founded Greek Kingdom but also as a focus of trade in the Aegean region, meant that a large number of the active male population was employed as sailors and pilots. The Greek State, very littoral indeed, confined between (present-day) central Greece, the Peloponnese and the Cyclades, was in need for a littoral commercial port instead of land means of transport. The invention of steamships, however, took over much of the Aegean trade by the 1880s. The mainland expansion of the Greek State, on the other hand, the emergence of Piraeus as an important port and the reorganising of Aegean sea routes led to the steady decline of Ermoupolis and other island ports in the later 19th century (Wagstaff 1982b, 241).

Agriculture still played an important role in island economy. It has been suggested (Wagstaff 1982b, 239) that about 22% of export earnings in Melos came from agricultural produce in 1848. The islands' surviving upper class of the Ottoman times (which lived in the *Chora* or port-town of each island) controlled both agriculture and the reception of foreign ships. Nearly all of these ports were excellent shelters and remained convenient provisioning posts for ships moving between Istanbul and major European ports. Several European countries such as England and France maintained agents, usually drawn from the local class of *archontes*. Most of the islanders, such as the inhabitants of Kea (Sutton 1991, 386-7), participated in international economic systems through the exporting of at least small amounts of wine, silk, grain, acorns, as well as considerable quantities of marble, limestone, and millstone. Similarly, on the Greek Mainland, the last quarter of the

19th century saw a remarkable improvement of the countryside, as a result of national and international trade (cf. Aschenbrenner 1972). As has already been discussed above, Kea probably produced more than was needed for local consumption, especially in the late 18th and early-middle 19th centuries. As has been argued by Sutton (1991, 387) 'whether or not the middle class of shopkeepers and artisans and the lower class of agricultural labourers shared the *archons'* goals, their actions were strongly influenced by them'. The simple fact that their agricultural labour was directed toward both export and subsistence must have had some effect. It seems, however, that the islands could not attract the class of *archontes* for much longer. After the 'power struggle' during the first half of the 19th century, the passing of the Dotation Law of 1835, which officially limited the size of agricultural estates and promised the distribution of land to peasants, gradually eroded the power base of many local leaders. Indeed, most of the educated island *archontes* are to be found after 1835 in large centres like Athens, Istanbul, and Paris. This practice was common amongst local Greek leaders, as the opportunities for leadership and wealth offered by the rising centres of the new Greek state drew representatives of many prominent families to them (Petropoulos 1968; Sutton 1991, 388-9). It is notable that even members of the middle and lower classes of that period in the islands adjusted to the Westernising mentality prevailing in the Early Modern Greek State. Many Cycladic families sent their daughters and sons to be servants, cooks and potters in places like Istanbul, Izmir, Çanak Kale, and the fact that they returned wearing Franco-Levantine dress rather than the traditional island clothing shows the effects of change at all social groups (Sutton 1991, 387).

3.8 SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Different systems of government and influences from East as well as West, and the changing economic systems within the Frankish, Ottoman and Early Modern Aegean have very much influenced human behaviour, the built environment and material culture in general. The study of settlement patterning and settlement layout, for instance, can show the shift in administrative systems and general economic trends. The provision of more elaborate and exotic material culture items is the result of trade and communication between this island-province and the outer world. Its participation in the wider economic systems of the Western and Eastern Mediterranean during the Late Medieval and Post-Medieval periods has, as a result, also influenced local societies and their behavioural expression in material life.

A general overview of the socio-economic history of the Cyclades during the Late Medieval or Frankish period, the Ottoman era and the Early Modern times has provided a representative picture of the fluctuations in politics, economy and society that consequently affected daily life. The coming of the Venetians in the Cyclades at the beginning of the 13th century led to a gradual population and economic growth and relative stability from the 13th to the early 16th centuries. A short period of relative decline intervened during the second half of the 14th century (as nearly everywhere in Europe) due to continuous warfare in the Aegean and the negative effects of the Black Death. The years of the 'Golden Age' in the early period of Ottoman domination in the 16th century did not have a positive effect on the islands. The majority of the Cycladic islands had remained in Venetian hands until 1579, while struggle between Venetian and Ottoman forces for control over the Aegean Archipelago for the largest part of the 16th century led most of the islands to instability and decline. The firm establishment of Ottoman control over the Cyclades in the later 16th century initiated a period of growth and recovery which lasted roughly until the middle 18th century, as attested in the surviving *tahrir defterleri* and the material evidence. The Russo-Turkish war which followed in the second half of the 18th century brought a brief period of insecurity, while the early 19th century changed the scenery as shipping and international trade between the Aegean and the Western Mediterranean grew stronger.

General conclusions can be drawn from the discussion about the Frankish and Ottoman economic trends and population cycles in the Cyclades and the Aegean. The island principalities of the Archipelago during the period of Venetian rule formed a separate state within a complicated network of Latin and Byzantine territories. Economic trends and the historical development of Cycladic communities largely relied on the personal interest of successive Dukes and feu-

dal lords. The 13th century saw continuous struggle between the imported Latin lords and the indigenous elite. It was not a matter of ethnic identity or religious difference; it was more of a class conflict for status and possession of agricultural lands from an old Byzantine dynasty against a Latin colonial regime. Relative political tranquillity and social stability must have been accomplished by the 14th century. It is not certain, however, whether daily life in the villages of the islands' interiors changed after the establishment of the Latin regime. What must have been introduced by the Venetians was nothing more but a more intensified exploitation of the land and the development of an agrarian economy. The result, as testified to by contemporary material culture discussed in following chapters, was a period of relative agricultural prosperity (for islands such as Naxos, Paros and Andros) and an era of opportunistic trade and pirate activities (for islands such as Mykonos, Ios and Melos). The characteristic element, however, of the period was to a large extent the exploitation of the peasant majority and the general unconcern for a diachronic economic infrastructure that would contribute to the islands' long-term well-being and existence within a geographically advantageous location between trade routes from West to East.

The transitional period of unsettled affairs in the Southern Aegean and the Cyclades during the 16th century was succeeded by an era of general stability and economic recovery. Apart from short breaks of slight economic and population decline, the administrative and economic system set by the highly centralised Ottoman state and various privileges issued by successive Sultans towards Cycladic communities provided ample opportunities for development and stability. Even when during the 17th century most of Europe and the Ottoman Empire entered a period of general crisis, the Cyclades showed considerable signs of benefit and adjustment to the needs and conditions set by the contemporary circumstances. Thus, large investment was made to the production of grains, in most cases beyond subsistence level, with emphasis to products intended for export and the accumulation of cash: grains from Kea, Melos and Paros, wine from Naxos, Melos and Seriphos, olive oil from Andros and Siphnos, silk fibre from Andros and *velanidi* oak from Kea. It is worth noting that this growing emphasis to vine and olive cultivation from the 17th century onwards in both Venetian and Ottoman Aegean territories was the result of changing dietary habits and the need for industrial raw materials in Northwest Europe and parts of the Ottoman Empire. From the middle 18th century onwards, the transhipment of raw materials from certain parts of the Ottoman Empire to the Balkans, the Black Sea, and in some cases to Europe (in return for manufactured goods) was done on European and 'Ottoman' vessels largely made up of Greek populations from the islands of the Archipelago. This led to the slow growth of an island commercial bourgeoisie that introduced Eastern as well as Western models of daily life and material expression, together with notions of national pride and ethnic identity. Inspired at the same time by Western ideas and the teachings of Enlightenment, the well-being of Aegean as well as Mainland communities by the beginning of the 19th century led to the Revolution of 1821 against the Ottoman Empire.

4. Settlements and Housing: Evaluation of Published Literature

4.1 INTRODUCTION

The growing preference for the Aegean as a tourist destination and holiday resort, from the beginning of the 1960s to the present day, has led to an intense building activity and a rapid change of the built environment for these small islands. Fortunately, island settlements and their humble domestic architecture were soon perceived as 'humane habitat shells' to be protected and preserved by the Greek law. The characteristic Aegean type of Medieval nucleated settlement has influenced Aegean-island domestic architecture up till the beginning of this century and has attracted the attention of architects and architectural historians in the past as well as today (Doumanis and Oliver eds 1974; Marmaras 1995; 2008). As a result, a considerable number of studies in article- and book-form has been published, with the aim of identifying and analysing the basic domestic forms, and the driving forces behind the establishment of such settlements, their layout and history.

This chapter provides a brief review of published studies' methodological approaches to settlement layout and domestic architecture in the Aegean islands (with particular reference to the Cyclades) and parts of Mainland Greece, the Ionian Islands and Crete (Fig. 4.1). The aim is not to provide an exhaustive list of major and minor publications on the subject, but solely an analysis of the most representative works, characteristic for their methodological orientation. It includes a wide variety of studies from various fields, such as architecture and architectural history, socio-economic history, archaeology, folklore studies, geography and ethnography. Most of the case studies that are reviewed below are published in Greek and English and are concerned with Aegean settlement organisation and domestic architecture of the Late Medieval, Post-Medieval and Early Modern periods.

Published studies related to island settlements and domestic architecture have been grouped into three categories according to the authors' methodological approaches. The first category includes studies of vernacular architecture that follow a typological approach. Aiming at the typology of the most characteristic types of vernacular architecture found on the Aegean islands, the collection of papers edited by Philippides (1988a, vol.2) is the most representative study. The second category comprises studies that interpret continuity and change in vernacular architecture on the basis of environmental, economic and social factors. A characteristic example of this category is Philippa-Apostolou's (1978) doctoral thesis, a detailed study of the Late Medieval settlement-*kastro* of Antiparos (Fig. 4.2). The third category includes relatively recent studies, which employ the examination not only of architectural and archaeological remains, but also ethnographic and textual information for the analysis of human social and symbolic behaviour and the use of domestic space (Johnson 1993; 1996; Parker Pearson and Richards 1994; Allison ed. 1999; Sigalos 2004).

Reviewing published studies of Medieval to Early Modern architecture, it has to be kept in mind that each of those studies was put forward in an attempt to analyse certain aspects under the prism, aims and methods of different disciplines. Arvanitopoulos *et al.* (1999) published project, for instance, aims at the preservation of Western architecture and fortification works within the borders of modern Greece. One of the objectives of such works is the identification of Greece's 'common European identity' in a period of the country's 'Europeanisation' and assimilation

Fig. 4.1 Map of Greece with regions and places discussed in the chapter

process into the 'modern' West rather than the 'traditional' East. Philippides' (1988a) edited volume on the Cyclades Islands in contrast, reviews the main trends in Cycladic architecture through a descriptive approach of the most common house-types and forms, designed as a collection of studies for students and researchers of Greek vernacular architecture. Leontsinis' (2000) study of Kythera reviews the reasons for the emergence of the Medieval town of Agios Dimitrios and Kythera's fortifications through the study of textual sources, in an attempt to research the island's Late Medieval and Post-Medieval socio-economic history. Archaeological and landscape studies, such as Cherry *et al.* (1991) or Renfrew and Wagstaff's (1982) edited volumes have provided interesting insights into the changing settlement patterns throughout the prehistoric and historical periods.

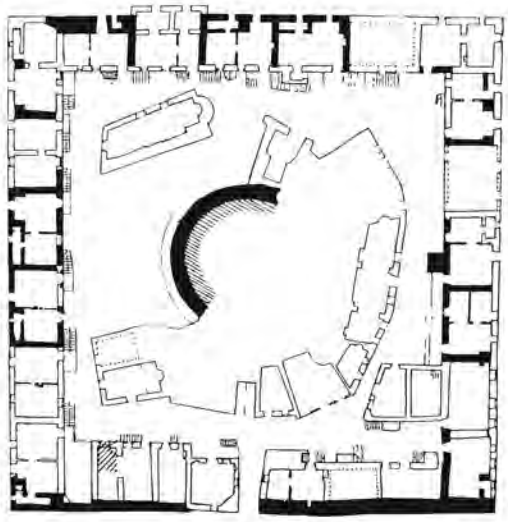


Fig. 4.2 Plan of Kastro on Antiparos (Philippa-Apostolou 2000, 77, fig. 25)

It would not be an exaggeration to note that detailed, analytical and interpretative studies of Greek domestic architecture of the most recent years of Greek history have been overlooked until a decade ago, due to the country's over-concern with Classical Antiquity. Greek Archaeology has not yet shown interest in the study and interpretation of Post-Roman domestic structures in Greece in general. However, all studies carried out in the past do contribute to the development of Post-Antique Archaeology in Greece, in that they all provide an invaluable data-bank of photographs, architectural plans and typological descriptions.

The Aegean islands seem to have had a better fortune than other parts of Greece as far as the preservation of traditional architecture is concerned. Although in insular Greece the demand for tourist accommodation in the 1960s was growing fast, the passing of new legislation aimed at the protection of Medieval and Post-Medieval structures with a positive impact on the preservation of the built environment. The first move towards the protection of already existing examples of vernacular architecture and the 'adoption of architectural elements that tie the present to the past' (Saccopoulos 1995, 463) had already begun.

The growing interest of the West during the early 1960s and later resulted in a number of studies examining the traditional built environment and the quality of the Aegean traditional domestic architecture. As has been argued by Michaelides (1974, 53), the transition of interests from the discovery of Classical Greek monumental architecture to the discovery of small picturesque Aegean island settlements (*e.g.* Mykonos and Santorini) has proved a unique opportunity for the preservation of Greek architecture. Although under the pressure of economic development, continuity with vernacular architecture emerged as the key architectural issue in rural Greece (Saccopoulos 1995, 463). Buildings of a more modern and international architectural style were no longer to be constructed in the 'traditional' settlements of the Aegean. As a result, the 'Neo-Traditional' architecture style was introduced, in an attempt to imitate architectural trends of the Late Medieval and Post-Medieval past.

4.2 TYPOLOGICAL STUDIES

The main aim of the studies included in this group is the categorisation of domestic architecture into different house-types for the Cyclades and other selected Aegean islands, and the description of building traditions, materials and techniques. Apart from typologies, an attempt to establish a basic chronology for different house forms and styles is another interest of the authors, who are principally Greek architects from the Athens Technical University. Most of the studies include topographical and architectural plans, and photographs.

4.2.1 The Cyclades

The second volume of *Greek Traditional Architecture*, edited by Philippides (1988a) still comprises the most comprehensive study and attempt to establish a typology and chronology for Cycladic housing. It is a collection of nine studies on vernacular architecture for the islands of Andros, Mykonos, Naxos, Paros, Santorini, Siphnos, Syros, Kea and Tinos. Each architect or group of architects (Charitonidou, Philippa-Apostolou, Philippides and others) studied a different island. The methodological approach they follow, however, is basically the same in describing and typifying island housing. Some of the papers, however, do differ in their approaches and could very well fit in our next category.

The first paper by Charitonidou (1988a, 11-42), in the volume edited by Philippides (1988a), examines the main house types on the island of Andros. The study includes a short review of the island's history throughout the ages and its main town during the early period of Venetian domination. The town was established by the Venetian lord Dandolo on a promontory on the central-Western side of the island, while the back house-walls formed the actual fortification wall of the town. There follows a typology of different built structures of the Andros countryside. Tower-houses, rural houses, stone field houses and threshing floors, springs, dovecotes, field boundaries and examples of neo-classical architecture in the main town of Andros are the main architectural types discussed in the paper. The second paper by Romanos (1988, 45-76) in the same volume examines the architectural history of the island of Mykonos from a

different perspective. The author analyses the settlement layout of Chora, the Late Medieval town of Mykonos, and other built structures of the countryside in association with the socio-economic and political history of the island.

The third paper by Kouroupaki *et al.* (1988, 79-110) is another typological study on housing in the capital of the Late Medieval Duchy of the Cyclades. After a brief discussion on the establishment and development of the Late Medieval town or Chora of Naxos, the authors note three house-types: *laika* or popular, *archontika* or noble housing and *pyrgospita* or tower-houses. The examination of building materials, building techniques and architectural decorative styles are also discussed in this paper. Related approaches have been employed by Philippa-Apostolou (1988, 113-44) in the same volume, in her study of the traditional settlements and the domestic architecture of Paros. The main subject of the study is the presentation of the basic house types within the Late Medieval settlements of the island and the division of Post-Medieval and Early Modern domestic architectural examples into *astika* or urban housing and *agrotika* or rural housing (cottages). Similarly, typological approaches have been employed for the study of different house-types on the islands of Santorini (Philippides 1988b, 147-78), Siphnos (Tzakou 1988, 181-212), Syros (Kartas 1988, 215-46), Kea (Kloutsinioti *et al.* 1988, 249-72) and Tinos (Charitonidou 1988b, 275-306).

Wagner's (1997) study is one of the few highly reliable typological studies from this group on housing in the Cyclades. The author provides some general information about the Late Medieval Kastro, the principal town of Siphnos, and continues by presenting six different house-types common in the traditional settlements of the island. Although Wagner (1997) has divided traditional house-types according to rooms added on to the main and original room of the house, there is no attempt to examine the factors behind this practice and this change in housing traditions.

The four following papers are published in a volume edited by Michelis (1981), they are written by Greek architects and concern aspects of vernacular architecture on the Cycladic islands of Santorini, Tinos, Paros and Andros. Ververis (1981, 41-60) examines

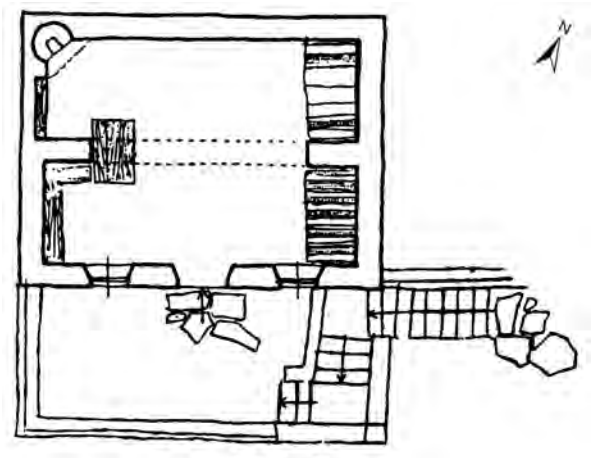


Fig. 4.3 Single-roomed house in Tinos (Thalassinos 1981, 89, fig. 16)

the main house-types, building techniques and materials in Santorini. He notes four house-types on the island; the two-roomed, the 'twin', the two-storey and the 'house with the mill'. Apart from presenting these characteristics he attributes the present appearance of the built environment in Santorini to the volcanic nature of the island and its climatic conditions, the 'humble' life-style of the inhabitants and the 18th-century codified law. Thalassinos (1981, 77-93) examines aspects of housing on the island of Tinos and approaches the topic in a similar manner. He notes that aspects of the island landscape, climate, available building materials, principal occupation of the inhabitants and the threat of piracy were the main factors that shaped traditional housing in Tinos (Fig. 4.3). He categorises housing according to types on the basis of the existing number of floors and rooms, and reviews the main external and internal decorative styles. Karathanasis (1981, 94-104) provides a clear picture of the typical house-types of the island of Paros. He distinguishes three different types: the two-storey house, the Π-shaped house and the one-and-a-half-storey house, while he also reviews the main decorative features of traditional housing on the island. The author remarks on the development of the single-roomed house (house-type 3), a useful contribution to housing typology. Aravantinos (1981, 105-25) similarly presents the main house-types of the island of Andros and distinguishes four types: single-storey, one-and-a-half-storey, two-storey and the tower-house, while he makes a compari-

son with other islands' housing. This group of papers edited by Michelis (1981) is a useful typological study of Cycladic housing, its building materials and aesthetic styles, without seeking parallels with relevant archaeological data and textual or other sources.

The following three papers examine the most representative examples of Post-Medieval island domestic architecture. Dematha (1997) examines the Late Medieval town or *Kastro* of Pholegandros. The author briefly reviews architectural aspects of the island's defended settlement in comparison with other fortified towns of the period and researches into the originally built parts of the site. She finally questions whether *Kastro* was completed in different phases, if the plan of the settlement reflects social organisation and differentiation and whether special areas within the town were occupied by the upper and lower classes accordingly. The paper by Nafpliotis (1997), on the other hand, about vernacular architecture in Paros also follows a typological approach and is mainly examining Post-Medieval housing outside the Medieval defended centres of the island.

Similarly, Koumanoudis' review (1969/70) of settlements and housing in Santorini presents the main house-types within the Late Medieval defended settlement of Pyrgos and the so-called 'subterranean' houses developing outside the defended centres during the Post-Medieval and Early Modern periods. Although this paper follows similar approaches to the studies presented above, it provides us with fascinating information about housing and other related built structures (yards, built ovens, built benches etc) within and outside Medieval settlements. Dimitrokallis (1995) on the other hand examines the characteristic whitewash on the interior and exterior walls of Cycladic houses, a rather neglected aspect of aesthetic in domestic architecture. Dimitrokallis (1995) questions when this habit was introduced by examining secondary literature as well as foreign travellers in the Cyclades during the Post-Medieval period. He further suggests a Byzantine date for the introduction of whitewash on Cycladic houses and churches, mainly as a desire for public health and cleanliness, insulation and conservation.

4.2.2 South Aegean Islands

Dawkins (1902/03) early in the 20th century gave a first and detailed but still rather 'romantic' record of housing and internal decoration from the island of Karpathos, employing socio-anthropological approaches for his study. He provides examples of house-types of his period, as well as information about seasonal occupations of the local population due to the agricultural nature of their economy and the rural activities they carried out. Moreover, he provides a good description of domestic internal fittings, such as the high sleeping platforms with carved railings and panelled work or 'sofas' decorated with rows of plates and embroidered towels hanging over a rail above the platform.

A decade later, Wace and Dawkins' (1915) published studies on Greek embroideries and Aegean towns and houses were a further attempt to present data on settlement layout, vernacular architecture and domestic material culture. The authors provide a rather detailed description of house-types and internal fittings for most Aegean islands, from the Cyclades and the Dodecanese, to Crete and the Sporades. They further accompany the latter paper with house plans and drawings of the characteristic wooden structures that served as sleeping platforms for parents and children, and display-shelves for domestic valuable decorative items (Fig. 4.4). It is an important study for its period and can prove very useful nowadays in that it provides a detailed picture of house-forms and domestic interiors for the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century.

Zagorissiou's (1996) monograph on vernacular architecture in Crete similarly follows a typological approach, but with a very useful record of plans, photographs and descriptions of current housing traditions and social practises.

4.2.3 East and North Aegean Islands

The architectural analysis of the defended settlement of Mesta on the island of Chios is the subject of an unpublished study written by a group of seven Greek architecture students of the Athens Technical University (Kokkini *et al.* n.d.). This monograph discusses special issues such as the defensive aspect of the

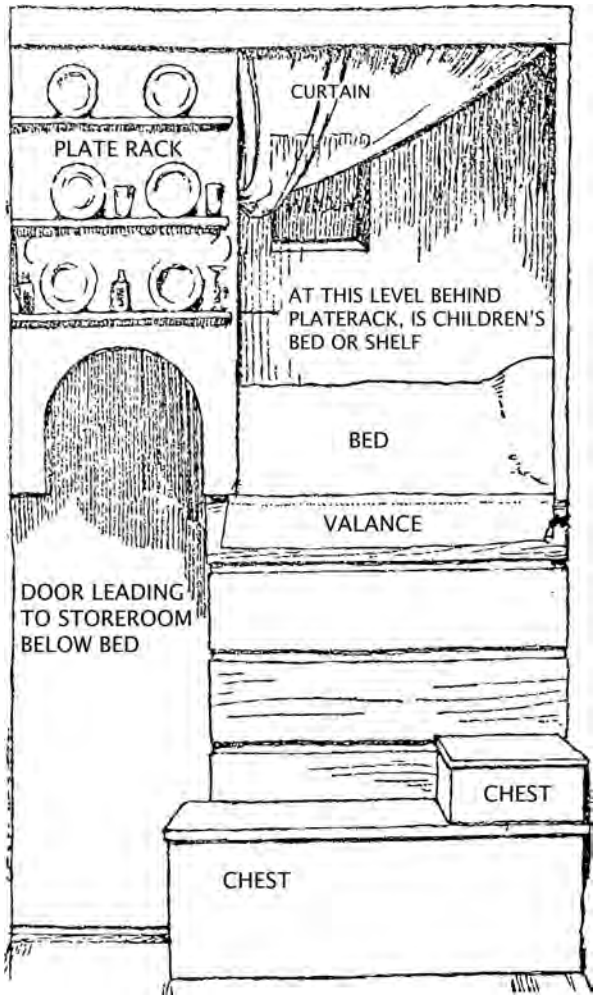


Fig. 4.4 Reproduction of a house interior with its sleeping platform and chest complex on the island of Karpathos (Wace and Dawkins 1915, 105, fig. 4)

settlement, presents the basic house types within Mesta and analyses the building materials, decorative styles and special built features (*e.g.* windows, balconies). This is an interesting volume of its group in that it provides a detailed typological description of the Mesta houses and the division of space within them. Such divisions are, upper floor = living space, ground floor = stabling and storage, *iliakos* (or covered balcony), bridges connecting house roofs with the central tower, and other features. This detailed study, however, does not attempt to discuss the social meaning of divided living space within the settlement or houses.

The following three papers also concern the Aegean Island of Chios with its Late Medieval or Genoese defended settlements. Eden (1950) examines how the rectangular town planning was adopted in the Medieval fortified village of Mesta and gives some general idea of the morphological features of the settlement. He argues that the basic arrangement of the town did not change until recently (*e.g.* buildings incorporating inscriptions of the 19th century are similar to Medieval ones). He notes that the use of exterior house-walls on the perimeter as a defensive wall for the village is in conformity with a very old tradition in the Aegean. Archaeological evidence and a passage in the Laws of Plato show a similar arrangement from the 7th century BC or earlier at Vroulia in Rhodes (Eden 1950, 19). In conclusion to his explanation of the morphological features of Mesta, Eden interprets such town planning under a more or less historical perspective. Thus, the town was designed and planned from the beginning and buildings were approached from the inside, forming a single open space at the centre of the town. Finally, limiting the number of gates resulted in the limitation of access to the centre and the concentric loops or *cul-de-sac* appearance of the settlement, always set out according to custom by a band of colonists.

Tyrwhitt (1966) analyses aspects of town planning and housing in the *Mastichochoria*, *i.e.* the four best preserved fortified mastic-producing villages of Mesta, Olympoi, Pyrghi and Kalamoti on the island of Chios. She is particularly interested in the rectangular form of the settlements and argues that the consistent use of the barrel vault resulted in elements of rectangular shape, whilst the repetition of these elements naturally resulted in a more or less regular grid-iron pattern of buildings and streets (Tyrwhitt 1966, 201). Tyrwhitt (1966, 202) also suggests that each section was built by the individual householder himself and proceeds further by noting other aspects of housing such as internal divisions and use of domestic space. She notes for instance that upper floors were used as living quarters, while ground floors were used for stabling and storage. The use of mobile and immobile internal and external staircases gave access to the ground and upper floors, while terraces were used for social gatherings. Central towers must have been used as places of refuge in case of attack, at a time when the popularity of centralised structures

and optical perspectives was at its peak. Thus, the author in this case makes a step further by attributing the establishment and development of defended Aegean towns not only to morphological features and technical issues but also to environmental and social factors.

Another paper about Chios was written by the Greek architects Lambakis and Bouras (1981) and examines the defensive character of *Mastichochoria* and the 'Greek' system of defence found on many Aegean islands, as well as in many Byzantine monasteries. The authors argue that this was a defence method known even before the Hippodamian system. Lambakis and Bouras are mainly interested in the building traditions and the morphological characteristics of these extraordinarily preserved villages. Moreover, they attempt to establish a typology of the most common house-types, and put great emphasis on the existence of the *iliakos* on the upper floor (Fig. 4.5), making comparisons with Medieval urban houses found at Rethymnon in Crete. They conclude with the assumption that the town plan and house-types remind us of Mistra and they argue for a Byzantine and Eastern influence on building traditions, which were kept by the local population throughout the ages.

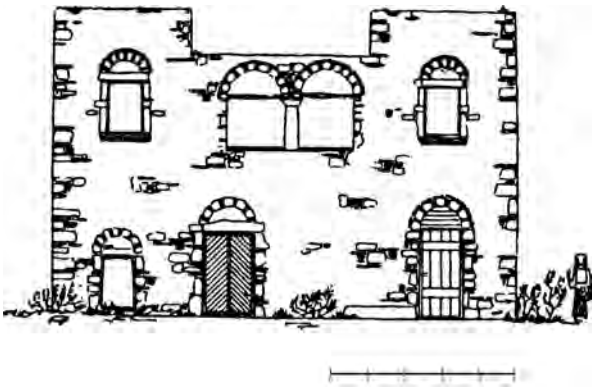


Fig. 4.5 Two-storey house in Chios, with an *iliakos* on the upper floor (Lambakis and Bouras 1981, 20, fig. 23)

4.2.4 Ionian Islands

It is worth commenting also on a representative study from the Ionian Islands in Western Greece, mainly due to the similarities and common Latin influences between those islands and the Cyclades. Zivas (1974) discusses private housing on the islands of Zante, Kephalonia and Corfu. His main interest is the influence of 'polite' architecture on housing of farming communities. Zivas describes surviving examples of rural housing and stresses the stylistic and aesthetic similarities of such rural domestic structures with urban houses. Therefore, he uses the surviving evidence as a basis, disregarding the standard humble rural housing; this is mainly because his aim is to prove that rural domestic architecture simply reflects elite trends in house-styles during a period of greater prosperity and a process of social emulation.

4.2.5 Aegean Mainland Greece and Euboea

Ideas connected with the origin of Medieval housing in the Balkan peninsula and its association with particular ethnic groups, the origin of Byzantine housing in Classical Antiquity, and the influence of climatic conditions, are some of the questions examined by the authors of the following papers.

Bouras (1974) argues that the large unified space of the upper floor in two-storey Late Byzantine houses in Mistra reflects the agrarian social structure, while similarities between Medieval and ancient housing testifies to the continuity of domestic needs and functions. Aalen (1996) on the other hand examines aspects of two and three-storey houses in the Balkan region and argues in favour of functional features in such domestic structures (upper floor = living space, ground floor = storage and stabling). Aalen further notes that the undivided space in humble single-storey peasant housing might be connected with the ancient idea of the 'Megaron'. He also traces different house-types, such as the *Turko-Oriental*, the *Laika*, the *Archontika*, the *Chiftlicks* in different geographical regions, presumably occupied by different ethnic groups. Similarly, Wagstaff (1965) distinguishes different house-forms according to geography, building materials available, climate and ethnic groups living in each area discussed. Furthermore, he argues that the physical environment shapes housing types accordingly. Cycladic houses are flat roofed due to low rainfall, while scarcity of large timber (for the construction of tile-roofed houses) has affected the articulation of island-housing, *e.g.* houses in Kimolos, Santorini, Antiparos are constructed with cylindrical corbelled domes (Wagstaff 1965, 61).

4.3 SOCIO-ECONOMIC STUDIES

A large number of studies of domestic architecture and settlement formation in the Medieval, Post-Medieval and Early Modern Aegean follow 'functionalist' approaches in order to explain continuity and changes in the built environment. Economic, social and environmental as well as 'local' factors are considered as the main elements that empower developments and determine continuity or changes in the vernacular architecture of the Greek littoral. This category includes studies that comprise an important step forward in the study of Post-Antique domestic architecture in Greece and employ an anthropological approach to aspects related to housing and domestic life.

4.3.1 The Cyclades

Lambrianides' (1995) paper examines two communities of different date, *i.e.* the Medieval-Modern town of Chora in Amorgos and the Early Bronze Age site of Thermi in Lesbos. Although this study is not directly related to domestic architecture, it offers an alternative and original approach to local actions and decisions in the diachronic development of settlement and society (Lambrianides 1995, 64). The author traces the historical development of Chora in Amorgos, focussing on the evolution of settlement layout and patterns of agriculture. Lambrianides (1995, 86) concludes that the present layout of the settlement is the result of past and present actions at the individual level in a pre-industrial society; the Yannakos clan and its descendants, who comprise a significant portion of the population nowadays, have been dominating the town, while the decisions of an individual to move the agricultural location affected Chora's structure. Moreover, religious and ceremonial life seems to have influenced intra- and inter-community relations between Chora, the Monastery of Chozoviotissa and the settlements of Kato Meria.

Marmaras (1995) examines the rules governing land use and the formation of the Cycladic built environment from the 15th to the 19th century. The author stresses the particularity of the Cycladic Islands, which were isolated pieces of land far from the Mainland and thus had the opportunity to develop their distinctive customs and traditions. The most important law for shaping the Cycladic built environment was the right of 'horizontal property', *i.e.* the right of the owner of the ground floor to sell the upper floor to another individual. In Syros, for instance, we get references for the use of the (flat) roof of a house to the front, as the yard of a house at the back. In Santorini, in the case of 'subterranean' houses (dug under the ground with a roof vault), it was not allowed to plant vines or other trees on their roofs (Marmaras 1995, 253). These and other laws conserved the Medieval character of the built environment in the Cyclades. Respect towards public places, streets and public view of the surrounding landscape created a unique environment for everyday public and private life within the Cycladic defended settlements.

Hoepfner and Schmidt (1978) in their study of the Late Medieval defended settlements of Antiparos and Kimolos give a social-history explanation for the establishment, character and architectural evolution of the sites. The authors provide a good and up-to-date description of the two Aegean towns and their historical background, together with information gathered from accounts by foreign travellers and previous research on Cycladic settlements. Apart from a detailed description of the towns' walls and houses, Hoepfner and Schmidt research into the settlements' establishment dates. Through their study and citation of related information, they conclude that Antiparos was a settlement housing 250 people engaged in agriculture, and a town built according to a designed plan comprising larger houses, open spaces and a circular tower at the centre. Kimolos (Fig. 4.6), on the other hand, provided shelter in two-storey single-roomed houses for 800 people involved in commerce and sea-trade, while a church of the Orthodox rite was built at the centre of the settlement (instead of a tower).

Similarly, Philippa-Apostolou's thesis (1978) provides a detailed study of the defended town of *Kastro* on the island of Antiparos (Fig. 4.7). The architectural study of the town-walls and houses is complete, while the author further notes the socio-economic conditions that shaped the establishment and development of the site. Philippa-Apostolou provides information about the historical background and the existing social system during the period between 1207 and the 16th century (when the feudal

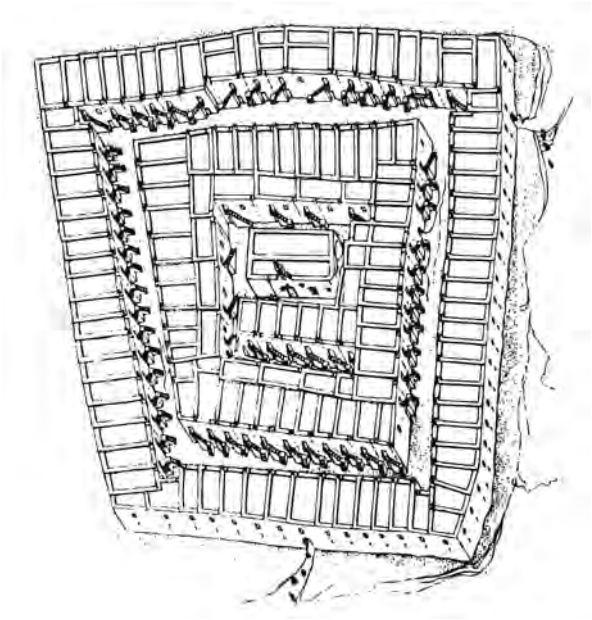


Fig. 4.6 Schematic representation of the Medieval settlement of Kastro on Kimolos (Hoepfner and Schmidt 1978, 58, fig. 24)

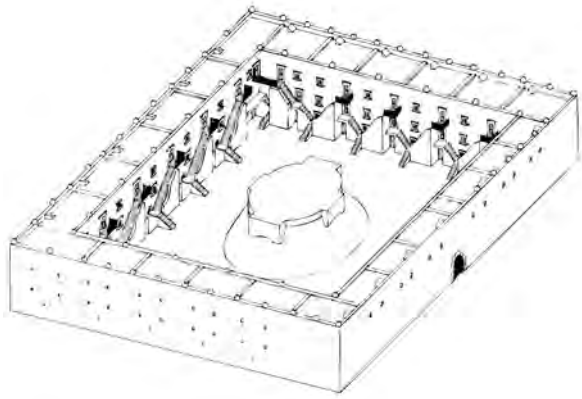


Fig. 4.7 Schematic representation of the Medieval settlement of Kastro on Antiparos (Philippa-Apostolou 1978, 79, fig. 150)

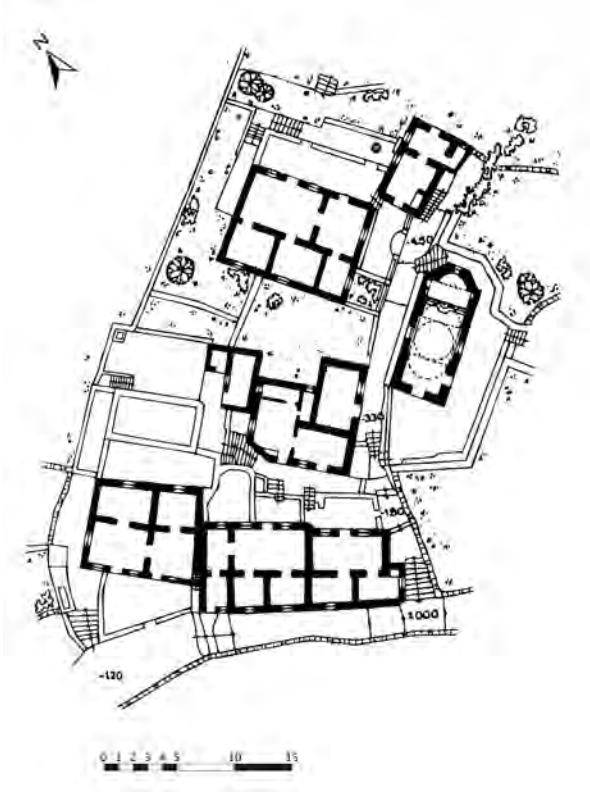


Fig. 4.8 Neighbourhood in one of the central settlements of Siphnos indicating the relationship between domestic structures and the surrounding built environment (Tzakou 1979, 90, fig. 73)

law-code was still in place). The economic and commercial policies of Venice for control over sea-routes to Constantinople, the Black Sea and the Middle East are also reviewed as factors determining the creation of the 'feud' of Antiparos and the building of its *Kastro*. The defended Late Medieval settlement of the island is rectangular in shape and the houses are built in concentric rows. The original plan included a central tower and no churches apart from the Metropolis-church built in the 17th century in the area immediately outside the Late Medieval defended centre. Nearly all houses are single-roomed with a hearth in the corner on the first and second floors. The whole settlement is viewed as a result of economic and social conditions in the Aegean. The *Kastro* of Antiparos has been compared to other castles or *castella* in the West (France, Northern Italy, Southern France, Southern Italy), while the central tower (probably the lord's residence) has been suggested to reflect the social system of the period (Philippa-Apostolou 1978, 40).

Tzakou (1979) has employed similar approaches in her study of the 'central' (inland) settlements on the island of Siphnos (Fig. 4.8). The author moves away from the descriptive approach of previous studies of traditional architecture in Greece and notes the basic aims of research from the 1960s onwards, while she stresses the need to study vernacular architectural

forms and the rules that govern them. Tzakou (1979) is using Siphnos as a case-study example of surviving Post-Medieval forms, in order to examine the relationship between the built environment and the structure of social life. The first part of this study is divided into themes discussing the general historical, economic and socio-cultural aspects of the island from the period of Venetian rule to the Early Modern era. Apart from a good review of architectural elements and building materials and techniques, this study examines the relationship between settlement layout, domestic architecture and the social implications that shaped the present traditional forms. The author is also interested in the internal space division and discusses economic and socio-cultural aspects that may be reflected in the vernacular housing of the island.

Continuing with studies researching into the formation and evolution of island settlements, a paper by Kolodny (1969/70) on the coastal town of Ermoupolis in Syros is another case-study, this time focussed on the development and decline of this commercial town during the 19th century. Ermoupolis was one of the Aegean towns that received a considerable number of refugees (about 30,000) from other parts of Greece in 1823, after the outbreak of the Greek War of Independence. Ermoupolis (deriving its name from the Greek God of commerce *Hermes*) became the second most important town of the Greek Kingdom in 1853 due to the strategic importance of the island and the economic factors which led to its central role in the newly founded Greek Kingdom. Ermoupolis owned the greatest number of ships, surpassing Spetses, Hydra, Mykonos, Santorini and Skiathos, but lost its importance with the introduction of steamboats, the change of sea-routes and the opening-up of the Gulf of Corinth. The main purpose of this paper is to identify the historical and economic aspects that led to the birth, growth and decline of the main town of Syros as well as the examination of an Aegean island-town and its inhabitants' relationships (Catholics and Orthodox, locals and refugees).

The group of three papers by Michaelides, Polychroniadis and Chadjimichalis, and Radford and Clark, in the volume edited by Doumanis and Oliver (1974), all focus on the effects of elements of the physical environment on human behaviour, and the relationship between 'builder' and 'user'. This relationship and the repetitive pattern of the typical defended settlements resulted in the development of the Aegean island-towns, while notions of privacy in traditional Aegean societies, which until very recently were based on local economy and unwritten laws, emerged as principal needs and characteristics. What is most interesting about these three studies on Cycladic settlement layout and domestic architecture is the emphasis on the individual and the relationship of the local population with notions of public, semi-public, semi-private and private.

Sanders' (1996) study of the *kastra* on Melos cannot be fully integrated in this group, for it is a special article focussing not on domestic architecture as such, but on the establishment and general characteristics of defended towns in the Aegean during the period of Venetian domination. Sanders reviews the economic factors that brought prosperity to the island at different periods; drawing information from foreign travellers' accounts, he suggests that the large volume of foreign vessels arriving at the port of Melos, wealth derived from piloting ships, and the island's exports of value offered its inhabitants affluence and more than self-sufficiency (Sanders 1996, 148). There follows a discussion of the historical background and the main characteristics of Anokastro and Millo, the two Late Medieval centres of the island. The author notes that houses in both towns were two and three-storey, with the ground floor usually serving as a pigsty and the upper storey consisting of a single large room used as the main living quarter of the family. Sanders further classifies island settlement forms into those of orthogonal and those of irregular plan (depending on the location and topography of the settlements), while he makes a distinction between *polis* or *chora* (the main island town), *kastra* (walled settlement), and *choria* or *choridia* (villages) and their different status. He also refers to the fact that housing in such settlements developed around the tower (and residence) of the local feudal lord. He further argues that Cycladic settlements should be regarded as an Aegean version of Italian *incastellamento*.

4.3.2 South Aegean Islands and Crete

Dimakopoulos (1997) provides us with an interesting case study with examples from Crete showing for-

eign influences and traditions on local architecture. His study examines the influences of Renaissance urban architecture on the houses of Rethymnon after its destruction in 1571 (between 1571 and 1645), as well as the architectural fashions followed by the Rethymnians (feudal lords and aristocrats, civilians and peasants). The author also notes that during the same period countryside villas appear in the landscape replacing the old feudal towers (tower-houses) of the Cretan feudal lords. These villas seem to have been occupied seasonally or at a special time of the year by the lord and his family. As far as town housing is concerned, it seems that Italian architects such as Sanmicheli influenced public and civil housing of the 'agricultural' stone building styles (*opera rustica* or *rusticato*, rusticated masonry, *Rustica*). Renaissance architecture in Cretan town houses can be traced mainly on the facade of buildings, standing at either side of public streets. The interior space had a rather simple division. The author illustrates the study with a painting of the 17th century (Fig. 4.9) depicting the Ammos neighbourhood with examples of elite housing, single, two or three-storey. Dimakopoulos (1997, 27) argues that 'written sources suggest that not only aristocrats and lords could afford such big houses but also civilians'. The most common type was the two-storey house with the upper floor used by the family as living space and the ground floor for storage and stabling or as shops and workshops. An external stone staircase led to the *iliakos* (similar to those of Chios).

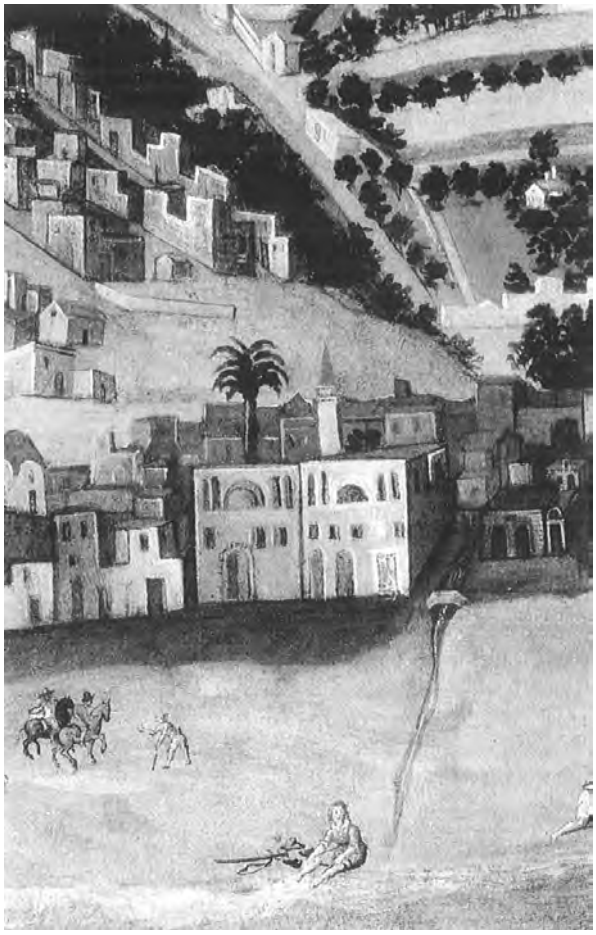


Fig. 4.9 Detail from a Cretan painting (dated around 1573) showing the Ammos area of the town of Rethymnon, with characteristic examples of town-housing (Dimakopoulos 1997, fig. 13)

A paper by Lee Smith *et al.* (1966) seems to be revolutionary for the period it was published. The authors (1966, 183) clearly state that the present form of the Late Medieval town of Lindos in Rhodes is closely related to the functional needs of the inhabitants. The need for defence against pirate attacks and earthquakes, local climatic conditions, containment of the family, movement and transportation, all these were factors that affected the architectural form of the town. The dimensions of the houses are quite confined, with no real possibility for changing their plan or adding extensions. Only the yards' entrances face the narrow winding streets of the town. For this purpose, these gates are ornamentally decorated, probably a gesture suggesting social status and display, privacy and family identity (the houses look into their courtyards and the high walls enclosing the yards do not allow any overlooking of one courtyard into another). The authors also stress the adjustment of the town's features to climatic conditions and earthquakes. This is accomplished in the way that streets and houses follow the natural contours of the ground, a perfect anti-seismic construction. The division of domestic space and household fittings are also aspects of domestic housing that stimulated the interest of the authors. The main room of Lindos' houses always contains the best pebble floor. Pebbled floors were carefully laid around the raised wooden sleeping platforms, probably an Ottoman-Turkish introduction. Furniture, however, is minimal, with only a few chairs and a small table, a chest and a glass-fronted display cabinet. The walls are deco-

rated with colourful imported pottery from Iznik and Kütahya, some several hundreds of years old. Although the authors provide us with a very interesting case-study of domestic architecture and Aegean town planning, they also present a brief socio-economic study of the most representative aspects of Rhodian housing.

Photiades (1987) presents a general view of the town of Patmos, with special reference to the *monospito* (single-storey house), a primary form of house for the development of architectural traditions on the island. This single-unit house seems to have been the typical housing model until the 19th century. Privacy was an important aspect of the *monospito*. Its importance is clearly reflected in its plan. Behind a high wall and an opaque wooden door comes the *avlidaki* or 'little yard', a meeting-place for women to talk 'in dignity', something which would never happen in the street, as in extravert Mykonos (Photiades 1987, 195). After the *avlidaki* comes the kitchen (corresponding to the *sala* or living room on the first floor) and behind it there is the sleeping area, usually lit and ventilated through the *sala*. Such an 'hierarchical' arrangement of domestic rooms is also noted in the traditional Cycladic houses, where the entrance and yard become an area introducing people to the 'inner' world of the private house; there follows the *sala* where visitors are treated and items of status are displayed, while the most inner room (the sleeping area) is the most private room of the house.

4.3.3 East and North Aegean Islands

The study of one of the traditional settlements of the island of Thasos is the subject of Angeloudi and Velenis' (1983) paper, another typical study of this group. The authors present the historical processes and building traditions of this traditional settlement, without providing an analysis of how these historical processes affected the built environment in Thasos. Its morphological characteristics and the historical background form the structure of this study. According to the authors, the general instability and insecurity within Ottoman territory during the Late Ottoman period isolated Thasos from the outer world, brought trade to a standstill throughout the 18th century and led the island to economic decline. Houses in Kastro vary in size, shape and type but they usually are two-storey. The most common domestic fittings of the Thasos traditional house are built cupboards and shelves for kitchen utensils, a fireplace, mattresses and cushions to sit on, a small lamp hanging in front of a small recess on the wall and a small round table (known as *sofras*) used for dining.

4.3.4 Ionian Islands

Aalen (1984) examines the vernacular architecture of Kephalonia in the Ionian Sea. He argues that, as in other case studies discussed above, symmetry and the careful and elaborate construction of facades (especially in town houses) seem to have been influenced by 'polite' architecture (*e.g.* the so-called *palatia* or palaces, two-storey houses of the middle 19th century). He distinguishes three main house-types and a variety of non-domestic structures in the countryside (*e.g.* huts, structures in stone, wood and straw used as human and animal shelters). The traditional houses of Kephalonia can be compared to those of the Greek Mainland; they are built of stone, they are usually rectangular in shape, and have one or two storeys and a pitched roof. Even in rural areas 19th-century economic development and social differentiation resulted in influences from polite architecture.

Kythera to the south of the Peloponnese is the subject of Leontsinis' (2000) thesis. This study examines the social history of the island of Kythera from the beginning of the 18th century to 1863. Attention is given to the relationship between social change and foreign domination on the island and to factors such as revolutionary behaviour, rural rioting, emigration, population growth, economy, education and welfare (Leontsinis 2000, 13). As it has already been noted above, although this is not a study of domestic architecture, the author offers a different view to the establishment and development of the Late Medieval town of Agios Dimitrios through the study of written sources and local traditions. The town with its surviving churches, the interesting examples of domestic architecture and the layout of the citadel itself, a mass of documentary evidence from various periods and the popular local traditions surrounding this defunct Medieval town, all testify to its past prosperity (Leontsinis 2000, 43).

4.3.5 Aegean Mainland Greece and Euboea

Wagstaff's (1969) review article on published literature of Greek rural settlements was at the time the most comprehensive and up-to-date (with information at hand published up to 1969) study of previous work on Greek traditional architecture. Wagstaff reviews articles and other published studies and classifies them into three groups, *i.e.* national surveys, regional descriptions and studies of individual settlements, and settlement categories on the basis of form or origin. Almost all papers reviewed are typological in character, while some others seem to approach domestic architecture in Greece from a socio-economic perspective. Moreover, the reviewer notes that climate, local variations of the physical environment and available building materials determine the formation of settlement layout and house types. Through his presentation and further research on information provided by previous studies, Wagstaff distinguishes two main settlement-types: the temporary and the permanent settlements, with further subdivisions according to special economic features of these settlements. These subdivisions are clustered villages, street and line settlements, hamlets, isolated farmsteads and defensive settlements. It seems that such approaches to domestic architecture (social, economic, and cultural) were very favourable from the 1960s to the late 1980s. The author himself recognises that most of the studies on the Greek vernacular are descriptive rather than analytical. For most scholars factors such as the physical environment and the impact of socio-economic changes seem to be the leading forces that shaped settlement form, determined site choice, developed regional patterns and brought about change (Wagstaff 1969, 317).

Finally, a paper by Aalen (1982) on the 'Cycladic house' in South Euboea examines the subject from the familiar historical and environmental perspective. The author traces the differences in domestic building traditions and the construction of housing in Euboea through a social and economic perspective. More interestingly, he notes that the land boundary of Mount Okhi marks the change in roof-types. The North seems to have houses with pitched roofs (such as those on the Mainland) and the South has flat-roofed houses (such as those of the Cyclades) with an admixture of styles in a narrow zone of 2-3 kilometres. The author explains, however, that it is not possible to detect whether there are periods of transition and that such differences are unlikely to be attributable to ethnic or deep-seated historical causes. Aalen argues that the types are probably distinct within a single tradition and have been built to meet the varied economic and social requirements as well as local needs of peasant communities, using local building materials.

4.4 SOCIAL THEORY STUDIES

As has already been mentioned above, the Aegean area is marked by the good fortune that evidence for Post-Antique settlements and housing usually comes from above rather than below the ground. Most of the more recent theories and approaches to interpreting settlement organisation and housing patterns have only been tested on prehistoric examples in Europe and the United States. It is therefore necessary to look at parallels for such studies from places other than countries in the Mediterranean (Vionis 2001a, 111, 116).

A far as the Aegean region is concerned, however, Jesson (1977) examined some Cycladic littoral villages and noted similarities between populations, circulation, organisation, construction, orientation to the sea, internal adaptation to climatic factors, societal preference externally and internally for 'edge definition' and disposition of essential common elements. The relationship between private and public is also examined in the form of a discussion on island-housing, *e.g.* there are no corridors in private dwellings, courts are the only connecting devices, while private dwellings are almost always entered from the street and not from an intersection.

The monograph by Rackham and Moody (1996) provides an introduction to the traditional architecture of Crete. The authors successfully note that it is only an illusory idea that vernacular houses were shelters for 'peasants' (simple and artless structures of a design determined by environmental and practical aspects), built by the owners themselves using local building material. They further suggest that all houses in Crete have hewn doorways and window openings, imported planks, window bars and iron fittings, thus, specialists would have been needed, while the build-

ing of a house implied a set tradition, fashion and etiquette, bearing no relation to notions such as economy or practicality. Rackham and Moody, although not architects themselves, with this example of Cretan housing approach the subject of domestic architecture from a rather 'symbolic' perspective, giving particular emphasis to aspects such as symbolism and status in a rural part of Greece. However, although manor houses and villas used as residences of the Creto-Venetian nobility are briefly discussed, they do not provide a further analysis of such domestic structures in the same way as vernacular housing. These manor houses of a Late Medieval and Renaissance style with decorative arches and windows have three storeys, stone vaults, staircases and lavishly cut stones. Such houses remind us of villas on the island of Chios and tower-houses on the Cycladic islands of Andros and Naxos, all of them Late Medieval and Post-Medieval in date. Although not so comparable to the Cretan ones as far as their lavish decoration is concerned (especially when compared to the Cycladic ones) they are of a similar character and built for similar purposes, under similar notions of a colonial minority, for status and social display.

Another monograph by Sigalos (2004) represents a comprehensive and up-to-date study of domestic architecture in Greece, from the Middle Byzantine era to the Early Modern period. It is a synthetic and comprehensive work that employs a variety of methods, such as architectural remains, representations, and published Ottoman documents. The author approaches the interpretation of changes in the built environment and the use of domestic space as a result of socio-economic and cultural elements, as well as identity and gender relations. He reviews the main architectural trends in Greece as a whole, with particular emphasis on two regions in Mainland Greece, *i.e.* Pylia in Southwest Peloponnese and Boeotia in central Greece, which he uses as separate case-studies. Both regions offer ample evidence for rural settlements and housing from the later Middle Ages to the early 20th century, while comparisons are being made not only with other parts of Greece, but also with neighbouring countries such as present-day Turkey and Italy.

Sant Cassia (1982, 175-86) is plunging into the implications of changes in house and social space in the Easternmost corner of the Mediterranean, in what represents an exemplary study of this category. He examines the role of the house and its changing symbolism in Cypriot rural culture and his aim is to show the intimate relationship between housing and other aspects of Cypriot culture, *e.g.* the emphasis on the political independence of each household and the importance of the Church. He further investigates the symbolism of the house in contemporary Cyprus and how this is responding to a changing political and economic climate. Sant Cassia examines the house mainly within the context of Cypriot society and religious practices. The traditional Cypriot house consists of a single rectangular room (the so-called 'makrinari') divided into two areas; the left part of the house was reserved for animals, while the right one was the human area reserved for cooking, eating, sleeping and working. The 'symbolic' wooden post supporting the roof (*o stilos tou spitiou* meaning 'the supporter of the household') is placed at the centre of the room and reflects notions of masculinity, honour and shame. The author discusses how each household is shaped and what its life cycle is like in connection to Greek-Cypriot traditions, the Greek-Orthodox Church and other religious festivities.

4.5 STUDIES IN EUROPE AND THE UNITED STATES

Prehistorians and historical archaeologists alike shaped a different approach to domestic architecture and household lifestyles during the past two decades. Their aim was the interpretation of changes in material culture and architecture under the prism of social behaviour, 'individualism', status and symbolism. Johnson (1993) noted (in the case of vernacular architecture in England) that typological studies done in the past can be defined as local descriptions and classifications of house-types but are not quantifiable and offer little potential for meaningful generalisation. In contrast, socio-economic approaches are centred on the relation of housing to local economic trends. Johnson (1993; 1994; 1996) further argues that the study of vernacular architecture may be placed in its historical and social context but has to be additionally treated as a product of cultural change. Moreover, houses cannot be treated as mere artefacts but rather as the 'bounded space' within which other aspects of material cultural (*e.g.* internal

fittings, built or mobile furnishings) define the use of space and the social identity of the individuals inhabiting it.

A similar approach was also followed in Allison's (1999) edited volume, in which authors view the 'house' as the 'arena' for social and material practices. Domestic material culture within the bounded space of the house (always in relation to the unbounded landscape) is viewed as meaningful objects, objects that carry cultural, social and other meanings. As Carsten and Hugh-Jones (1995, 2) have pointed out, 'dwellings serve both to reveal and display, and to hide and protect' (Allison 1999, 1), thus, one cannot fully understand changes or continuities in domestic architectural traditions unless one researches into the 'household' as a whole. This is a way to visualise issues such as space, status, gender and age relationships as social and productive units in the wider community (Allison 1999, 2).

Similarly, Kent (1990) attempts to bring together scholars of different disciplines in order to contribute to the study of domestic architecture and the use of space. She views architecture as creating boundaries out of an unbounded space, while the use of space can be seen as a means to organise that unbounded space. However, the fundamental question of the authors in Kent's edited volume is mainly what influences domestic architectural design and the use of space and how each is related to the other, how the use of space affects domestic architectural design and vice versa. Such a question has been treated as a fundamental one in examining household behaviour while the study of domestic-architectural remains has been seen as offering the solution. A complete picture, however, cannot be given only with the examination of structural remains, but also requires the overall study of internal features and domestic material culture. Domestic material culture defines in most cases the use of space and the mentality of the people who built those structures, decorated them, inhabited them, created and communicated within and outside them.

Parker-Pearson and Richards (1994), discussing perceptions of architecture in time and space, follow a symbolic-orientated path for exploring the archaeology of the Modern house in comparison to the Medieval and Post-Medieval one. They examine how the ideology of housing as private ownership of dwellings in separate, individualised space according to wealth has fragmented household units within the workings of modern capitalism and its accompanying processes of individualism and privatisation (King 1984, 254; Parker-Pearson and Richards 1994, 6). A series of oppositions, such as front-back, clean-dirty, day-light, public-private, male-female, symbolic-secular and sacred-profane tend to permeate domestic organisation and the hierarchy of rooms (*e.g.* as one proceeds through the house from front to back or from downstairs to upstairs, one moves from public to more private spaces). The authors also note the difference between Medieval perceptions of the house as a large semi-public structure with its central and large hall for receiving visitors for feasts and other activities and the house of contemporary times with its tiny entrance-hall dividing the outer public world (the street) and the private-domestic interior. Dovey's remark (1985, 57) is equally interesting in arguing that 'we now inhabit small islands, isolated and secured, within a grand void' (Parker-Pearson and Richards 1994, 9). Moreover, the principle of centrality is a fundamental one in explaining social organisation and formation, hierarchy, identity and symbolism. The centre has been considered as the place of the sacred, the ceremonial, the symbolic, the centre of political, cultural, social and religious activity. In line with the example provided by Parker-Pearson and Richards (1994, 12), the principle of centrality is found within settlement layouts, *e.g.* the villages of Borovo of Amazonia are arranged in a circle, with the men's house and ceremonial area at its centre. The settlement layout of the Late Medieval Chora of Naxos (and of other Aegean islands) provides an intriguing parallel here; the symbols of ecclesiastical and secular authority (the Catholic Cathedral and the main tower-residence of the Venetian lord) stood at the centre, on the top of the hill, and all roads led to these two basic poles of attraction (Kouroupaki *et al.* 1988, 84; Vionis 2001a, 123). The houses-mansions of the Venetian gentry occupy the area around these central poles of attraction, while the rest of the (local and foreign) population has smaller and more humble houses outside the centre of the colonial minority.

Similarly, Jameson (1990) explores domestic space in the Greek city-state by setting private housing in the context of Greek settlement patterns and town planning, Greek social structure and ideology. Kent (1990), Johnson (1993) and Allison (1999) have also employed such an approach by putting the domestic unit in a wider spatial, social and ideological context. Moreover, Jameson (1990) considers aspects such as symbolism and space, symbol and reality. Hermes, for instance, the patron God of commerce and communication, and Hestia, the patron Goddess of the fixed immobile interior, symbolise the relation between external-public and internal-domestic space. By employing ethnographical approaches (looking at modern Greek villages and village-life) he tries to understand the distant Classical past through comparison with rural Greek life (without arguing for continuity or discontinuity between the Classical past and present-day Greece). Peasant women in contemporary Greece still tend to avoid 'masculine' space, *e.g.* the village coffee-house. For them, communication with the passing world from the front door, an open courtyard, or outside stairs is a staple of village life that one can still see on the islands (Jameson 1990, 106). Therefore, questions considering Mediterranean peoples' mentality can prove in most cases important in answering questions concerning the use and symbolism of internal-domestic space.

4.6 SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This survey of published studies was intended to provide a summary of past and current approaches to domestic architecture and to categorise published papers according to the authors' methodological orientation to the study and interpretation of housing in the Medieval and Post-Medieval Aegean. Three main groups have been identified. The first one includes studies that approach the subject from a descriptive and typological perspective, categorising traditional housing according to its building materials and techniques, plan and number of rooms. Papers discussing developments, continuity and changes in Post-Antique housing on the basis of more functional approaches (*e.g.* environmental factors and climate, local building materials, economic, historical and political conditions affecting domestic architecture) form the second group. Finally, the third group comprises studies approaching domestic architecture not only through the study of structural remains, but also through the examination of domestic material culture and behaviour, the use of internal space and its symbolic meaning, following trends developed in Europe and the United States.

The merging of all four methodological approaches reviewed above, for the construction of a competent mode to answer questions regarding the use of domestic space and what that implies for people's mentalities, is imperative. All approaches are essential for more efficient research and a better understanding of issues concerning the domestic sphere. A large collection of data in the form of photographs, sketch drawings, architectural plans and topographical maps is very fundamental for a researcher who wishes to proceed to a comparative analysis. An efficient and reliable typological sequence and established chronology on housing of different styles is also invaluable.

5. Cycladic Settlements and Housing: Typology and Chronology

5.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter deals with the typo-chronological presentation of the main settlement and house forms in the Cyclades based on already published examples (Fig. 5.1). The purpose is to distinguish between different settlement and house-types through different periods of construction. It is an attempt to establish a chronology, with the prospect of identifying continuity and changes in settlement layout and domestic space from the 13th to the 19th century.

The presentation of Cycladic settlement and house typo-chronology commences with the examination of Late Medieval and early Post-Medieval (*c*.1207-1600) settlement forms, *i.e.* Late Medieval defended settlements of the orthogonal and irregular plan (*see* Tzakou 1988; Sanders 1996). A review of the main house-types follows with a discussion of the features and special characteristics of housing within fortified settlements. Medieval housing in these walled settlements is mainly typified by 'narrow fronted' and 'broad fronted' houses (with or without an extension, and usually with a second storey). Later Post-Medieval and Early Modern (*c*.1600-1900) settlements and housing form the second part of this chapter. Settlement-types of this period include the evolved form of the pre-existing nucleated Medieval fortified centres, the dispersed settlements of traditional and linear village-layout (*see* Tzakou 1979; Philippides 1988a; Cherry *et al.* 1991) and the Early Modern permanent farmhouses with domestic and agricultural functions. Domestic structures during the Post-Medieval and Early Modern periods were constructed with a greater degree of freedom, because of more available space and are marked by a lesser degree of planning. Housing is distinguished between single- and two-storey, having one, two or three rooms, usually built of local material. The so-called *archontika* ('upper-class' houses) from the end of the 19th century appear to adopt features from Neoclassical architecture. The general discussion of the main characteristics of different Late Medieval and Post-Medieval settlement forms is followed by a presentation of the most characteristic and interesting examples of still preserved towns and villages in the Cyclades.

5.2 FORTIFIED SETTLEMENTS - *KASTRA*

The distinction between settlements of different ground plan, built mainly during the period of Latin occupation in the Cyclades, is an important aspect of the built environment, since settlement form affected individual house-plans. After the establishment of the Duchy of the Archipelago, a large number of small and simple fortified settlements were built in the Cyclades in order to re-house the population of these islands that came under a new regime and a new social and governing system.

This was a practice that is encountered not only in the Cyclades, but also in other parts of the Aegean. The general practice of the Latin lords in many parts of Greece was the imposition onto a pre-existing settlement system of the feudal nobility, who established itself in castles and defended towers close to pre-existing settlement sites. For example, the Middle Byzantine village of Askra in the Valley of the Muses was relocated or moved at the beginning of the 13th century to a neighbouring hill (site VM4), a kilometre or so from the Byzantine village, overlooked by a newly constructed feudal tower (Bintliff 1996; 2000, 44). Archaeological research in the Levant has revealed a similar settlement pattern, where new villages, established after the Crusades, were composed not only of domestic houses alone, but also of manor houses and a tower, located in the centre of the settlement or on top of a hill (Boas 1999). By and large the

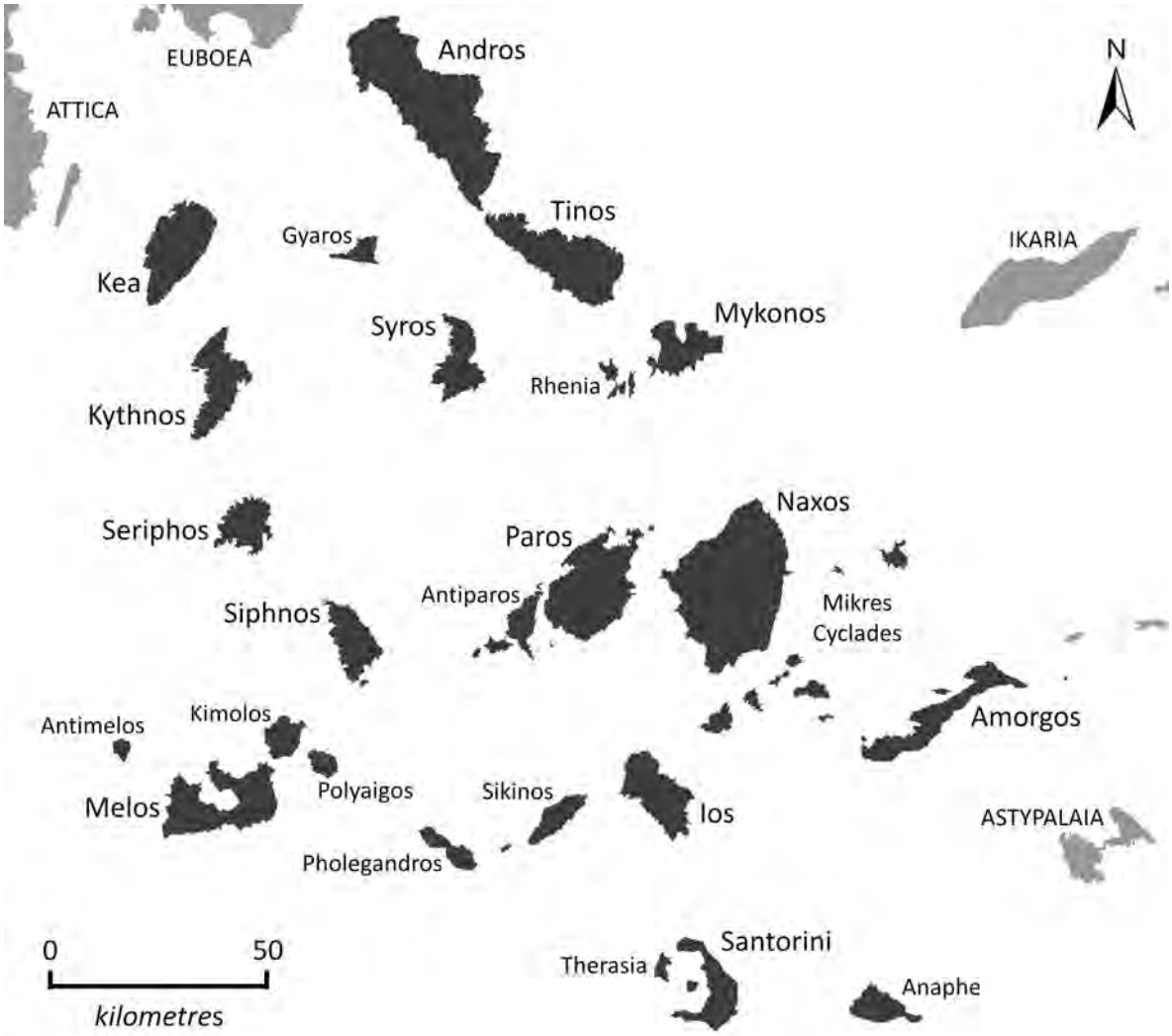


Fig. 5.1 Map of the Cyclades islands

meaning and function of these towers or tower-houses was military, residential, administrative, economic and symbolic; towers were generating revenues from the controlled territory around them, but also protected their occupants (feudal lords), agricultural produce and subject peasants. This shift from dispersed settlements to fortified villages of the *kastro*-type directly links us to the process of *incastellamento* in South Etruria (Wickham 1978; 1979).

5.2.1 Fortified Settlements of the Orthogonal Plan

The settlements included in this category are roughly rectangular in shape and in most cases built on flat terrain in a plain or very close to the coast. Such settlement plans generally lead us to assume that these were unified complexes based on a high degree of organisation. Fortified settlements of the orthogonal plan are identified on a number of Cycladic and other Aegean islands. The best preserved ones, however, are the settlements of Kimolos, Antiparos, Kastro on Mykonos and Naoussa on Paros. Olympoi and Kalamoti on the island of Chios are also similar examples. Thus, these are settlements whose walls were constructed in order to defend the town developing at the same time within them.

Frankish settlements presumably built according to plan have also been found elsewhere in the Mediterranean even before the Latin occupation of the Aegean islands during the first half of the 13th century. In the area of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem a number of such settlements have been identified, while one of those, Parva Mahomeria, has been excavated. With the combination of both textual sources and archaeological investigation at the site, Ellenblum (1998) has argued that Parva Mahomeria must have been founded around the middle of the 12th century. There is no fortification wall enclosing the village to protect it from any outside danger. The houses were constructed alongside the main road that led through the village. All houses are barrel-vaulted and multi-storeyed, consisting of one long central room measuring 5.5x15 m. A central Frankish building was discovered during the 19th century excavations at the centre of the village, and it is assumed that it was used by the Church of the Holy Sepulchre for administrative, storage and security purposes. The resemblance between the houses strengthens the impression that all of them were built at the same time and possibly even by the same group of builders. It has also been suggested that the village has a European character rather than a local Arab one, since there is no Arab village which was built according to an organised planning scheme (Ellenblum 1998, 88-90).

It is clear that in cases such as the defended settlements of Kimolos and Antiparos there were building specifications which determined the plan of the village, and subsequently, the plan and orientation of individual domestic structures. Settlements and housing within them are dated either to the first phase of Latin establishment in the Aegean during the 13th-14th centuries (*e.g.* Kastro on Mykonos, Naoussa on Paros) or to the phase of resettlement, during the 15th and 16th centuries (*e.g.* Kastro on Kimolos and Antiparos).

Andros: Chora

At the beginning of the 13th century the island of Andros was granted to Marino Dandolo, the nephew of the Doge of Venice. Dandolo established the administrative centre of the island on the East coast, on a rock-islet at the end of a small elongated peninsula. This was Mesa Kastro, which was formed by a rectangular defence wall with towers, the 'palace' of

Fig. 5.2 Plan of Kato Kastro on Andros (redrawn after Philippa-Apostolou 1978, 106, fig. 191)

Fig. 5.3 View of Mesa Kastro and its ruins, Andros

Dandolo and a stone-built water reservoir. Kato Kastro or modern Chora (Fig. 5.2), which was the medieval town itself, was built on the elongated peninsula, between the bays of Parapotri and Nimborio. A drawbridge gave access to Mesa Kastro (the islet-fort) from the peninsula of Kato Kastro; a stone-built single-arched bridge stands in its place nowadays (Fig. 5.3). The 15th-century Florentine traveller

Christoforo Buondelmonti (Legrand 1897) refers to Mesa Kastro, therefore, the fort was erected during the early phase of Latin rule in the 13th century.

Recent excavations at Mesa Kastro by the University of Athens (Dori *et al.* 2003) have confirmed the foundation of the fort on the basis of ceramic finds, the earliest of which are dated to the early 13th century. No systematic study of the proper town or Chora of Andros has been carried out. However, the excavators (Dori *et al.* 2003) of the fortified islet off the peninsula of Chora have suggested that the 'Medieval' appearance of the town is similar to other Frankish defended towns in the Aegean. Moreover, the masonry of the remnants of the Chora enclosure wall is almost identical to that of the islet-fort, indicating a rather Late Medieval date for the settlement. The defensive enceinte was almost rectangular in shape, following more or less the rocky coast of the peninsula. In parts, the houses built at the extreme edge of the town and very close to each other formed the defensive wall itself, while the back walls of the houses' ground floors were left blank or occasionally possessed small loopholes. The main gate of the Late Medieval town was located at Kairis Square; however, the gate is only a scarcely recognisable arched passageway today. For greater security the peninsula was cut-off from the rest of the island by a deep ditch, which was crossed by a wooden drawbridge (Charitonidou 1988a). Philippa-Apostolou (1978) suggests that the Late Medieval town of Andros was established earlier and that Crussino Sommaripa built a defensive wall around it in the years between 1440 and 1462. Although not much of the original Late Medieval town has been preserved today, the fact that Chora is built on flat terrain and its plan looks almost rectangular in shape, argues that it originally was of the orthogonal plan.

Antiparos: Kastro

Kastro on the island of Antiparos (Fig. 5.4) is another well-studied example of Late Medieval planned settlement of the orthogonal plan. Kastro is built on flat ground, atop a gentle hill 40 m above sea level on the Northern part of the island, between two small bays. The area occupied by Kastro is a place with plentiful water resources (*i.e.* many wells in the area). It has been suggested that the settlement of Kastro was founded between 1440 and 1446 by Giovani Loredano, a rich Venetian, who acquired the island through marriage with Maria Sommaripa, as part of her dowry (Philippa-Apostolou 1978; Sanders 1996). Loredano transferred peasant population to this barren island in order to resettle it. This was a common Venetian policy during the second half of the 15th century for the exploitation of agricultural lands. At the end of the 18th century, according to von Krinen (1773), the gate still bore the coat-of-arms of the Loredano family.

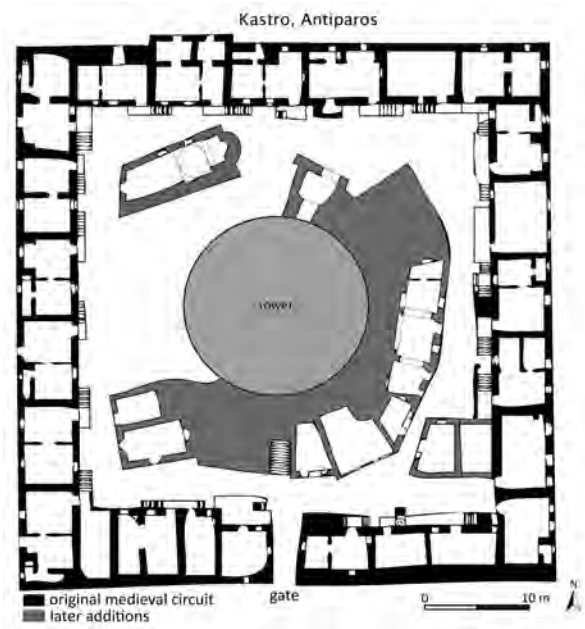


Fig. 5.4 First-floor plan of Kastro on Antiparos (redrawn after Philippa-Apostolou 1978, 50, fig. 90)

The oldest and original part of Kastro consists of a perfectly square arrangement (53x53 m), with 24 three-storey houses surrounding and looking towards the central focus of the settlement, where Loredano's 'tower' once stood. The tower was circular in shape (18.20 m diam.). There is no evidence for the form of its upper part, since it survives only up to 4 m. No openings are to be found on the lower part of the tower. Scholars have suggested that it might have been either the lord's residence or a fortified structure of secondary value, used by the inhabitants in case of pirate or other attack. The houses are formed in a similar fashion to those in the older portion of Kastro on Kimolos, while their dimensions are only 8x6 m

Fig. 5.5 View of the gate of Kastro on Antiparos

approximately. The gate is situated in the middle of the South side (Fig. 5.5); it is a pointed archway built of schist-stone, opening onto a narrow passageway three metres long running between the adjacent houses (Sanders 1996). Apart from the original part of Kastro discussed above, there was another, built at a later stage. A second block, which occupies the immediate area outside the gate of Late Medieval Kastro, formed a kind of yard and second line of defence, strengthening the approach. This addition measures 23x53 m and incorporates 21 houses and two churches. The second phase must be contemporary with or later than the Church of the Metamorphosis built in 1603. The third block consists of an irregular arrangement of houses and three churches surrounding the central circular structure within Kastro.

Thus, the walled centre of Antiparos, Kastro, is another example of Late Medieval defended settlements in the Aegean, where the defensive wall is formed by the outer walls of houses. A lot of marble spolia has been used for the building of the defence wall, together with local schist stone. The perfect rectangular shape of the town determines the continuous and unbreakable relationship between the defensive wall and the houses, the houses and the central tower, and the tower and its position at the centre of the settlement. It further suggests that there must have been a good budget and a general plan that laid down how all these structures would be built, and this indicates the existence of a central organising body, which designed and distributed the residences to the local population. Since such a project was planned, there must have been a 'model' which influenced the engineer. This model could have been based upon social and functional realities or simply 'imported' from other places with an older feudal tradition.

Kimolos: Kastro

Kastro on the island of Kimolos (Fig. 5.6) is dated to the early Post-Medieval period, around the late 16th century. It is built on a gently sloping plateau on the top of a hill about 70 m above sea level, overlooking fertile valleys to the Southwest. It is situated close to the best harbours of the island, which were very much favoured by corsairs and war fleets during the 17th century (Sanders 1996). Hoepfner and Schmidt (1978) suggest that the settlement was built around the 16th century and could have housed up to 1000 people. Sanders (1996) argues that Kastro must have been built by a group of twelve colonising families from the island of Siphnos not long before 1592 (on the basis of a dedicatory inscription above the door of the central Church). The Dutch historian Ben Slot (2001) has reached the same conclusion as Sanders (1996), mentioning that a Dutch historical text of 1613 informs us that Kastro on Kimolos was a 'new castle'. Ottoman sources of the early 17th century show similarities between the agricultural economies of Siphnos and Kimolos, while the *tahrir defter* (Ottoman census-records) of 1670 preserves the name of the Gozzadini family (the ruling Dynasty of Siphnos) in lists referring to the island of Kimolos. Sebastiani (1687; Slot 1982, 290) noted that Kimolos had 800

inhabitants in 1667. There were 142 households listed in the 1670 *tahrir defter*, or 680 people approximately (Slot 2001). It should be noted that the ground plan of Kastro on Kimolos implies an 'organised move' related to the general economic conditions in the Mediterranean. High prices of cereals in Italy and Spain led many European vessels to get provisions from the small Aegean islands. Although export of products from Aegean islands was forbidden by the Ottoman Porte (there were never Turks living on small islands), the unsettled economic and political affairs in the Western Mediterranean world made valuable even the comparatively small but accessible surpluses of the Cyclades (cf. Renfrew and Wagstaff eds, 1982).

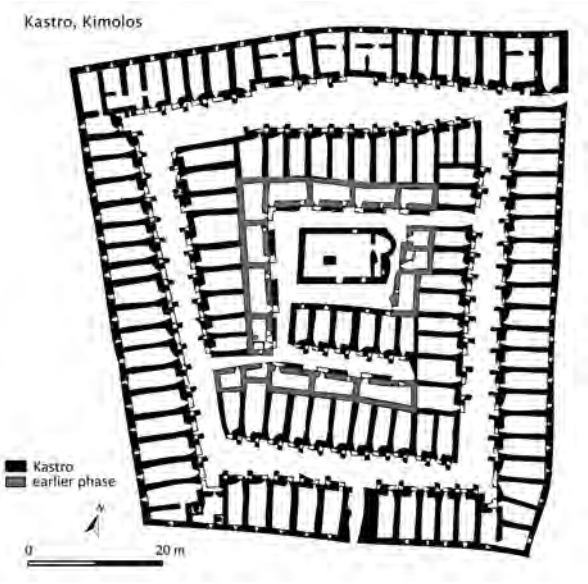


Fig. 5.6 Plan of Kastro on Kimolos (redrawn after Hoepfner and Schmidt 1978, 57, fig. 23)

The settlement is rectangular or 'trapezoidal' in shape and occupies 5.2 ha. It consists of three concentric rows of houses around a central square, occupied by a Church of the Orthodox rite. It contains 123 continuous two-storey houses. The oldest part of the settlement must have been the central area of the square, where twelve two-storey houses form a plan very much reminiscent of that of Kastro on Antiparos. These must have been the houses of the twelve families who initially migrated from Siphnnos to build a *kastro* in Kimolos towards the late 16th century. In this older neighbourhood, houses are built end to end in series and oriented parallel with the outside walls, whereas in the newer blocks the houses are terraced side by side perpendicular to the exterior walls. The average dimensions of a house are 2.5x7.1 m. A single perimeter street (about three metres wide) runs between the middle and outermost line of houses. There are two gates in the settlement, one on the South and another on the East side. The principal gate is located in the middle of the South side and consists of an eight-metre-passageway between flanking houses. There is a *stemma* or lintel above the South gate bearing the date 1675. The exterior defensive wall is 7 m in height and 70-80 cm in thickness. Local stone was used for the building of Kastro. Kimolian earth was used as mortar. The very soft *tofos* stone (porous sandstone) of Kimolos was used for the decorative elements on the houses (*e.g.* lintels, door and window frames). Remains of the Medieval character of the settlement can be traced on the Northern part of Kastro; small *polemistres* or loopholes were constructed for the ground-floor houses (on the outer defensive wall), while bigger windows were left for the second storey. The 'market place' of the settlement was reserved on the Northern side of Kastro, where the slightly non-straight Northern line of houses created some extra space (Hoepfner and Schmidt 1978).

Kimolos is a very good example of organised settlement planning of the orthogonal plan, while its layout is similar in structure and concept to defended settlements of the Late Medieval period. The un-plastered outside of the Northern outer defensive wall testifies to an un-breakable and continuously built structure (Philippa-Apostolou 1978; 2000). It is believed that Kastro housed a large population of sailors especially during wintertime (anchor-like decorative patterns on door lintels above the main entrance of houses might suggest involvement of the inhabitants in shipping and fishing).

Mykonos: Chora

An earlier example of a Late Medieval town is Kastro on the island of Mykonos (Fig. 5.7), one of the Aegean defended settlements that today preserve only very few original parts of their structures. It is assumed that Kastro was built before the beginning of the 15th century, since Christoforo Buondelmonti

Fig. 5.7 Suggestive plan of the original Kastro district on Mykonos (redrawn after Philippa-Apostolou 1978, 110, fig. 199)

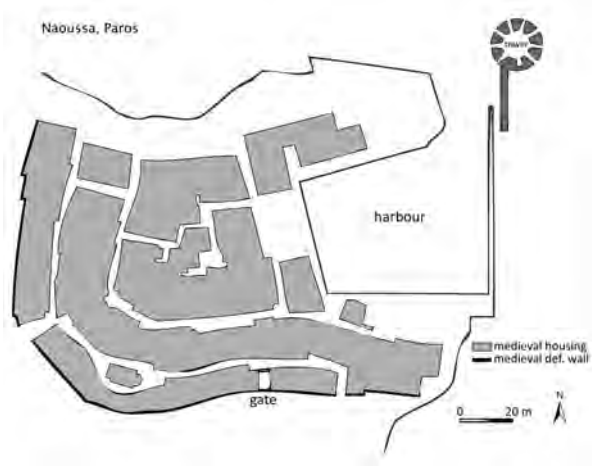


Fig. 5.8 Plan of the fortified town of Naoussa, Paros (redrawn after Philippa-Apostolou 1978, 93, fig. 161)

(Legrand 1897) mentions its existence already in 1410/12 and provides a sketch of it. The town, as we can see it today, has an orthogonal plan and it is built on flat terrain right on the South side of the port of Mykonos. Buondelmonti (Legrand 1897) gives a rather orthogonal appearance to the settlement on his sketch and suggests there are four towers, which are nowadays impossible to locate. It is assumed that the main gate of the town was located on the East side of the town, next to the church of *Panagia Paraportiani* (meaning 'Virgin by the gate'). Very few original parts of the Medieval defended town have been identified within the settlement, such as part of the Northern section of the perimeter wall which is preserved under the floor of the Mykonos Folk Art Museum (Loupou-Rokou 1999). Since we do not possess enough textual information or original architectural evidence about the town, we cannot say very much about its original appearance. It seems, though, that since the houses are built on a line next to each other, against the defensive wall, the town must have been built intentionally to house a large population. The overall size of Kastro was approximately 7200 m^2.

Paros: Naoussa

The town of Naoussa on the island of Paros is a rather unique case of settlements of the orthogonal plan (Fig. 5.8). It is built on flat terrain directly onto the naturally well defended port of Naoussa in the North of Paros. Buondelmonti (Legrand 1897), who visited the island at the beginning of the 15th century, already noted the existence of the town with its well and carefully constructed port, where big square marble blocks have been used for the construction of its harbour. Philippa-Apostolou (1978) suggests that Naoussa was founded during the first period of Venetian domination of the islands and constitutes one of the mechanisms for the establishment of the Sanudi Dynasty in the Cyclades.

Fig. 5.9 View of the circular fort at the entrance of the Late Medieval harbour of Naoussa, Paros

Fig. 5.10 View of the South gate of the defended town of Naoussa, Paros

What is unique about the town of Naoussa is its location on the harbour. The town was built between two permanent flowing streams with drinkable water (towards the Eastern and Northern sides of the settlement), and together with the port it was protected from all sides. Moreover, the circular tower (Fig. 5.9), measuring 15.80 m in diameter, built in the early 16th century on the Northeast side of the town (at the entrance of the port), was connected with the defensive wall of the settlement. The plan of the town is trapezoidal, with the outer line of houses forming the defensive wall. The wall has a thickness of 80-130 cm. There are two continuous long semi-concentric lines of houses running along the West and South side of the town, while a square-like block of houses is located at the settlement centre. A small square is formed approximately at the centre of the town, just on the North side of the Catholic church, dated to the first period of Latin domination (around the late 13th-14th century). There must have been three gates in the town. One of them is located on the North side, another on the West and a third one (which survives better and we can recognise with certainty as a gate) close to the Eastern corner of the South side (Fig. 5.10).

There has been no study or publication of the Medieval town of Naoussa, but a personal in-situ examination of the town's ground plan and older-looking houses has shown that the orientation of the houses, (although single-roomed) is not uniform throughout the settlement. There are houses, for instance, which are built end to end in series and parallel with the outside walls (broad-fronted houses), while others are terraced side by side perpendicular to the exterior walls (narrow-fronted houses). This, however, does not prevent us from arguing that the town of Naoussa was built according to an organised plan. Moreover, its large size possibly indicates that it was intended to house a large number of people, rather than accommodate only the local lord and his family, or serve as a refuge site in case of an attack.

Fig. 5.11 Plan of Kastro on Pholegandros (redrawn after Dematha 1997, 155)

Pholegandros: Kastro

The little-studied Kastro on Pholegandros (Fig. 5.11) can be included in the category of fortified settlements of the orthogonal plan. Dematha (1997) suggests that Pholegandros is one of the settlements that were built during the first period of Venetian domination in the Cyclades, probably around 1212 when the Venetians planned the concentration of peasant population into defended settlements. These defended villages combined certain elements, such as an aristocracy ruling the peasant population, and a division of land and division of power amongst a great number of feudal lords. In the case of Kastro on Phole-

gandros, the plan of the settlement is triangular. The outer continuous line of houses formed the outer defensive wall, while the two-storey houses are narrow-fronted (with a different family occupying each floor). The extension of Kastro must have taken place at some point during the second half of the 15th century. The focus of the town seems to have been the Western portion (of a triangular shape) of the site, where housing is more elaborate, probably intended for the upper class, while the Eastern portion (of a rectangular shape) of the site probably housed the lower classes of the island's population.

Sikinos: Kastro

Kastro on Sikinos, similar to Kastro of Pholegandros, belongs to the category of settlement of the orthogonal plan. Located on the top of a mountain range to the Northwest of the island, Kastro has all the elements of a fortified town. There must have been two gates while only the minor one (known as 'Paraporti') survives today, on the Southwest side of the town. The back walls of the houses, again, form the wall of the town, which survives only in parts. The shape of the town is almost rectangular, measuring approximately 70x60 m. The church of Timios Stavros in the middle of the town was possibly built at the time of the settlement itself, during the first phase of Venetian domination in the Cyclades around 1212. The group of houses that once stood at the centre of the town (next to the church) was demolished during the Italian occupation of the island in World War II. A square exists nowadays at that place.

5.2.2 Fortified Settlements of the Irregular Plan

The second category of fortified Late Medieval and early Post-Medieval settlements includes those of the so-called 'irregular' plan. These settlements were also built during the same period as those of the orthogonal plan. The difference is that those of the irregular plan are built on the top of higher hills and their plan is circular or oval and less regular, where hill-slope determined their shape. Because of this irregularity in plan, it is difficult to argue with certainty whether these settlements were built according to a plan. It is certain, however, that the sites of this layout were built in order to house large numbers of people during the period of Latin rule. In some cases the defensive walls of these towns pre-existed and they were used to house the feudal lord or the population only in case of an attack, while the settlement was built within them at a later stage (*e.g.* Kastro of Paroikia on Paros, Kastro on Siphnos). The settlement sometimes pre-existed and the defensive wall was built around it at a later stage in order to protect the inhabited site (*e.g.* Pyrgos on Santorini, Kastro on Andros and Kastro on Tinos).

A comparison can be made between *kastra* of the irregular plan in the Cyclades and similar Crusader constructions in the Levant. Excavations at Belmont Castle, published by Harper and Pringle (2000), provide a fine parallel to the Latin Aegean. Belmont was concentric in plan, consisting of two or possibly three baileys (one inside the next); the compact inner ward was situated on the highest part of the hill, while a larger enclosure of polygonal form below followed the hill contours. The general layout of this and other contemporary castles in the Levant very much resemble the *kastro* of Naxos, the seat of the Duke of Naxos, built in the early 13th century.

Fig. 5.12 View of Chora on Amorgos

Amorgos: Chora

Amorgos geographically belongs to the Eastern Cyclades, not very far from Kouphonisia or the so-called 'Little Cyclades' group of islands to the Southeast of Naxos. Chora (Fig. 5.12) in the middle of the island does not preserve any Late Medieval elements, although a minor Latin castle or keep, probably built by the Ghisi family around 1290, stands in the middle of the town, on a rocky outcrop

65 m in height. A fortification wall, encircling a tower at its South end, covers an area of 30x10 m on the top of this rock, with a small water reservoir cut into it (Hetherington 2001). Access to the fort is through the Post-Byzantine chapel of Agios Georgios on the North side of the rock. No study of the town and fort of Amorgos has been published and it is very difficult to confirm that present-day Chora, with only very few preserved Late Medieval remains, is a fortified settlement of the irregular plan.

Anaphe: Kastro

Kastro is located on a hilltop, approximately 200 m in height, on the platform of a rocky outcrop, measuring about 35x15 m. The fort was most likely built during the early period of Latin rule and was extended or restored around the middle of the 15th century by Guglielmo Crispi, who was granted the island as a fief by his brother Giacomo Crispi, Duke of the Archipelago (Paradissis 1976). Kastro stands half-ruined, making it difficult for us to determine the layout of the town and its buildings. There are remains everywhere, while the defensive wall can be identified only in parts. Eberhard (1974/78) notes that its layout resembles the castle of Kephalos on Paros, Kastro on Melos and Kastro on Seriphos.

Andros: Epano Kastro

Epano Kastro, also known as Paliokastro, is built on the imposing rocky peak of Phaneromeni (approximately 450 m long), over the gulf of Korthi on the Southeast part of the island, 560 m above sea level. There are differing opinions about when this fortified structure was erected. Initially, it was argued that the castle could have been built or restored during the period of Latin domination, and that it may have been constructed during the later years of Byzantine control in the Cyclades (Paschalis 1966, 362; Polemis, 1981, 65-6; Eberhard 1974/78, 173, 175). Epano Kastro can be compared to Kastro Apalyrou on Naxos, as well as Paliokastro on Ios. After the construction of Kato Kastro was completed, probably in the 13th century, this fortified structure could have served as a refuge place for the local population (Deliyanni-Dori 2006, 479). Another view is that Epano Kastro was constructed by Pietro Zeno in the 14th century as a refuge site for people living in neighbouring villages (Hetherington 2001). Parts of the fortification walls, remains of two big towers (one on the Northeast portion of the castle), two water reservoirs along the North wall, two churches (one of them in ruins), many ruined houses and the donjon on the Eastern end of the castle, are still visible today. A recent study of its masonry and its similarity with two other structures on the island (*i.e.* Kato Kastro and Kastro of Makrotandalos) dates the first phase of the castle to the first half of the 13th century (Deliyanni-Dori 2006, 479).

Astypalaia: Kastro

Although Astypalaia nowadays comprises one of the Dodecanese, it is in fact an isolated island between the Southeast Cyclades and the Dodecanese. Its Medieval historical links, however, lay closer to the island group of the Cyclades. Kastro or Chora (Fig. 5.13), the defended town of Astypalaia, is an example that correlates to the Late Medieval fortified settlements of the irregular plan, resembling that of Siphnos. Its appearance, though, has been suggested (Hetherington 2001) to approximate more to a large Renaissance fortified palazzo complex or an irregularly shaped Venetian 15th-century piazza than a typical 13th-century Aegean *kastro*. It is built on the top of a hill, about 130 m above sea level, on the South coast of the island. An inscription commemorating the foundation of Kastro in 1413 by Giovanni Quirini (Count of Tinos) is still kept in the main church of the settlement. The outer line comprises houses built next to each other to form the outer defensive wall of the town, enclosing an area of about 3700 m^2 (Leimona-Trembela 1980). The main entrance of the town is located on the West corner of the South side, and is less than two metres wide, opening onto a passage 13 m long. Each house has three-storeys and most of them are long and narrow (narrow-fronted) of a size between 20 and 45 m^2. The central focus of the town is the square, while the principal residence (the tower) is located at the extreme East edge of the site (Sanders 1996). Although the town's ground plan does not look uniform enough, the continuous line of houses and the uniformity of the outer defensive wall, do suggest a general organised plan and an attempt to house about 125 (125 buildings) or 250 families (250 apartments) on the island.

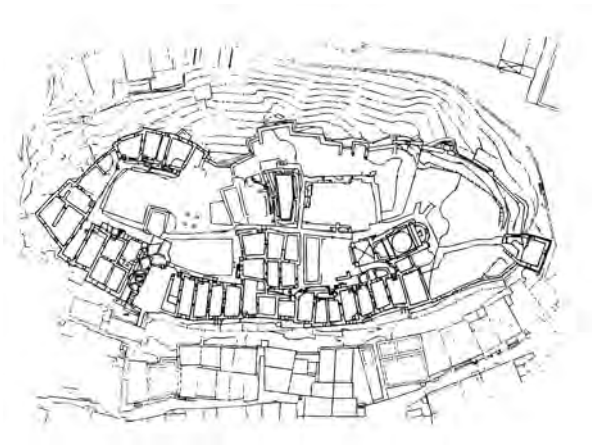


Fig. 5.13 Plan of Kastro on Astypalaia (Arvanitopoulos *et al.* 1999, 35).

Ios: Palaiokastro

Palaiokastro, located on the top of an isolated cliff on the Eastern side of the island, has not been studied or particularly noted by foreign travellers. Only rather late, did Theodore Bent (1885) visit it, in 1884, and marvelled at the brilliant whiteness of the place, 'dazzling in the sunshine', for it was built with an off-white unshaped kind of marble stone, stuck together with a strong cement of lime and sand. The fortress commands the Northwest passage between Ios and Naxos. A fortification wall encloses the hilltop and an area measuring approximately 90x50 m. The remains of what might have been the original Medieval church and water cistern stand approximately at the centre of the fort. A modern-looking whitewashed chapel was constructed in the Post-Medieval period and, according to Bent (1885), this was the special property of the Lorenziades family, where on September 4th, they held a big celebration on the feast-day of the chapel. Several other roofless remains are associated with this latest chapel and must have been storehouses (Hetherington 2001). The remains of almost rectangular structures, most possibly houses that were built against the fortification wall, were constructed at the same time as the wall itself. It is not clear whether Palaiokastro is a Byzantine (12th century) construction used for observation of the Naxos-Ios channel or a later Venetian (15th century?) structure built by the Crispi family, which would have wished to keep a signal-contact between Naxos and Ios (Hetherington 2001). What is certain, however, is that Palaiokastro was not intended to function as a town or to provide permanent accommodation to a large number of people.

Kea: Chora

Written sources suggest that Chora or Ioulis was the capital of Kea during the short period of Byzantine recovery in 1278-1296. It is very possible that Domenico Michieli built Medieval Ioulis around 1210 on the site of the ancient acropolis. After the Venetian re-conquest of the island in 1296, the fortified town was certainly restored and served as the headquarters of the ruling Venetian families, although they seem to have rarely resided there, since various other islands were also numbered amongst their possessions. Not many parts of the Medieval fortified site stand today, since Chora was largely demolished in the late 19th century. One of Chora's towers, located by its entrance, was demolished to make way for the *archontiko* of the Pangalos family. What survives to a considerable extent is Chora's gateway itself, running to around 20 m in depth.

Kythnos: Kastro tis Orias

Kastro tis Orias, erected at a height of 150 m on the Northern headland of Kythnos was already deserted by the early 17th century, before the arrival of the Ottomans, while its inhabitants had moved to two new villages in the interior of the island. The *kastro* must have been built during the first half of the 13th century. When Bent (1885) visited Kythnos around 1883, he noted that the *kastro* had a fantastic view, while most of its enclosure wall, churches and houses stood in most cases in good condition. A small deep cistern on the summit of the mountain with its plaster lining intact is still to be found, while a barrel-vaulted chapel just below the summit to the Northwest preserves the remains of 14th-century wall frescoes (Hetherington 2001).

Naxos: Kastro Apalyrou

The history of Kastro Apalyrou is connected with the Byzantine history of Naxos, when this castle was the capital-town of the island and its people, defending themselves against the Venetian invasion of Marco I

Sanudo in 1207. It is one of the very few original remnants of the Early and Middle Byzantine period in the Cyclades, which virtually remained unchanged until today, with the exception of limited 12th-century restoration of its walls. No detailed study has been carried out about the history of the site and its surviving built structures; information concerning the castle derives mainly from local historians, local traditions and Post-Byzantine written records. According to local history, the invading mercenaries of the Venetian Marco Sanudo besieged Kastro Apalyrou for forty days. It was not until Sanudo burnt the ships of his comrades that they continued the siege of the fort and eventually captured it. It is believed that since Kastro Apalyrou was the only well-defended and sited stronghold on the island by that time, Sanudo must have firstly established his Duchy there, before the construction of Chora.

The castle was erected on the summit of a mountain, 410 m in height, overlooking part of the valley of Drymalia, and the plain and bay of Ayiassou. It measures about 250 m in length and 50 m in width, built North to South (Eberhard 1974/78). Three of the site's sides are naturally defended because of its steep nature. Most of the structures within the defensive wall lie in ruins, with the exception of the defensive wall itself, which is preserved up to almost 4 m in parts. The castle is approached from the Northwest. The Northwest outlook preserves a substantial circular tower built with roughly cut stone. The remains of a church are to be found close to the East wall, while a number of quite large cisterns suggest that the castle could shelter large numbers of people in times of danger (Hetherington 2001). Several other remains of domestic-like structures on the West of the hill, an area known as *Bourgo*, could provide evidence for the existence of a substantial settlement, distinguishing it from the strong defensive character of the rest of the castle. This is the only substantially preserved Byzantine castle in the Cyclades, built during the late 7th or early 8th century; coins of the Emperor Leo III (717-741) have been discovered amongst its ruins.

Naxos: Kastro or Chora

The Late Medieval town of Chora (Fig. 5.14) on the island of Naxos is the best documented example of planned settlements. This town, however, forms a separate case and exception in that it is not of the orthogonal but of the irregular plan. There are historical hints that Kastro was constructed on the basis of a general plan, that laid down how the defensive wall was to be built and what was to be the relationship of the residences and the wall. There were probably also plans for the residences themselves, and there had been an engineer who distributed the building plots and was responsible for the general layout of the site. The Late Medieval town of Naxos was designed to provide housing for a colonial minority, protecting it from the local population and pirate raids. After the duke of the Archipelago Marco I Sanudo erected a strong tower on the hill above the port of Naxos 'he proclaimed that any one might build a house in that place according to an appointed plan' (Fotheringham 1915). In the case of Naxos, we have an example of a defensive wall and settlement being constructed simultaneously, as a result of the strategic importance of Naxos as the centre of the Duchy of the Aegean (Kouroupaki *et al.* 1988).

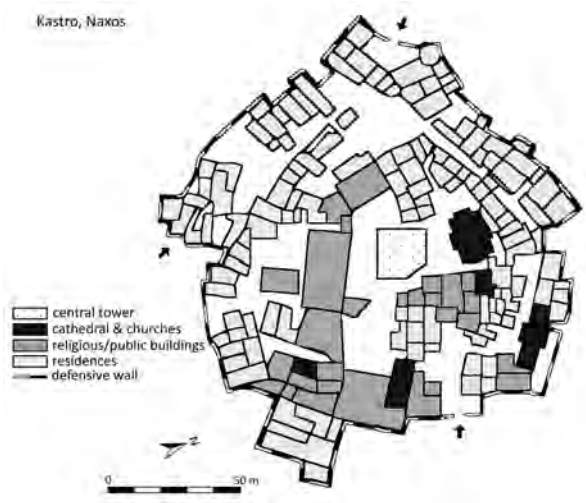


Fig. 5.14 Plan of Kastro on Naxos (redrawn after Kouroupaki *et al*. 1988, 82, fig. 5)

Chora on Naxos was built at the beginning of the 13th century by Marco I Sanudo. Medieval sources (cf. Kouroupaki *et al.* 1988, 79) mention that Sanudo ordered a strong castle to be built, with twelve towers, while a proclamation was made that anyone might build a house on the same site according to the plans of a designated engineer. The nobles and officers built houses near the ducal tower to form a

Fig. 5.15 View of the circular Glezos tower in Kastro, Naxos

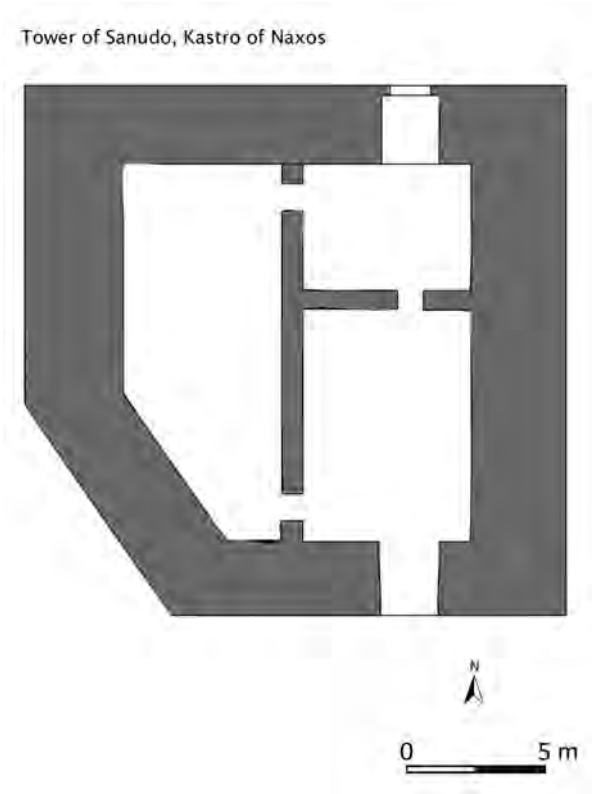


Fig. 5.16 Plan of the central 'Tower of Sanudo' in Kastro, Naxos (redrawn after Philippa-Apostolou 1978, 97, fig. 173)

castle. Here we have the first written evidence that some, if not all of the Cycladic defended settlements of this period were built according to an appointed plan and were not haphazard agglomerations. Chora on Naxos, being the administrative centre of the Cyclades, was built in order to provide 'housing' for the symbols of ecclesiastical and secular authority as well as for the colonial minority of Latin aristocrats. It has a pentagon-like shape and was built on the top of a hill overlooking the port of the island, 30 m above sea level. Every corner of the pentagon-shaped wall was reinforced by a circular tower. These towers were probably increased to twelve, built at ten-metre intervals to each other (Loupou-Rokou 1999). A good example of these circular corner towers is the Northwest tower of Glezos (Fig. 5.15), now housing the Byzantine Museum of Naxos. Building material of earlier periods from the site was used for the construction of the wall and other structures.

The *archontika* of Sanudo's comrades were built against the inside of the defensive wall, which follows the contours of the hill. All houses are inward looking and all narrow paths lead to the centre of the site on the top of the hill. The centre is occupied by a tall square tower (Fig. 5.16), identified as the lord's residence or as a refuge-place of the population in case of an attack, the Catholic Cathedral and an open space between the two. Around the middle 15th century, the areas of 'Bourgo' and 'Agora' developed outside the town walls. These houses were constructed contiguously forming another defensive wall with gates, always following the contours of the hill. Although the new districts are not part of the initial ground plan of Kastro in Naxos, we note that an important principle in the design of the settlement was the repetition of a module, the residences. The houses were built on identical plots of land at either side of narrow streets.

Fig. 5.17 Plan of the town of Paroikia on Paros with the Medieval district of Kastro (redrawn after Philippa-Apostolou 2000, 82, fig. 27)

Paros: Kastro

The dominant position of the Kastro hill or Agios Konstantinos (the latter deriving its name from the Post-Byzantine chapel dedicated to St. Constantine) was chosen by the Venetians to build their administrative centre and the ruling family's residence in 1260 (Fig. 5.17). This was also the site of the island's ancient acropolis, on the West bay of the island, overlooking the entrance of Paroikia harbour. Various spolia from the Archaic temple of Athena and other ancient buildings located on the hill were used for the construction of this impressive Late Medieval structure. The most prominent feature of this castle is the Northeast corner tower, built entirely of ancient marble fragments (Fig. 5.18). A continuous wall of approximately 50 m runs South from the Northeast corner tower, which formed the original defence wall of the whole structure on this side. After the Sommaripa ruling family abandoned Kastro of Paroikia and transferred the seat of government to the much safer *kastro* of Kephalos to the East of the island in the 1460s, a continuous row of houses was built against the defensive wall on the outside.

Similarly, during the same period, the local population moved into the castle of Paroikia, distorting in a way the original Medieval appearance of the fortified town. The establishment of the population within Kastro was followed by the construction of those successive house-rings that today enclose the original defensive wall to the East and South. The first rings constructed around Kastro (and the houses themselves) were constrained by the same shortage of space felt within the castle itself (Philippa-Apostolou 1988). These rings consisted of single-roomed two-storey houses, with an external wooden or stone staircase leading from the street to the upper floor. The ground floor was in most cases used as a storage room or a pigsty, while the family's apartment was situated on the upper floor. A recent in-situ examination of the castle's medieval remains by the Greek architect Philippa-Apostolou (2000) has proved that access to Kastro as well as its entrance and gate were most possibly located on the Northern point of the structure (next to the Northeast corner tower). Another circular projection (possibly a bastion) has been identified at the Southeast corner of the

Fig. 5.18 View of the square marble tower of Kastro in Paroikia, Paros

fortification wall, and this construction may represent a later attempt by Crussino Sommaripa in 1445 to restore the original Late Medieval structure. The West side of the defensive wall does not exist anymore; it had collapsed into the sea shortly before 1771, as it is attested in travellers' accounts. Thus, Kastro belongs to the Late Medieval settlements of the irregular plan, while the layout and story behind the construction of this castle resembles that of Siphnos. It seems that the defensive wall of Kastro preexisted and was used to house the feudal lord or the population only in case of an attack, while the settlement was built within it at a later stage, during the second phase of Latin domination in the Cyclades during the 15th-16th centuries.

Santorini: Akrotiri

The fort must have existed by the early 14th century, before the arrival of Nicolo Sanudo at Santorini in 1335 and the passing over of Akrotiri to the Gozzadini family. In addition, as has been suggested (Hetherington 2001), the homogeneity of type and building system of all kastra of the irregular plan, indicates a single initiative and planned campaign or product of the Bolognese family of the Barozzi at the beginning of the 13th century. Entrance to the defended settlement of Akrotiri is through a narrow gate with a low pointed arch on its West side. Close to the top of the settlement there are the remains of a building surviving up to 8 m in height and measuring approximately 10x7 m, identified by Eberhard (1974/78) as a dungeon. The foundations associated with the remains of an apse next to the dungeon possibly indicate the existence of a church. Several other ruins and remains of foundations throughout the site indicate house remains, while a water cistern can still be seen. The houses seem to have been built one next to the other, forming the defensive wall of the town. However, a separate defensive wall was built against the back walls of the houses. This probably indicates that either the settlement existed and its fortifications (the back walls of the houses) were reinforced at a later stage, or the enceinte was constructed earlier for the settlement to develop within it.

Santorini: Emborio

The settlement of Emborio is situated on a hilltop Northeast of the present-day village with the same name. There are two entrances, one of them located to the Southeast and the other to the West side. Most of the original Late Medieval structures in the *kastro* have been destroyed. Buildings at the centre of Emborio have been demolished, replaced by a large Orthodox church. The layout and structure of the town resembles that of Akrotiri.

Santorini: Pyrgos

The defended settlement of Pyrgos (Fig. 5.19) was, according to Sonnini (1801), the most agreeable place in Santorini. It was a small town built around the late 14th century on a little hill, also suggested (Hetherington 2001) as a second chief dwelling of the Latin ruling family. It is noteworthy that even after the end of Latin and Ottoman rule in Santorini, the nobles, still residing at Pyrgos, did not allow the peasantry to either reside inside the *kastra*, nor enter the churches therein (Philippides 1988b). Pyrgos forms a triangle with a continuous line of houses

forming the outer defensive wall. A non-uniform block of houses within it encloses a central area, which most possibly was occupied by a central tower. It has been suggested (Philippa-Apostolou 1978) that the town was probably walled later and that a cluster of houses might have pre-existed. Very few original parts of the settlement have remained and this makes any speculation more difficult. Most of the houses, however, mainly in the outer line, are narrow-fronted, while the rest (the block of buildings within the outer line of houses) vary in shape, with most of them being broad-fronted. It is assumed that the area enclosed by the defended wall was built by the early 15th century, while a second and more extensive settlement grew outside the Medieval defended centre sometime afterwards, probably in the early Post-Medieval period.

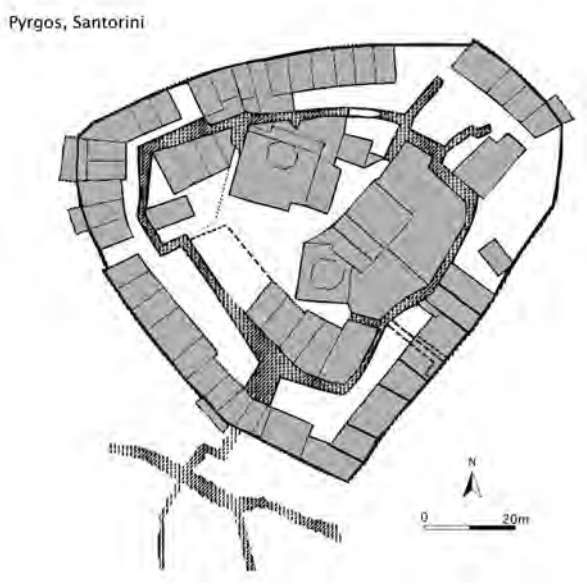


Fig. 5.19 Plan of Pyrgos on Santorini (redrawn after Philippa-Apostolou 1978, 100, fig. 178)

Santorini: Skaros

The Late Medieval fortress and defended town of Skaros or Kastelli (as it was also called by the locals) stood on a very high and commanding promontory, above the waters of the West bay of the island. This was the capital of the Latin lords, where most of the noble feasts and ceremonies took place during the period of Latin rule in the Cyclades. When Thévenot (1687) visited Santorini, he noted that Skaros contained about 150 houses, built round a rocky outcrop. That rock was supported by walls, for fear it would fall upon the houses. When Bent (1885) visited the island in 1883, he noted that on top of the rock there was the castle of the Latin rulers, and a cluster of the old houses around it, which were abandoned only twenty years before him, for they were falling into the sea. He further pointed out that the crumbling ruins of the Medieval town were interesting, for they showed the strength of the vaulted cement roofs, which only fell to pieces in huge masses, the arches being firmly wedged together and levelled with cement. The remaining of the Late Medieval ruins fell into the water during the strong earthquake of 1956. A few house foundations can still be seen near the bottom of the rock. It seems that Skaros consisted of an 'upper' and a 'lower' castle or defended town on the same rock, built during the first phase of Venetian domination in the 13th-14th century.

Santorini: Oia

The remains of the Late Medieval fort at Oia or Castle of St. Nicholas are located on the Northern promontory of the island, overlooking the islet of Thirasia and the fortresses of Skaros, Pyrgos and Akrotiri to the South and Southeast of Oia. Only few remains can be identified as the original 13th-14th-century town. Foreign travellers during the Post-Medieval period noted the unique case of this volcanic island and thought this was a frightful place, for the houses were built upon the hanging sides of black and burnt rocks (Thévenot 1687).

Seriphos: Kastro

The Medieval Kastro of Seriphos once occupied the summit of modern Chora, which was also the site of the ancient acropolis. Not much of the original structure stands today, apart from limited remains of the enclosure wall and the general layout of the town, while its houses must have been rebuilt during the Early Modern period. The Medieval settlement of Seriphos must have been established in the 13th century.

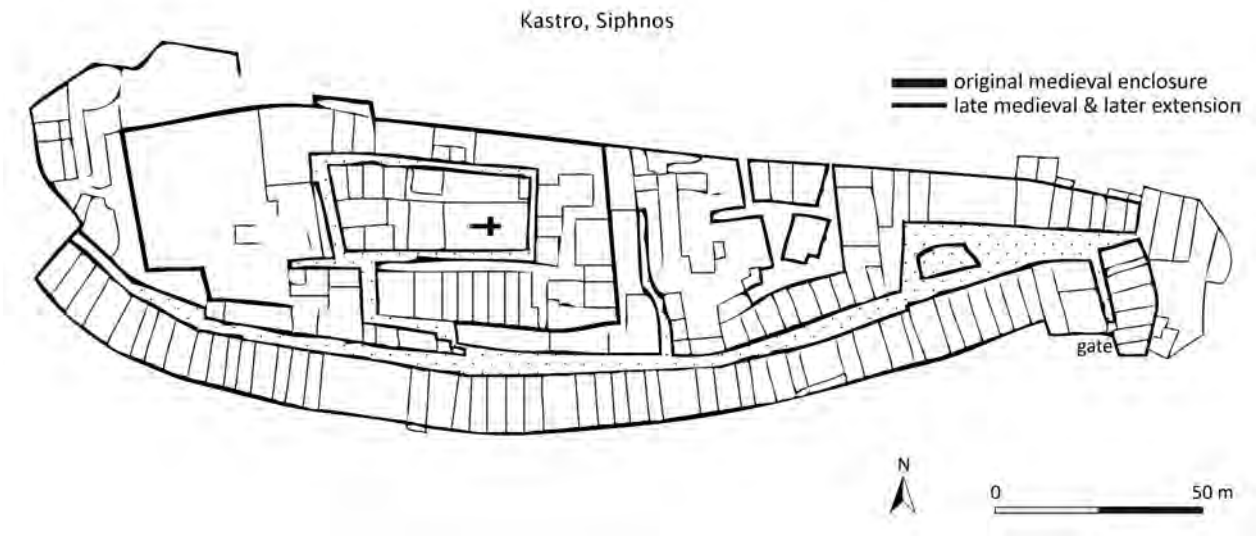


Fig. 5.20 Plan of Kastro on Siphnos (redrawn after Philippa-Apostolou 1978, 102, fig. 182)

Siphnos: Kastro

The still inhabited Kastro on Siphnos (Fig. 5.20) is the best preserved defended settlement of the irregular plan, situated on the top of a steep hill, about 80 m above sea level, overlooking the small port on the central-East side of the island. It is suggested (Philippa-Apostolou 1978; Sanders 1996) that the Da Corogna family constructed Kastro at the beginning of the 14th century. Pottery recovered during excavations at the top of the hill (where the lord's residence and other public buildings once stood) including early *Maiolica* of the 14th century and *Late Painted Sgraffito* (Brock and Mackworth-Young 1949), and an inscribed column bearing the date 1374 further testify to its construction by then.

Two phases of construction can be identified at Kastro. The first one is defined by the remains of the Medieval defence wall on the foundations of the Archaic one. This area is roughly rectangular in shape and is divided into two portions. The Western portion included the 'Despotikon' area, where the lord's residence and other public buildings stood. The Eastern portion included a rectangular block of houses around a square to the East of Despotikon. The plan of this original area resembles those of Antiparos and Kimolos, although in the case of Siphnos, the houses are not identical in dimensions (although most of them are narrow-fronted). The second phase, consisting of a row of houses curving along the whole extent of the South side, increased the total area of the settlement from 4000 to 12,000 m^2. The second phase was probably constructed in the 16th century, while many houses were renovated or probably rebuilt during the 17th and 18th centuries, on the basis of dated lintels above house doors. It consists of small and narrow fronted three-storey houses, while access was provided through stone staircases from the ground floor. This line of houses is more homogeneous than the earlier one, with narrow fronted houses of approximately the same size (about 30 m^2).

Siphnos is a unique example of a Late Medieval and early Post-Medieval defended town where a degree of planning can be identified in both phases of construction. The central focus of the town, the lord's residence and possibly other administrative buildings were located on the highest point of the hill, on the West portion of the town, while all paths lead to that site. The outer ring of houses constructed later, form the outer defensive wall of the town. The houses themselves look inwards, towards the hill-top on the West side or to the direction of another public square of smaller dimensions on the East side of the town.

Syros: Chora

Chora or Ano Syros (Fig. 5.21), situated on the top of a conical hill above the harbour of the island, was

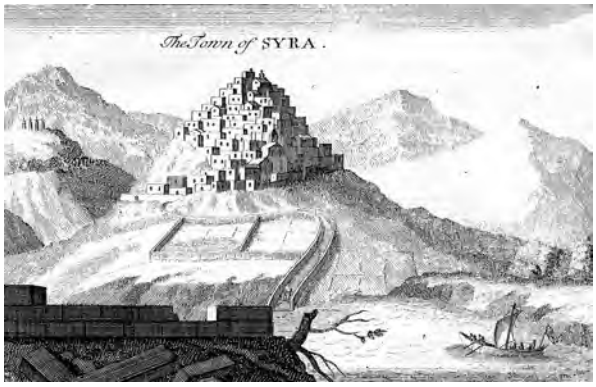


Fig. 5.21 Engraving of the town of Syros by Pitton de Tournefort (1741)

established during the first period of Latin domination in the Cyclades. It is certainly one of the Late Medieval Aegean settlements that have not been thoroughly studied, in order to trace its original defended outline and any surviving examples of domestic architecture. It could be argued, however, that its present layout (especially on the Southern and Eastern slopes of the hill) echoes a defensive system, very similar to other examples of Cycladic defended settlement of the irregular plan. The houses are in most cases built one right next to the other, with only small openings on the outside. Thus, the back walls of houses form the defensive wall of the town, as has been the case with other sites presented above. Ano Syros' Medieval character is also stressed in the areas where there could have been gates or entrances to the town, the so-called *stegadia* or roofed passageways, usually low in height (Kartas 1988). The focal point of the town is situated on the hilltop and just below it, where the Catholic Cathedral and the school stand today. What could be regarded as a square or *piazza* is the area developed linearly along the main central street, where most of the administrative buildings are to be found (Kartas 1988). Moreover, the concentric alleys that follow the hill contours and lead to the Cathedral intersect at various points with vertical stepped paths. This combination in the town's street network and in some cases its cul-de-sac appearance are themselves evidence for the Medieval origin of Chora. The houses that follow the Late Medieval tradition are either broad fronted or narrow fronted and two-storey.

Fig. 5.22 View of the masonry of the exterior fortification wall of Exoburgo, Tinos

Tinos: Exobourgo

Exobourgo, the Late Medieval capital of Tinos, has its origins in the 13th century, when the island came under the lordship of the Ghizi brothers. The site of the Medieval town is naturally defended and built on the summit of a steep granite mountain, upon the ruins of the Geometric and Archaic acropolis. Its Northeast slope remains relatively gentle, and this gave access to the Medieval town. The highest point of the rocky mountain is occupied by the inner and very first circuit; this is composed of a defensive wall with bastions and a gate, enclosing a tower, churches and cisterns. This small inner fortress is also known as the 'fort of Santa Elena', named after the Catholic Church dedicated to St. Helen. The fortress was possibly built at the beginning of the 13th century, serving as the seat of government for the Latin ruling family (Charitonidou 1988b). According to Hetherington (2001), a second defensive wall a little lower, encircled a substantial area called *Kastelli* or *Burgo*, measuring 100x100 m approximately, and provided housing to large numbers of people when this was needed (Fig. 5.22). The construction of the second line of defence with its high and well-built wall could be dated just before 1390, based on historical evidence. This part of the walled town is suggested (Charitonidou 1988b) to have been the residence area for the noble Venetian families, while subterranean hiding places were dug for the protection of the island's population in case of a serious attack.

Larger and more elaborate buildings must have been the houses of the noble Venetian aristocracy, while churches, storage rooms and water cisterns were also constructed. Almost nothing of all these structures has survived, apart from some foundation walls, so we cannot have a clear picture of the town's layout and its domestic structures. The rest of the population lived in the undefended area originally known as *Proastion* or suburb, which was established by the end of the 16th century, directly outside the second line of defence. The houses there must have been built more freely, since this area became later known as *Xobourgo* or *Exobourgo* (meaning 'outside the fortified town'), while the entire mountain came to be called by this name in the 18th century. Exobourgo was essentially the last stronghold of the Latins in the Cyclades, since Tinos became part of the Ottoman Empire only in 1715. The Ottomans are said to have demolished the entire town (or maybe stones were recycled for construction elsewhere) and this is possibly why nothing but heaps of stones and parts of defensive walls are the only remains of this Medieval site, inhabited until the early 18th century. Philippa-Apostolou (1978) concludes that the little fort of Santa Elena on the summit of the mountain was first built, and a settlement grew gradually straight below it, which was later on fortified and formed the main defended town of Burgo and the residence place of the Venetian nobles. No systematic study has been done on the layout of the town and its domestic structures. Thus, we can only speculate that this site is of the irregular plan.

5.3 UNFORTIFIED SETTLEMENTS

There are three main settlement forms that developed during the Post-Medieval and Early Modern eras. Inevitably, settlements that were established during the Late Medieval period were still in use throughout Post-Medieval and Early Modern times. New houses were being built following traditions and methods already set in the past. Thus, new houses developing in the immediate neighbourhood outside Medieval defended centres were built side by side, forming a second ring of houses and an exterior line of defence. In these cases, however, there was a greater degree of freedom and more space became available, but repetition was kept to a certain extent; these, and new settlements that were established on hilltops following a 'defended model', are referred to as 'evolved fortified'.

Another settlement form that dominated the Cycladic landscape during the Post-Medieval and Early Modern periods is the 'linear' or 'traditional' settlement. Such settlements developed with a greater degree of freedom, following natural paths and landscape contours, usually forming a continuous network of blocks or lines of houses. Finally, an equally important settlement form that developed during the late 18th and 19th centuries in the Cycladic countryside, lasting to the 1950s, is the dispersed cluster of farmhouses with auxiliary structures for agricultural purposes attached to them. These farmhouses formed groups or clusters, at short distances from each other within a defined agricultural countryside.

5.3.1 Settlements of the Evolved Fortified Form

There are two distinct types of settlement that belong to the evolved fortified form, and which developed especially during the Post-Medieval period. The first type constitutes the defended-like rings of houses that were built immediately outside the Late Medieval fortified centres. The second type is characterised by its compact and circular layout, usually built on and around a low hilltop, imitating in a way the typical layout of fortified settlements of the irregular plan.

Settlements of the evolved fortified form of the first type are found on Cycladic islands that preserve fortified settlements of either the orthogonal or the irregular plan, such as Chora on Andros, Chora on Mykonos, Paroikia on Paros, and Chora on Naxos. A typical example of a settlement of the first type, however, which developed during the Post-Medieval period immediately outside a large Late Medieval defended centre is Chora, the main town of Naxos. Chora (Fig. 5.23) was expanded through time, while newcomers, older inhabitants and different ethnic groups formed different neighbourhoods. The area that became known as 'Agora' and 'Bourgos' immediately outside Sanudo's 13th-century Kastro, was fully developed by the middle of the 14th century and housed the Greek Orthodox population of Chora, while the Catholic Latins still occupied the defended Kastro. A number of Jews (and possibly Armenians)

settled in Chora and created the district of 'Evriaki' near the Phoundana spring around 1566, with the permission of Joseph Nasi. Refugees from other Ottoman-dominated areas during the first half of the 18th century and refugees from Asia Minor and Crete around 1860 formed the district of 'Nio Chorio' (Kouroupaki *et al.* 1988). Apart from the need to house newcomers and their commercial activities in an economically developing society, especially from the 18th century onwards, it seems that Chora's layout reflects the need of different populations to group themselves according to different religious beliefs, language and ethnic background (Vionis 2003, 201). Similarly, Late Medieval Kastro of Paroikia (Fig. 5.17) in neighbouring Paros was extended with the construction of two linear house-rings outside the original defended area, forming the basis for the development of the Post-Medieval and Early Modern town. The rings that were built outside Kastro during the early Post-Medieval period consisted of multifunctional single-roomed houses with a similar Medieval space-shortage. In the Early Modern town of Paroikia, urban houses with neoclassical influences as well as large neoclassical buildings (Fig. 5.24) were accordingly built outside the Medieval defended centre, in the area along the road to the monumental church of Ekatontapyliani (Philippa-Apostolou 1988). That used to be and still is the 'market-street' of the town, while these urban houses of the

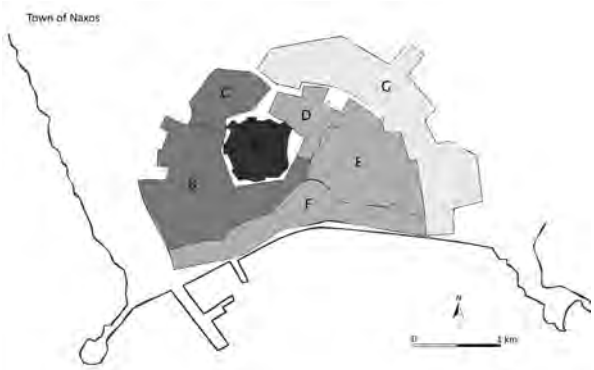


Fig. 5.23 Plan of Chora on Naxos with its different districts: A = Kastro (1207), Venetian quarter; B = Bourgo (1344), Greek (and Armenian?) quarter; C = Evriaki (1566), Jewish settlement; D & E = Nio Chorio (1743 & 1877), refugees from Crete and Asia Minor; F = jetty (1898); G = Phoundana (1922-31), refugees from Smyrna (redrawn after Kouroupaki *et al.* 1988, 81, fig. 2)

Fig. 5.24 Neoclassical houses along the main market-street of Paroikia, Paros

emerging middle class of merchants and traders had spacious courtyards and gardens, reminiscent of urban centres in other parts of Greece.

Settlements of the evolved fortified form of the second type are found on nearly every Cycladic island, and they seem to reflect a rather intense need for defence, imitating in a way the circular and cul-de-sac arrangement of Late Medieval *kastra*. It has been suggested (Tzakou 1988) that this settlement type is possibly an intermediate stage between the fortified settlements and the later purely linear types. An example of a settlement of this form is Marpissa in Eastern Paros. Marpissa was fully developed by the beginning of the 17th century on a low hill, densely built in a rather Medieval fortified fashion. Although there is no defence wall around the settlement and no outer defensive line can be recognised among structures in the periphery, building blocks follow the hill-contours and create a cul-de-sac layout with both single- and two-storey houses.

Amorgos: Chora

Chora in the interior of Amorgos, established during the Late Medieval period as a defended town, retains very few remains of the original settlement. However, the fortified nature of the settlement's layout, with its two-storey tower-like houses on the periphery of the *kastro*-quarter reveal that Chora was once a typical Cycladic small defended site. The dynamic expansion of the settlement beginning in the 16th

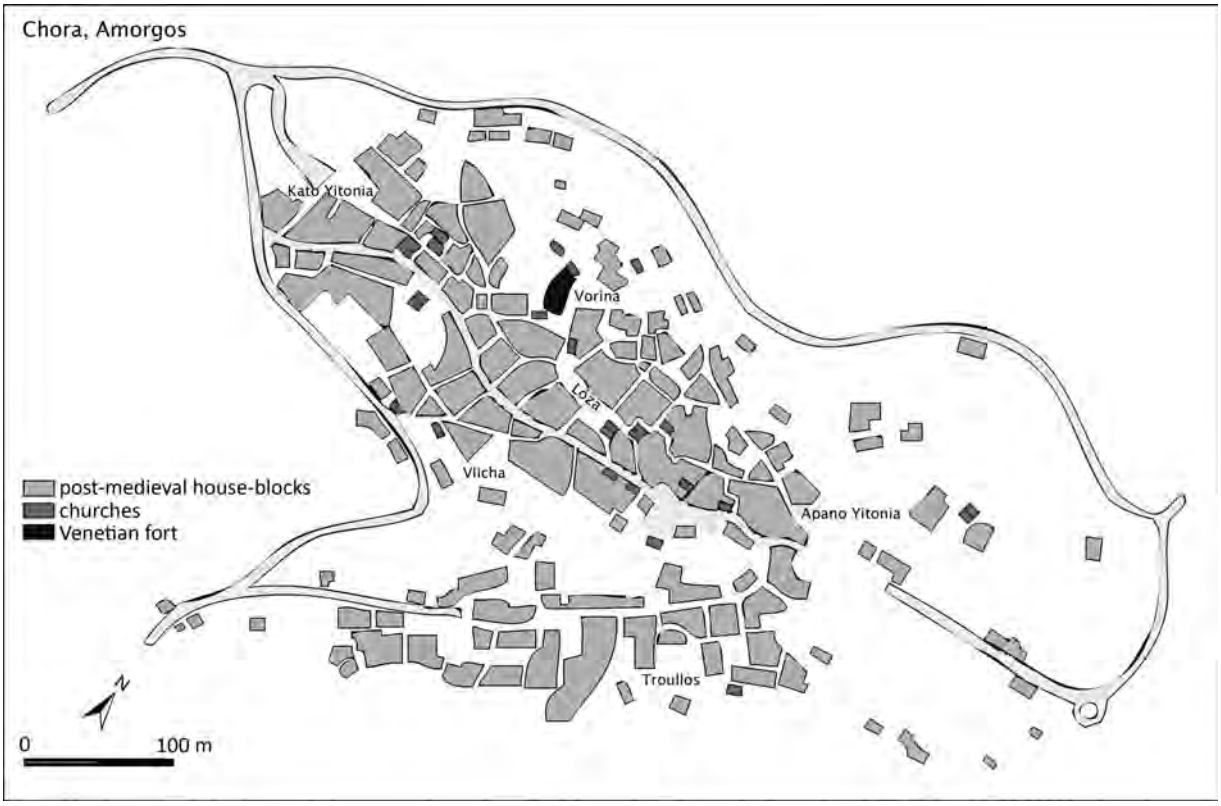


Fig. 5.25 Plan of Chora on Amorgos

and following more intensely during the 18th and 19th centuries, created a number of densely built districts around the Kastro quarter, in harmony with the ground contours (Fig. 5.25). The layout of the districts that developed around Kastro during the Post-Medieval period certainly belongs to the evolved fortified form. An almost straight paved pedestrian street runs from East to West through present-day Chora, dividing the settlement into two portions, developing at the same time as the main 'market-street' of the town. Narrower paths leading off the main paved street mark the gradual direction of the settlement's evolution.

The district of Vorina (meaning 'Northerly') on the North of the central street, can be identified as the original Late Medieval quarter of the town, with the central square of Loza and the Venetian fort on a rocky outcrop rising above the town. This neighbourhood nowadays consists mainly of renovated buildings from the early years of the Post-Medieval period. Similarly, during the early period of Ottoman domination the Vlicha district was established to the South of the town's main pedestrian artery with its parish churches of Vlisani and St. Basil. Kato Yitonia (translated as 'lower neighbourhood') at the Western entrance and Apano Yitonia (translated as 'upper neighbourhood) at the Eastern entrance of Chora, are the most recently established districts, dated between the 17th and 18th centuries. Both neighbourhoods preserve churches founded or renovated at the same time as the districts themselves, while elaborate 18th- and 19th-century gentry housing is evidently more common here.

Mykonos: Chora

Chora on Mykonos was another Late Medieval settlement that developed further during the Post-Medieval and Early Modern periods. Romanos (1988, 56-7) has pointed out that until the middle of the 17th century Chora was confined to Kastro. Although not much of the original Medieval settlement has been preserved (apart from its general roughly rectangular layout), a

'new' town was gradually constructed and spread even beyond the original enceinte in a rather Medieval manner, with new buildings replacing the Medieval ones. This extension has been placed chronologically in the first half of the 18th century. The total size of the Late Medieval fortified town has been estimated at about 7200 m^2, most possibly housing approximately 2000 inhabitants. The period between the early 18th century and the outbreak of the Greek War of Independence saw a great economic expansion and population growth, with Mykonians playing a leading role in shipping commerce and trade, while their town developed further in size, measuring 20,000 m^2. Both as a Late Medieval settlement and the later proto-capitalist harbour-town, Chora was densely constructed with a labyrinth-like complex of streets. Romanos (1988, 60) notes that Chora was partly characterised by its rectangular street plan; the formation of the building blocks was made by double series of buildings. These blocks perhaps constitute a recollection of the older fortified settlements with an unbroken facade, which created the external wall.

Naxos: Chora

Tournefort (1718) informs us that around 1700 the descendants of Marco I Sanudo and the Latin aristocracy were still in possession of the Medieval Kastro, while the more numerous Greeks lived in the area between Kastro and the coast (Fig. 5.26). During the same period Kastro of Naxos numbered 200 houses, all of them occupied by Latin noble families and their servants. A number of new districts were developed later on around the primary formation of Kastro. The neighbourhoods of Bourgo or Agora were founded by Orthodox Greeks during the first quarter of the 14th century, while the Post-Medieval expansion of Kastro can be placed in the second half of the 16th century, with the establishment of a number of Jews in the district of Evriaki (Fig. 5.23). The quarter of Nio Chorio was formed in the early 18th century with refugees from other Ottoman-dominated areas. The totality of Late Medieval Kastro and the districts that developed outside it is what made the capital of Naxos a settlement with town-status. Commercial activities during the Post-Medieval period took place in Bourgo, where the narrow streets formed a unit of commercial exchange and semi-private domestic life, outside the doorstep of neighbouring houses.

Fig. 5.26 Engraving of Chora on Naxos by Choiseul-Gouffier (1782)

The new Post-Medieval town that developed outside Kastro belongs to those of the evolved fortified layout. The houses that were built within the new districts formed themselves a second fortified zone, encircling Kastro. Apart from the three principal gates (Fig. 5.27) leading inside the original Late Medieval Kastro (*i.e.* Trani Porta, Paraporti and Piso Paraporti), there were three more which were created after the formation of the Bourgo and Evriaki districts, each gate providing entry to a different neighbourhood of Chora. The principal gate of Bourgo (*i.e.* Porta Gialou) is located next to the Catholic chapel of Panagia Chionon. The secondary gate of the same district is situated next to the Orthodox chapel of St. Elias, while the gate leading into the Jewish quarter of Evriaki is located next to the church of St. Sophia, originally a synagogue (Kefalliniadis 1964). However, structures in the areas mentioned above are constructed with a greater degree of freedom because of more available space and marked by a lesser degree of planning. Similarly, the domestic structures housing the non-noble inhabitants are constructed continuously, forming another defensive wall and a primary line of defence. The houses themselves are mainly two-storey (but not as high as those of the Kastro district) having one to three rooms, built of cheap local material, reflecting the social standing of their owners. It is characteristic that the houses within the Medieval Kastro of Sanudo (inhabited by the *Kastrinoi* or Catholics of the Kastro) are called *archontika* or mansions. Those in the areas inhabited by

Fig. 5.27 View of *Trani Porta*, the main gate of Kastro on Naxos

Greeks, Armenians and Jews or the *Bourgianoi* are called *laika* or folk housing (Kouroupaki *et al.* 1988, 86; Vionis 2003, 201).

Paros: Chora

The fortified district of Kastro in the present-day town of Paroikia on the island of Paros was constructed around 1260. As it has already been mentioned above, after the transfer of the island's administrative seat from Kastro to Kephalos in the late 15th century, the population of Paroikia moved into the Medieval defended centre, while zones of house-rings were added to it during the period of its evolution (Fig. 5.17). These added zones of house-rings along the East and South defensive lines of Late Medieval Kastro must have taken place since the 16th century, while building activity immediately outside the original defensive wall reached its peak during the 17th and 18th centuries. In Paroikia these new building blocks of evenly arranged continuous rings of houses, followed the hill contours and the

Fig. 5.28 View of a street in the town of Paroikia, Paros

form of the original enceinte in such a way, that the whole hill reveals a Medieval-style layout (Fig. 5.28). The town of Paroikia on and around the hill of Agios Konstantinos, however, belongs to the settlements of the evolved fortified form, built in two phases. Although initially there must have been more available space for the construction of houses outside the defensive rings, they are mostly two-storey and single-roomed with or without a dividing wall.

Paros: Naoussa

The defended town of Naoussa was extended towards the South and West especially during the 17th and 18th centuries. The case of Naoussa is again very interesting. It was originally a Late Medieval fortified town of the orthogonal plan, with continuous house-rings forming the defensive wall of the town; new house-blocks, however, were built in almost precise orthogonal dimensions, forming an impressive Hippodamian street plan (Fig. 5.29). Likewise, houses in the area outside the original enceinte are two-storey and either single-roomed (with or without a dividing wall) or with one/two room(s) built at the back; their height on the outside does not exceed that of the original Late Medieval housing. This carefully arranged layout in a period of relative prosperity, under a tolerant Ottoman rule, suggests that the evolution of Naoussa outside its Medieval defended centre was an organised project of the local authorities, who showed their innovative initiative and great respect for the rules of the existing built environment.

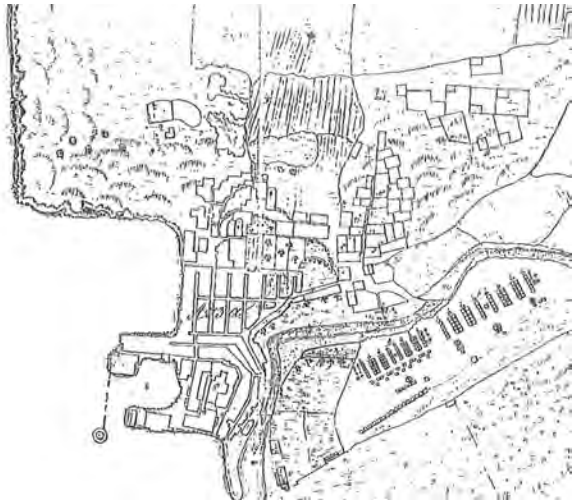


Fig. 5.29 Map of the town of Naoussa on Paros by the Russian forces of 1772 (Rangoussi-Kontogiorgou 2000, 57, fig. 25b)

Naturally, the town of Naoussa belongs to those of the evolved fortified form.

5.3.2 Settlements of the Linear or Traditional Form

The linear or traditional settlements in the Cyclades developed during the Post-Medieval and Early Modern periods, being equally common as the fortified settlements in the rest of the Aegean islands. The basic characteristic of the linear settlements is that they form a continuous network of houses and have a largely linear layout, established on an inland plateau, a mountain slope or a hillside. Different house-types can be identified in settlements of the linear form, such as single- and two-storey narrow-fronted and broad-fronted houses, arched houses with a central living room and two bedrooms at the rear, as well as large urban folk houses with neoclassical features or houses of the neoclassical style proper.

The best-published examples of settlements of the linear form come from the island of Siphnos (Tzakou 1979; 1988). In the case of Siphnos, the settlements' layout is freer (Fig. 5.30); the only limitation being that a single main street or a natural footpath, as well as the terrain's contours determined the settlements' orientation and evolution through time and space. A large number of churches built throughout the period of each settlement's development (*i.e.* the Ottoman

Fig. 5.30 Plan of an inland settlement on Siphnos (Tzakou 1979, 85, fig. 67)

period) in combination with minor paths vertical to the main one, created individual quarters or neighbourhoods. In some cases, these churches were connected to neighbouring houses, frequently sharing a common courtyard, and they, too, were focal points around which neighbourhoods developed and acted as points of reference (Tzakou 1988, 184-8). The complex of six settlements on the island of Siphnos, from Artemonas in the North to Katavati and Exambela in the South, forms a continuous network of semi-urban residences, housing peasant communities closer to their cultivated fields. The variety of house-types within these settlements reveals their historical development and the social status of their inhabitants. Different neighbourhoods included different house-types, representing the poorer farmers' single-roomed 'town-housing', the great landowners' pretentious residences with a large living room and private bedrooms, and the traders' landmarks of neoclassical housing.

Apart from the settlement-type of the linear form developing usually on a plateau in the islands' interior, there is a second type, very common throughout

Greece, which was established on a mountain slope or a hillside, developing in an amphitheatrical fashion. Lefkes, for instance, an upland settlement on Paros, is the only settlement that developed in a different fashion from other settlements on the island (of the fortified and evolved fortified forms), where aspects of natural defence (*e.g.* the settlement is not visible from the sea) and landscape shaped its general layout. Lefkes developed freely, following the contours of the mountain slope and the main roads communicating with the interior of the island (Philippa-Apostolou 1988). Similarly, inland settlements on the island of Tinos grew in size and doubled in number, especially from the early 18th century onwards, when the island experienced a time of social and economic prosperity after its final incorporation into the Ottoman Empire. It has been noted (Charitonidou 1988b) that several Late Medieval inland villages were preserved and continuously inhabited until their great expansion during the Ottoman period, when new houses were built on either side of a central paved narrow street, around the edge of the Medieval core of the village. However, although these inland villages on the island of Tinos were usually built on steep, inaccessible slopes, most of them still preserve a linear arrangement, such as Tarabados, Dyo Choria, Pyrgos, Krokos, Tripotamos and Kardiani, with a straight narrow path running from one end of the village to the other, following the slope. It would not be possible to argue that the settlement-type of the linear layout is a clearly Post-Medieval or Early Modern form. It is certain, though, that these settlements preserve a large number of dated Post-Medieval house forms, while written sources confirm the purely agricultural character of these villages and their inhabitants, who found good stimulus for material possessions under the social reforms and the economic recovery of the Ottoman period.

Andros: Amolochos, Arnas

The island of Andros is the only Cycladic island about which both written records and local memory confirm the existence of small *Arvanitic* or Albanian communities, occupying the whole North portion of the island already since the Late Medieval period. It has been suggested (Giochalas 2000) that the first Albanian settlement on the island must have taken place under the lordship of Pietro Zeno between 1384 and 1427, while more organised migrations (possibly via the neighbouring tip of Southern Euboea) took place in the 1500s. Amolochos in the North and Arnas in central Andros, both mountain settlements in the interior of the island, were founded by Albanian immigrants during the last years of the Late Medieval period or in the early Post-Medieval era. Thévenot (1687) noted that Andros contained more than 60 villages during the second half of the 17th century, with the most populous and prosperous amongst those being Arnas and Amolochos. Settlers of Albanian origin, numbering about 1200 souls, inhabited both villages. Tournefort (1718) provides similar information, while both travellers note that the Albanians of Andros were rude, undisciplined people, living without faith or law and had different customs to the Greeks.

The villages of Amolochos and Arnas belong to the linear or traditional settlements. Although they are not representative of the typical Cycladic villages of the linear layout with a central paved street, they form a special case of settlements originally constituted by separate house clusters on mountain slopes or upland plains, freely following the ground contours. These settlements did not develop into villages in the modern sense, *i.e.* having a central square or a market place; rather, they have an agricultural character, since the inhabitants were involved in stock-breeding and grew cereal crops on the lower gentler slopes. It is noteworthy that the word for *piazza* or square does not exist in the *Arvanitic* dialect. The Albanian villages were comprised of clusters of either Γ-shaped houses or longhouses similar to the ones identified in rural Eastern Attica and Boeotia (Stedman 1996; Sigalos 2004). The largest room of the longhouse was in most cases the stable or storeroom, also used for the household production of silk fibre, since silk was one of the island's major exports.

Naxos: Chalki, Philoti, Apeiranthos

The interior of the island of Naxos contains some of the most characteristic mountain villages in the Cyclades. The nature of the island's landscape places it in a very special position among the rest of the Cyclades, in that it combines an inland mountainous type with elevated basins and a regular insular coastline. When Theodore Bent (1885) visited Naxos in the second half of the 19th century he noted the

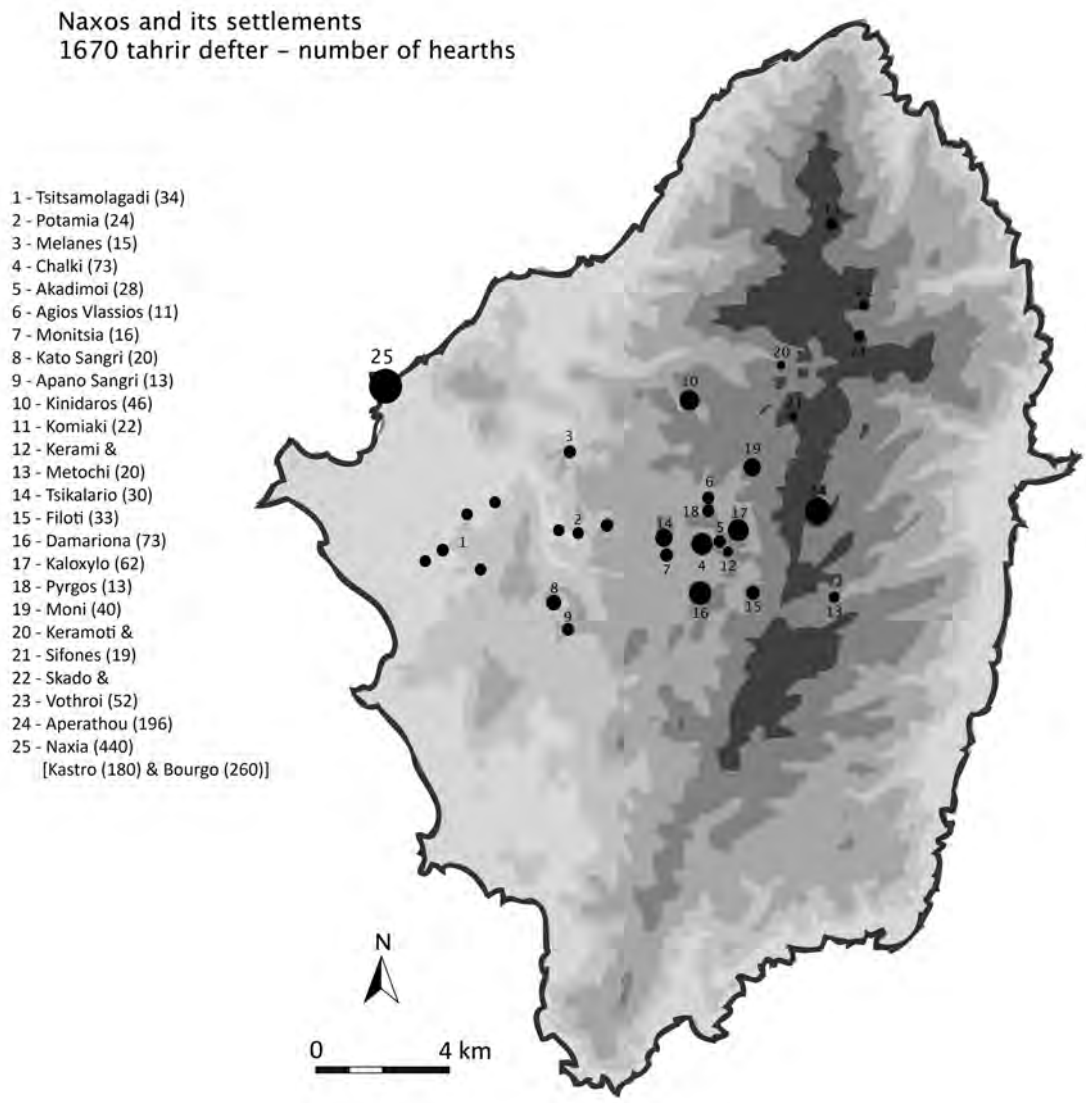


Fig. 5.31 Map of Naxos with existing villages according to the 1670 *tahrir defter*

difficult accessibility to the island's interior and commented that a few hours' distance from the town, the villages were inhabited by Greeks of the most 'undoubted pedigree'. Indeed, the main town of Naxos was the principal residence of the ruling Latin minority, while the countryside villages were left to the Greeks, and occasionally to some Venetian and Greek feudal lords who kept their impressive tower-houses as summer retreats.

Chalki, Philoti and Apeiranthos are only some of the numerous inland villages of the island. The 1670 Ottoman census (Fig. 5.31) testifies to their existence already during the 17th century (Slot 1982; Kasdagli 1999), while Tournefort (1718), who visited the island in the early 1700s, mentions them by name, further clarifying that not all villages were populous. Philoti and Apeiranthos, however, were and still are the largest villages of Naxos. Chalki on the other hand, located in the fertile upland valley of Tragea (Fig. 5.32) in the centre of the island, has nowadays

Fig. 5.32 View of the upland valley of Tragea in Naxos

lost the economic and social significance it enjoyed during the Ottoman and Early Modern periods. The semi-abandoned neoclassical and neoclassicising houses along the main roads to Tsikalario and Philoti bear evidence for the years of agricultural, economic and population increase of the pre-Modern era. All inland villages in Naxos are of the linear or traditional layout. They are spread over hillsides, they are built in an amphitheatrical fashion, and are very similar to the inland villages of Tinos, while a sharp distinction should be made with the *Arvanitic* settlements in the interior of the island of Andros. In Naxos, nearly all of the villages are built in a rather nucleated form with houses and house-blocks very close to each other, allowing space for only narrow footpaths between them and for a central square outside a church or a public building. Although this village formation of squares developing at the centre of a settlement has been proposed as a phenomenon of the Early Modern period, it seems that in Naxos these focal public spaces were already in existence during the Ottoman period, as attested by core village layouts. Housing in such villages varies in size and form but the single-roomed with or without additions, one- or two-storey narrow-fronted and the broad-fronted arched houses remain the basic domestic types on the island. Additional built structures used for stabling and/or storage are usually located on the edge of the villages, while the space at the core of the settlement and around it is reserved for regular domestic structures, public buildings, the parish church and the village square.

Paros: Kato Choria

Dated churches and dowry documents from Kato Choria (*i.e.* the villages of Prodromos, Marmara and Marpissa) in Eastern Paros, and Kostos in the island's interior, suggest that the villages were established by the early 17th century. The Ottoman census records of 1670 (Fig. 5.33), however, testify to their full growth and shaped form, which has been retained up to our time. They are all densely built on gentle hills, in a rather 'Medieval' manner, with long house-blocks following the ground contours and forming continuous house-lines looking towards the settlement's interior, while the Cathedral church of each village is situated at their centre. All four villages belong to the evolved fortified type, with very clear intentions to imitate defensive Medieval forms. Marpissa, Prodromos, and Marmara (Fig. 5.34) are so closely located near each other, that they remind us of the complex of the linear settlements of Siphnos. There is a variety of housing in these settlements, both single- and two-storey, with either a single room or with added rooms at the back. Paros with its villages of the evolved fortified type is a special case, where the single-storey single-roomed broad-fronted arched house-type found good ground and became quite popular among peasant communities in the Post-Medieval and Early Modern periods.

Santorini: Oia, Phera

Santorini in the Southern Cyclades has always attracted the attention of international visitors and architects, mainly because of its volcanic origin and special settlement layout along the Western edge of the island around the *caldera*, some 300 m above sea level. Among the numerous Late Medieval fortified towns of Santorini presented above, the villages of Phera and Oia, extending along the coastal cliff-edge of the *caldera*, are special examples of the linear or traditional settlement layout. This is obviously the outcome of the island's unique volcanic landscape, which creates natural axes and footpaths following the topographical contours. The repetitive module of narrow- and broad-fronted single-roomed houses built one next to the other or one on top of the other form a complex interaction between different properties and house-owners. The walls of deep gulleys formed by a soft volcanic tuff-stone offer an

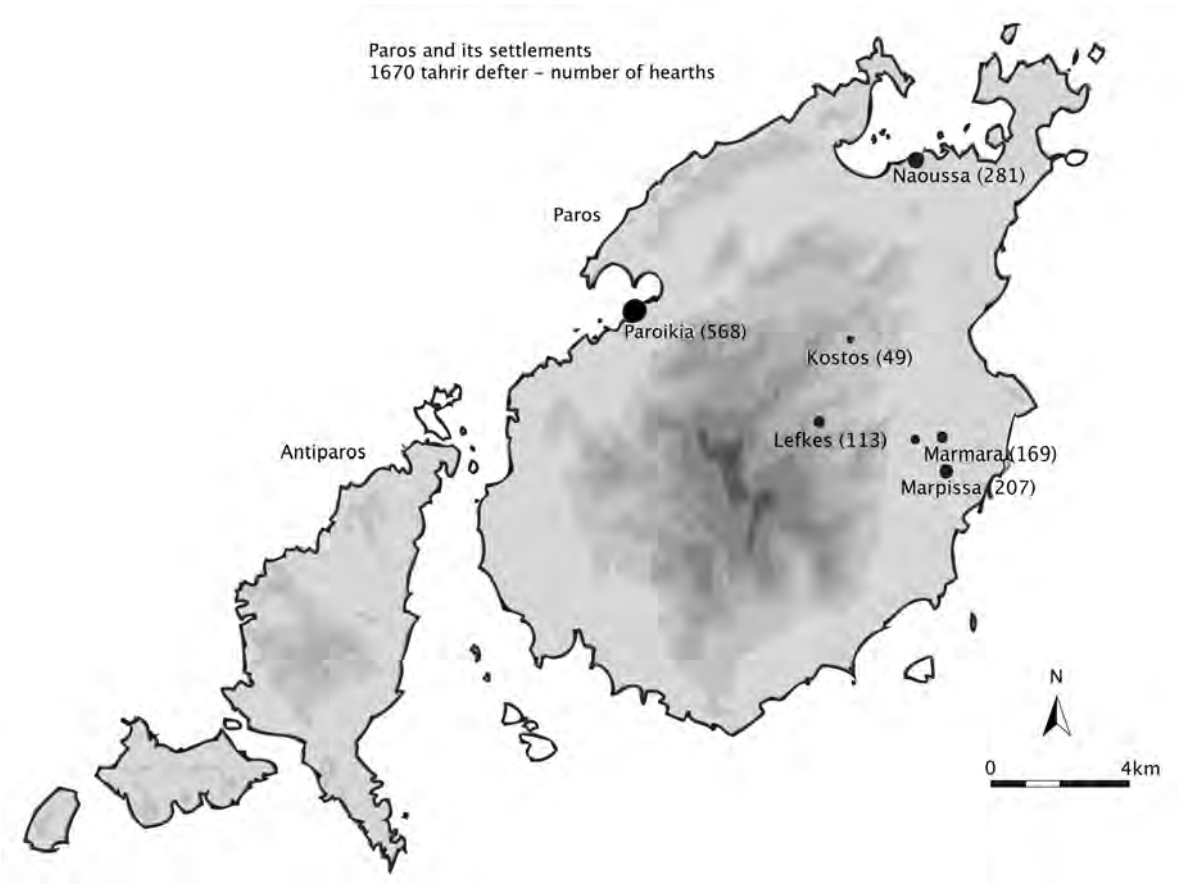


Fig. 5.33 Map of Paros with existing villages according to the 1670 *tahrir defter*

intriguing opportunity for the construction of dugout houses at different levels along dried-up riverbeds. A codified law of the 18th century quoted by Radford and Clark (1974, 65), preserved the rights of owners of dugout houses for the use of their roofs by the owners of the house built on the upper level. A single main road along the *caldera* runs through each village, connecting them with each other in a similar manner to that on the island of Siphnos. Both linear settlements on Santorini preserve distinctive neighbourhoods established at different periods, such as the neighbourhood of Sideras in Oia, filled with ship-owners' mansions, and the *Frankomachalas* or Latin quarter in Phera, quite different in layout to the rest of the villages (Philippides 1988b, 154). The availability of suitable building materials, such as pumice stone and *pozzuolana* (producing a kind of mortar when mixed with lime), were used for the construction of the anti-seismic barrel-vaulted roofs of all forms of Santorini housing.

Fig. 5.34 View of the villages of Marmara and Prodromos on Paros

Siphnos: inland settlements

The inland settlements of Siphnos (*i.e.* Artemonas, Ai-Loukas, Ano Petali, Apollonia, Katavati and Exambela), stretching over four kilometres from Artemonas in the North to Katavati and Exambela to the South, form a continuous network of villages that developed during the Post-Medieval period and reached their present layout by the middle of the 19th century (Fig. 5.30). Churches bearing dated inscriptions indicate that Artemonas, Apollonia, Katavati, Exambela and Kato Petali are the oldest settlements on the island, established shortly after the Late Medieval fortified town of Kastro on the Eastern promontory of Siphnos. The neighbouring settlements of Ai-Loukas and Ano Petali, lying between Artemonas and Apollonia, must have developed after the beginning of the 18th century; Tournefort (1718), who visited the island at that time, only mentions the existence of the first five villages. With the exception of the Late Medieval fortified town of Kastro and the evolved fortified village of Kato Petali (somewhat isolated from the rest, and located on a low hill just outside the inland plateau), the remaining inland villages belong to those of the linear or traditional form. It has been assumed (Tzakou 1979; 1988) that the majority of these settlements of linear layout must have evolved out of already existing early Post Medieval (possibly 16th or early 17th-century) house-clusters, built initially to provide seasonal shelter to farming communities, established closer to their fields. The 'pretentious' housing of a folk urban type, imitating Late Medieval mansions, testifies to the peasant and middle class identity of their owners, who seem to have separated themselves from the descendants of the old Latin nobility, still occupying quarters within the defended Kastro.

Although the compact and densely built-up appearance of the inland settlements of Siphnos echoes a rather 'Medieval' prototype, the linear arrangement of building blocks and the centrality obtained by the same single paved street running through each village, characterises them through their greater degree of free evolution. The layout of each of those settlements appears in a 'fish-bone' manner. A couple of regular and irregular building blocks form separate neighbourhoods, usually with their own church or chapel, being bounded by the main 'linear' street and minor paths or alleys spreading off it along its full extent. The appearance and evolution of different focal points and empty public spaces, such as squares or church-yards in settlements of the linear form were especially developed during the Post-Medieval and Early Modern periods.

5.3.3 Dispersed Farmsteads

Farmsteads started to be established only in the late 18th or early 19th century, especially after the Greek Revolution in 1821. These structures of agricultural and residential use are to be found in most of the Cyclades; in Paros they were called *katoikies*, *themonies* in Syros and Siphnos, *choria* in Mykonos and *kathedres* in Kea. The Cycladic farmsteads are groups of buildings, with the traditional seasonal or permanent residential structure as a main focus, around which a collection of buildings of agricultural character was attached. Hillsides and mountainous areas close to pastureland and cultivated fields, usually away from the sea but overlooking it, were areas preferred for the establishment of these dispersed countryside installations.

It has been suggested (Romanos 1988, 68-74; Whitelaw 1991, 403-54) that clusters of farmsteads consisted of fairly regularly spaced farmhouses, around 250 m apart, in some cases with a chapel located not far from them. Cycladic farmsteads consisted of the main residential unit, that is the farmhouse with an open or partially covered courtyard, and a number of smaller buildings arranged side by side, such as one or two closed or semi-closed animal shelters and storage areas (Fig. 5.35). What made a farmstead a complete agricultural unit was structures with specialised functions, identified as agricultural processing facilities, such as a water reservoir, a threshing floor, an open-air wine press and an extra animal shelter usually reserved for sheep and goats. The arrangement of a farmhouse was standardised: single houses in alignment often built at different periods, one after the other, which are either shaped in an elongated mass with perhaps different heights for each additional room, or arranged in a Γ or a Π form (Romanos 1988, 74-5).

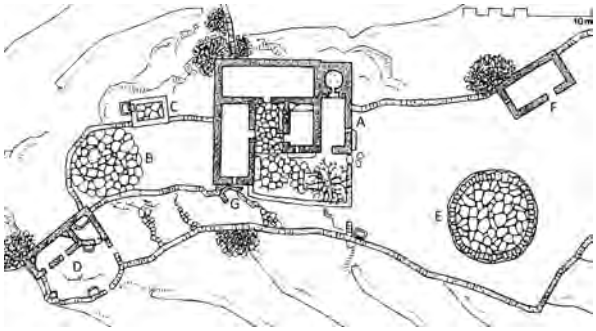


Fig. 5.35 Plan of a *katoikia*-complex on Keos (Cherry *at al.* 1991, 416, fig. 21.9)

The tradition of the Early Modern dispersed settlement pattern in the form of scattered farmhouses with almost equal size and boundaries, is nowadays more stressed on the islands of Kea and Siphnos in the Western Cyclades, Andros, Syros and Mykonos in the Northern Cyclades and Paros in central Cyclades. This settlement type, however, is not so common in the Southern Cyclades. It should be noted, though, that a single farmstead is a permanent or seasonal residential unit of agricultural type, but not a settlement type in itself. Rather, a cluster or group of farmhouses or evenly spaced farmsteads could develop into a dispersed settlement type, such as in the areas of Kamares and Marathi on Paros, Ano Mera on Mykonos, or Otzias on Kea.

In Mykonos, for instance, Chora has always been the main town on the island, while a large number of farmsteads or *choria* occupied its interior. A dense cluster of farmhouses on the Eastern slopes of the central mountain mass, between two bays (Panormos and Kato Livadi) today constitutes the nucleus of the community of Ano Mera. Romanos (1988, 50) suggests that Ano Mera was probably what several travellers were referring to when they noted the existence of a second town on Mykonos. A similar pattern of dispersed farmsteads, known as *katoikies* (residential structures with agricultural facilities) is to still be found nowadays on Paros, in the region of Kamares to the North of the island, Marathi in central Paros, Voutakos in the Southwest and Livadia along the East coast of the island. The main characteristic of the Paros farmsteads is their location; the majority of them were established on foothills around the four largest and most fertile valleys of the island. In Kea a farmhouse or *kathedra* was comprised of closed or partly closed animal shelters (*stavlia* and *stegadia*), storage areas (*apothikes* or *magazedes*), and the residential structure itself (*kathikia* or *kathedra*), in most cases equipped with built benches, hearths and an oven (Kloutsinioti *et al.* 1988; Whitelaw 1991).

5.4 HOUSING IN *KASTRA*

There are three main house types that one can identify within the Cycladic Late Medieval and early Post-Medieval defended settlements. These are the narrow-fronted houses (the most common of all types), the broad-fronted and the *archontika* or mansions. However, it is essential to note that the first two types belong to the single-unit house. That is, a single room is a house in itself. In Late Medieval Cycladic towns, mainly because of lack of space, houses were initially built on a 'vertical' rather than 'linear' fashion. Normally, the domestic structures consisted of two storeys: the ground floor was reserved for storage or animal shelter, while the upper storey was reserved for the family and its domestic activities. It is also important to note that most of these defended settlements could be referred to as 'towns' of lesser or greater status, since these used to be the main settlement of each island and included a number of activities which gave them a town-status. Some of them certainly had a basic street plan, a market or central point (*e.g.* the square), a relatively dense population, plots of houses of urban type (*e.g.* the mansions), and elements indicating social differentiation and religious organisation (Grenville 1997, 157).

5.4.1 Two-Storey Narrow-Fronted Houses

The narrow-fronted single-roomed house (or *monochoro* and *makrinari*) is common in many regions within and outside the borders of present-day Greece. This house-type is almost always associated with the presence of both humans and animals under the same roof. In the case of the Cyclades, though, the arrangement of space reserved for animals and humans has always been different, where the ground floor accommodates animals and provides extra storage space, while the upper storey provides housing for the family. The practical need for extra space within these defended towns, as well as the need to protect the population from outside enemies (*e.g.* pirate raids)

resulted in the preference for the vertical rather than linear development of built structures. An upper storey provides space for the family as well as a higher outer defensive wall to protect the town from any external threat.

The main entrance door on the narrow-fronted houses is located on the short side of the house, always on the side facing the street on the inside of the settlement, and accessed by means of an external stone or wooden staircase. There is usually a small window on the opposite narrow side looking outside onto the countryside or the island's port. Sometimes there is no other opening apart from that of the main door. The ground floor, which was sometimes occupied by another family (*e.g.* in Siphnos and Kimolos) or used for stabling and storage, is also approached from the street. The door is almost always located close to one of the corners of the short side. It has been suggested (Kouroupaki *et al.* 1988, 88) that the length of the short side of the narrow and broad-fronted houses was conditioned by the length of local timber available, which was used to cover the room with a flat roof. In some cases, the problem of how to increase the available residential space was solved by using an arch, which acted as a cross beam supporting the roof and dividing the room into two equal parts. This arch was mostly used for supporting the ceiling of the ground floor in houses of the defended settlements.

Narrow-fronted houses are found in almost all of the Late Medieval Cycladic defended settlements such as Siphnos, Mykonos, Kimolos, Antiparos and Paros (Fig. 5.36). In the case of Antiparos three-storey houses measure approximately 6 m in width and 8 m in length. Each floor was occupied by a different family, while the ground floor was again used for storage and stabling. The second and third floors are identical. They are about 30 m^2 in size, with a hearth for cooking and a niche for storage on each floor. In the case of Kimolos the situation is similar, but although the houses have two storeys, the ground floor must have been occupied by another family and not used as a stable or storage room. This is because both floors contain a hearth and a niche (Fig. 5.37). This lack of storage space on the ground floor may indicate the involvement of the local population in activities such as maritime commerce, rather than agricultural production. The houses on Kimolos are smaller, measuring about 2.5 m in width and 6.5 m in length. Mobile furniture in narrow-fronted housing was confined to a wooden (usually carved) *kassela* or chest for storing clothes and used for sitting on. The big marital bed, the *krevatsoulla* or bed-platform was a permanent wooden or stone-built

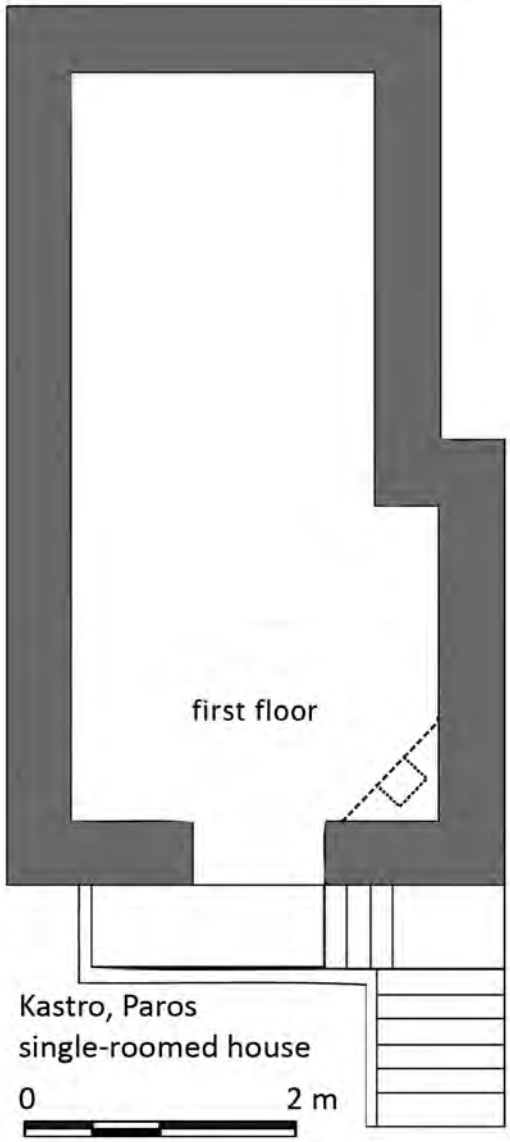


Fig. 5.36 Narrow-fronted single-roomed house from Kastro in Paroikia, Paros (redrawn after Philippa-Apostolou 1988, 121, fig. 11)

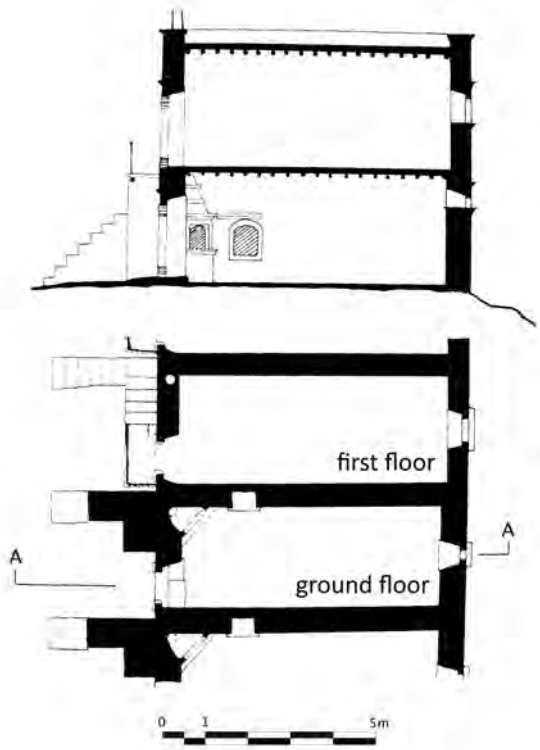


Fig. 5.37 Two-storey narrow-fronted house from Kastro, Kimolos (Sanders 1996, 175, fig. 20)

structure at the other end of the single-roomed house. This structure was usually about 1.5 m above floor-level and the space underneath was used either as a children's bed or for storing brassware and other valuables. Some of the two-storey houses within Kastro on Siphnos belonged to two different families, each of them occupying a different floor. Synodinou's house is such an example (Fig. 5.38). Access to the ground floor is provided from the street level, while the first floor is reached by means of a small bridge from a raised square opposite (formed on the roofs of a group of single-storey houses) at a higher level than the street (Tzakou 1988, 46). In this case, there is no communication between the two floors, so it is suggested that these were two different apartments used by two different families. The first storey of some of the houses on Siphnos also makes use of a wooden-built bed-platform (Fig. 5.38).

Summarising the basic elements of the narrow-fronted house within the Cycladic Late Medieval and early Post-Medieval defended settlements we note the following. Domestic activity areas are linear and located within a single long room, with a notional division between the *prosthion* or front portion and the *opisthion* or back portion (Kizis 1994). The outer part was used as a hall for receiving guests and in some cases as a kitchen for cooking and dining, while the inner and more 'private' part was used for storing valuable goods and sleeping (Vionis 2001a; 2005). There is a concept of privacy regarding these narrow-fronted and long single-roomed houses. The raised sleeping platform, with storage space beneath, provided privacy to some degree as it could not be seen directly from the entrance of the house, while curtains were also used to 'isolate' that part of the room from the rest. There are also cases where more privacy (especially on the first floor) in this elongated area of the narrow-fronted houses, was accomplished through the division into two sections by means of erecting a false wall, made of plastered over reeds (Romanos 1988). The separation of humans and storage or stabling space is another element. It is quite common that access to the ground floor was always provided through a separate door from the street level and almost never from the upper floor. This indicates a separation between 'clean' and 'dirty' activities, *i.e.* separation of humans from animals. This division between humans and animals in littoral Greece contrasts with the picture from Mainland Greece, where in agricultural communities a single-roomed longhouse provided shelter to both families and livestock; the construction of a low fence to separate the main living area came only later (Sigalos 2004). The importance of space outside the doorstep is also stressed. These island settlements and housing provided shelter for a peasant society, the male members of which spent most of the day in the fields, while female members used the stairs of their houses or the limited space outside their doorstep for socialising with the neighbours in the early evening. Two-storey narrow-fronted houses in the fortified settlements of the Cyclades seem to come chronologically later than the broad-fronted ones, possibly in the late 15th and 16th centuries.

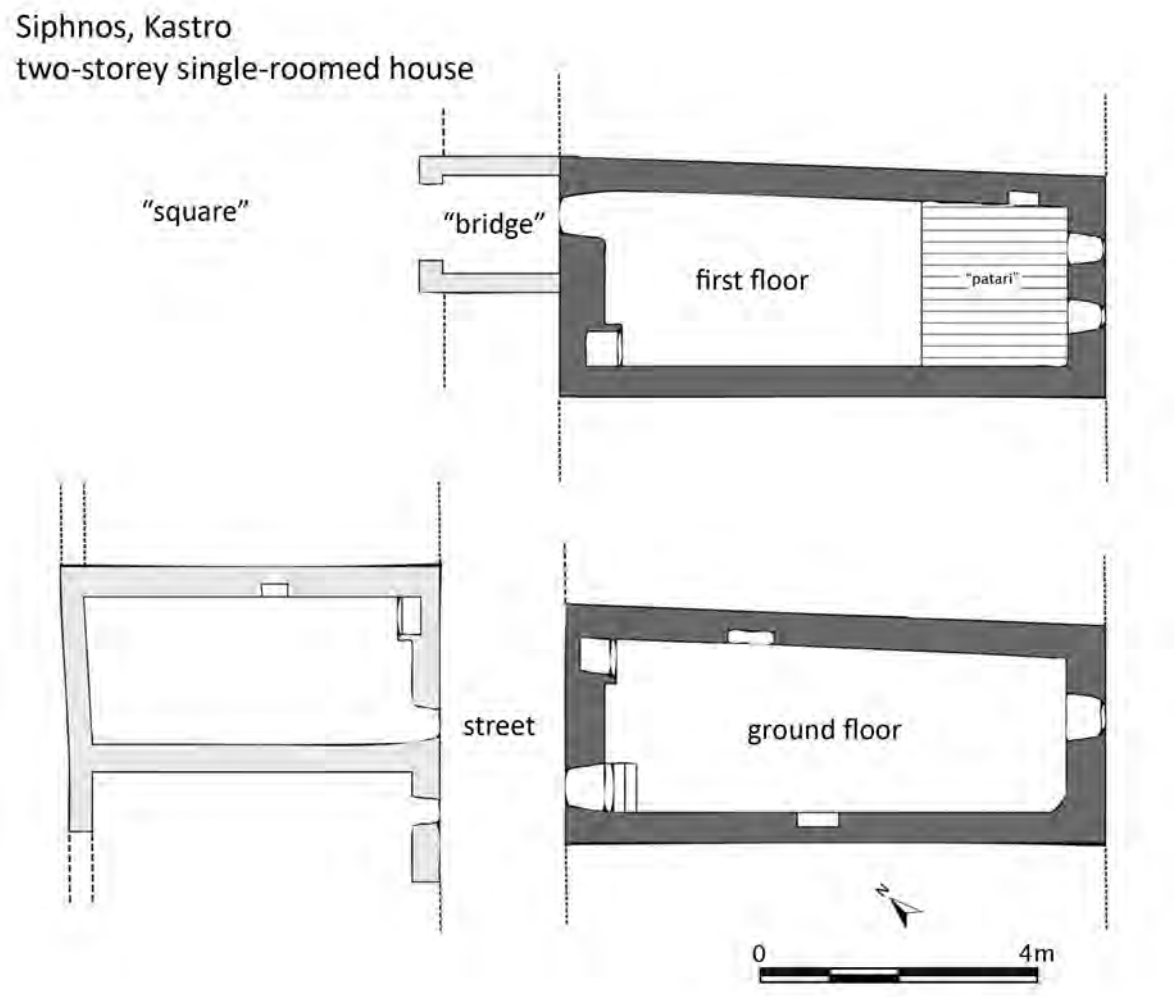


Fig. 5.38 Late Medieval two-storey single-roomed house of the Synodinou family in Kastro, Siphnos (redrawn after Tzakou 1988, 46, fig.46)

5.4.2 Two-Storey Broad-Fronted Houses

Broad-fronted houses represent a variation of the narrow-fronted ones. Though they are also found within the Late Medieval and early Post-Medieval defended centres (less often than the narrow fronted ones), they seem to pre-date the narrow-fronted houses. In the case of Antiparos (founded in the middle of the 15th century) the originally rectangular portion of the town contains only broad-fronted houses (Fig. 5.39). The same applies to Kimolos. As we have seen above, the original part of the town contained broad-fronted houses while the outer line of houses (which are narrow-fronted), forming the outer defensive wall, developed at a later stage (Fig. 5.6). The town of Naoussa (Fig. 5.8) contains both housing types, but it seems that the central portion of the settlement, which must have been older, contains a block of houses of irregular plan, the majority of which are broad-fronted (Fig. 5.40). In Siphnos (Fig. 5.20), one notes the similarity of the original portion of the town's ground plan (on the Western side of the hill), built in the 14th century, to those of Antiparos and Kimolos, and although the houses are not identical in dimensions, most of them are broad fronted.

This type of single-unit two-storey housing has its ground floor used for storage and/or stabling. A door provides access to the ground floor from the street, while the upper storey is approached by means of a

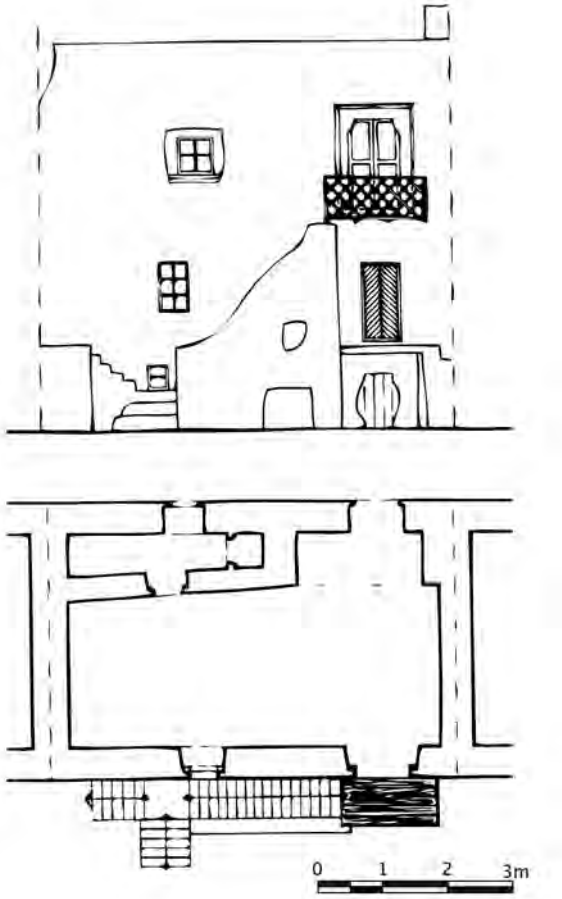


Fig. 5.39 Example of a broad-fronted house from Kastro on Antiparos (Philippa-Apostolou 1988, 125, fig. 20)

wooden or stone staircase. The door of the upper floor is usually located in the middle of the long side of the room, while a window of small dimensions is usually located on either side of the door. In most cases broad-fronted housing has a stone-built arch supporting its flat roof, dividing the house into two equal portions. The broad-fronted houses found within the defended Late Medieval and early Post-Medieval settlements (such as Antiparos and Naoussa on Paros) always have a built hearth and a niche in one of the corners of the room (Fig. 5.40). Sometimes a stone-built bed is located within the same room in one of the corners, while the available space beneath it is used for storing grain or other valuables.

The arch basically functioned as a means of dividing the room into four units, organising spatial use. Each

Fig. 5.40 Ruins of a broad-fronted house in the town of Naoussa, Paros

unit served a different function. The hearth occupied the corner on the left or right side of the entrance and this was the area where food preparation took place. The other corner was reserved for dining or other social-daily use. The other two corners served for sleeping and storing valuable commodities (dowry, valuable imported objects). In the case of the broad-fronted houses one notes the linear arrangement of household activities. Although there is a tendency to separate different activities in different corners of the house, there is a lesser degree of privacy compared to narrow-fronted housing.

5.4.3 Archontika

Archontika is a term referring to larger, more elaborate houses, with more than one room, built within the Late Medieval and early Post-Medieval defensive settlements in order to provide housing for the ruling Latin noble minority. They are mostly found in larger settlements and towns of a higher status, such as Kastro on Naxos (Fig. 5.41). One can distinguish larger houses also in other smaller settlements, such as Siphnos, Antiparos and Kimolos, but it is not certain whether the upper caste of society (as in Naxos) owned these dwellings.

In Naxos mansions were built within the fortified town, themselves forming the defensive town-wall. These houses are rather more impressive than the dwellings of the peasant population. They are taller buildings with a distinctive fortified character. They

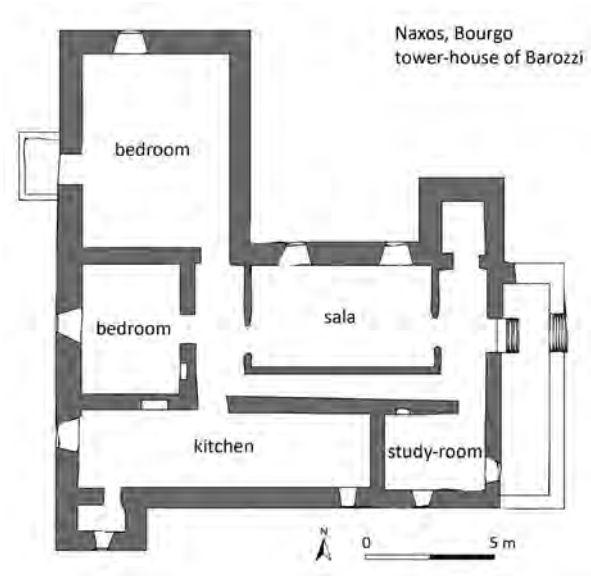


Fig. 5.41 Plan of the mansion of Barozzi family in Kastro, Naxos (redrawn after Kouroupaki *et al.* 1988, 93, fig. 27)

Fig. 5.42 View of the mansion of Glezos in Kastro, Naxos

have decorative features such as marble door and window frames, as well as marble lintels bearing the coat-of-arms of the family inhabiting the house (Fig. 5.42). They are two-storey buildings with the ground floor mainly used for storage or other daily activities (food preparation, keeping domestic cleaning utensils), providing extra space to the wealthy owners occupying the upper floor (Fig. 5.43). There usually is a small yard or terrace in front of the main door. The front room is a big central *sala* or living room and a number of other rooms (*e.g.* bedrooms) are located around it. This gives rise to a certain inward-looking tendency, for the living room is distinct from the rest, and its central position enables the daily life of the entire family to be centred on it (Kouroupaki *et al.* 1988, 93). It has been suggested that this type of more elegant Medieval housing can be traced in the 'Mediterranean' house-type in which the rooms are built around the edges of a closed courtyard, the living room here replacing the courtyard itself. Comparisons can be made with other Venetian-dominated regions in the Aegean. Noble housing in Crete, for example, similarly recalls Venetian domestic architectural traditions, although in a more pronounced form than in the Cyclades. Although not much architectural evidence of the first years of Venetian domination in Crete has survived to our days, it is almost certain that the representative feudatory residence in Candia was a two- or three-storey L- or Π-shaped building around a courtyard, with a central hall (McKee 2000, 25, 59-60). The *archontika* in the Cyclades, built around the periphery of the Kastro, have a fortified character more pronounced in the basement and less obvious on the upper storey.

It seems that Late Medieval mansions belonging to local rulers in towns of lesser status on islands such as Siphnos or Paros, were created by repeating the basic single-roomed tradition two or three times side by side. Surviving examples of this house-type have been presented by Tzakou (1988, 199, 202) with reference to Siphnos, where the house of the Zambelis family (Fig. 5.44) has two units on the upper floor and that of the Rangoussis family (Fig. 5.45) has three. The most basic plan of the Late Medieval mansion, however, is that of a living room at the front and two identical bedrooms of the same size side by side at the back (*e.g.* the Zambelis' house). It is interesting to note that even Late Medieval mansions

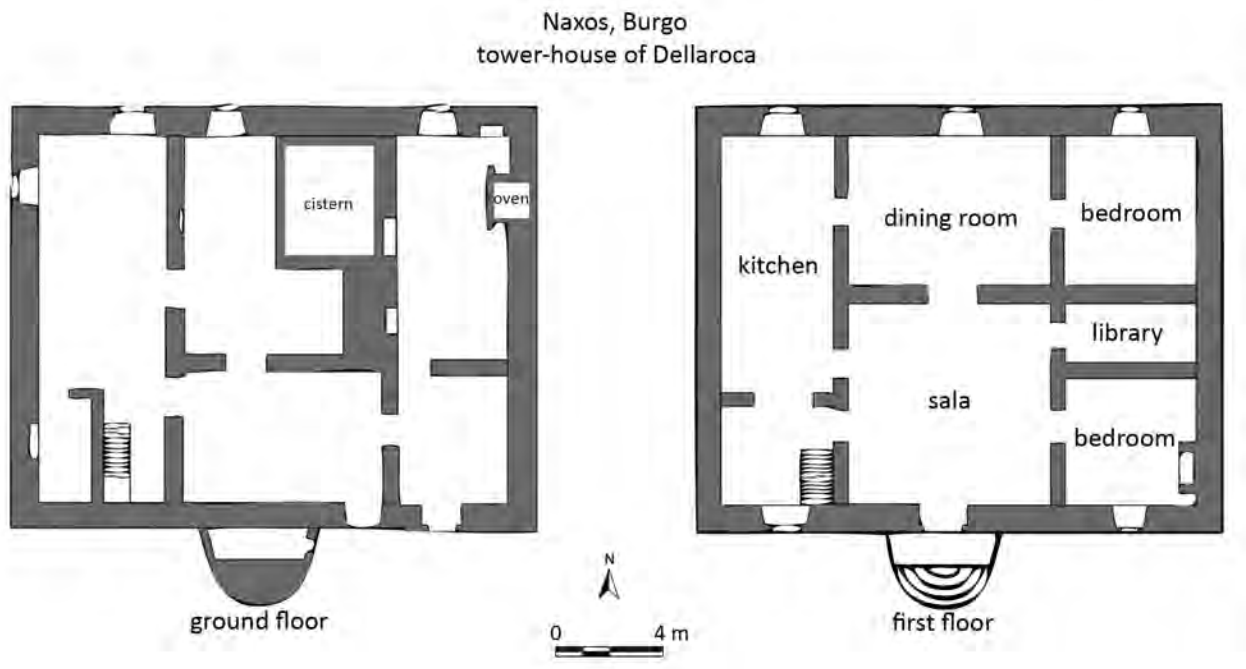


Fig. 5.43 Plan of the mansion of Dellaroca family in Kastro, Naxos

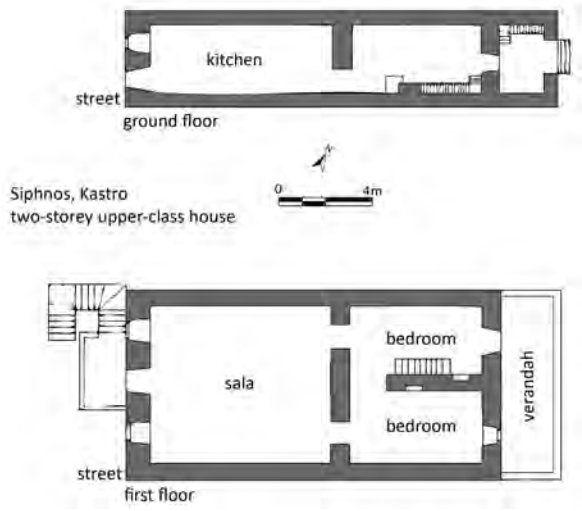


Fig. 5.44 Plan of the Late Medieval mansion of Zambelis family in Kastro, Siphnos (redrawn after Tzakou 1988, 202, fig. 52)

in towns of lesser status similarly follow a linear development, with rooms or units evolving side by side. This Late Medieval house-type of the upper class is an early version of the Post-Medieval urban folk house with '*sala* and twin rooms' developing immediately outside defended towns and in countryside settlements. This clearly reflects an attempt by the Post-Medieval emerging middle class to imitate the Latin nobility and its elaborate mansions within the Late Medieval defended centres.

More specifically, the number and size of rooms almost always determined the social position of the owner, especially in fortified towns of the Late Medieval and early Post-Medieval periods in the Cyclades (Charitonidou 1988b). However, what makes mansions distinguishable within the Late Medieval fortified settlements of both lesser and higher status is the larger size of the *sala*, always very high and spacious. Housing examples in Venice preserve a similar arrangement, where the 'central hall' or *portego* (opening in front of the street) on the *piano nobile* or the 'upper floor' was used as a reception area but also as a 'display' room of items of value and luxury. This is a clear indication of the economic prosperity, social status and origin of the upper class, which further stressed its social standing on the exterior of their mansions. The exterior ornamentation

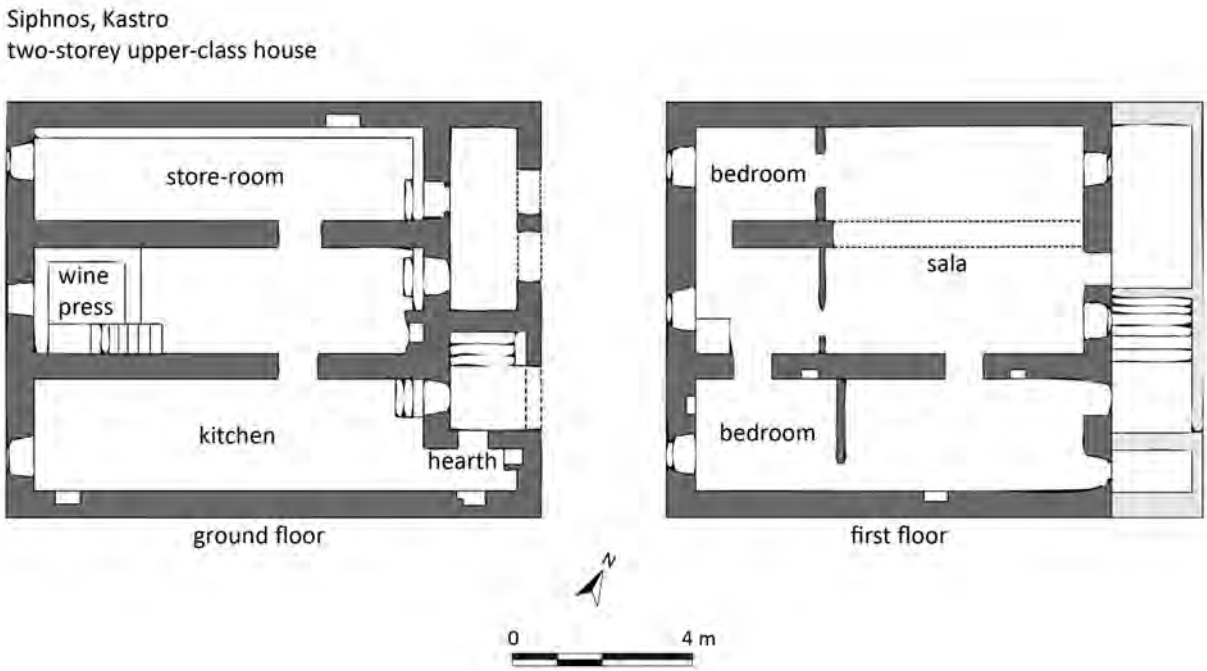


Fig. 5.45 Plan of the Late Medieval mansion of Rangoussis family in Kastro, Siphnos (redrawn after Tzakou 1988, 200-1, fig. 50)

of those residences included symbols of status and family heritage, such as marble sculpted coats-of-arms, very commonly found in Late Medieval *kastra* in the Aegean (Tzakou 1988) and on the facades and doorways of many private *palazzi* in the metropolis of Venice (Jardine 1996).

5.5 HOUSING IN UNFORTIFIED SETTLEMENTS

There are six distinct and representative house-types that developed in the Cyclades during the later years of the Post-Medieval and the Early Modern periods. Since the Late Medieval settlements of the nucleated form continued to function throughout the succeeding periods, new houses were built within these, following in most cases architectural rules already set in the past. Thus, housing within these Late Medieval defended centres continued to be mostly narrow-fronted, two-storey and single-roomed with or without a partition wall, while in some cases a new room was added at the back of the traditional narrow fronted house. A second very common house type is the house of the 'rectangular' form or the 'arched' house, with a built arch supporting the flat roof and dividing interior domestic space into four activity areas. The rectangular or arched house-type was either one- or two-storey, and consisted of a single-room or of one/two additional bedroom(s) at the back or at one side of the house. A direct subtype of this house-type is the house with a *sala* and a pair of twin rooms (two rooms of the same size at the back or at either side of the central hall). This housing layout was also an early version of the urban mansion with neoclassical features. Another house-type is the so-called *pyrgospito* or tower-house, an upper class house with a strongly fortified character. This house-type is characteristic for the islands of Andros and Naxos, and is dated between the early 16th and early 19th centuries. The fifth house-type presented here, the so-called *archontiko* or gentry housing with neoclassical influences developed, not only on the Greek Mainland, but also on the Aegean islands especially in the middle of the 19th century, changing the general aesthetic appearance of most Cycladic towns and villages. These prominent two-storey houses with large windows, usually ornamented facades and spacious verandas, became accepted as mansions by the local island so-

cieties (Papaioannou *et al*. 2001). A final house-form is the farmstead complex that developed in the countryside of almost every Cycladic island from the beginning of the 19th century to the 1950s, and functioned as a permanent or seasonal residential unit, with additional agricultural and storage facilities.

5.5.1 Narrow-Fronted with or without Dividing Wall

Housing of this period built either within early Post-Medieval defended settlements or immediately outside the defensive walls of Late Medieval fortified towns (most often forming a second line of defence), is very common from the late 15th and 16th centuries onwards, mainly in settlements of the evolved fortified form. Although this house-type (single- or two-storey and narrow-fronted) has already been presented above concerning the early Post-Medieval period, there is a need to stress here that later on it consisted of one and sometimes of two or three rooms (with the construction of a false dividing wall).

Domestic life was concentrated on the upper floor, while the ground floor was usually reserved for auxiliary purposes, such as storage of harvest products and agricultural utensils or for short-term stabling of animals. There was usually no means of communication between the two storeys (or if there was, that was in the form of a trap door) and the upper storey was reached by an outside staircase. The stair-head in front of the entrance is sometimes the flat roof of a service area built onto the front of the ground floor, in which case it becomes a small private courtyard called *iliakos*. This is also a feature commonly found in the Mastichochoria, the Late Medieval defended settlements on the island of Chios in the Eastern Aegean. There are, however, a few examples where the upper floor is reached by an inside staircase from the ground floor, resulting in the transferring onto the lower storey of some of the daytime family activities, such as cooking. In this case, the upper floor becomes rather more formal, serving as the 'best parlour' and there may be a balcony on the frontage (Papaioannou *et al.* 2001, 300).

The addition of a false wall towards the back end of the narrow-fronted house, was a clever and practical means to divide the single-roomed house into two, adding an extra and more private space for the bedroom, where the marital bed was once located. In other cases, an extra room was added at the back of the house or a second false dividing wall was simply added, in which case the extra room at the very end of the house served as a kind of ante-chamber, creating a 'three-roomed' house-type. For example, Chora, the principal town of Naxos preserves housing of this type in the Bourgo and Evriaki neighbourhoods. Originally single-roomed two-storey houses have been adapted through an internal division towards the back of the room on the upper floor and the construction of a second long narrow-fronted room built against one of its sides (Fig. 5.46). These house types, being constructed within a nucleated environment could not be easily demolished or extended. Thus, their continuous use throughout the Post-Medieval and Early Modern periods, when living conditions and the need for 'dedicated space' became more pronounced, led to the front part of the house becoming dedicated to a room with formal character, *i.e.* the parlour or living room. The other one or two rooms at the back were used for secondary functions such as cooking or sleeping. It should be noted that the external additions of new rooms became a common phenomenon during the later Post-Medieval and Early Modern periods, in accordance with the immediate surroundings of each house and the scope for expansion allowed by its plot.

5.5.2 Rectangular and Broad-Fronted Arched Housing

Housing of the 'rectangular' layout or 'arched' form usually includes broad-fronted single-roomed houses (Fig. 5.47). Their main characteristic is the central stone-built arch (*kamara* or *volto*) that divides the house length-wise into two elongated portions, supports the flat roof and increases the available residential space, in contrast to narrow-fronted housing, the size of which was dictated by the length of the local timber. This house version is to be found mostly in villages of the Cycladic countryside and other littoral areas in Greece, where more available space allowed the development of housing horizontally rather than in height. Rhodes, Patmos, Kythera, Crete and Cyprus are amongst the islands outside the Cycladic

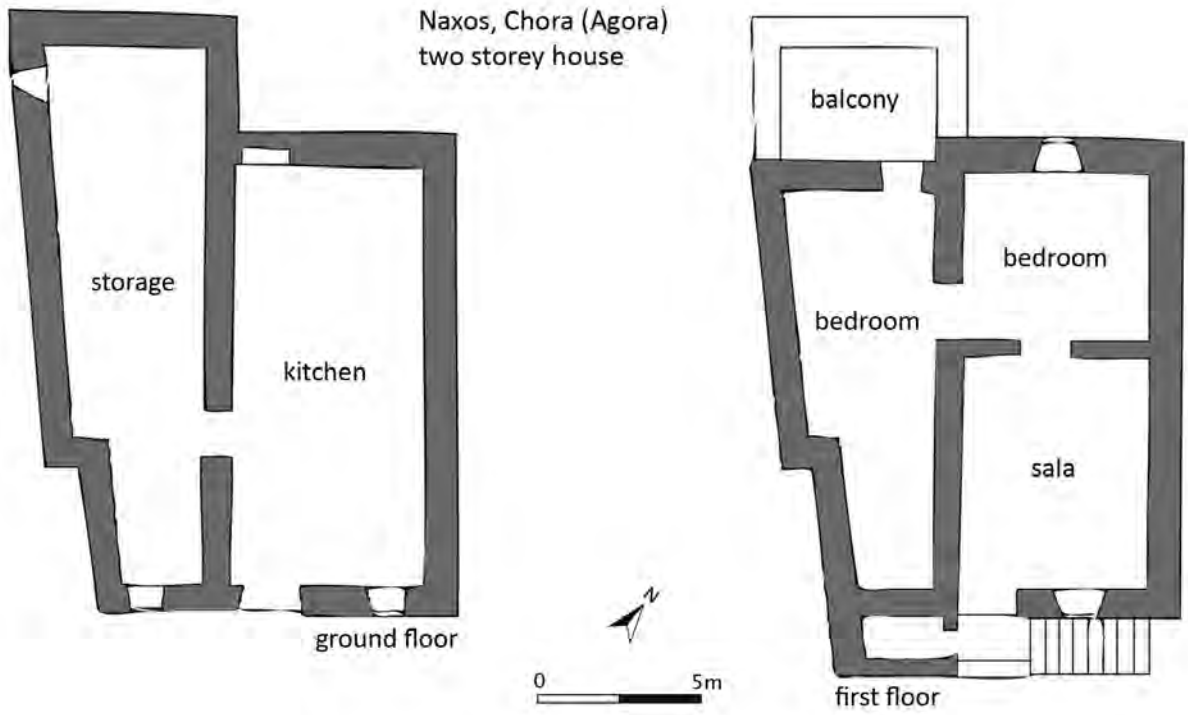


Fig. 5.46 Plan of a two-storey narrow-fronted house with division wall and added room at the one side from the Agora district of Chora, Naxos (redrawn after Kouroupaki *et al.* 1988, 90, fig. 21)

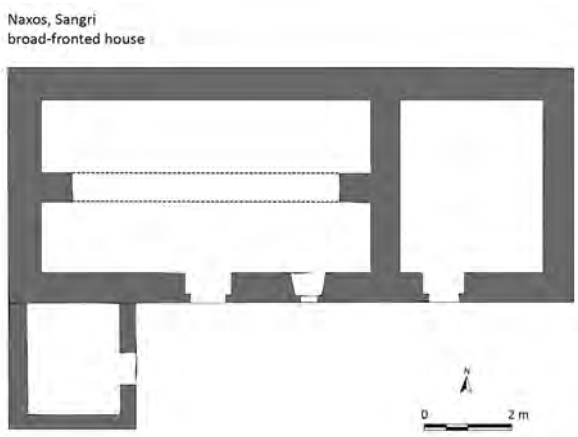


Fig. 5.47 Plan of a typical broad-fronted arched house from Sangri, Naxos

group where arched housing became one of the main Post-Medieval and Early Modern house-types (Kremezi 1986). A more developed form of this type is the two-storey house with a central *sala* and twin rooms, examined below. The simplest form of the Cycladic arched house naturally derives from the 13th-14th-century broad-fronted house.

It has been suggested (Rackham and Moody 1996) that an earlier version of arched housing was known in Crete during the Medieval period, that with a single beam, the length of which was reduced by short projecting walls into the house from one or both ends. Additionally, it is speculated that the arched house on the island possibly originated in urban areas during the Late Medieval period where Gothic arches seem to have replaced the aforementioned earlier version. The arched house has also been seen (Papaioannou *et al.* 2001) as a type related to the 'house with central beam and post', with a long beam (or *messodoki*) placed in the centre at right angles to the other beams, serving as a midway support for them. This special housing form still needs timber long and strong enough to carry the weight of the roof, while its limited presence is confined to the larger islands of Andros and Naxos.

The two elongated rooms created by the central stone-built arch give the impression of two separate single-roomed houses brought under the same roof, favouring a sense of more available space and a rational organisation of domestic activities. The arch and its pilasters halfway along the side-walls create four quarters or recesses and good places to locate daily functions, such as sleeping and storage, cooking and consumption. The small wooden *sofa* is a quite common feature in arched houses, constructed in one or two of the recesses, with the space beneath it reserved for storing food supplies. These wooden sleeping cabins were approached by stepping onto a trunk and then onto a bench to reach the bed, located halfway up the room. There are several cases, however, where this bedding-and-storage construction was entirely stone-built (Fig. 5.48).

Fig. 5.48 View of a built bed from a ruined house in Lefkes, Paros

Apart from the single-roomed arched house, there are of course more complex variations of the type. The most common is the type with one or two extra rooms built at the back of the arched room, providing extra and more private sleeping space (Fig. 5.49). This housing, always single-storey with various forms, is particularly common in villages of the Cycladic countryside, especially on the islands of Andros, Tinos, Siphnos and Naxos (Fig. 5.50). There are cases where this added room is found even on one of the arched house's sides, forming an L-shape. As a rule, such extensions are elongated, of the same length as the wall onto which they abut.

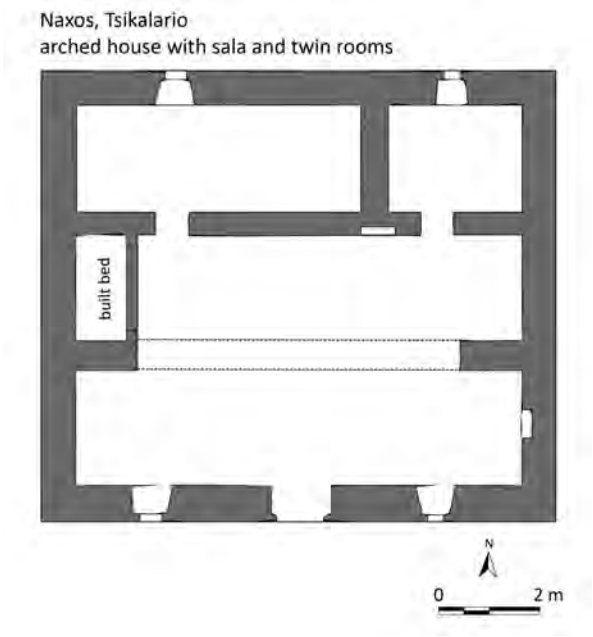


Fig. 5.49 Plan of a single-storey arched house with *sala* and two added rooms at the back from Tsikalario, Naxos

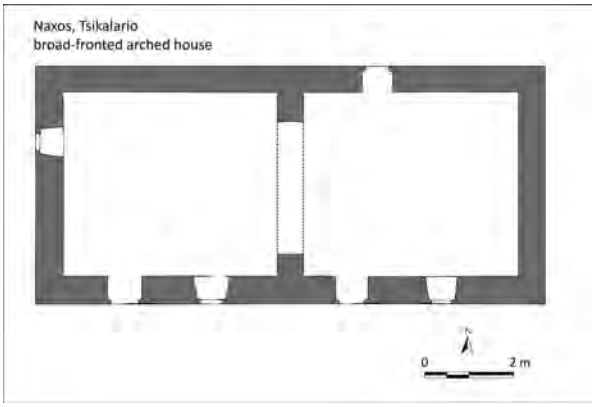


Fig. 5.50 Different version of a single-storey broad-fronted arched house from Tsikalario, Naxos

5.5.3 Housing with Sala and Twin Rooms

Apart from the simple forms of the arched house that have been examined above, there is also a number of variations characterised by greater freedom that have evolved out of the arched house-type, resulting from the relationship between the main building and the courtyard space in front of it. One of these variations, usually encountered on Naxos, Andros and other islands (such as Crete and Chios) is notable for its covered yard, on the frontage of which there is a large

arched doorway similar to the arch of the interior (Papaioannou *et al.* 2001).

A second variation and a rather more complex type with clearer objectives in terms of its functional articulation is the three-roomed house, consisting of a *sala* and a pair of twin rooms. A similar house form to this has been examined in a previous paragraph as *archontika* of the Late Medieval period. The Post-Medieval and Early Modern version of it, however, differs in size and roofing technique. It is found in both urban contexts (*i.e.* in coastal towns with a maritime and trade economy) and farming villages in the later years of the Post-Medieval and Early Modern periods and is certainly connected to the rise of the middle class of traders and landowners. It consists of a main room with an area of 20-40 m^2 and its facade can be either broad- or narrow-fronted. This room is used as a reception hall (called *sala*), while a pair of twin rooms of the same size was built against the rear wall of the *sala*, where more private aspects of family life, such as cooking and sleeping, took place. The location of the twin rooms at the back of the broad-fronted reception room added extra space, while the general layout of the house complex became almost square (Fig. 5.51).

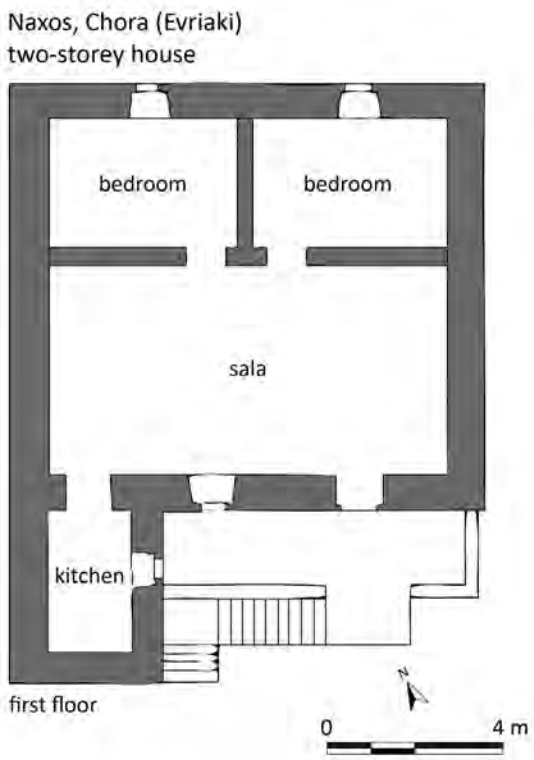


Fig. 5.51 Two-storey house with *sala* and twin rooms from the Evriaki district of Chora, Naxos

Like the arched house, this house-type had its twin rooms located at the rear, behind the *sala*, or in some cases arranged on one side of the parlour, to its left or right, giving an L-shaped appearance to the layout. The parlour was obviously the largest room in the house; this house type is also regarded as one of the *archondika* or gentry folk-housing of the later Post-Medieval and Early Modern periods. In this case, the replacement of the arch by a single beam or *messodoki* supporting the flat roof, although simpler in construction, can certainly be regarded of superior quality, since the living room appeared as a single and uniform space (Papaioannou *et al.* 2001). In cases where this house-type was developed vertically, it was known as *anokatogo* or a two-storey house, most commonly found in the main towns or large villages of every island. The *katoi* or ground floor of these houses was reserved for all kinds of ancillary activities, such as cooking, storage and toilet. The upper floor or *anoi* was exclusively used for social occasions and sleeping. The *sala* was the only fully furnished room in the house, where receiving and entertaining guests during *soirées* took place (Kouroupaki *et al.* 1988; Tzakou 1988). It is possible that the appearance, furnishing, and the whole philosophy behind the role of the living room was a custom borrowed from the period of Venetian rule, a time with intense social life within the gentry housing of the Latin minority residing in the old island towns.

5.5.4 Tower-Houses

The so-called *pyrgospita* or tower-houses, found in Chios and the largest Cycladic islands of Andros, Naxos and only occasionally on Paros, seem to be the continuation of a Late Medieval type of mansion-house, which fully developed and became more impressive and elaborate during the later years of Ottoman domination. These were domestic structures of a tower-type with an accentuated defensive nature, built in a similar manner as fortresses, with loopholes, ramparts and a high wall around them. They are approximately square in shape and are composed

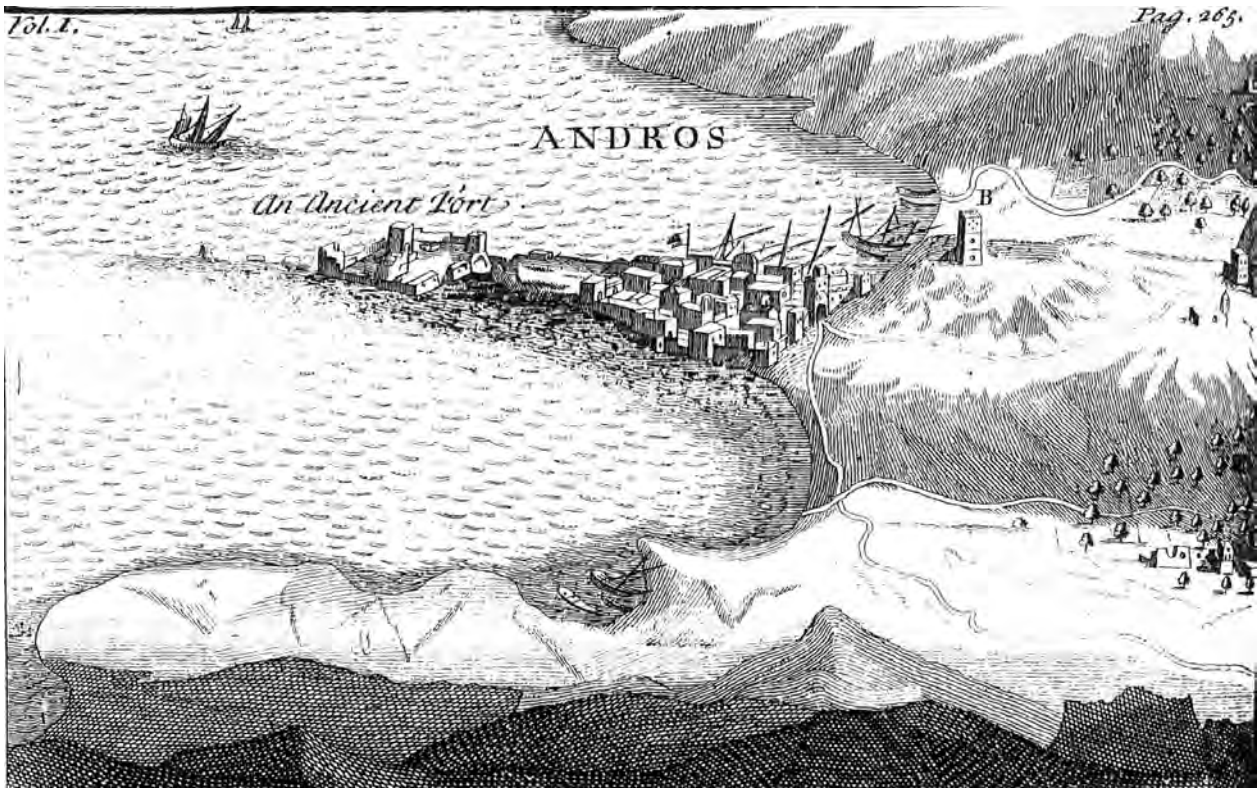


Fig. 5.52 Engraving of the town of Andros by Pitton de Tournefort (1741)

of between two and four storeys. Surviving examples of tower-houses date from between the 16th and early 19th centuries. They were most likely built by local craftsmen, while the exclusive use of local stone for its construction, namely schist-stone, gave them a rather vernacular Cycladic appearance added to the pronounced Western architectural features.

Tournefort (1718) provides us with an early description of a tower-house at the beginning of the 1700s. He describes the tower-house once located on a hill overlooking the Late Medieval capital-town of Andros (Fig. 5.52) and refers to it as 'Tour de l'Agas', mentioning that it is a very old building. Charitonidou (1988a) argues that whatever their period of construction, tower-houses were all built in the same way and had the same interior articulation, having evolved from the old traditional rural Andros house. One such comparison can be made with a particular tower-type found on Naxos and Andros, where the wider floor plan of the tower and its interior articulation is reminiscent of the complex types of the vernacular tradition, especially the arched house with '*sala* and twin rooms'. It is also very possible that the tower-houses of Andros could have evolved from the Frankish towers of central Greece and, most importantly, the neighbouring island of Euboea. As it has been mentioned above, previous historical studies, mainly by Lock (1986, 1989, 1996), and archaeological surface survey in the region of Boeotia by Bintliff and Snodgrass (1985, 1988) have revealed that Frankish towers served an agricultural, residential, as well as military and status function.

An early version of the Cycladic tower-house of simple layout, however, with an almost square plan, consists of two or three storeys and is dated between the 16th and 17th centuries (Fig. 5.53). The ground floor was used for storage and stabling animals, the first floor was reserved for the reception room and the kitchen, while the existence in cases of a fireplace in the first construction phase indicates residence on a permanent basis (Koltsida 2002). The bedrooms were located on the second floor. A more developed version of *pyrgospita* made its appearance possibly in the early 18th century, continuing in existence to

Fig. 5.53 View of the tower-house at Korthi, Andros

Fig. 5.54 View of the tower-house of Mastro-Yannoulis in Amolochos, Andros

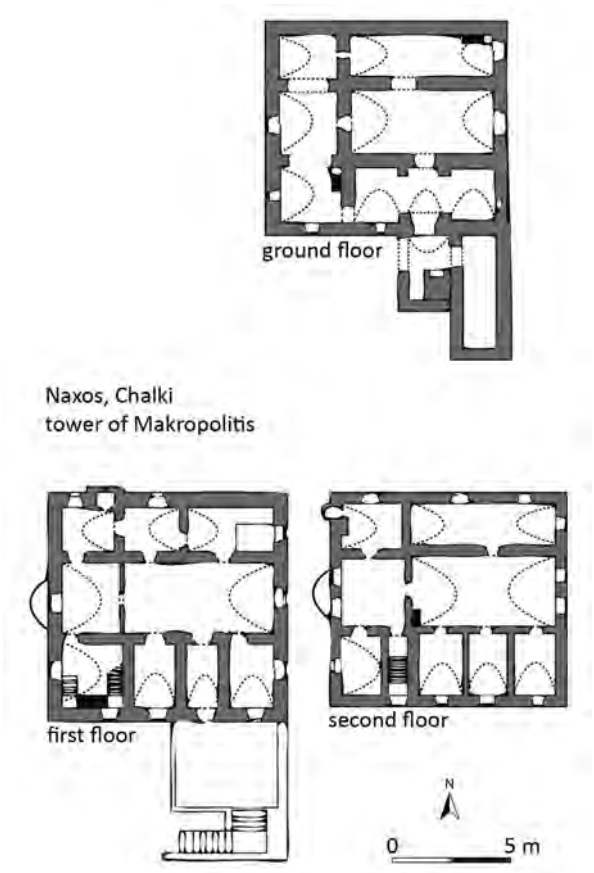


Fig. 5.55 Plan of the three-storey tower-house of Makropolitis at Chalki, Naxos (redrawn after Kouroupaki *et al.* 1988, 94, fig. 29)

the early 19th (Fig. 5.54). The ground floor of these tower-houses was used for ancillary activities or as rooms for the servants, while a large hall, a kitchen and other rooms were situated on the first floor, leaving the second floor for the bedrooms and in some cases a second hall (Fig. 5.55). An enclosed yard around the tower-house contained a cistern (in most cases the cistern was located on the ground floor), a fountain, a winepress or additional stables. The external staircase was connected to the main entrance on the first floor by a wooden platform that could be raised to prevent access by raiders (Kasdagli 1999).

It has been suggested (Papaioannou *et al.* 2001, 308) that the rural houses of Kambos on Chios, another gentry house-type with strong artistic architectural elements, are believed to have evolved out of the tower-house type (Fig. 5.56). These impressive domestic structures, up to three storeys in height, have

Fig. 5.56 View of a garden-gate of a mansion in Kambos, Chios

imposing gates, staircases, verandas and large gardens, with many structures for ancillary facilities, and a large number of rooms laid out in a complex arrangement as a result of repeated reconstruction. Whether structures such as tower-houses can be seen as fulfilling a strategic, a clearly feudal or simply a domestic purpose is still a matter of debate. Case-studies of tower-houses similar to the Cycladic ones in the region of Boeotia in central Greece and on the neighbouring island of Euboea (Lock 1996) have shown that indeed such structures revealed the rather unsettled nature of local societies and were meant to protect the property of their owners. However, feudal practises and matters of status must have been in the minds of their builders, considering that both Andros and Naxos retained a feudal-like economy and social structure till the 18th century. A dowry document dated to 1669 from the village of Philoti on Naxos refers to the inheritance of the lordship of the region, mentioning that Chrousakis Barotsis (of Venetian descent) would also take possession of his father's *pyrgos*, including its garden, cistern, built-in beds and storage jars (Kasdagli 1999, 41).

5.5.5 Gentry Housing with Neoclassical Influences

The house-types that have been presented above are only the very basic types encountered in the Cyclades, while various sub-types are also found in considerable numbers or in a lesser degree. These sub-types, however, have in most cases evolved out of the principal housing forms, *i.e.* the narrow-fronted, the broad-fronted and the arched house. The satisfaction of the basic daily family activities is well-reflected in both the size and plan of vernacular housing of the Post-Medieval and Early Modern periods, built in most cases by local craftsmen or the owners themselves, using available building material, and very often lacking any artistic elaboration. Amongst these vernacular or folk house-types, there are certainly examples of a less vernacular character, domestic structures intended to house an economically and socially elevated class of the local community. The tower-houses of the Post-Medieval period, as well as the *archontika* of the Late Medieval era are a few examples of this kind. In most cases, *archontika* were themselves an improved version of the vernacular tradition, differing in the number of rooms and their size, the quality of building materials and architectural decorative features. Neoclassical style reached many parts of the newly founded Kingdom of Greece during the 19th century and influenced the architectural character of urban centres, as well as Aegean island towns and large villages. The case of the town of Ermoupolis on the island of Syros is well known, where the neoclassical house became the indispensable bourgeois symbol.

The most complex houses of the flat roofed vernacular type, the house with '*sala* and twin rooms' is a domestic form most frequently encountered amongst urban and 'agricultural' gentry housing of the Post-Medieval and Early Modern periods. With the introduction of neoclassicism in 19th-century Greece, architectural decorative styles were added onto gentry housing of the local tradition. On Siphnos, for instance, especially in the villages of Artemonas and Ai-Loukas, the *archontika*, evolving out of the local vernacular tradition, were eventually ornamented with neoclassical elements. On Paros, in one of the streets leading to the early Christian monument of Ekatontapyliani, one can see real neoclassical houses of an urban type built next to mansions of the local tradition. A third type appears amongst those, however, with different architectural forms in the same building, depending on its importance and period at which it was constructed or repaired (Philippa-Apostolou 1988).

By the middle and late 19th century, neoclassical influences on *archontika* gradually spread beyond architectural ornamentation to affect the general articulation of facades, setting out from a requirement that the dimensions of the apertures be symmetrical (Papaioannou *et al.* 2001, 309). These influences, however, affected also the interior layout and arrangement of the rooms themselves, which became more and more symmetrical. An elaborate version of the house with '*sala* and twin rooms' was applied, leading to the evolution of a new house-type with a hall and twin rooms arranged on either side and in some cases at the rear as well, laid out in a very symmetrical manner (Figs 5.57 and 5.58). As a result, the international neoclassical style found excellent ground upon which it was re-shaped and adopted, so as to become the new material expression of the island bourgeoisie. Neoclassicism continued to influence

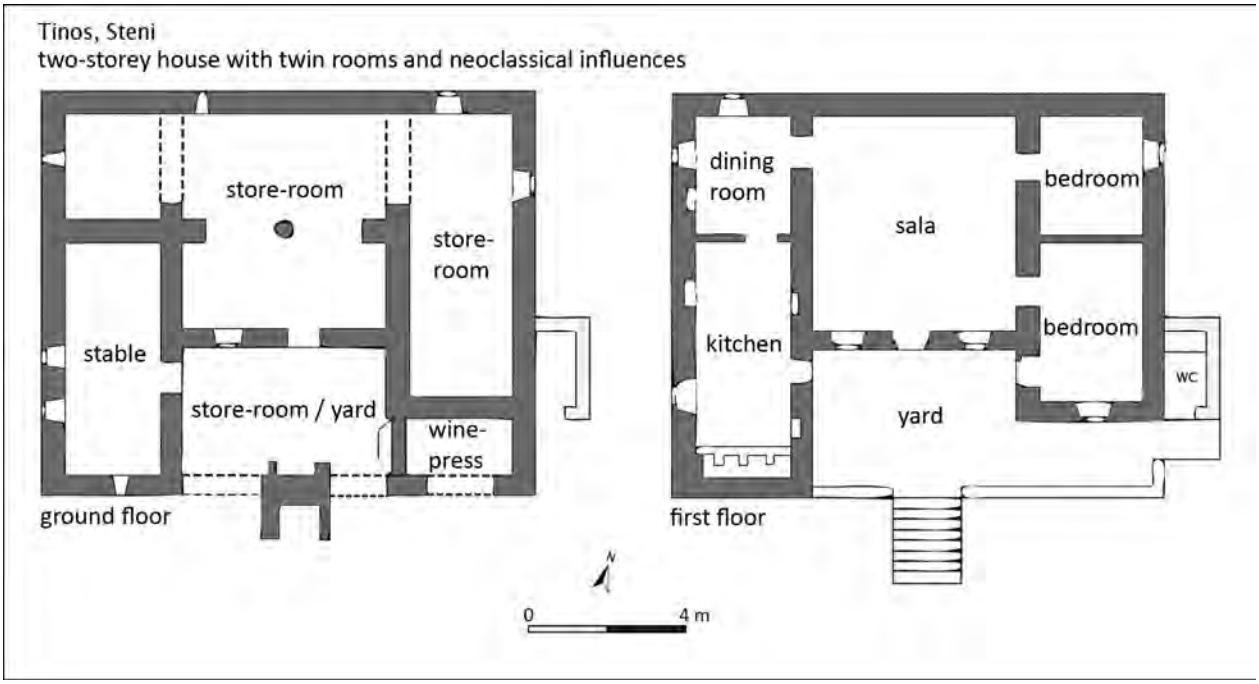


Fig. 5.57 Plan of a mansion with a neoclassical internal arrangement at Steni, Tinos (redrawn after Charitonidou 1988b, 290, fig. 21)

island-towns to the early 20th century, resulting in more symmetrical forms of housing and introducing the tiled roof, itself an unknown element of housing in the Cyclades till then. Its use, however, was confined to islands closer to the Mainland, *e.g.* Andros, Syros, Kea, Kythnos.

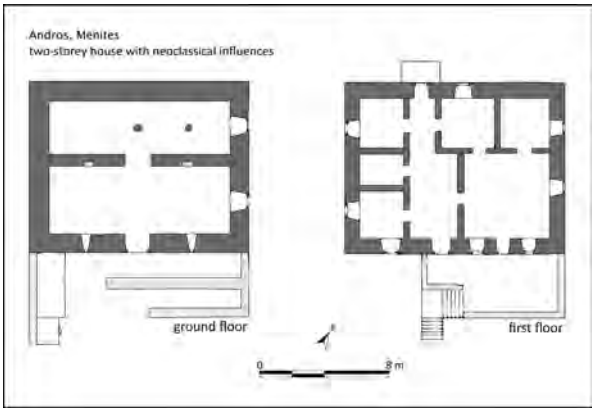


Fig. 5.58 Plan of a mansion with a neoclassical internal arrangement at Menites, Andros

5.5.6 Farmsteads

The typical nucleated character of densely built towns and villages in the Late Medieval and Post-Medieval Cyclades is differentiated from the farmstead complexes scattered throughout the Early Modern Cycladic countryside, fulfilling a set of agricultural and residential needs. Farmsteads comprised a number of different built structures, the main of which was the residential unit, while the arrangement of ancillary areas around it completed the needs of an agricultural household, such as a stable and storerooms, cistern and oven, threshing floor and winepress. Functional requirements were easily met in every corner of such complexes, while their concentration around an open yard at different heights additionally composed an architectural unit of a perfect aesthetic expression (Philippa-Apostolou 1988).

Farmsteads appeared possibly in the later years of the 18th or early 19th century and continued to function as primary agricultural establishments with a home-based economy till the 1950s. Most of them are nowadays abandoned, while a considerable number of these have been renovated to function as holiday

residences; only very few of them have been continuously inhabited and are used by farming people nowadays.

It is widely accepted that farmsteads were initially established as seasonal residences of farming groups commuting from the main town of the island to the countryside, when the time for seasonal agricultural activities was approaching. These farming establishments gradually, and by the middle 19th century, became permanent residential bases. The farmhouse itself consisted of a *spitaki*, the house itself, which was always single-roomed. The oven was a second smaller room attached to the main one, while a third one may have been added when the family got larger and served as a second bedroom. All the rooms looked out to a paved yard which was used as an extended sitting area during the summer months, having a built table and bench at one corner. An additional room or roofless enclosure at another corner of the courtyard served as an animal shelter. All these structures were arranged in the form of a Γ or a Π enclosing the small paved courtyard on two or three sides (Whitelaw 1991; Kloutsinioti *et al.* 1988; Romanos 1988). Additional ancillary built features of agricultural character were located in very close distance to the farmhouse, within the same enclosed property. These agricultural features were usually a cistern for water collection, a threshing floor, a winepress, a dovecote and a second animal shelter or pen.

5.6 SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

5.6.1 Settlements and Settlement Layout

It has become clear that the incorporation of the islands in different political or historical forces and economic cycles has shaped the built environment accordingly. Textual evidence has also contributed in determining the date of most of the Cycladic settlements and in tracing their historical evolution to the present. The strongly agricultural nature of the defended towns of 'lower status' of the Frankish period, and the commercial and administrative character of larger fortified settlements of 'higher status' have determined the general layout and survival of each one of them. The typical Cycladic *kastro* of the Late Medieval period, either of the orthogonal or the irregular plan, echoes principles of an organised move for the establishment of such sites, in accordance with the prevailing feudal practices. There are usually two defensive walls separating such settlements into two different zones; the upper zone encloses the residences of an economically and socially elevated minority, while the lower zone encircled the peasant majority of the population. Settlement layout was determined not only from the contemporary social structure or the economic system; it was also adjusted and shaped according to environmental conditions and local traditions. Many *kastra* were built on top of gentle hills, following the ground contours and the free circulation of fresh air within their narrow winding footpaths. The position of a central tower and/or a church at the centre of such settlements was a very common practice. Lack of space within fortified settlements permitted, however, group activities, such as religious festivities and commercial activities to take place within their walls, along streets and footpaths or in churchyards. The Late Medieval fortified settlements developed and continued in use throughout the Post-Medieval and Early Modern periods. They developed into 'evolved fortified' settlements, with a degree of repetition of the basic structural elements outside the original defensive rings of the site. Moreover, a new settlement type made its appearance at the end of the 16th or early 17th century, when political and socio-economic conditions changed after the final incorporation of the Cyclades into the Ottoman Empire. This new settlement type was formed and developed in the countryside by clusters of peasant houses, rapidly evolving into lines (of a relatively more elaborate form) set in parallel axes to each other. Those were the settlements of 'linear' form, where the basic structural element was the one- or two-storey house with more than one room, and the linear pattern of the street network, sometimes connecting villages between themselves. A final settlement form that started to develop in the late 18th and early 19th century, reaching its apogee in the middle and late 19th century, was the so-called farmstead, or groups of countryside farmhouses that evolved into a dispersed settlement pattern. Those were purely agricultural establishments, while the economic and commercial enterprises were obviously still focussed in coastal towns and ports.

5.6.2 Housing

Although the basic domestic form in the Cyclades is the two-storey narrow- or broad-fronted house, usually single-roomed, aspects of more elaborate and complex forms started to appear from the late 16th and early 17th century onwards in well-off agricultural settlements and commercially active port-towns. The division of internal space was not a common occurrence amongst peasant housing of the Late Medieval period within *kastra*; it was mainly confined to countryside mansions and urban residences of the Latin noble families. A first attempt to separate space within single-roomed houses appeared in Late Medieval towns, with the construction of a false wall, providing extra and private space for sleeping at the rear. In the early Post-Medieval period, one or two rooms were usually added in pre-existing single-roomed houses or in newly constructed ones, according to available space in *kastra* or thanks to the economic standing of the owner in rural settlements. A variety of house-forms, such as the one with 'sala and twin rooms' or the urban house with 'neoclassicising' features seem to have been the result of commercial activities and contacts with the rest of Europe and the Western Mediterranean. A certain degree of specialisation is noted in housing of this type, with carefully constructed openings, finely-cut stones, marble lintels and decorated or painted facades. The interior articulation was certainly more complex, while interior space took a more private character, reflecting the socio-economic standing of the owners and a more bourgeois appearance, common throughout Europe of the time. Single-roomed housing remained a common type from the Late Medieval to the Early Modern period, especially in the countryside or in farmstead complexes. This clearly indicates a continuous peasant *modes de vie* in rural areas of the Cyclades, and a uniformity in domestic space use in areas that did not take part in commercial and trade activities, retaining a degree of self-sufficiency and a more humble lifestyle.

6. Cyclades Research Project - Survey Data: Settlements and Housing

6.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents the original data on the Cycladic built environment collected during the course of the Cyclades Research Project (CY.RE.P.), namely settlement sites (*i.e.* villages and *kastra*) and housing of the Late Medieval, Post Medieval and Early Modern periods. The sites explored and presented here are: *Viokastro* (an off-shore islet off the Northeast coast of Paros), *Apano Kastro* (a castle or keep in central Naxos), *Kephalos* (a defended settlement on Eastern Paros), *Kastro* and *Zephyria* (two defended settlements on Melos), *Plaka* (the town that developed below Kastro on Melos), *Ios Chora* (the main town of Ios), *Mavro Chorio* (a small deserted village on Western Siphnos), *Ismaili* (a small deserted village on Northern Tinos), *Aidonia* (a village on Southern Andros) and a number of rural sites in the valley of *Choria Kephalou* (below the *kastro* of Kephalos on Paros). The aforementioned sites (Fig. 6.1) are presented in a chronological order, beginning with the 7th-8th-century Viokastro islet and ending with the Post-Medieval and Early Modern hamlets of Ismaili and Aidonia. A description of each site's principal features, layout and types of housing will be followed by its history and the historical setting it belongs to.

6.2 MEDIEVAL KASTRA

6.2.1 Viokastro, Paros

Structures

The islet of Viokastro is located just a kilometre off the Northeast coast of the island of Paros (Fig. 6.1). It is a barren and desolate islet, the shape of which is almost square, measuring approximately 500 m from North to South and another 500 m from East to West, while it preserves the ruins of a fortification wall along the full extent of its coastline. Its Southeast side is a gentle slope, reaching its highest point roughly at the centre of the Northwest side of the islet. The Southwest, Northwest and Northeast sides are very steep, with its Northwest side being particularly steep and sharp with rocks rising up to 45 m above the water (Fig. 6.2). The coastline around the islet is bare rock, in places eroded by strong winds and sea-waves, while the soil is very thin, especially along the Northeast and Southeast sides of the islet. Vegetation on Viokastro is almost entirely composed of scrub bush up to knee height, though very thick in certain places. There are definitely no natural harbours in any place around the islet and access into the fortified area seems to have only been provided through a single gate located on the Southwest edge of the fort. A steep path leading to the gate from the waterfront still does not make Viokastro easily accessible. It is evident at first sight that the lack of fresh water sources must have made living conditions on this desert islet even harsher. Herds of goats were seasonally kept on the islet till the 1970s, while large numbers of wild rabbits are nowadays the aim of visiting hunters from neighbouring Paros and Naxos.

The remains of a perimeter defensive wall are still to be seen very clearly along the Northeast and Southeast sides of the islet, and only partly on the Southwest (Fig. 6.3). The wall is built approximately 40 m inland on the Northeast side and about 20 m on the Southeast, while the Southwest and Northwest sides of the fortified wall were built on the cliff-edge, following the terrain. Part of the Northwest wall must have fallen into the sea as it is obvious there was collapse on this part of the islet. The wall is entirely built of roughly cut pieces of creamy limestone extracted from the islet itself, with the exception of the Southwest side where large rocks and blocks of

Fig. 6.1 Map of the Cyclades with sites surveyed by CY.RE.P.

Fig. 6.2 View of Viokastro from the East

limestone form the foundations of the fortification wall. The enclosure wall was constructed without any use of mortar, a practice not unusual during the Early Byzantine period. A building technique of a certain degree is evident amongst the ruined structures, with the wall measuring 1.5-2 m in thickness. Larger stone blocks and rocks were used for the foundations and smaller pieces of stone formed the upper parts of the wall. The interior fill of the wall comprised of smaller pieces of stone and gravel. The preserved height of the wall (Fig. 6.4) ranges between 0.9 m (on the Southeast side) and 1.7 m (on the Northeast side).

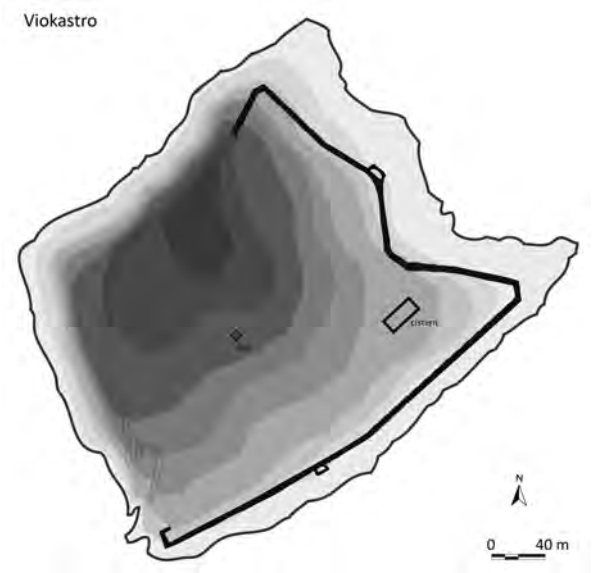


Fig. 6.3 Plan of the fortified islet of Viokastro and its ruined structures

Fig. 6.4 View of the external facade of the defence wall on the Southeast side

There was only one gate providing access into the fort. This is located very close to the Southwest corner of the wall, formed by two standing large and roughly-squared rocks, providing a gate with an opening of 1.6 m; one of the gate's sides is still preserved *in situ* and measures 1.5 m in height (Fig. 6.5). The gate was possibly protected by two tower-like structures to the South and North of it, formed by two projecting corners of the fortification wall (Fig. 6.3). Three more towers have been identified around the wall. The Northeast side (roughly at its centre) preserves the foundations of a relatively large tower projecting out of the wall, approximately 15x7 m in

Fig. 6.5 Part of the original gate of Viokastro with Paros in the background

dimensions. Similarly, the foundations of two more of these towers were identified near the centre of the Southeast wall, providing further protection, as this was the most vulnerable side being relatively 'flatter' and closer to sea-level. Both of them are approximately 12x7 m in dimensions.

Six large stone-heaps or rubble-concentrations at 20-m intervals along the Southeast wall indicate the existence of yet more structures within the fortified area. Only one of them survives in a relatively better condition and can definitely be identified as a building (Fig. 6.6). These structures seem to be formed by two parallel walls built against the fortification wall. These buildings are dissimilar to the structures that have been identified as towers; rather, they must have been used as storerooms for foodstuffs and water. On the basis of the single surviving 'storeroom', the average dimensions of these buildings were only 2x2 m. No cistern for the collection of rainwater has been identified with certainty on the islet. However, the remains of a long subsurface structure to the East of the fort could possibly have belonged to a single cistern (Fig. 6.7). The average dimensions of the structure are 25x7.5 m, while the thickness of the surviving wall across its Northwest side is 0.7 m. It is quite intriguing, though, that in the interior of this subsurface structure there are only very few remaining traces of plaster, the existence of which provides evidence for the presence of a cistern, for the collection of rainwater, so much valued on this barren islet. The walls of the cistern are built

Fig. 6.6 View of a structure built against the Southeast side of the fortification wall

Fig. 6.7 The sub-surface structure identified as a cistern; view from the West

Fig. 6.8 Close view of the Northwest long wall of the sub-surface structure

on top of soft bedrock (Fig. 6.8); the Southeast long side of the cistern is solely dug-out rock (Fig. 6.7).

Fig. 6.9 View of the 'shepherd's hut' from the East

The remains of a shepherd's hut (Fig. 6.9) constructed and used during the past few decades were identified roughly at the centre of the fortified area. The structure measures 9x5 m and its walls stand to a height of about 0.8 m. The walls are rather carelessly built, without the use of mud or mortar and they measure 0.7-0.8 m in thickness. It is interesting that the hut is built on top of the foundations of an earlier building of exactly the same dimensions. This could have been a central storeroom or a tower-house providing shelter to an individual obviously of a higher status. A first idea would be that this is a purely military site built for a certain occasion and used over a short period of time. There is also some degree of organisation and military hierarchy reflected in the fort's layout and the characteristics of the built structures. There is a perimeter wall with towers, a defended gate, a large cistern, buildings possibly used as storehouses and a tower-like structure at the centre of the fort.

Large numbers of pottery fragments are scattered all over the surface of Viokastro (Fig. 6.10). Viokastro was not included in the application for a survey permit to the Greek Archaeological Authorities, thus, the collection of surface ceramics was not possible. An *in situ* examination of surface ceramics reveals a rather uniform collection of common domestic wares (storage jars and cooking pots) and a great number of amphora fragments. After a careful examination of the site's surface, the absence of glazed wares or ceramic material that could be dated earlier than the vast majority of potsherds became clear. The commonest shapes include amphorae of the *Sarachane 35* and *36*

Fig. 6.10 Pottery fragments from Viokastro

types (Fig. 6.10). On the basis of similar published examples, surface amphorae sherds from Viokastro should be dated between the middle 7th and 8th centuries AD.

Historical context

Continuity and discontinuity from Late Antiquity through the Middle Ages has been a challenging field of primarily historical and archaeological research for the past couple of decades. My contribution here is the presentation of a regional case-study, which offers a rather different perspective of the years of the so-called 'Dark Ages', lasting for most regions of the Byzantine Empire from the middle of the 7th to the middle of the 9th century.

Hood's (1966; 1970) contribution about the islets in the bay of Itea, and Gregory's (1984; 1986; Kardoulias *et al.* 1995) study of some Late Roman fortified sites in the Saronic Gulf and the Gulf of Corinth have provided the ground for a long discussion on the fate of populations that lived in central Greece and the Peloponnese during the Slav invasions of 578. Sinclair Hood (1970) has argued that architectural remains on the islets of the Itea bay (in the Gulf of Corinth), on Rafti island (off the East coast of Attica), on Pera islet (off the South coast of Salamis) and Sphaktiria (in the bay of Navarino) must have been erected in response to a threat from the Mainland, as a result of the Slav invasions (Kardoulias *et al.* 1995; Rosser 1995). This argument has been challenged, however, by Timothy Gregory (1984, 1986; Kardoulias *et al.* 1995), who provides evidence for the use of these islets over a long period of time (from the 4th to the 7th centuries) for commercial and industrial purposes. However attractive the idea that these off-shore islets in the Western Aegean (close to Attica, Boeotia and the Peloponnese) could have been used as refuge places by Greek populations who fled there in despair when invading groups of Slavs devastated villages and cities, Gregory's view seems more plausible. The fact that built structures on the islets suggest permanence of some kind instead of periodic and occasional residence and that the need of water makes them dependable on the Mainland coasts, strengthen the view that such establishments must have functioned as trading posts rather than refuge sites. Moreover, ceramic evidence of transport and storage vessels of the period between the 4th and middle 7th centuries, in combination with harbour establishments and large basilica churches with related buildings suggest a flourishing 'open' community of traders rather than a small 'closed' group of refugees.

Similarly, a number of *kastra* and other smaller or large forts of military function are to be found in many parts of present-day Greece; some of them have been fully or preliminarily studied and published, dated mostly to the Late Roman and Early Byzantine periods. A systematic study of such fortified structures in Greece within a broader and more collective perspective is imperative so that more secure conclusions can be drawn about matters concerning the organisation of the countryside, social structure and everyday life. Most studies have concluded that the period between the 7th and 9th centuries saw a dramatic contraction of Late Roman cities and decline of urban life, while populations seem to have retreated into fortified citadels of once large cities, such as Ephesos and Pergamon (Foss 1977, 1979; Radt 1985). The big issues concerning this period known as the 'Dark Ages', however, are previous and current views about dramatic decline of population figures and in some extreme cases the replacement of Greek populations by invading Slavs from the North and raiding Arabs from the sea a little later.

There is much literature concerning the impact of Slav invasions in Mainland Greece and Arab raids in the Aegean coasts and islands (Haldon 1997; Brubaker and Haldon 2011). The fortress of Hexamilion at Isthmia (Gregory and Kardulias 1990; Gregory 1993a) is a well-studied parallel from Mainland

Greece, about which historical hints and archaeological evidence (*e.g.* amphorae of the 'Late Roman tradition' found together with the so-called 'Slavic Ware') might suggest a rather 'peaceful' co-existence of Slavs and Byzantines. Detailed excavations at Corinth have similarly provided evidence that the city was not abandoned with the advent of the Slavs to the Peloponnese. As argued by Sanders (2000, 154) "imported and local pottery, coins and minor objects attest widespread Late Roman occupation well into the second half of the 7th century" while a small but growing corpus of material belonging to the 8th century suggests continuity into the Dark Ages. Surface survey in the Boeotian cities of Thespiae and Askra in central Greece has produced evidence for the transformation of the cities into village communities, which may have survived through the Early and Middle Byzantine periods (Bintliff 2000). The Durham-Cambridge Boeotia Project (Bintliff 2000; Vroom 2003) and the Leiden Ancient Cities of Boeotia Project (Vionis 2008) have also produced limited evidence for the presence of 'Slav' handmade pottery in the province of Boeotia (Fig. 6.11). In the past thirty years, on the other hand, Greek archaeologists have carried out excavation (Etzeoglou 1988), survey (Tsakos 1979) and textual-oriented (Kordosis 1982) projects in Mainland Greece and the Aegean islands that have also challenged the view for a break in continuity in the 7th century AD. The problem of absence of material from the late 7th to the 9th century remains a major one, although it is generally accepted that it is simply we archaeologists not being able yet to identify pottery of this period.

Fig. 6.11 Slav-Ware fragment from the site of Kastri, Tanagra region (A. Vionis)

Archaeological evidence from and historical references to the Early Byzantine Cyclades is rather scanty but still invaluable for the reconstruction of provincial life between the 7th and 9th centuries. The Late Roman era seems to have been a flourishing period for most of the islands. The church of *Ekatontapyliani* in Paros, for example, was restored under the direction of architects from Constantinople during the reign of Justinian, while large basilica churches, harbour establishments and surface pottery dated to the 5th and 6th centuries testify to the islands' well-being until at least the middle of the 7th. The technological inventions of the second half of the 7th century were critical for the future successes of the Byzantine fleet in the Aegean. Byzantine warships equipped with siphons that projected the so-called 'Greek' or 'marine fire' against enemy vessels, as well as the 'expeditionary dromon' were intended to protect the coasts and islands throughout the Euxine, Aegean and Mediterranean seas during the late 7th century (Trombley 2001). Byzantinists (Ahrweiler 1966; Charanis 1970; Trombley 2001) have identified this marine force as the *Karabisianoi*, a maritime *theme* or naval command, which was particularly active in the Aegean sea-lanes during the second half of the 7th and early 8th centuries.

The 7th century is characterised by the drastic attempts of Emperor Constans II (641-668 AD) to restore governmental control in Southern Greece. Although historical references mention that Constans made an expedition to 'Sclavinia' ('Country of Slavs', possibly referring to the Aegean Balkan peninsula), the fact that he stayed in Athens and Corinth in 662/3 suggests that parts of Southern Greece were in the effective possession of the Empire (Charanis 1970; Gregory 1993a) or at least that the Byzantines were capable of re-conquering the Balkans once the army was properly organised (Gregory 2005, 172). Constans was at that time on his way to Sicily; he remained at Syracuse from 663 to 668 AD, a period during which Sicily became the base of operations against Arab naval forces from North Africa (Trombley 2001). This was also a time of a rather intense building activity in the Aegean, which testifies to the general defensive as well as offensive policy of the Byzantine Empire for reasserting control in the Archipelago and blocking any further penetration of the Arabs into the area. Excavations at the fortress of Emporio on the island of Chios have suggested that the site must have been constructed during the reign of Constans II, while the elaborate character of the

defences suggests the initiative of a central authority in respond to the Arabs' growing power (Ballance *et al.* 1989). The period of Arab attacks against Constantinople between 674 and 678 AD was most possibly when another fortified site on the neighbouring island of Samos was established, that of Kastro tou Lazarou (Tsakos 1979). Kastro tou Lazarou resembles Kastro Apalyrou on the island of Naxos in its general layout and the construction of its fortification walls (1.7x2 m in thickness) without the use of mortar. Remains of churches and cisterns, rows of rooms built against the inside of the defence walls and diagnostic surface pottery (mainly imported amphorae) in both Kastro tou Lazarou and Kastro Apalyrou suggest a date between the late 7th and possibly early 8th centuries for their construction (Tsakos 1979; Kefalliniadis 1964; Penna 2001). This is obviously a period when a good number of fortresses were being built as regional works directed by the central authorities in Constantinople against a single enemy, the Arab threat. We should therefore place the building of Viokastro chronologically during this period.

I would suggest that Viokastro was built during the second half of the 7th century as a regional response to the general policy in the Aegean for securing Byzantine possessions against the Arabs. The strong fortification wall, each side of which measures 350-370 m, encircles the whole islet, while five towers along its Northeast, Southeast and Southwest sides provide further protection to the defensive structure. Six rooms built at intervals against the inside of the Southeast wall were used as storehouses of foodstuffs and water provided by the neighbouring island of Paros and transported in ceramic and other containers. The force landed was possibly staying in tents, since there is no visible evidence of built structures that could have provided accommodation to a large army temporarily based on the islet. This force was not staying on the islet permanently; it seems that Viokastro in the middle of the Cyclades and the Aegean had a strong military component and organised activities directed against the Arabs at sea. It may be that such off-shore islets in the Aegean were connected to the activities of the *Karabisianoi*, who could undertake small-scale organised operations against small Arab detachments that in most cases were acting no differently than a group of pirate-opportunists. The *Karabisianoi* are mentioned to have been cruising all over the Aegean, while places such as Monemvasia, Corinth, the Argolis, Samos and elsewhere provided good harbours for the Byzantine fleet (Charanis 1970). The neighbouring natural harbour and bay of Naoussa on the North of Paros could have acted in the same way. Viokastro was certainly dependent on larger neighbouring and permanently inhabited islands, such as Paros and Naxos. Archaeological data indicate that the fortified islet of Viokastro was built for the aforementioned purposes during the middle-late 7th (or early 8th) century. Historical circumstances and textual references confined to the Byzantine Aegean also seem to confirm the middle-late 7th century as the most likely period for the construction of this fortified islet.

Adding further evidence about continuity in the late 7th century, there are historical hints referring to a common church administration between the islands of Melos, Andros, Tinos, Naxos, Thera, Amorgos, Chios, Samos and Rhodes (Fedalto 1988). Moreover, the names of Eftichios (bishop of Melos), Stephanos (bishop of Paros) and Georgios (bishop of Naxos) appearing in the list of bishops who took part in the Sixth Ecumenical Council of Constantinople in 680/1, or the names of Constans (bishop of Andros), Galations (bishop of Melos) and Efstathios (bishop of Tinos) who participated in the Seventh Ecumenical Council of Nicaea of 787 provide good evidence for continuity and ecclesiastical administration in the Cyclades during the late 7th and 8th centuries (Fedalto 1988). Meanwhile recent studies of the church of *Ekatontapyliani* on Paros and *Panayia Drossiani* on Naxos suggest (Drossoyanni 1995; Pennas 2002) that there are significant traces of fresco paintings dated between the last quarter of the 7th and early 8th centuries. According to the *Chronicle of Theophanes*, when Emperor Leo III declared his hostility for the veneration of icons in 727, the *Helladikoi* with the aid of the inhabitants of 'the Cyclades' rebelled against him and declared a certain Cosmas as their emperor (De Boor 1963, 405). This is an important piece of information since it shows that *Hellas* was within the effective administrative system of the Empire and had considerable power in the early 8th century (Charanis 1970), although it has been argued that the term 'Cyclades' in Early Byzantine documents is sometimes confusing and vague. Another testimony in the *Chronicle of*

Theophanes for the removal of people by Emperor Constantine V in 755 AD from 'the islands and *Hellas*' to repopulate Constantinople (Haldon 1997, 116) which had suffered from the plague of 746, implies the existence of strong authority in these territories (Charanis 1970, 6; Cameron 2010, 33). Archaeological remains (Gerousi 1999; Pennas 2002) on the island of Sikinos with its church of Episkopi (with 7th- and 8th-century sculptures) and Melos with architectural evidence (dated to the late 7th and 8th centuries) at Kato Komia, Kipos and the offshore islet of Mikri Arkadia is indicative of occupational continuity. An inscription recording the names of a donor's family and the date 787 AD from a church dedicated to Agios Thomas at Pothitos on Siphnos (Politis 1983, 548-53) is problematic with varying interpretations for the period and the circumstances it commemorates (Brubaker and Haldon 2011, 302-3). In addition, churches on the island of Naxos with un-iconic fresco paintings provide the most indisputable evidence for continuity and prosperity for at least some of the Cyclades into the late 9th and 10th centuries (Brubaker and Haldon 2001, 24-9; Trombley 2001, 153). Excavations at Aplomata on the island of Naxos have revealed a Late Roman house and other related structures with evidence for continuity into the 8th century, testified to by a coin of Constantine V (741-775) (Lambrinoudakis 1993; Penna 2001). Considerable finds of silver coins of the 9th century in the Cyclades, briefly discussed by Penna (2001, 404-6), might imply that life on the islands during the 'Dark Ages' was not as disparate as in other regions of Mainland Greece and Asia Minor, where numismatic circulation had decreased dramatically.

Archaeological evidence and textual sources about the Cyclades during the troubled 7th-9th centuries imply that Viokastro and similar structures on many other Aegean islets and coasts functioned as 'islets of *Hellenism*'. The period after the middle 7th century was a period of stress and general reorganisation of the Byzantine provinces, thus fortified structures on islets, islands and coasts were designed to provide protection to the Greco-Byzantine inhabitants of the Empire. 'Viokastro' as a term has been misleadingly changed into several similar-sounding names by later foreign travellers and cartographers in the Aegean, *e.g.* 'Vryokastro', Evraiokastro' and the like. Such terms are meaningless; Viokastro, on the other hand, derives from the Greek words for *bios* or life (βίος) and *kastro* or castle (κάστρο). There are more islets in the Cyclades with similar names; *e.g.* Vryokastraki off Kythnos (Mendoni and Mazarakis-Ainian 1998), Mikro Viokastro and Megalo Viokastro off the East coast of Amorgos.

6.2.2 Apano Kastro, Naxos

Fortification walls, towers, chapels and cisterns

Apano Kastro is one of the three surviving Medieval *kastra* on the island of Naxos (Fig. 6.12). Kastro Apalyrou, built around the late 7th or early 8th century, was deserted most possibly straight after the coming of the Venetians on the island. Kastro, the main town of Naxos was built at the beginning of the 13th century as the administrative seat of the Duchy of the Archipelago, housing the colonial minority of Venetian aristocrats who followed Marco I Sanudo, the first Duke of Naxos, in his expedition to the Cyclades. Apano Kastro must have been built during the first period of Venetian domination in the interior of the island, on a rocky hill on the Western edge of the upland valley of Tragaia. The location of Apano Kastro provides spectacular views over much of the island in all directions, even towards the sea and Paros in the West. The majority of countryside settlements and villages during the Post-Roman era seem to have been located in the middle of Naxos, the valley of Tragaia. The village closest to Apano Kastro is Tsikalario, lying 800 m to its East, while the village of Chalki, which marks the notional centre of the island is located 2.5 km Southeast of Apano Kastro. Chalki, possibly the principal settlement of the island during the Early and Middle Byzantine periods, has always been located on the main crossroads of Naxos, since the main road leading to the inland villages of the island passes through it. Thus, Apano Kastro is situated on a very strategic and central location, obviously built to oversee and to be seen from all over the interior of Naxos.

There are several structures within as well as in the immediate surroundings of Apano Kastro. The interior preserves ruins of defensive walls and towers, churches and large halls, water cisterns and storehouses, while the exterior preserves a cluster of

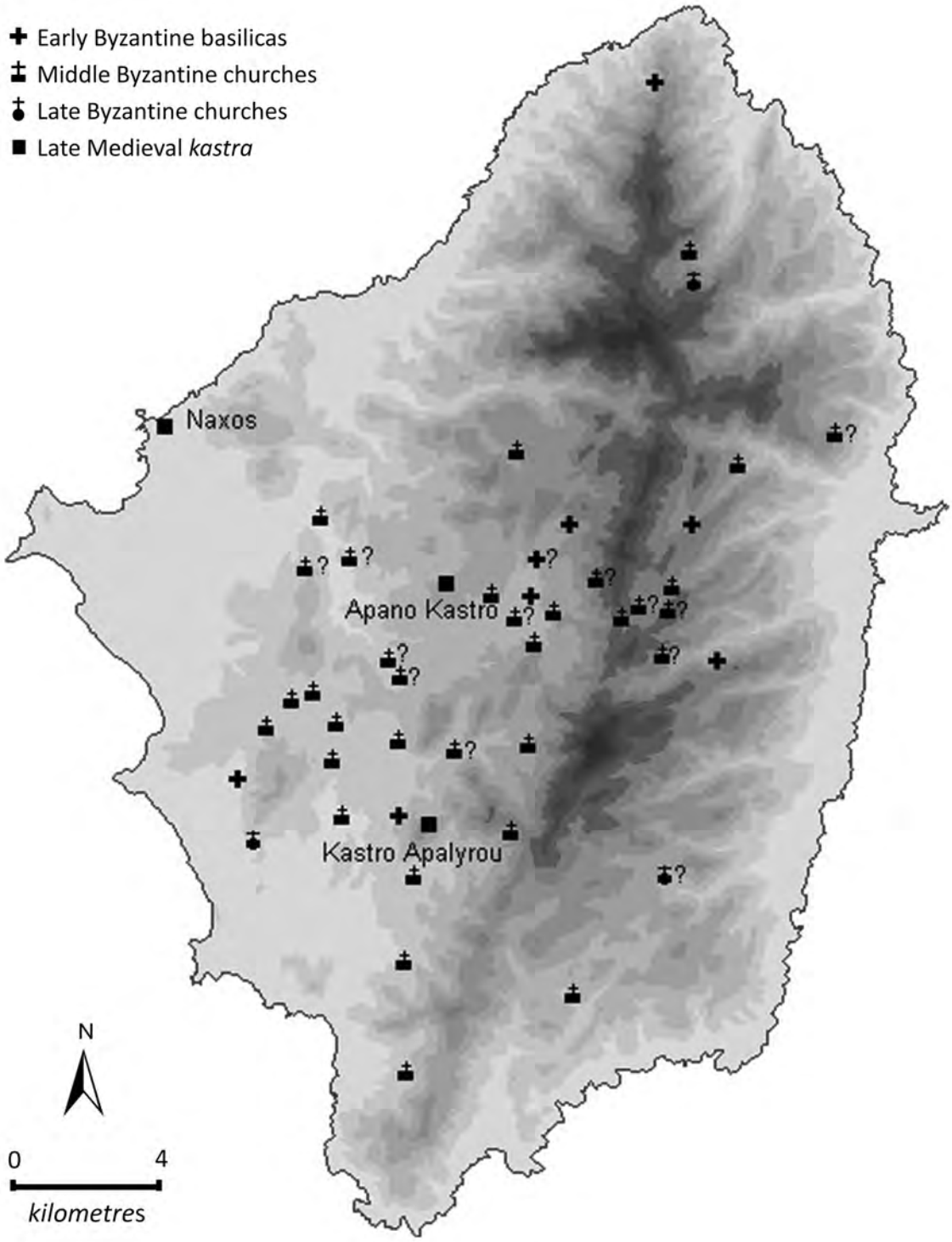


Fig. 6.12 The island of Naxos with Byzantine churches and Medieval *kastra*

chapels (possibly associated with neighbouring settlements) around it. The path leading to Apano Kastro on its Eastern foothill passes by a barrel-vaulted single-aisled chapel dedicated to *Agios Panteleimon*

Fig. 6.13 Plan of Apano Kastro

(dated to the 13th century). On the opposite side, at the Northwest foothill of the citadel, there lies another chapel dedicated to *Agios Andreas*, built in the 13th century as suggested by its remaining fresco paintings on the inside. A few metres to the Southwest of *Agios Andreas* there lie the ruins of a cistern, lined with mortar on the inside. Next to the chapel a paved street (2 m in width) that is most possibly dated to the same period, connected the villages of Potamia with Apano Kastro. The street (well preserved in most parts) runs for approximately 1.5 km in length, all the way from the Northwest side of Apano Kastro to the modern road just outside Ano Potamia. The barrel-vaulted single-aisled chapel of *Christos*, dated the 13th-14th centuries, is located in the surroundings of Apano Kastro, on its Southern foothill. Finally, the parish church of the village of Tsikalario, dedicated to *Agios Stephanos*, is decorated with frescoes dated to the 13th century; the dating of the church possibly provides an indicative chronology for the establishment of the village at the foothill of Apano Kastro.

Apano Kastro is built on two platforms encircled by two different defensive walls (Fig. 6.13). The foundations of the outer defensive wall measure 2.5 m in thickness, while there are parts where it survives up to 9 m in height. It runs for 243 m along the East, South and West sides, forming a semicircular-shaped structure that encloses an area of approximately 10,000 m^2. The foundations of what seems to have been a wall of the Archaic period (Fig. 6.14) were identified close to the Northwest edge of the outer defensive wall, surviving to 13 m in length and an average thickness of 1.2 m. The single gate (Fig. 6.15) that provided access into the *kastro* is located on the East side, but the width of its opening cannot be estimated due to collapse. A substantial circular

Fig. 6.14 View of the surviving archaic wall

Fig. 6.15 View of the gate of Apano Kastro and part of the outer defensive wall

Fig. 6.16 View of the Eastern circular tower of Apano Kastro from the South

tower (Fig. 6.16) 9 m in diameter was added to the South of the gate in the late 15th or 16th century. The upper half of the tower has firing apertures for five cannons, similar to towers of the same period on the neighbouring island of Paros in the Cyclades and Kythera on the Southern tip of the Peloponnese. This indicates that Apano Kastro was restored in order to extend its function during the later period of Venetian domination in the 15th-16th centuries. A second outward-projecting semicircular tower is situated at the centre of the Southern section of the outer defensive ring; the structure has undergone considerable destruction. It is quite clear that this second tower was constructed in the same period as the one next to the gate; part of its upper half preserves an identical firing aperture. This tower's diameter is almost 18 m, while its wall thickness reaches 2.5 m.

The inner defensive ring runs for 284 m around the rocky elongated hilltop, encircling an area of 5041 m^2. The gate is located on the Southwest side, where the terrain is not as steep, while a flight of steps leading into the inner defensive walls was identified between collapsed stones. A projecting square tower (5x8 m) is situated on the Northeast corner, strengthening the Northeast portion of Apano Kastro between the inner and outer defensive walls; this tower is known to inhabitants of neighbouring villages as the *balconi tis vasilissas* (the queen's balcony). Loopholes (Fig. 6.17) are preserved on the inner wall (surviving up to 2 m on the inside) to the Southwest of the queen's balcony.

The ruins of five barrel-vaulted single-aisled churches have been identified within the inner and outer defensive walls (chapels II-VI). Chapel I (4.8x8.5 m) is dedicated to *Agios Georgios* and it is located just outside the *kastro*, 40 m Northeast of the gate; it is probably contemporary with the first phase of the castle itself. Chapel II (5.5x8.7 m) is dedicated to the *Panagia Kastriani* (Virgin of the Castle), built around the 13th/14th century; the South, East and West walls have completely collapsed. The small window on the North wall of the church of *Panagia Kastriani* is decorated with two re-used sculpted marbles (Fig. 6.18) from a church screen of the 11th or 12th centuries. Similar designs on marble fragments have been found in the Middle Byzantine churches of *Koimisis* at Potamia and *Protothronos* at

Fig. 6.17 View of a loophole from the inside of the inner defensive wall of Apano Kastro

Fig. 6.18 Marble *spolia* from a Middle Byzantine church *templon*, used as window frames on the North wall of chapel 2 at Apano Kastro

Fig. 6.19 Northwest view of the twin-chapel of *Agios Ioannis*, built within the Southern circular tower

Chalki (Pennas 2000). The presence of these Middle Byzantine *spolia* could possibly indicate the existence of an 11th-12th-century church on the site before the construction of the castle; this is also attested by a small number of 12th-century surface potsherds from Apano Kastro. The double-nave chapels III and IV (4.3x7.8 and 3.6x7.8) within the outer defensive wall are dedicated to *Agios Ioannis*; the South and East walls of the South chapel have collapsed. The chapels of *Agios Ioannis* must have been built after the construction of the circular tower (Fig. 6.19); an inscription above the entrance to the North chapel bears the date of its foundation (1759) and the names of the donors (*Pero* or *Petro* and *Sibia*). The fashion of double-nave churches was widely adopted in *kastra* and undefended settlements of the Cyclades during the Late Medieval and Post-Medieval periods. It has been suggested that this special architectural innovation offered the possibility for congregations of both rites (Orthodox and Roman Catholic) to share the same building. A large single-aisled church (5.3x14.5 m) known as *the queen's palace* (church V), located close to the centre of the area within the inner defensive walls was possibly used by the Catholic aristocratic occupants of Apano Kastro. The main church should have been constructed during the first phase of building works at Apano Kastro in the late 13th or 14th century. Its West wall and part of its North have collapsed, while its East side ends in a rectangular (rather than an apse-shaped) shrine (Fig. 6.20). Another single-aisled chapel (chapel VI) is built against the North wall of church V and is smaller in dimensions (4.1x8.8 m).

Fig. 6.20 View of the Cathedral within the inner defensive wall at Apano Kastro from the West

Fig. 6.21 View of cistern 3 at Apano Kastro

Fig. 6.22 View of the twin-cisterns 12-13 from the West

A substantial number of cisterns is found all over Apano Kastro. There are nine plaster-lined barrel-vaulted buildings and building-complexes within the inner and outer defensive walls, identified as cisterns for collecting rainwater as well as storehouses. They are not identical in dimensions, some of them are single-roomed and some others form pairs or twin-cisterns. Cisterns 1-4 are located on the East portion of the area within the outer defensive wall; they are barrel-vaulted and plastered-over on the inside, with an opening in their roof (Fig. 6.21). Most of them were built under the surface, but modern illegal digging and treasure-hunting have clearly revealed them above ground. Cistern 4 is the largest one (4.6x6.4 m) within the outer defensive walls, and seems to have been restored and used as a storehouse at a later stage, when a door was opened on its Southern side. Cisterns 5-14 are situated within the inner defensive walls; only 5 (4.2x5.7 m) and 14 (4.8x5 m) are single-roomed, cisterns 6-9 (average dimensions, 3x3.9 m) comprise two pairs, while 10-11 (3.6x3.9 m) and 12-13 (4.3x7 m) consist of twin-structures. They are similarly plastered-over on the inside and water must have been drawn through a narrow opening in their vaulted ceilings. Cisterns 12-13 (Fig. 6.22) are of particular interest, as they are situated on the North-west corner of the basement of what seems to have been a large hall or tower (Hall A); this twin-cistern survives 2 m in height, with its Western side collapsed. The large number of cisterns at Apano Kastro is not a unique phenomenon; similar *kastra* as well as defended villages that are still inhabited nowadays preserve underground structures used as cisterns for collecting rainwater through pipes from the flat-roofed houses.

Hall A, also known as *palatia* (palaces) by the inhabitants of neighbouring villages, is a substantial and well-built structure, located at the highest point of Apano Kastro and very likely used as the lord's residence (Fig. 6.23). This large and certainly multi-storey building occupies an area of 530 m^2 (including the twin-cistern on the ground floor). Its North wall is preserved to 5 m in height, while its East, South and West sides are heavily destroyed. Collapsed stones in the interior of the building do not allow the identification of internal wall-divisions; a few lines of dividing walls were identified, though, lying in parallel to each other at first-floor level. Access to

Fig. 6.23 View of Hall A (the lord's residence) at Apano Kastro from the Northwest

Fig. 6.24 View of the stone-steps to the North of Hall A

Fig. 6.25 View of Hall A from the Northeast with a long gap on the stone masonry suggesting the position of the wooden balcony-like projection

the interior of Hall A was probably located at first-floor level on the Northeast side of the building, through a wooden staircase which connected a balcony-like projection on the structure with a two-metre stone-staircase (Fig. 6.24), located at two metres North of the hall. A long gap in the stone masonry towards the East edge of the hall's North wall (Fig. 6.25) indicates the exact position of the wooden balcony-like projection which connected the main door of Hall A with the ground. The use of wooden staircases (drawn up in case of an attack) is a common feature, especially in tower-houses on the islands of Andros and Naxos.

A second large structure (Hall B) is located to the Northwest of chapel II within the outer defensive walls. It is a rather sizeable and fine structure occupying 132 m^2 (8.2x16.1 m). It was possibly a single-roomed single-storey building used as a reception hall or public building (probably related to chapel II); its roof was supported by two arches spaced at equal distances to each other, while three false arches on each long side were intended as decorative features. Both of its short walls were also formed by two arched openings (Fig. 6.26). The ground floor of the Catholic Bishop's residence in Kastro (the Late Medieval town of Naxos) is similarly arranged (Fig. 6.27).

Fig. 6.26 View of the Southwest side of Hall B next to chapel II

Fig. 6.27 The ground-floor *sala* of the Bishop's house in Kastro, Naxos

It is clear that Apano Kastro has the typical layout of a Late Medieval or Frankish *kastro*. The area is divided into two platforms. The upper platform within the inner defensive wall accommodated the lord's large hall or tower-house, a number of storehouses and water reservoirs, a large church, most possibly of the Roman Catholic rite, and a number of other structures. The lower platform within the outer defensive walls had a number of irregularly arranged buildings, such as churches, cisterns and many domestic structures. The buildings simply follow the surface contours, and although there seems to be a general irregularity in building and planning, the structures representing religious and secular authority were consciously placed on the highest and most focal point. In terms of its overall layout and the basic concept of its planning, Apano Kastro resembles Crusader castles in the Levant, such as Belmont Castle in the Kingdom of Jerusalem (Harper and Pringle 2000). Such military constructions in the Latin East usually belong to the 'concentric castle planning'; Apano Kastro is similar in perception, although it is of an irregular rather than rectangular form.

Domestic structures

Apart from the two large halls (Hall A and B), a number of smaller structures built against the inner and outer defensive walls are of equal importance amongst the more substantial remains at Apano Kastro. Most of them are simple rectangular single-roomed constructions built against the inner and outer defensive walls. This was a quite common building method within walled settlements as well as castles of military use dating back to the Middle and Late Byzantine periods. Other buildings and building-complexes, contemporary with the first phase of construction of *kastra*, and dated in the 13th-14th centuries, are laid out in an irregular fashion in the interior of the walled area, following the hill-contours. We can speculate that the survival of structures throughout the *kastro*'s interior and against the fortification walls, as well as the nature of the site, suggest that the areas within the fortifications must have been fully exploited, housing a large number of people, in cases where this was needed. Parallels with other *kastra* of the period suggest these must have been buildings of domestic use, probably by a number of permanent residents, members of a permanent guard, while others could have been simply used as storehouses for grain or other foodstuffs. The internal size of such 'domestic' structures ranges between 10 and 50 m^2. The area within the inner fortification wall preserves 14 buildings built against it, while another five are freestanding in the interior (Figs 6.13 and 6.28). Another 14 were identified within the lower fortified zone built against the outer defensive ring, while ten are freestanding within the same area (Figs 6.13 and 6.29). Their state of preservation is very poor, making their identification and recording even more difficult. In some cases we were not able to identify any openings on any of the foundations, while in other cases it was clear there were no openings intended in the initial building of these structures. This evidence would suggest that these buildings had more than one storey and as a result the main door would have been located on the upper floor. Thus, access to the ground floor would have been only through a trap-door from inside the upper storey.

One of the best preserved free-standing domestic structures in the lower fortified area is located a few metres from the Northeast corner of Hall B. It is an evidently two-storey narrow-fronted building (3.8x4.8 m) with its walls surviving up to 3.2 m in height (Figs 6.29 and 6.30). One of its short sides is composed of a large arched opening, a concept resembling the houses of the Medieval town of Mystras in the Peloponnese (Chatzidakis 2005), where houses had two or three storeys and the arched vaulted ground floor was used as stable. It would not

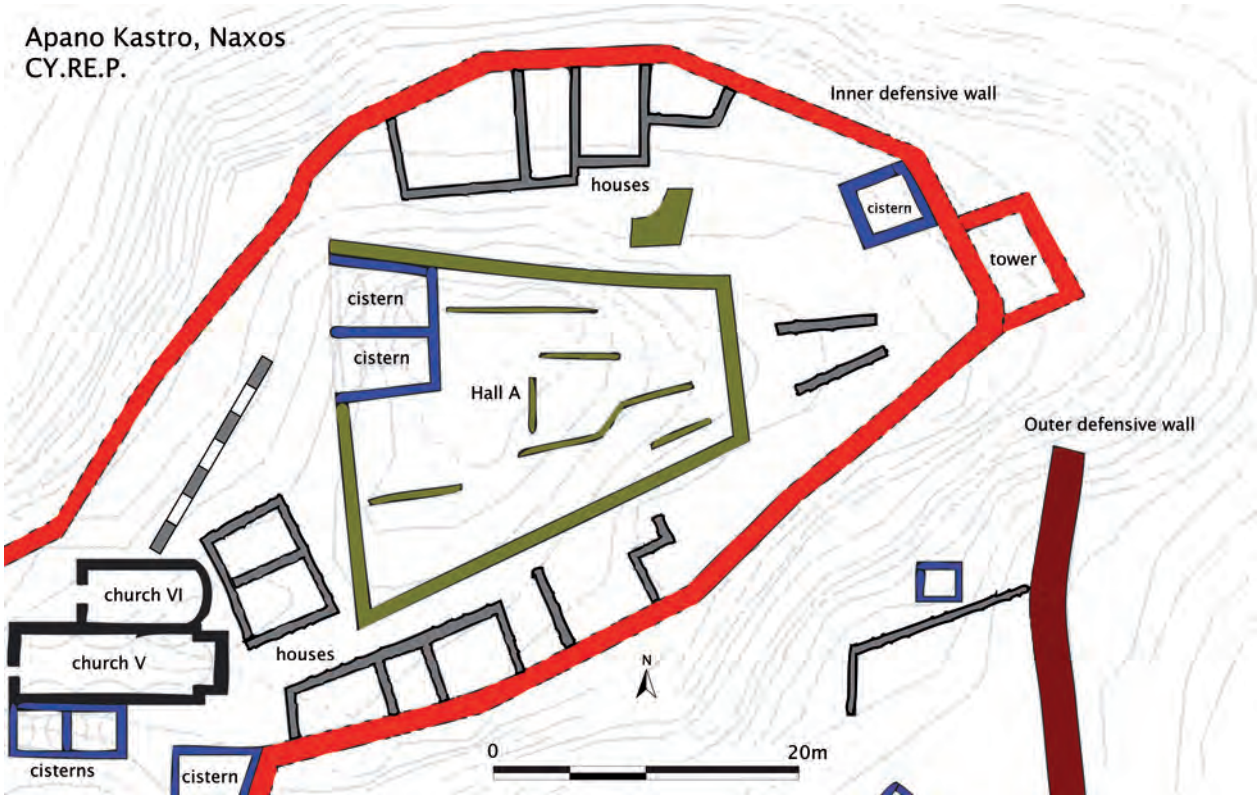


Fig. 6.28 The Eastern portion of the upper area within the inner defensive wall at Apano Kastro, showing Hall A and other domestic structures built against the wall

be an exaggeration to suggest that the interior of Apano Kastro was occupied by a large number of two-storey single-roomed buildings, some of them with an 'open' ground floor used as a stable. On the evidence of this 'arched' domestic building we could also conclude that the ground floor was not vaulted as with other examples of Late Medieval housing; wooden beams and reeds or thin flat stones formed the floor of the upper storey (seen in traditional Cycladic housing today).

Historical context

Apano Kastro has been given several names on different occasions by visiting Catholic and Jesuit priests, different foreign travellers of the Ottoman period, local memory and oral tradition. The oldest reference to Apano Kastro as *Austri* was made by Buondelmonti (Legrand 1897) at the beginning of the 15th century, while *Castel d'Alto* and *Château-du-Haut* or *Apano Kastro* (meaning 'upper castle' in Greek) were greatly used in notary documents from the early 16th century onwards (Kefalliniadis 1964). Local traditions refer to Apano Kastro as *Kastro Drymalias*, *Kastro Tragaias*, *Kastro Koutsocheradou*, *Kastro Potamias* and *Rimokastro* (meaning 'abandoned kastro'), names deriving from local place-names in its vicinity. The Ottoman *tahrir defter* of 1670 lists Apano Kastro as a fief-holding of Nicolas Crispo (Zerlendis 1924; Kefalliniadis 1964), an aristocrat of Venetian descent, direct relative of Giacomo IV Crispo (1564-66), the last Duke of Naxos.

There are different stories and traditions related to the building of Apano Kastro in historians' and travellers' accounts of the Post-Medieval period. The most popular is the Jesuit father Robert Sauger's history (Fotheringham 1915), written during the late 17th century. Sauger argued that the castle was constructed in order to control the uprising of the people of Naxos after the destruction (by Marco II Sanudo)

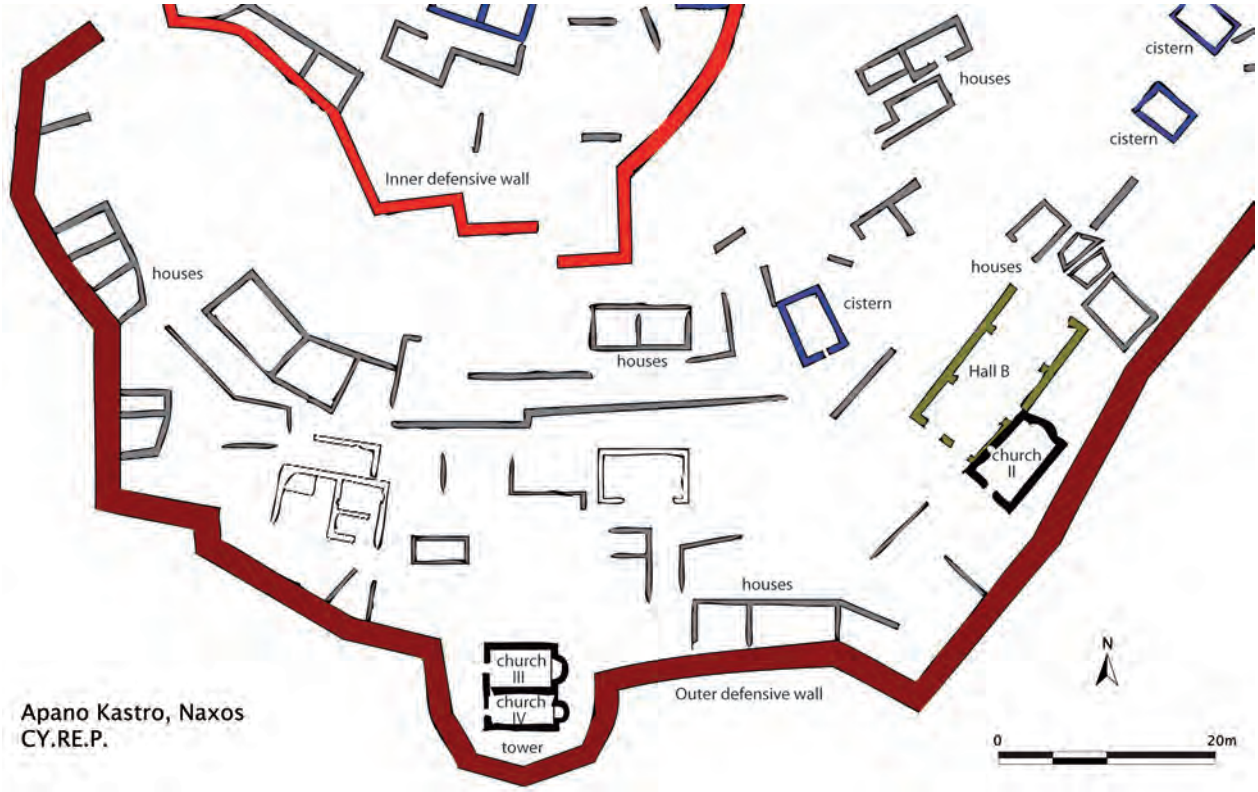
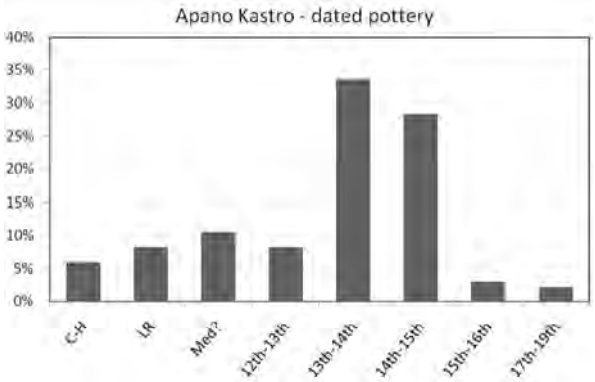


Fig. 6.29 The Southern portion of the lower area within the outer defensive wall at Apano Kastro, showing Hall B and other domestic structures

Fig. 6.30 Remains of a free-standing domestic structure in the lower area of Apano Kastro

of the church dedicated to *Agios Pachys*. *Agios Pachys* was a local saint venerated by the Orthodox inhabitants in the interior of Naxos for his health-healing power and for making thin babies become fat. Marco II Sanudo thought he should terminate this pagan-like tradition of the islanders by destroying the church dedicated to their local saint. The German Jesuit Ignace Lichtle argued that Apano Kastro was built in the last decade of the 14th century, after Sultan Bayezid's maritime expeditions and the ravaging of many Aegean islands (Zerlendis 1924; Kefalliniadis 1964). On the other hand, Fotheringham (1915) states that historical evidence (during his time) is against the historian Grimaldi's statement that Apano Kastro was Marco I Sanudo's first capital. He further notes that the seat of his power was on the sea, so essential to him for communication with Venice and other islands.

Historical circumstances and archaeological evidence collected during the course of the surface survey seem to indicate that Apano Kastro was constructed during the 13th century. It is not entirely clear however, whether it was first erected in the early 13th century by Angelo Sanudo (1227-1262) or during the second half of the century by his son



Graph 6.1 Dated surface pottery from Apano Kastro, Naxos

Marco II (1262-1303). As it is evidenced by surface pottery (Graph 6.1) from the site, there is an overall majority of ceramics dated from the middle 13th to middle 14th centuries. This is possibly reflecting the historical traditions about the construction of the castle by Marco II Sanudo in order to control peasant uprisings in the interior of Naxos against the Latin regime. Moreover, the late 13th century is a period of general castle-building activity by Venetian lords in the Cyclades, repeated in the late 15th-16th centuries when a major re-building took place in the Aegean after the wider use of gunpowder. Similarly, Apano Kastro had two towers with firing apertures for cannons added onto the original enceinte most possibly in the early 16th century. Apano Kastro is a unique example of its type in that it combines strong military elements and samples of domestic as well as monumental architecture within its walls. Apano Kastro must have been built in order to control the peasants of the Naxos' inland villages, but also provide them with a strong castle to protect themselves from any possible external threat. Parallels can be made with Venetian Crete, where the island was divided into four territories and every territory into *castellanies* or areas under the jurisdiction of a castle; each *castellany* included a certain number of villages. Apano Kastro must have functioned in a similar fashion, under the control of which rested a quite large number of peasant settlements and villages in the interior of Naxos. Moreover, a number of peasant riots initiated by indigenous landowners during the course of the 13th century (before the firm establishment of the Latin regime on Naxos and the Cyclades) more than justifies the construction of Apano Kastro.

6.2.3 Kastro of Kephalos, Paros

Fortification walls, towers, chapels and cisterns

The *kastro* of Kephalos, is located on the top of Mount Kephalos (229 m high) on a promontory in the middle of the Eastern coast of Paros (Fig. 6.31). It dominates a large plain (Fig. 6.32) stretching from North to South along the old marshes of Chomatistra and Tsikalia (in the North) to Piso Livadi and Dryos (in the South) and towards the village of Marpissa and the foothills of Mount Marmara in the East. Kephalos is a rather steep hill, visible from any place in Northern, central and Southern Paros, as well as from neighbouring Naxos in the East; despite visibility, the site is built on a strong and naturally defended hilltop, with high rock formations along its North and Northeast sides.

A number of *spolia* as well as a small number of collected black glazed surface potsherds, suggest that the first human activity on the hill of Kephalos could be traced to the Late Archaic and Classical periods. Most of the surviving marble architectural fragments are now incorporated in the Late Medieval chapels of the *kastro* and within the Post-Medieval monastic church dedicated to *Agios Antonios* (Fig. 6.33). Aliprantis (1975, 88-92) lists some of these fragments; an Archaic marble ionic capital upside down is supporting the Pulpit within the monastic church (7th century BC); a Late Archaic ionic marble capital and part of a marble column is supporting the High Altar (5th century BC). In addition, two marble fragments with inscriptions (possibly from a tomb?) were found (now kept in the Paros Archaeological Museum); the first in Latin and the second in Greek (c.2th or 3rd AD): D. POLIXENE. SORORIS I… DNI. PARI. QVI. OBIT. ISO… ΙΑΝΟΥΑΡΙΟΥΤΟSO TVMBO [S]…; ΡΙΑΣ … ΠΟΥΛΗSΕΝΑS ΑΔΕΛΦΗ ΤΟΥ [Ε]ΚΛΑΜΠΡΟΤΑΤΟΥ ΑΦΕΝΤΙ ΤΗS… ΠΑΡΙΟΝ.

There is an inner and an outer defensive wall that must be of different date, dividing the site into an upper and a lower level (Fig. 6.34). The upper level encircled by the inner defensive wall has undergone

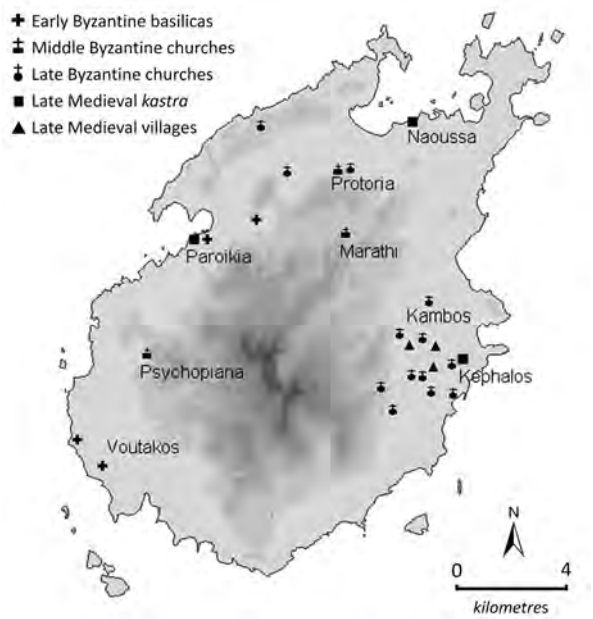


Fig. 6.31 Map of Paros with the *kastro* of Kephalos on the East coast

Fig. 6.32 View of the Northern portion of the large plain dominated by Kephalos

considerable destruction when the monastery was constructed in the later 16th century, while a series of recent restorations of the monastery yard in 1999 and 2000 have altered the original character of the castle completely. Two building phases can be securely identified, predating the construction of the monastery church around 1580. The inner defensive wall (average thickness 1.2 m), running for about 320 m, was constructed during the first building phase and it encircles an area of approximately 6400 m^2; it is

Fig. 6.33 View of the monastery church of *Agios Antonios* and its cells on top of Kephalos hill

of rough construction, with its best-preserved height reaching 9 m on its Northeast side (Fig. 6.35). Entrance into the area within the inner defensive wall was through a gate located close to the Southeast corner of the wall. Part of the inner defensive wall encircles a platform of about 2300 m^2 on the highest point of Mount Kephalos; this is the area now occupied by the monastery, but once occupied by the so-called lord's tower. Building material from the lord's residence was re-used and incorporated in the monastic church and the cells that were later constructed to its South. The outer defensive wall with an average thickness of 1.5 m (Fig. 6.36), which extends for 383 m, seems to have been built during the second building phase and encircles an area of approximately 28,400 m^2. There are two gates in the outer defensive wall; the South gate was the main one, while there was another one on the West side. It is very possible that the outer defensive wall was constructed during the second half of the 15th century and probably restored in the 1500s by the ruler Nicolo I Sommaripa (1462-1505), who transferred the administrative seat of the island from Kastro in Paroikia to Kephalos by that time. Miller (1908) attributes the building of the whole castle to Nicolo I, but according to the evidence provided above he must simply have added the outer defensive wall during the early period of his rule, and possibly carried out restoration work in the final years of his control. The outer fortification wall increased the total area of Kephalos to about 35,000 m^2.

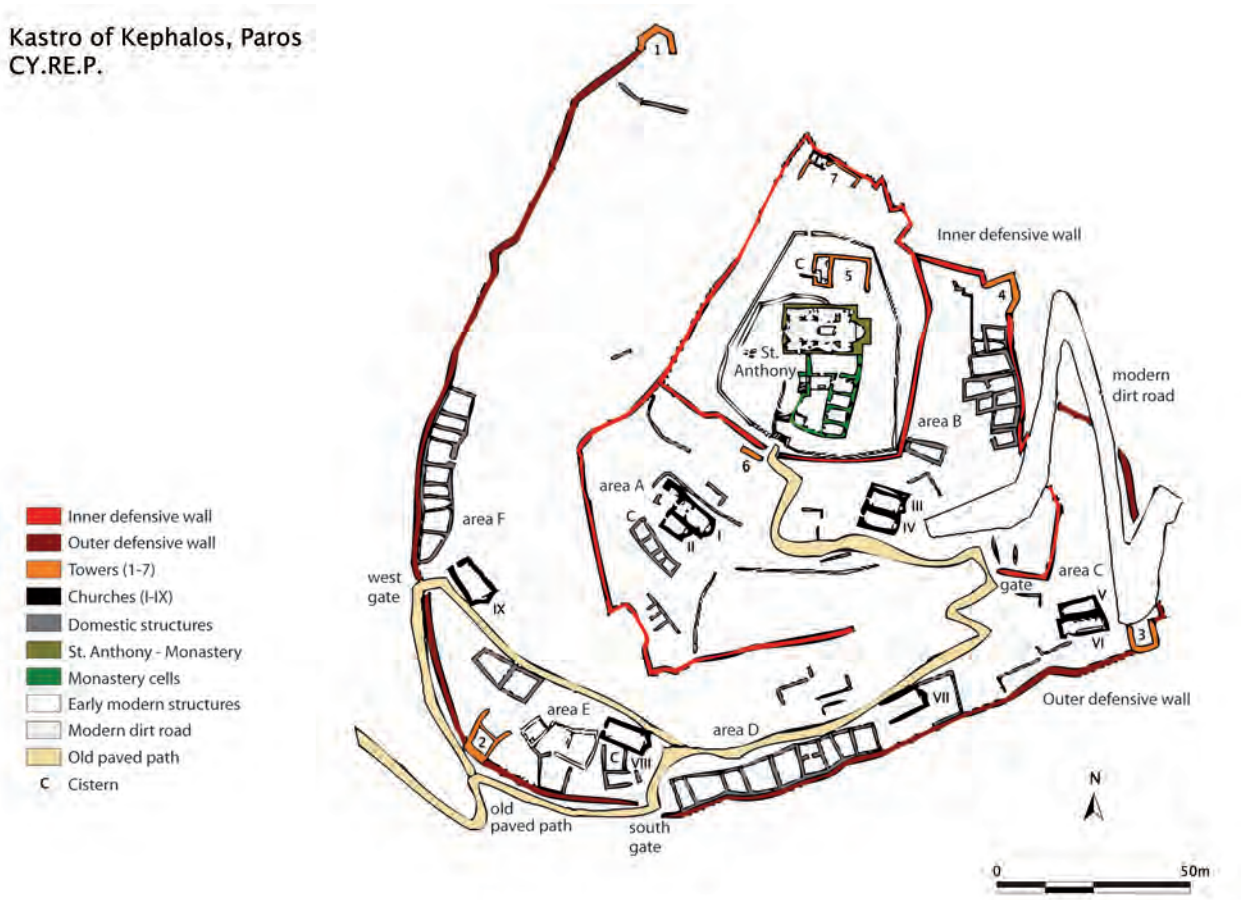


Fig. 6.34 Plan of the *kastro* of Kephalos on Paros

Fig. 6.35 View of the inner defensive wall on the Northeast side

Fig. 6.36 View of the outer defensive wall on the Southwest side

The presence of nine churches (three twin-churches and three regular single-aisled ones) with associated

Fig. 6.37 View of chapels I and II from the Southeast

Fig. 6.38 View of the arched *arcosol* next to church I

Fig. 6.39 View of chapels III and IV from the West

domestic structures close to them determined the separation of the site into six areas or 'neighbourhoods', each one focussed around a barrel-vaulted single-aisled or twin-chapel. Houses were recorded along the whole extent of the inner and outer defensive walls, while their condition and size varies. An old (most possibly originally Late Medieval in date) paved path (2-3 m wide) leading to the monastery runs through the entire *kastro*, dividing the lower portion of the area within the inner defensive wall into two sections. Area A (to the Southwest) contains twin-chapels I and II (Fig. 6.37), measuring 4.7x8.7 and 3x5.6 m, an 'arched structure' (2x4.6 m) to their Northwest and a number of foundations of other buildings. Chapel I has a dated inscription above the entrance, the only one on the site, that bears its foundation date (1410); the church is dedicated to *Evangelismos* (the Annunciation). The 'arched structure', partly built against the West wall of church I, is an *arcosol* or tomb formed by a horizontal niche over which a pointed arch (2.4 m in height) was built with pumice stone (Fig. 6.38); human remains were still visible within it. Area B (to the East) contains twin chapels III and IV (Fig. 6.39), measuring 3.8x7.8 and 4x7.8 m. Both have a large number of *spolia* incorporated in their walls. Chapel IV, in particular, has also a number of painted sailboats in black and red pigment (Fig. 6.40), two of which are associated with an illegible script. The foundations of a complex of houses were recorded further to the East and directly against the interior of the inner defensive wall; they seem to have consisted of one or two rooms with doorways attached directly to the side walls. They varied in size, but this might be due to their poor condition and the partial covering of debris from buildings that must have existed further up the slope.

Fig. 6.40 Sailboat painted in red pigment on the South wall of chapel IV

Fig. 6.41 View of the cistern and tower 5 from the Northwest

Area C was virtually destroyed, while area B was only partly disturbed in 1999 by the opening of the modern dirt road, as was the fortification wall that could be traced at the sides of the road. It should be noted that in 2002, the entire area B had completely vanished after the dirt road had been extended to the top of the hill. Only twin-chapels V and VI (3.8x7.7 and 4.1x10.1 m) survive in area C. Area D is better preserved with a ruined single-aisled chapel (5x8.5 m) and a group of houses built against the interior of the outer defensive wall. An old paved path that reaches the hilltop runs right in front of these houses. Area E is more disturbed and might have been re-used in the Post-Medieval and Early Modern periods for herding. A complex structure with rubble walls was identified as animal-pen. Chapel VIII (5x9.5 m), a cistern (27 m^2) built against its South wall and four domestic structures were also recorded in area E. Area F contains a better-preserved group of houses and chapel IX (6.2x9.5 m). The Northern part of this area was not studied because of dense low pine-tree vegetation. It was evident, though, that this area too consisted of a row of houses built against the outer defensive wall.

The remains of three water cisterns with their lining were identified in Kephalos. The largest one (27.5 m^2) is located within the inner defensive walls, to the North of the monastic church (Fig. 6.41); it actually forms the basement of the rather large multi-storey tower 5 (83 m^2). Tower 5 should be seen as part of the lord's residence itself or the Catholic cathedral church lying under the present-day church of Agios Antonios. The interior of the cistern is lined with mortar and survives intact, now used as a storeroom. The ruins of a second cistern were identified South-west of chapel II in area A; it is smaller in dimensions (15 m^2) and it is also plastered-over. The third water cistern (27 m^2) is located close to the South gate, built against the South wall of chapel VIII in area E.

Fig. 6.42 The remains of the Southeast corner tower on the outer defensive wall

The inner and outer defensive walls were strengthened by towers located at certain corners and built with roughly-cut stones lined with mortar. Tower 1 is well built and strong, protecting the Northwest side between the outer defensive wall and the rock formations along the Northwest part of Kephalos. Towers 2 and 3 (Fig. 6.42) were respectively located on the Southwest and Southeast corners of the outer defensive wall and mortar was extensively used for their construction. Only the South wall of tower 6 (Fig. 6.43) is still visible among its ruins, surviving to 9 m in height and 5 m in length. This tower probably formed part of the original Late Medieval lord's residence, defending the gate of the 'palace-area'.

Surface pottery was collected after the site was divided into 91 grids, measuring 10x20 m, laid out in a fashion that the long side of each grid is parallel to the terrain's contours (Fig. 6.44). The top platform of Kephalos occupied by the monastery complex and its yard comprises only a single grid (that would otherwise have formed 14 different 10x20 m grids). This

Fig. 6.43 View of tower 6 from the South

was due to heavy disturbance of the area by Post-Medieval and recent building activity. The overall pottery density (Fig. 6.45) confirms the fact that Kephalos must have been heavily occupied by the second phase of its construction in the later 15th century at almost every corner. The site provides an interesting and unparalleled example of deserted Late Medieval *kastra* in the Cyclades with a very good 'closed' context, its remaining defensive walls acting as barriers and conservation of material culture within them.

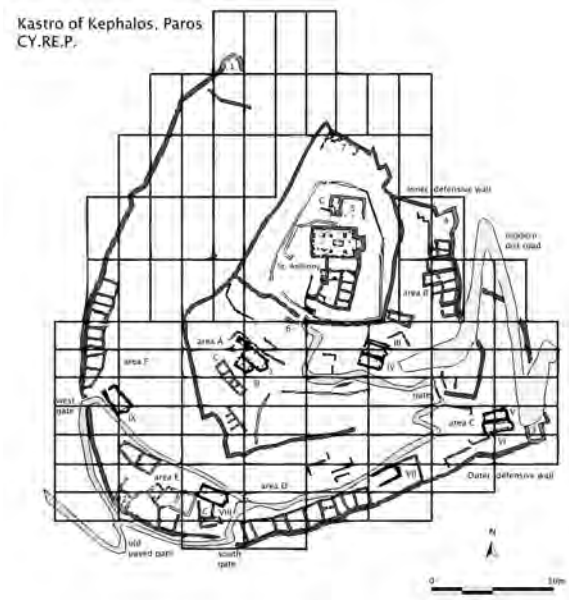


Fig. 6.44 The site of Kephalos gridded

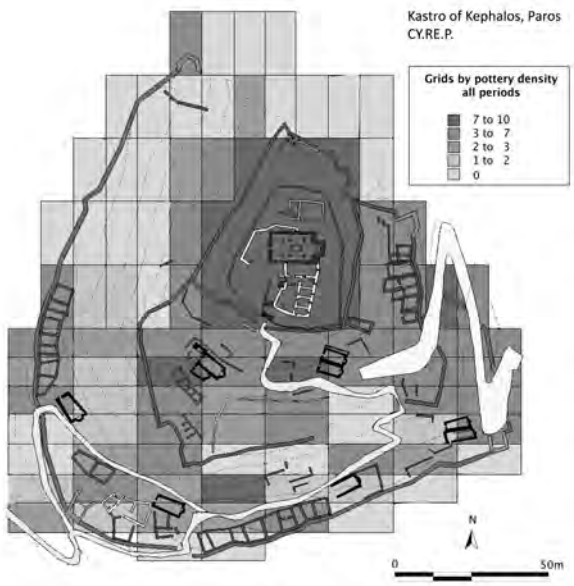


Fig. 6.45 Overall surface pottery density at Kephalos

Domestic structures

Part of the upper area (areas A-B) of the *kastro* of Kephalos and almost the entire lower area (areas C-F) preserve ruins and foundations of rectangular structures identified as houses, built against the inner side of the fortification walls. The highest point of the *kastro* is a plateau now entirely occupied by the late 16th-century monastic church of *Agios Antonios* and a number of monastery cells to its South (Fig. 6.46). The aforementioned ruins of the large square tower with cistern to the North of *Agios Antonios* and traces of the tower to the Southwest of the cells, together with the monastery-complex, comprise what must have been the citadel and residence of the successive lords of the island. Architectural sculptures in the church, such as a Catholic marble *ciborium* placed on the altar of the monastic church and the coat-of-arms of the Sommaripa family in the nave testify to the existence of a strong Catholic element on the hill. This 'citadel' is the focal and most prominent place of Kephalos and evidently the storage centre of the region and administrative seat of the island, at least by the late 15th century. This was also the chief point in terms of defence, possibly functioning as the ultimate shelter in case of an enemy attack. Part of the strong inner defensive walls surrounded the upper plateau of the lord's residence

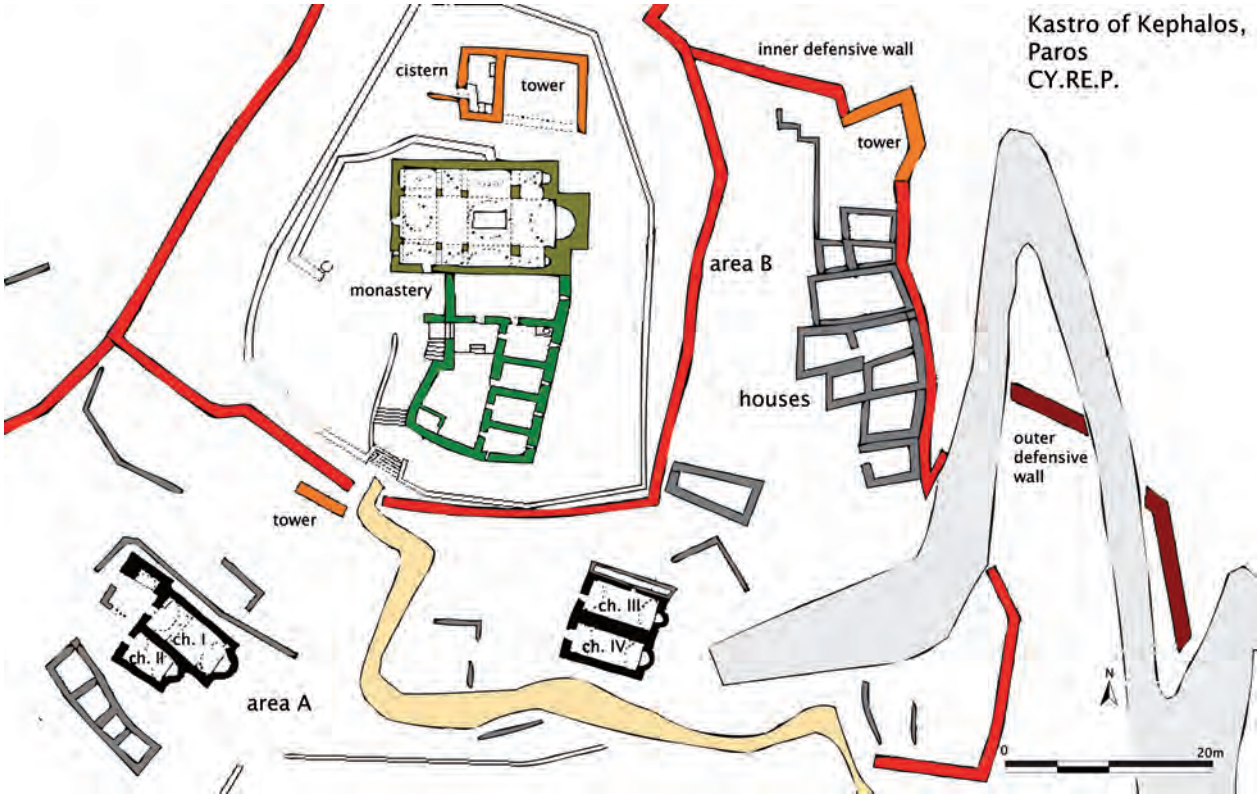


Fig. 6.46 Plan of areas A and B with houses built against the inner fortification wall at Kastro of Kephalos

with a number of associated ancillary buildings (storehouses, cisterns, stables and garden) in an area of 2.3 ha. It is now impossible to reconstruct the lord's residence and the layout of ancillary buildings in the citadel. We could assume (by the shape of the cells-complex) that the lord's residence was a rectangular multi-storey building, a tower-house similar to Hall A at Apano Kastro in Naxos.

The most interesting part of the *kastro*, however, in terms of Late Medieval domestic architecture is the Southern and Eastern portions of the upper area within the inner defensive wall (areas A-B) and the entire lower zone (areas C-F). These areas preserve a large number of humble structures built against the fortification walls, identified as houses. Areas A and B (Fig. 6.46) must have been founded immediately after the construction of the inner fortification wall, with a number of houses built against it. Although not many houses are preserved in area A because of collapse and tree-plantations, limited traces of buildings (with an average size of 15-20 m^2) suggest that

Fig. 6.47 Foundations of a house built against the inner fortification wall in area B

rows of houses were built against the wall, but also in the interior of the area parallel to the wall. In area B and directly against the Eastern part of the inner enceinte a number of house foundations were recorded (Fig. 6.47). They were two-storey, making use of the fortification-walls' height, and they had one or two rooms with doorways attached directly to the side-

Fig. 6.48 Ruins of a house in area B with vaulted ground floor

walls. They are not regularly constructed and they vary in size. The average size of houses in area B is 5.7x3.5 m (about 20 m^2), with walls 0.65-0.8 m in thickness. More substantial ruins of houses in area B suggest that their ground floors were vaulted (Fig. 6.48).

A large part of area C was recently destroyed. As a result only a tower on the Southeast corner of the outer defensive wall and twin-churches V and VI were identified and recorded. Area D is better preserved with one ruined chapel (VII) and houses against the outer enceinte along its Southern side (Fig. 6.49). The paved path that reaches the summit of the hill runs along the lower zone right in front of the houses in area D. The houses were inward looking and were accessed only from the path. They are larger than those of area B, with average internal dimensions ranging between 4x8 m (32 m^2) and 4.5x10 (45 m^2). They tend to be more square and regular, while their wall thickness of 0.65 m should have supported a second storey (Fig. 6.50). Area E (Fig. 6.49) is more disturbed, as it was re-used at later periods for herding; structures with rubble walls (a different construction than the majority of buildings at Kephalos) were identified as Early Modern pens. The average dimensions of the houses in Area

Fig. 6.49 Plan of areas D-F with houses built against the outer fortification wall at Kastro of Kephalos

E are 5.2x4.6 m. Area F (Fig. 6.49) has better preserved foundations of houses (27-30 m^2) of similar construction as in areas D, but closer to the average size of other *kastra*, such as Siphnos (30 m^2) and Astypalaia (27 m^2). The Northwest part of this area within the outer fortification wall was not possible to survey because of thickly grown low pine trees. It was evident, though, that this area too was similarly built up with a row of houses constructed against the enceinte, as a few walls were visible through the vegetation.

Fig. 6.50 Middle wall between two houses in area D at Kephalos

Although a heavy covering of debris (from collapsed defence walls and other structures) on the slopes above the rows of houses built against the fortification walls could not allow the identification of large numbers of domestic structures, a few traces of buildings in rows parallel to the enceinte were still visible. Thus, the interior space within the inner and outer circuits must have been covered with rows of single- or two-storey houses, which together with buildings against the fortification walls would suggest that the *kastro* of Kephalos was densely settled, housing a large number of people. Considering the total size of the *kastro* (3.5 ha) and the average size of the houses, it would not be an exaggeration to suggest that the site was occupied by 1000 to 1500 people at its full extent before the legendary attack of Barbarossa in 1537.

Historical context

After the arrival of the Venetians in Paros in the first decade of the 13th century, they built Kastro in Paroikia as their residence and administrative seat of the island around 1260. The castle of Naoussa was constructed in the later 13th or early 14th century, while a circular tower with firing apertures was added at the entrance of its harbour around 1500. The *kastro* of Kephalos already existed as a fortified site when Buodelmonti (Legrand 1897) visited Paros about 1415-1420 (Fig. 6.51), mentioning that the castle was located on a steep hill and 'old women were climbing up carrying household utensils'. The existence of the site in the early years of the 15th century is confirmed by the inscription above the doorway of chapel I, which commemorates the names of the founders and 1410 as the date of construction. It is not easy to suggest a definite date of construction for Kephalos on the basis of historical information, but archaeological evidence suggests that the first phase of the *kastro* could be placed in the later 13th century. Distribution of surface ceramics dated from the 13th to the middle of the 14th century show a remarkably well-defined concentration within the inner defensive walls of Kephalos (Fig. 6.52). The outer fortification wall of the castle must have been constructed during the late 14th century under the authority of Nicolo I Sommaripa, who even moved the administrative seat from the castle of Paroikia to Kephalos. As traditional stories go, the castle was not destined to survive and after political turbulence the site was besieged and captured by Barbarossa in 1537. Indeed, surface pottery seems to suggest continuity of habitation in the Late Medieval and early Post-Medieval periods, from the late 14th to the late 15th and early 16th centuries outside the inner defensive wall

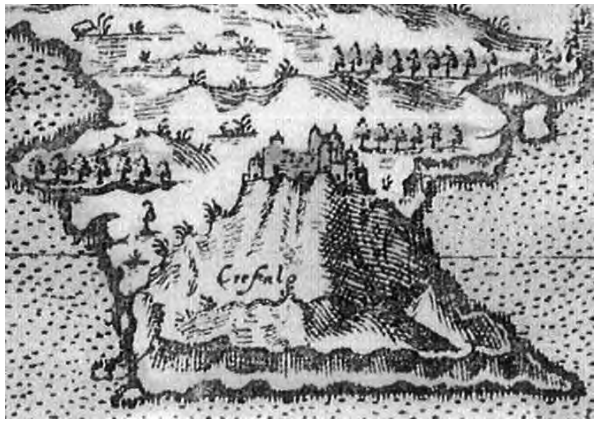


Fig. 6.51 Detail of an engraving showing the location of the *kastro* of Kephalos by André Thevet (1502-1599) (Rangoussi-Kontogiorgou 2000, 33, fig. 7)

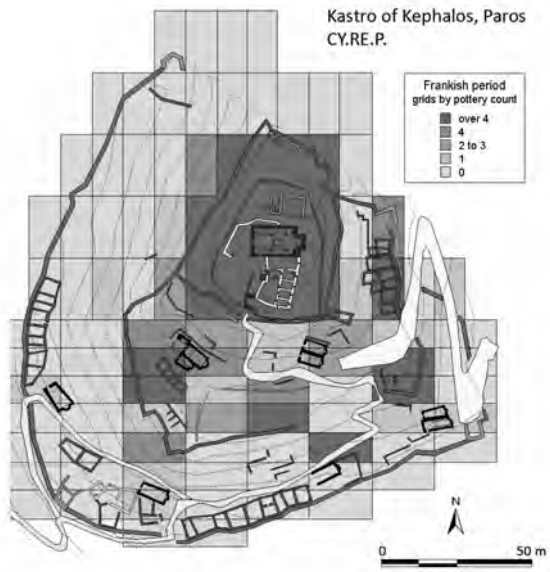


Fig. 6.52 Late Byzantine/Frankish (13th - middle 14th century) surface pottery distribution across Kephalos

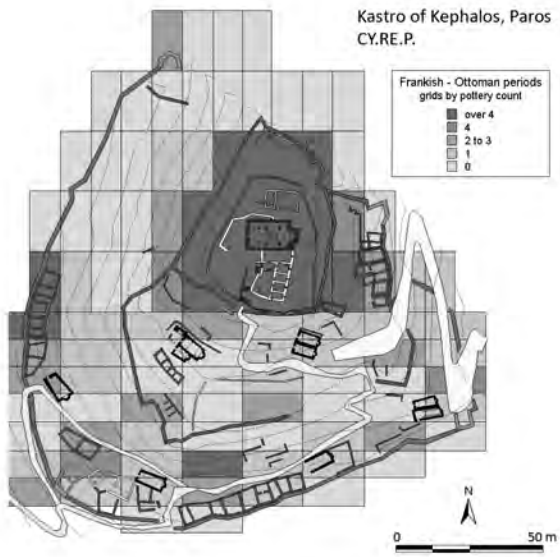


Fig. 6.53 Late Medieval - early Post-Medieval (late 14th - early 16th century) surface pottery distribution across Kephalos

(Fig. 6.53). Kephalos was never re-used as a habitation site. Instead, a monastery was built in the late 16th century on the peak of the mountain and started to operate as a monastic site in 1642. Similarly, the pottery density of the late 16th to late 19th centuries

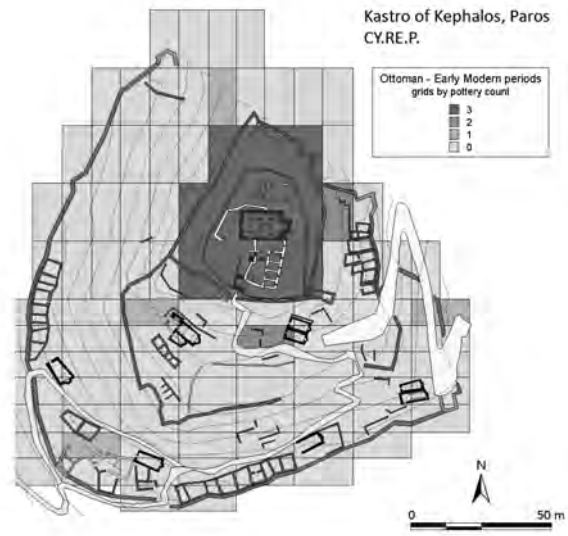
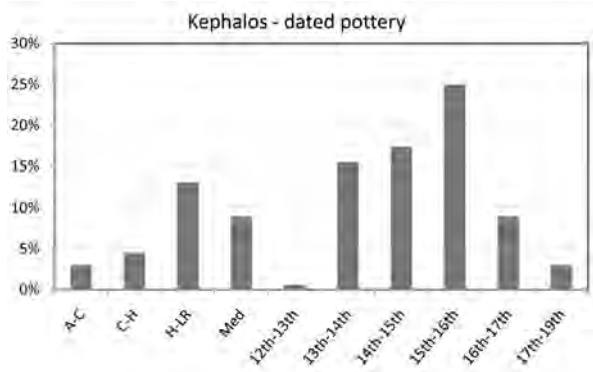


Fig. 6.54 Post-Medieval - Early Modern (late 16th - late 19th century) surface pottery distribution across Kephalos



Graph 6.2 Dated surface pottery from Kephalos, Paros

shows larger ceramic concentrations around the monastic complex at the centre of the site (Fig. 6.54).

The site was possibly occupied by 1000 to 1500 people at its full extent in the 15th-16th centuries (Graph 6.2). The traditional number of 6000 people noted by Miller (1908) might refer to the total population of the island, including the castles of Paroikia (Kastro) and Naoussa. Rizzardo (Topping 1986, Appendix II) mentions that the island of Paros had a population of 3000 in 1470, a number that would allow Kephalos to have a population of 700-900, considering the other settlements of the island too.

A conclusion regarding the status of the *kastro* of Kephalos in relation to other sites on Paros and elsewhere could be drawn from Crusius (1584, 207; Sanders 1996, 154-5), who provides a list with the settlements of 13 islands, Paros being one of them. There he mentions that there was one Chora or place with true city status (Sanders 1996), *i.e.* Paroikia, and two *kastra* (fortified settlements of lesser status), *i.e.* Naoussa and Kephalos. Crusius does not refer to any *choria* (villages) and *choridia* (hamlets) on the island, but this might be just an omission due to lack of information. Kephalos did not become the main town of the island till after 1500, with the transfer of the administration seat to the site by Nicolo I Sommaripa.

6.2.4 Kastro, Melos

Fortification walls, towers, chapels and cisterns

Although Sanders (1996) has published an excellent historical study of the two *kastra* on the island of Melos, Kastro and Zephyria, the aim of CY.RE.P. was to further examine archaeological traces of habitation at both settlements during the Late Medieval and Post-Medieval periods. A survey permit was granted for a grab-sample collection from both sites, which offered an interesting insight into the chronological diversity and use of the settlements. Another aim was to trace and record any surviving Late Medieval and Post-Medieval domestic structures in order to add more information into a databank of domestic architecture and the use of domestic space in Cycladic *kastra* and villages.

Kastro was built on the Northwest side of the island on a rocky hill 250 m above sea-level, overlooking the large bay and natural harbour of Melos (Fig. 6.1). It is a site with good views in all directions, dominating a large part of the island. Its position and sharp rock formation, especially at the North, East and West sides, made it strongly defended and not easily accessible. Sanders (1996, 149) argues that Kastro was possibly built by Marco I Sanudo in the first quarter of the 13th century; in the final quarter of the 14th century the island passed to Fiorenza Sanudo as dowry when she got married to Francesco I Crispo. However, Melos remained under the direct authority of the Duchy for most of the Late Medieval period, until the final incorporation of the island into the Ottoman Empire in 1579. Thus, Kastro (also known as Apanokastro) would be expected to preserve a clear Late Medieval layout similar to those of other Venetian-dominated islands in the Cyclades. Sanders' (1996, 149) view that Kastro was built by Marco I Sanudo is further supported by imported glazed surface ceramic wares of the middle 13th to early 14th centuries, such as 'Zeuxippus Derivatives', 'Grid Iron Proto-Maiolica', 'Rouletted Ware' and 'RMR Ware'.

It seems that Kastro was the principal town of the island until the growth of the town of Millo or Zephyria and must have acquired a 'Chora'-status already in the late 13th century (Sanders 1996). The plan of the town is oval (Fig. 6.55), covering the hilltop on all sides, while the enclosed area covers about 12,000 m^2 and a defensive wall runs round it for 550 m. Remains of houses have been preserved on the Northwest and Southwest sides of the *kastro*. The principal gate of the town was located close to the Western edge of the South side (Fig. 6.56); the gate has been demolished, while large parts of Kastro nowadays lie in ruins. The centre of the town was possibly located somewhere in the middle of the Western and lower portion of the site (area C); this, as well as areas B and D must have been the residential portion of the town.

A large domed basilica-church dedicated to *Panagia Thalassitra* (*i.e.* Virgin of the Sea) is located on the South edge of area D; it was possibly built in the 17th/18th century and renovated in 1839 (Geroussi 1999; Belivanakis 2001). An earlier and more humble chapel dedicated to *Panagia Eleoussa*, most possibly dated to the Late Medieval period now forms the South portion of the church of *Panagia Thalassitra*. A lintel above the door of *Panagia Eleoussa* bears the coat-of-arms of the Crispi family and its renovation date of 1552, built initially as a church of the Catholic rite. The chapel of *Agios Andreas* is centrally located between areas C and D and it was built in the early years of the period of Venetian domination. Both its brickwork and a pointed barrel vault buttressed by an arch (Sanders 1996, 150), as well as its arcosol-tombs (Belivanakis 2001, 319) suggest a Late Medieval date as the period of its construction. The chapel of *Metamorphosis* to the Southwest of

Fig. 6.55 Plan of Kastro or Anokastro in Melos (redrawn after Sanders 1996, 166, fig. 5, with additional data by CY.RE.P.)

Agios Andreas is of modern date. Evidence for Late Medieval housing in Kastro comes from the North and Northwest portion of the lower enceinte (Fig. 6.57).

Modern water reservoirs created during World War II have destroyed large parts of the original Late Medieval appearance of lower Kastro. Similarly, the upper portion of the site (area A) is now occupied by a water-reservoir (built in the 1940s) and a church of recent date, which have altered the original layout of the older portion of the town (Sanders 1996). This must have been the so-called *Mesa Kastro* (*i.e.* Upper Castle), where a large tower-house, also referred to as 'palace' (with walls measuring more than a metre in thickness), stood till the beginning of the 20th century, overlooking lower Kastro and its

Fig. 6.56 View of the main gate of Kastro in a late 19th-century photograph (Belivanakis 2001, 321)

Fig. 6.57 View of the Northern defensive wall formed by the back walls of houses in the lower portion of Kastro on Melos

surroundings (Belivanakis 2001). The summit of Kastro was a main vantage point and was heavily defended during the Late Medieval and Post-Medieval periods; its perimeter preserves parts of the original massive fortification walls. The modern humble chapel dedicated to *Panagia Skiniotissa* that occupies the central area of the summit was built on the remains of a Late Medieval church of the Catholic rite. This information is confirmed in a document of 1693 (Slot 1975; Belivanakis 2001, 318-9). It is said that a relief with a Latin inscription depicting the archon's wife in Venetian dress and kneeling before the Virgin was once located within the Late Medieval church (Sanders 1996; Belivanakis 2001; Hetherington 2001).

Although Kastro was continuously occupied till the first decades of the 20th century and considerable damage occurred during World War II, it is still possible to trace the general original layout of the Frankish defended settlement. The physical division of Kastro between 'inner' and 'outer' or 'upper' and 'lower' has already been seen at Apano Kastro on Naxos and Kephalos on Paros, as well as in *kastra* of the period on other Cycladic islands. Old photographs (of the 1920s) show Kastro heavily built, with the perimeter of the summit totally occupied by a line of high buildings (Fig. 6.58), forming an inner defensive wall around the administrative centre of the Late Medieval town. Thus, the focus of the original town was probably located on the inner *kastro*, occupied by a central tower or by the lord's residence overlooking the rest of the town. The rest of the population occupied the lower *kastro*, while a square possibly located near the centre of the lower area was the place where public meetings used to take place. The back walls of a continuous row of houses around the hill formed a strong defensive wall, which left an opening for the main gate close to the Southwest corner of the town. A certain degree of planning at Kastro is certainly evident and reflects social reality as well as the policy prevailing in the Aegean during the period of Venetian domination. This was part of a general plan of the Venetian island-authorities to establish control over inhabited and uninhabited Aegean islands at the beginning and middle of the 13th century.

Fig. 6.58 Kastro heavily built, as shown in a photograph of the 1920s (Belivanakis 2001, 313)

Domestic structures

The upper area of Kastro does not preserve any of the original Late Medieval structures. In the area immediately to its West lies the lower zone of Kastro, a lower platform encircled by the outer defensive wall

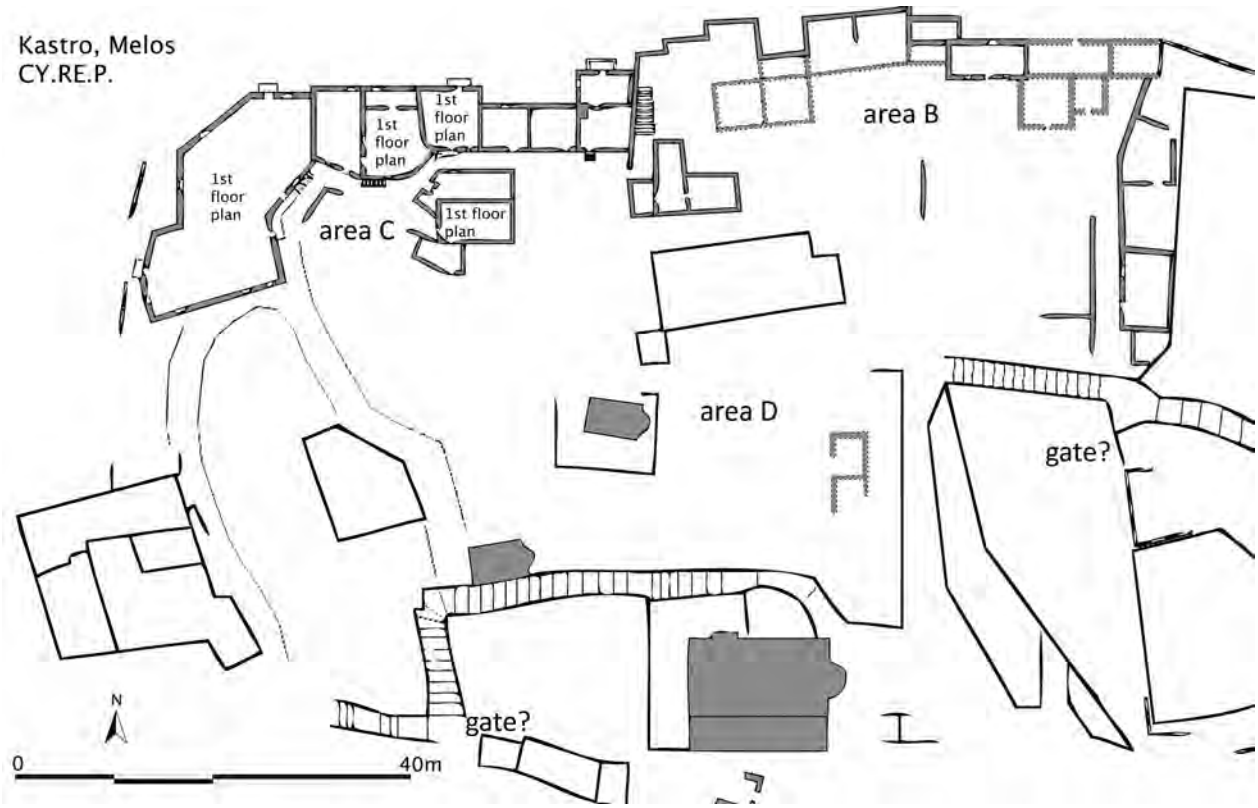


Fig. 6.59 Plan of houses on the Northern portion of the lower zone (areas B and C) within the outer fortification wall at Kastro, Melos

(Fig. 6.59). The whole settlement had been occupied from the Late Middle Ages to the early 20th century and consequently there has been considerable destruction and later building throughout these periods. Evidence for the construction of an outer line of houses, however, forming at the same time the exterior line of defence, indicates that the size and general layout of the town was already known beforehand and a certain degree of planning was at work in the first place. This is an important factor to take into account when studying the individual domestic structures, in that even the houses themselves had to follow certain guidelines regarding their size and layout.

Surviving evidence in the Northern portion of the outer fortification wall (in areas B and C) confirms the existence of a continuous line of houses enclosing the lower plateau along the steep edge of the hill (Fig. 6.60). There is a variety of house-forms along the Northern outline of the outer fortification wall; the West portion on the Northern side is occupied by narrow-fronted houses, the middle portion by more square-shaped structures and the Eastern portion by broad fronted houses (Fig. 6.59). The average size of the narrow-fronted houses is 38 m^2, of the square houses 20, while the approximate size of the broad-

Fig. 6.60 View of houses surviving along the Northern side of the lower plateau in area C

fronted houses does not exceed 25 m^2. It is evident that the outer defensive wall was constructed in one phase, since the house-line itself forms the outer enceinte, thus, the construction of all house-types in areas B and C should have been completed over a single period. Additions against already existing houses on the inside as well as on the outside of the settlement were made during the Post-Medieval period. It is also assumed, on the basis of building foundations in the interior space of the lower zone in areas B, C and D, that more houses were arranged in concentric blocks, covering a large part of the area.

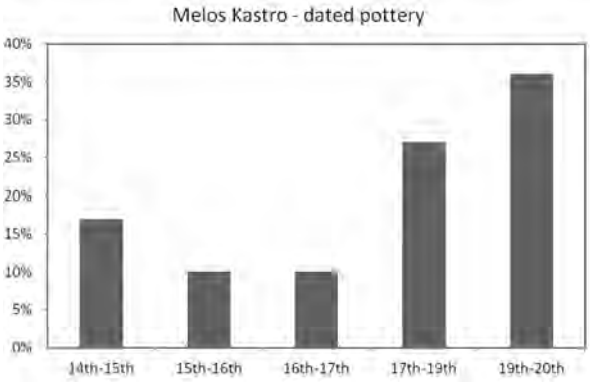
The houses themselves were two-storey (without excluding the possibility that there were also three-storey ones) with a stone staircase in front of the building leading to the upper floor (Fig. 6.61). They comprised a single room on the ground floor and a single or two rooms on the first floor. Most of the openings on the inside of Kastro are supported with squared stone blocks, while lintels over doors and windows bear decorative crosses and rosettes in relief (Fig. 6.62).

Fig. 6.61 View of a two-storey house in Kastro, Melos

Fig. 6.62 View of a house from Kastro with decorative stone-frames and lintels

Historical context

Marco I Sanudo is believed to have founded the original portion of the town on the upper hill of Kastro. The lower *kastro* that forms the Western portion of the town must have been built later (probably in the late 14th or early 15th century). The plan of the later portion of the town is very similar to that of Siphnos, Astypalaia and Pholegandros. Surface ceramics published by Sanders (1996), and the CY.RE.P. surface pottery collection seem to confirm a 13th-century date for the foundation of Kastro. The ceramic assemblage from across Kastro (divided into areas A, B, C and D) confirm habitation continuity to the beginning of the 20th century; a higher percentage of ceramics is dated to the Ottoman and Early Modern periods in the 17th-19th centuries (Graph 6.3). A reduction in percentages of pottery dated to the 15th-17th centuries must have been the result of the



Graph 6.3 Dated surface pottery from Kastro, Melos

abandonment of Kastro in favour of Millo or Zephyria, which was developing during that time in the middle of the large fertile plain at the Eastern end of the bay of Melos.

In the late 1250s Byzantine rule was restored on some Aegean islands during the campaigns of the Byzantine Admiral Licario. Melos was one of these islands, while a Greek monk led the revolt against the Latins who were driven out of Kastro and held the island until Marco II Sanudo retook it in 1262 and re-installed his family in control (Sanders 1996, 149; Belivanakis 2001, 314; Hetherington 2001, 204-5). Despite a number of probably serious raids in 1316-18 by the Catalan Alfonso Fadrique who carried off some 700 inhabitants, and in 1354 by the Genoese, and also despite the subsequent establishment and growth of the town of Zephyria, Kastro was never abandoned. It is true that its size could not have housed large numbers of people. The 1470 population figure of 2500 by Rizzardo (Topping 1986) refers to the total number of people living not only in Kastro but also in Zephyria, which was the main town of Melos by then (Sanders 1996).

Sanders (1996, 150) notes that the total area of Kastro (about 12,000 m^2) may have housed between 500 and 1000 people. The French traveller Thévenot (1687) mentions that in 1655 Zephyria had 2500 inhabitants and Kastro around 500, an estimate that grew higher after the relocation of the island's centre on and around Kastro a century later. The Dutch military commander Pasch von Krienen (1773) mentions the same population figure for the year 1771, while a little earlier, another traveller of the 18th century, Pierre Augustin Guys (1783) mentions that Zephyria was deserted by 1748, but the area below Kastro was quite populous. Guys (1783) was possibly referring to the foundation of the settlement of Plaka below Kastro in the middle 18th century after the abandonment of Zephyria because of its polluted air. Finally, an 1833 record of the Municipality of Melos lists Kastro with 300 inhabitants and Plaka with 250 (Belivanakis 2001, 315). It is evident that although Kastro may have lost its *Chora*-status after the establishment of Zephyria, it was never deserted. However, it did not regain its importance after the abandonment of Zephyria, since the region of Plaka (on the foothills of Kastro) was chosen as the next settlement. Foreign travellers of the Ottoman period drew representative sketches of still inhabited *kastra* and countryside settlements (Fig. 6.63).

Fig. 6.63 Detail from an engraving showing Kastro on Melos (Tournefort 1718)

Kastro became important because of the large number of *pilots* or local people involved in piloting ships through the Aegean. Pilots were based in Kastro from the late 18th century onwards, as the site offered excellent views in all directions. Most of them were experienced sailors and captains with great knowledge of reading maritime maps and taking part in long travels around the Mediterranean. In the 19th and early 20th century they had become particularly wealthy and restored or built their large houses at Kastro; they remained prominent figures in the local society and economy until World War II, with the final abandonment of the 'aristocratic' quarter of Kastro.

6.2.5 Zephyria/Millo, Melos

Fortification walls, towers, chapels and cisterns

Although Sanders (1996) has provided a rather detailed study and description of another Late Medieval settlement, that of Zephyria, an attempt has been made by CY.RE.P. to review some of his basic conclusions on the basis of archaeological remains (*e.g.* surface ceramics), historical information and local traditions. The remains of the town are located in the middle of a fertile plain towards the East portion of the bay of Melos. The settlement is built on flat ground and was not visible from the island's harbour. The only surviving structures of the period prior to the gradual abandonment of the site in the 18th century are merely the churches of *Panagia Portiani* and *Agios Charalambos*, as well as the Monastery of *Christos* (Fig. 6.64). Thus, very little remains to be explored nowadays, in what concerns the plan and the appearance of the town, the size of which is probably to estimate by means of earth and vast quantities of stone around it (Fig. 6.65).

Fig. 6.64 View of the remains of the monastery church of *Christos* at Zephyria from the East

On the basis of textual information, pictorial and archaeological evidence, Sanders (1996) has concluded that Zephyria had an orthogonal ground plan, probably resembling Antiparos and Kimolos in layout, where a concentric row of houses for the local population was built around the central tower of the local ruler. According to Buondelmonti's account (Legrand 1897) of the island in 1420, 'there was a tower surrounded by a cluster of houses in the large plain of the island'. The plan of the field walls at Zephyria nowadays reflects to some extent what seems to have been the street plan of the town. Zephyria or Millo grew from a small agricultural station to a village of 2000 inhabitants by 1470, and remained stable until 1638 when there were some 400 houses (Sanders 1996, 151). The town of Millo must have developed in the same manner as Antiparos or Kimolos, with extra rows of houses, probably in a rectangular-orthogonal ground plan, being added around the Medieval portion of the village. The houses of Millo must have had two storeys and terraced roofs; the lower storey would have been covered by a barrel vault or with a flat ceiling supported by broad arches and would have been used as a pigsty entered from the street through an arched door (Sanders 1996). A stone or wooden staircase ascending from the street led to the upper storey (*i.e.* the living quarters). The streets (concentric, along the lines of houses) must have been narrow and extremely unpleasant (as travellers describe) because of refuse thrown to the pigs along with night soil.

Since there are no material remains on the basis of which to estimate the number of houses or the appearance of the town's exterior defensive wall, traces of a wall fresco from the church of *Panagia Portiani* provide a general idea of the town of Zephyria and its rough layout. The size, status and previous well-being of Zephyria are otherwise solely indicated by the numerous churches built in its immediate territory, being 19 in total. Only three of them survive today, the rest are known by name, although simply comprising piles of stones at various places; the location of twelve of them were recorded and published by Sanders (1996), while the remaining seven were identified by Pagonis (2001).

The twin-churches of *Agios Charalambos* and *Panagia Portiani* were built by the main gate of the original *kastro*. *Agios Charalambos* is smaller in dimensions and older than *Panagia Portiani*. *Agios Charalambos* preserves an inscription on the lintel above its West door bearing the date 1688, while the church of *Panagia* bears the date 1645 on a lintel above its North door. Both dates probably refer to the time of their renovation, confirming a pre-17th-century chronology for their initial foundation. *Panagia Portiani*, meaning 'Virgin of the Gate' was most

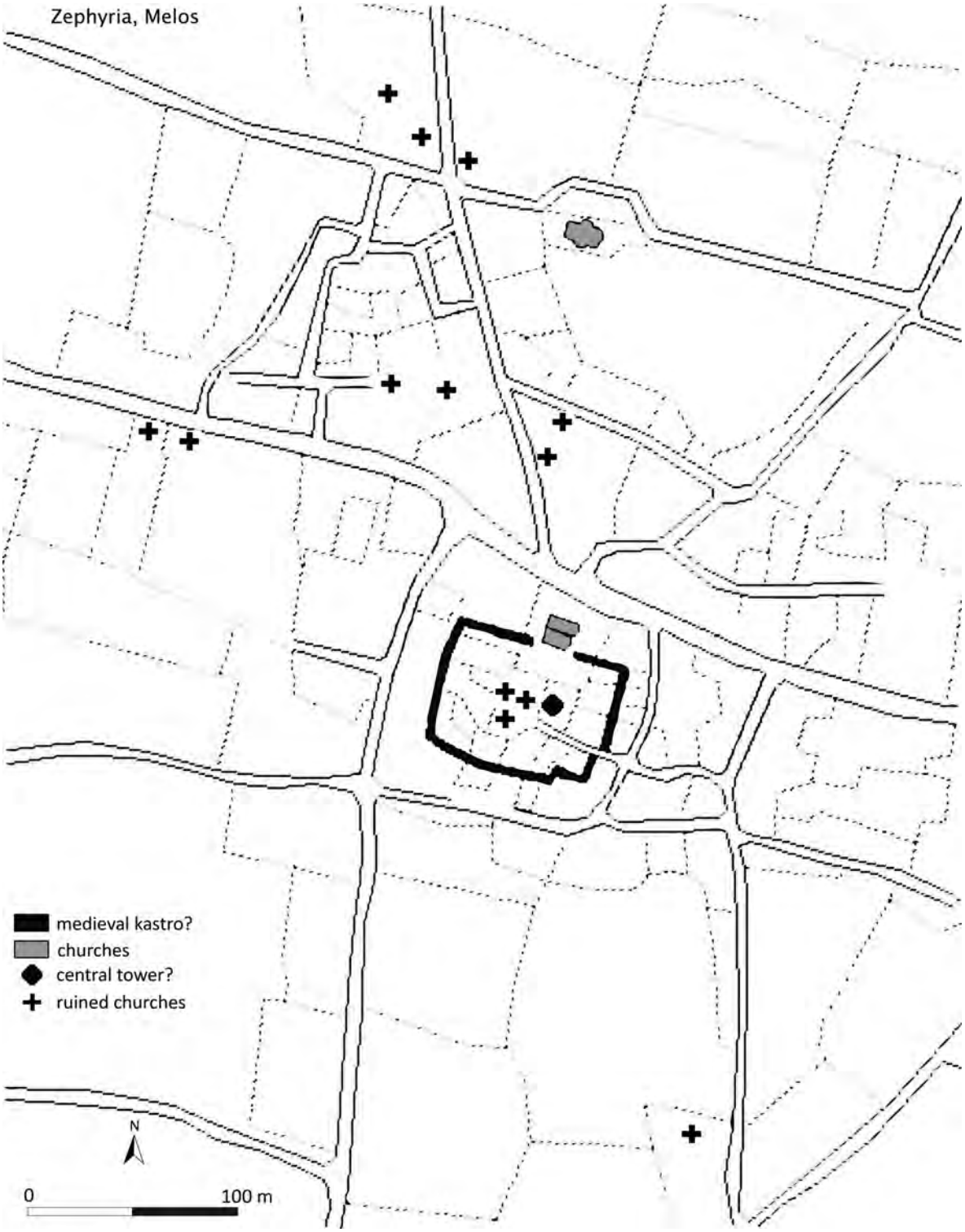


Fig. 6.65 Plan of the deserted town of Zephyria on Melos and its surroundings (redrawn after Sanders 1996, 171, fig. 16)

possibly intentionally attributed this name because it stood next to the gate of the town. The monastic church of *Christos*, located 200 m North of *Agios Charalambos* and *Panagia Portiani* is a large and rather well-built basilica of the early 17th century, once a *metochion* or dependency of the monastery of St. John on Patmos. It is nowadays abandoned and its upper walls collapsed. An inscription on the corner stone of the apse bears the date of its completion (*i.e.* 1620).

Historical context

Sanders (1996, 150-1) argues for the establishment of Zephyria in the late 13th century by presenting a minute document of the Senate which is very possibly referring to the settlement of Millo (referred to as 'Melo', the village of Andrea Vassalo - a Melian *archon* or local ruler). Vassalo's village contained a tower used for the collection and safekeeping of tithes. This settlement must have grown rapidly. Buondelmonti's map indicates the site of Millo, referring to it as *Torre Episcopi* or the 'Bishop's Tower'. Therefore, if Vassalo built a tower (for the reasons mentioned above) and a settlement later grew around it, then this must have been the town of Zephyria. It seems that by the beginning of the 16th century the central administration of the island moved from Kastro (the older defended town built by Marco I Sanudo in the early 13th century) to Zephyria. The fact that Zephyria gradually gained a town-status is attested in texts and early maps of Melos, referring to the town as *Chora* or *Millo*.

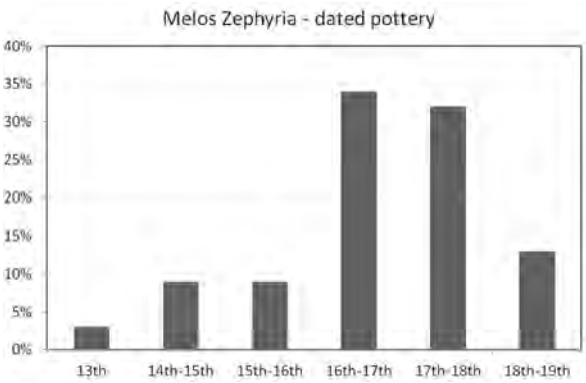
Zephyria numbered some 2000 inhabitants in 1470. The initial agricultural settlement was growing fast, while new houses must have started to be built outside the orthogonal defended town in the early 17th century (Fig. 6.66). We could assume that the interior of the orthogonal town was fully built at the beginning of the 16th century, while the churches dedicated to *Agios Dimitrios* for the Orthodox and *Agios Antonios* for the Catholics were already constructed by then. The continuous growth of Millo was the result of a number of factors. An important factor was the tolerant direct administration of the Venetian families of the Sanudi and the Crispi from the 13th century onwards, who were themselves living on the island, possibly in Zephyria (Wagstaff 1982a, 68;

Fig. 6.66 Detail from an engraving showing the town of Millo or Zephyria on Melos (Tournefort 1718)

Pagonis 2001, 298). The large bay and natural harbour of the island attracted sailing foreign vessels at all times, encouraging productivity and strengthening the local economy. Melos was also exporting valuable commodities such as millstones, while the French had decided to make the island the centre of their trade activities during the Ottoman period. Continuous warfare, however, in the Mediterranean especially between Ottoman and Venetian forces from the 15th century onwards, such as the War of Candia, made the port of Melos a safe anchorage for all kinds of military and commercial vessels. The bay of the island had become a central post for maritime communication lanes. In the meantime, although piracy was growing in the Aegean Sea and corsairs attacked especially merchant ships in the area, the whole 'enterprise' proved beneficial for the island and its inhabitants. The islanders found good opportunity to provide provisions and temporary accommodation to pirates always in return for booty and cash (Sanders 1996, 151; Pagonis 2001, 298). Massive immigration from Crete to smaller Aegean islands in the late 1660s as a result of the War of Candia contributed to population growth on Melos, which by the year 1700 numbered some 7000 inhabitants (Tournefort 1718).

The relatively tolerant and liberal Ottoman administration of Melos and the rest of the Cyclades as well as successive Imperial decrees granting special economic and administrative privileges to the islanders resulted in rather comfortable living conditions for them. As has been mentioned above, Zephyria at the

beginning of the 18th century had reached its zenith and its surrounding countryside was filled with nineteen parish churches and some wealthy monasteries. Wagstaff (1982a, 68) has argued on the basis of information provided by foreign travellers that the island flourished in the years between 1670 and 1730. In addition, Melos is one of the islands that preserve important examples of ecclesiastical fine art, with a large number of portable screen-icons of the Cretan School of painters. Surface ceramics collected during the course of the CY.RE.P. fieldwork have revealed a number of glazed wares of the 15th-16th centuries from Faenza in Italy and 17th-18th-century imports from the Iznik and Kütahya production centres in Turkey. Similarly, dated ceramics show an increase during the 16th-17th and 17th-18th centuries (Graph 6.4).



Graph 6.4 Dated surface pottery from Zephyria, Melos

The decline of Zephyria and its gradual abandonment has been explained (Bintliff 1977, 554) by the earthquake of 1738 that destroyed most of the town, and the subsequent diseases due to inadequate burial of the dead that made living conditions unbearable. Meanwhile, the sinking of land around the town created a potential swamp for malaria, while air pollution created by sulphurous fumes affected the water supply. All this dramatically reduced the population and made life harsh for the surviving inhabitants by the 1740s. The abandonment of Zephyria took place in the years between 1756 and 1770 (Wagstaff 1982a, 69). The Capuchin monks left their monastery at Millo in 1735 and were established in neighbouring Kimolos; the Catholic vicar also transferred his seat of administration to Kimolos in 1767 (Pagonis 2001). Many people must have died and the results of economic decline did not take long to show. The remaining population gradually left Zephyria and founded new villages around Kastro. With the transfer of remaining populations to Kastro and the region around it, the large plain of Zephyria was consequently devalued, for neighbouring plots of land in the vicinity of Kastro. A few immigrants from Crete settled in the area of the abandoned town of Zephyria around 1822. Another phase of the site of Zephyria begun at the beginning of the 20th century when a group of settlers occupied part of the old town in association with mining activity in neighbouring hills (Wagstaff 1982a). A large number of houses seen in the area nowadays date from the early 20th century, but the size and status of the town has been long forgotten since the period of its massive desertion and desolation.

6.3 POST-MEDIEVAL AND EARLY MODERN TOWNS

6.3.1 Plaka, Melos

Layout

Plaka is one of the most recent towns in the Cyclades, possibly functioning as a small settlement under the shadow of Medieval Kastro by the middle of the 18th century and as an independent town from the beginning of the 19th century, after the final abandonment of Zephyria (Fig. 6.67). It belongs to the settlements of the evolved fortified form, the original core of which is probably dated to the middle 18th century, with houses constructed almost entirely with building material from the abandoned houses of Zephyria. Similarly, the Cathedral church of Plaka, *Panagia Korfiatissa* must have been built in 1800-10 with building material from a ruined church at Zephyria (Geroussi 1999). The Catholic church of *St. Rosaire* was built a few metres North of *Korfiatissa* in 1823 by Louis Brest, vice consul of France during the reign of King Louis XVIII, with building material from the ruined church of *Agioi Anargyroi* at Zephyria.

The central and oldest part of Plaka (deriving its name from the fact that it is built on flat terrain, *plaka* = flat, slab) has an almost orthogonal plan, slightly elongated at its Southeast corner, with a total of five

Fig. 6.67 Plan of the town of Plaka and Kastro on Melos, indicating the location of studied houses

Fig. 6.68 Plan of the town of Plaka on Melos, indicating surveyed and studied houses

irregularly shaped house blocks (Fig. 6.68). We can also distinguish a central paved street running along this central core from North to South, granting Plaka a Post-Medieval linear appearance. The fact, however, that mostly narrow-fronted houses are built side by side in a Late Medieval defensive fashion, with only a few intervening minor paths separating a long house-ring into different house-blocks, give the settlement a nucleated evolved fortified character. This evolved fortified appearance of Plaka was created without an original planning scheme; the town developed in a dynamic manner, with a cluster of houses built immediately on the South foothills of Kastro and another one in the region known as Plaka. The town overall does not preserve a central open space used as a square or area of public gatherings, apart from a paved yard around the church of *Korfiatissa* on the Western edge of Plaka. Small narrow alleys irregularly formed between house-blocks were possibly used as gathering places for promenade or for evening gossip between neighbours. Plaka developed further and formed the administrative base of the island by the 19th century, with the establishment of a number of satellite villages around and very close to it, when its inhabitants started getting involved in shipping and mining activities. Plaka, having been established as a suburb of Kastro initially, gradually acquired a town-status. It accommodated foreign Consulates, the High-School and the Archaeological Museum of the island (Fig. 6.69).

Fig. 6.69 View of the Archaeological Museum of Melos in Plaka

Housing

The most prevalent domestic type in the Cyclades, the single- or two-roomed two-storey house is not so common in Plaka (Fig. 6.68). The majority of houses are single-storey broad-fronted (with a lesser number of narrow-fronted). The two-storey house, however, has the typical features of the same type of housing from other islands, with the ground floor reserved for auxiliary purposes such as stabling or storage of agricultural produce, and the upper floor as a living apartment. Dimensions vary between single- and two-roomed two-storey houses, from 17.5 to 32 m^2 (Fig. 6.70). The upper floor is always approached from a wooden or stone staircase from the front or one of its sides. When the front part of the single-roomed (or the front room of the two-roomed house) is used as a *sala* for receiving visitors, the balcony on the frontage is more finely constructed.

Fig. 6.70 View of a broad-fronted two-storey house in Plaka, Melos

The commonest house-type in Plaka remains the single-storey broad-fronted house (always flat-roofed), functioning at the same time as the nucleus around which more rooms were added depending on land or space availability and family needs. The width of the single-storey broad-fronted house was also dependent on the length and availability of wooden beams, used for the covering of the flat roof; the size of the broad-fronted single-roomed house ranged between 18 and 32 m^2. The division of family internal space was notional, with household activities concentrated within two separate halves; half of the room was re-

served for sleeping and receiving guests and the other half (with a hearth in the corner) for cooking, dining and working (*e.g.* the loom). The entrance is nearly always located halfway along the front long side, entering directly into the main and formal room of the house. There are examples where the construction of a cross-wall (made of plastered-over reeds) in the middle or towards the back end of the house, created separate and more private space, being consequently called a two-roomed house.

A more developed version of the single-storey broad-fronted house, quite common in Plaka, was achieved through the construction of extensions built onto the original structure. This gave a more formal character to the front room, while special activities such as cooking and sleeping were transferred to the additional rooms. Thus, the most common development of the broad-fronted house in Plaka is the house-type with '*sala* and twin rooms' and the 'L-shaped' house. In the case of the type with '*sala* and twin-rooms' the broad-fronted house is extended at the back with the addition of two rooms of equal size, functioning as a kitchen and bedroom. A typical example of this type is the house (no. 41) of the Oikonomou family, now accommodating the Folk Museum of Melos (Fig. 6.71); the house was extended at the back with a separate kitchen and bedroom and with the addition of another two rooms later on. The 'L-shaped' version of the extended broad-fronted type is formed by the addition of a small or long and large room along one of its short sides, usually functioning as a kitchen.

A third type amongst the most dominant in Plaka is the narrow-fronted single- and two-storey house, a version strongly influenced by the Late Medieval housing of the defensive rings in *kastra* of that period. This is a common type found throughout the Aegean from the early Post-Medieval period onwards in rural settlements and newly-established towns. The narrow-fronted single-roomed house of this type has a two- or three-roomed variation with added cells built at the back of the original structures or along one of its long sides.

Fig. 6.71 View of Oikonomou house in Plaka, now the Folk Museum of Melos

Historical context

Plaka must have started developing since the 16th century under the shadow of Kastro, chronologically the first main town of Melos, reaching its present form and complex street-network by the beginning and middle 19th century. It has been the prime settlement and retains a *Chora*-status since the beginning of the Early Modern period. That was the time when population increased, a number of formal public buildings were established within its borders and this Kastro suburb started to function as an administrative and economic centre, with the provision of labour-force for agriculture, mining and piloting. The role of piloting is particularly important for the second re-growth of Kastro (after the gradual decline of Zephyria) and the establishment of Plaka. The provision of pilots remained significant to the middle of the 19th century, while shipping developed as a result of the War of Independence and must have continued during the War of Crimea. The houses that were constructed in Plaka from the early 19th century onwards are amongst the most fine and well-built of the town. These houses belonged to the emerging middle class of merchants and pilots who decided to 'turn their back' on the once 'aristocratic' but old and compact Kastro for another more spacious site.

Wagstaff and Cherry (1982, 149) have concluded that the Crispi coat-of-arms on several buildings in town and the Renaissance-style details on a number

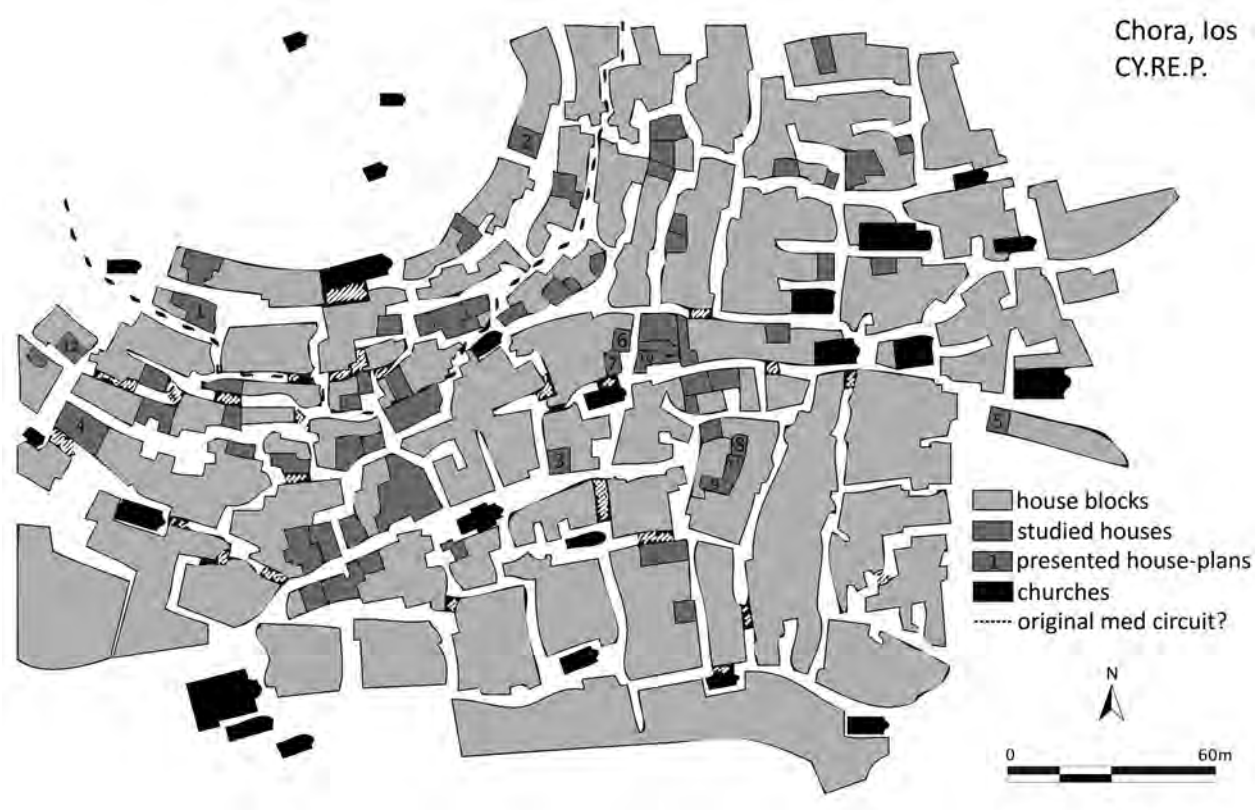


Fig. 6.72 Plan of Chora, the town of Ios

of others suggest that Plaka started to grow in the 16th century. Further development took place in the middle 18th century (following the fate of Zephyria), reaching its peak in the second half of the 19th century. The general relocation of people from inside the island during the 18th century and the immigration of others from outside a century later have changed the settlement map of Melos. Thus, a new settlement pattern developed during the Late Ottoman period, with many small dispersed villages on the Eastern half of the island. Communication between them was easy and did not take more than a half-hour, strengthening the ties between inhabitants of different settlements.

6.3.2 Chora, Ios

Layout

Chora was the main Late Medieval town on the island of Ios, possibly built by Marco Crispo at the beginning of the 15th century on the summit of the hill, where the present-day town lies (Fig. 6.72), overlooking its fine harbour on the West of the island. Ios was assigned to Marco by his brother Giovanni II Crispo (1418-1437), twelfth Duke of the Duchy of the Archipelago. It has been argued (Hasluck 1910-11; Slot 1982, 32-3; Hetherington 2001, 120) that Marco invited Albanians to repopulate the island (and probably also later, in 1579); according to Tournefort (1718) they were needed to cultivate the land 'which wanted nothing but hands to improve the natural fertility of the soil'. A small keep was built on the hill's summit in the early 13th century (such as Paroikia on Paros, Chora on Amorgos and Exobourgo on Tinos), and was expanded to form a 'burgh' by Marco Crispo at the beginning of the 15th century. There are only very few original remains of the Medieval town left today; namely, some scattered fragments of its defensive walls and the church of *Panagia Frankklisia* on the North edge of the town on the very summit of Chora. As a result, it is not quite clear what the layout of Late Medieval Chora was. The topography, however, suggests the town must have been of the irregular plan. However, a speculation

has been made as to how far the Late Medieval expansion of the *kastro* went, on the basis of exterior architectural features and the interior arrangement in a row of house-blocks just below the rocky summit of Chora (Figs 6.72 and 6.73). A gate must have existed on the Southwest edge of the town. Limited archaeological traces and remains of the Late Medieval *kastro* of Ios suggest that the site was very similar in plan to Kephalos in Paros.

Fig. 6.73 View of a tower-house on the Northwest edge of the town, possibly forming part of the original Late Medieval *kastro*

The island's population grew during the 17th century and further building activity took place, with the extended town developing amphitheatrically on the ruins of the ancient town of Ios immediately outside the Late Medieval *kastro*, following the hill contours. The present layout of Chora has retained its Post-Medieval character; the town is formed by successive rows of house-blocks that closely follow the hill contours. Building is rather compact, leaving nearly no central public spaces within the town. Narrow winding streets between two-storey houses form the basic means of communicating through the town. Meanwhile, a number of churches, exceeding 20 in number (most of them Post-Medieval in date and contemporary to neighbouring house-blocks) within the compact network of buildings were used as public focal points and places of reference and orientation. Bent (1885) who visited the island in 1884 noted the 'Medieval' practice of Ios and other island towns of the time to keep pigs within Chora (although a sumptuary law had limited each householder to the maintenance of only one pig). He was also surprised by the great number of churches, some 360 churches, 30 of them within the town and the rest dotted over the island. Like Plaka on the island of Melos, Chora is a Post-Medieval undefended town that developed in a dynamic manner; different neighbourhoods formed by two or three building-blocks, especially to the South and East, were usually founded by a large family group at different periods.

Housing

The development of the Late Medieval *kastro* outside its fortification walls and the creation of Chora during the Post-Medieval era in its present form and layout have been the result of better economic conditions, the rise of population and the continuous need for defence and security. Original domestic structures and later additions of auxiliary buildings controlled the direction of the town's expansion, creating at the same time a network of narrow streets, stepped paths or *stegadia* running vertically to the contours, and roofed passageways between buildings facing each other.

Chora preserves a blending of many different house-types, originating from the Late Medieval single-unit narrow- and broad-fronted house. All houses are flat-roofed and most of them retained the tradition of the two-storey building with separate functions between the ground- and first-floor, due to the dense nature of the town. One of the common types is the broad-fronted or square two-storey house with later additions along its back or at one of its short sides. Thus, there is always a linear development of extensions added onto the original cell. More specifically, a common practice was the construction of auxiliary areas at both short sides of the central formal room, giving the house an elongated layout. This development gave the house a Medieval appearance, with the ground floor used for storage when there was no access to it from the upper floor (Fig. 6.74), or otherwise as a kitchen when there was access to it by means of a staircase from the upper storey (Fig. 6.75). This type developed further towards the Late Ottoman period, when a more complex group of buildings started to be added onto the original structure, resulting in a more 'urban' plan and layout, enriched with external marble decorative features. The

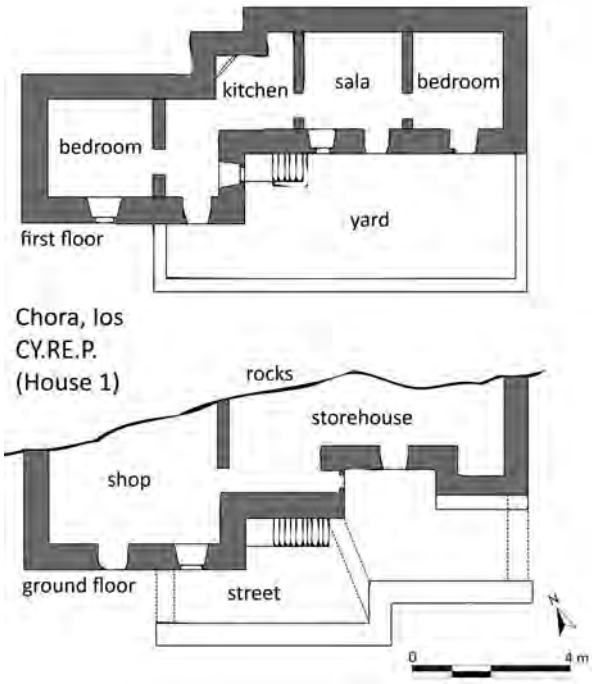


Fig. 6.74 Plan of a two-storey house (No. 1) developed from the broad-fronted type, with no access to the ground floor through the upper storey, Chora-Ios

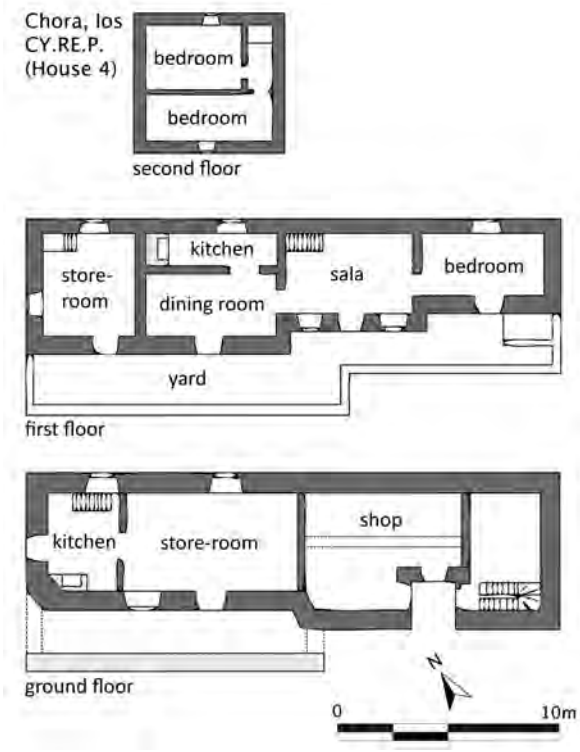


Fig. 6.75 Plan of a three-storey house (No. 4) developed from the broad-fronted type, with access to the ground floor from the upper storey, Chora-Ios

house of Lorenziades family (Fig. 6.72, house no. 3), where the traveller Theodore Bent and his wife were provided hospitality in January 1884, is a good example of this architectural type (Fig. 6.76).

Lorenziades' house is a rather late version of the house with '*sala* and twin-rooms' that was particularly favoured on Ios. Its average dimensions vary between 35 and 60 m^2, with the front room used as a reception room and a pair of twin-rooms at the rear, or on one or both sides, mainly used for cooking and sleeping. The origin of this house-type could also be sought in the 'arched' types, where a broad-fronted single-roomed house is divided by a central arch parallel to the long sides of the building supporting its roof. An early version of the form with '*sala* and twin-rooms' is an irregular division of interior space with two rooms at the rear wall or one at the back and another at the side (Fig. 6.77). A much later version of the same house-type developing during the Late Ottoman and Early Modern periods, has a carefully arranged layout of twin-rooms on both short sides as well as a smaller little room at the rear (Fig. 6.78).

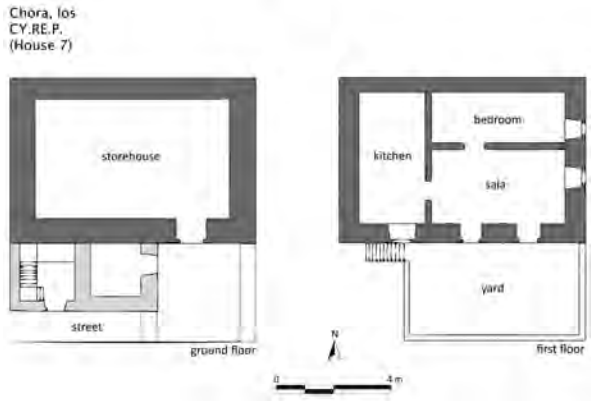


Fig. 6.77 Plan of an early version of the house with '*sala* and twin-rooms' (No. 7), Chora, Ios

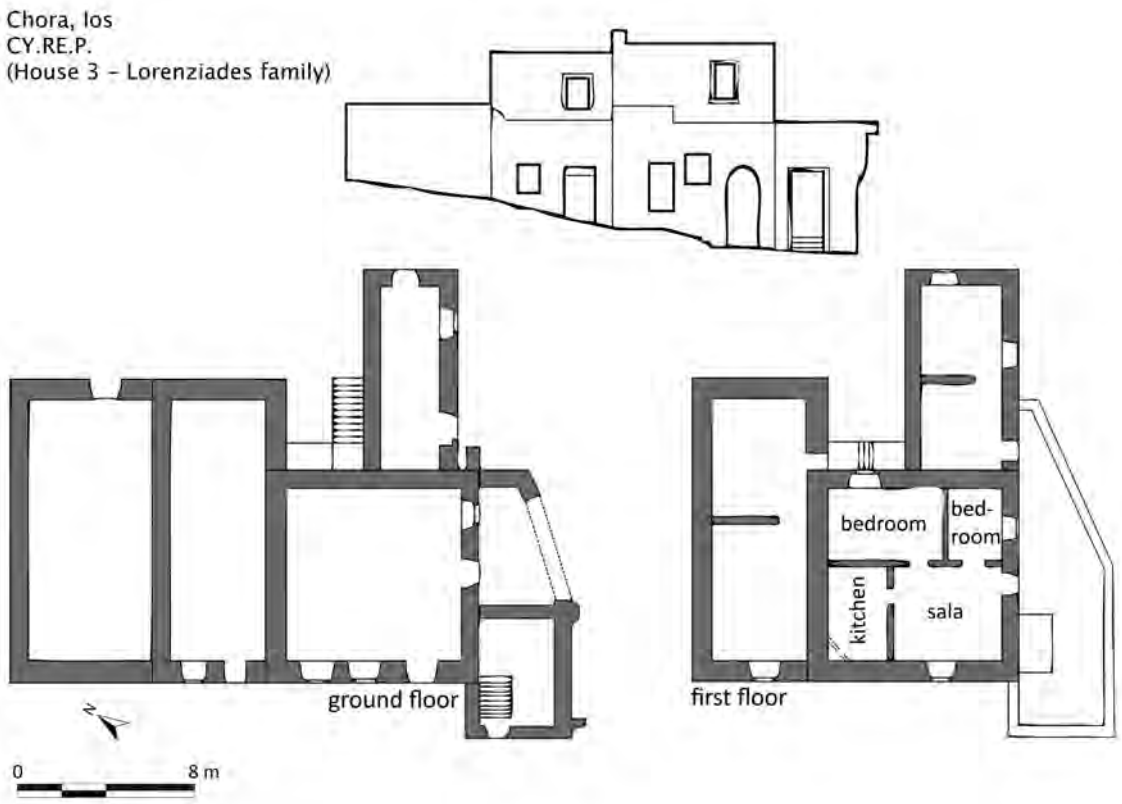


Fig. 6.76 Plan of the house (No. 3) of the Lorenziades family, Chora-Ios

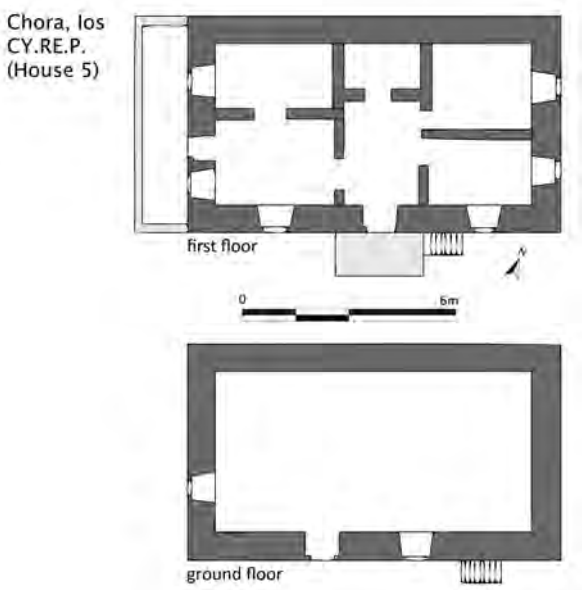


Fig. 6.78 Plan of a late version of the house with '*sala* and twin-rooms' (No. 5), Chora, Ios

A simpler version of the extended single-room broad-fronted house was developed during the early years of Ottoman domination, but continued in use throughout the Post-Medieval era, comprising a form of town housing owned by the lower strata of Ios society. It is mainly found at the edge of the old (Pre-Modern) town, having an L-shaped layout, with an extra little room serving as a kitchen at the end of the facade, forming at the same time a roofless space used as a courtyard or as a veranda (Figs 6.79 and 6.80). The interior space is divided into two with a light wall, providing a more private space for sleeping.

The narrow-fronted house is the second most common type in Chora, found at all periods and at various forms, both single- and two-storey. The single-roomed single-storey house must have been quite common since the Late Medieval period, continuing during the Post-Medieval and Early Modern periods in rural settlements. A late version of this type (Late Ottoman – Early Modern) is found at the fringes of

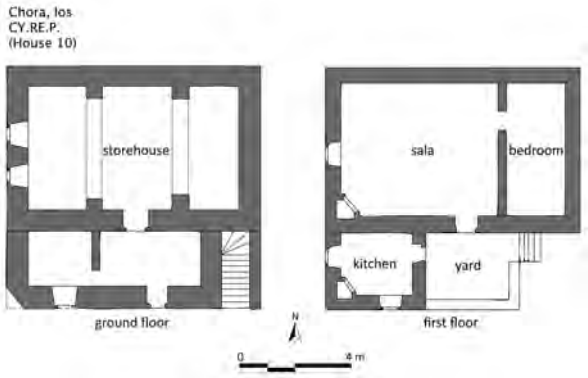


Fig. 6.79 Plan of an extended L-shaped type of the broad-fronted house (No. 10), Chora, Ios

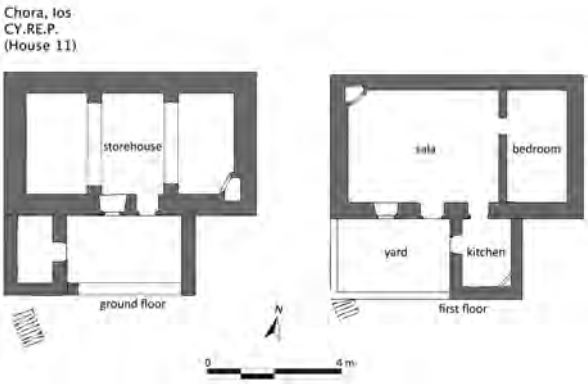


Fig. 6.80 Plan of an extended L-shaped type of the broad-fronted house (No. 11), Chora, Ios

the town, as well as below the summit of the hill, possibly built on top of Late Medieval remains. Its average size does not exceed 25 m^2. It is composed of a single room used as a living-room, bedroom and kitchen (Fig. 6.81), while a more developed form of this type has an added building, used separately as a kitchen on a corner of the facade (Fig. 6.82).

A more complex form of the narrow-fronted house is encountered in its two-storey version in towns that developed during the early Post-Medieval period. Their size initially reached 22-25 m^2, with the single-room divided by a light wall and creating a separate room at the rear of the house used as a bedroom (Fig. 6.83). The single-unit narrow-fronted house in Chora developed further during the Post-Medieval period, when a small room (used as a kitchen) was added onto a corner of its facade (Fig. 6.84). It reached its final version during the same period,

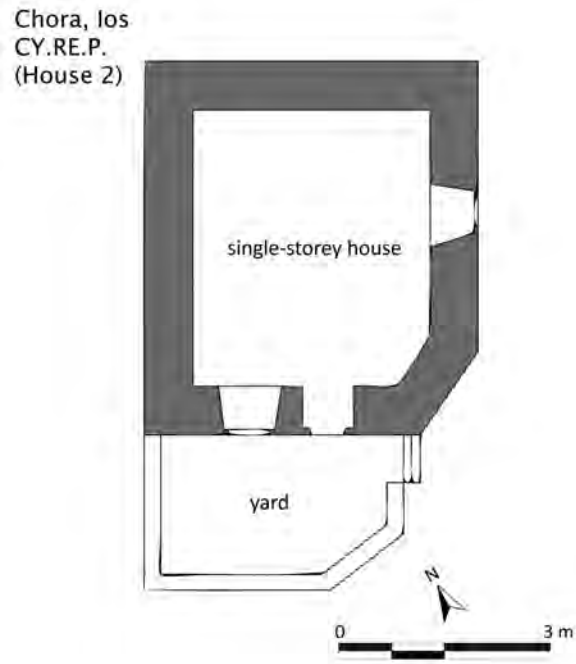


Fig. 6.81 Plan of a single-storey single-roomed house (No. 2), Chora, Ios

Fig. 6.82 Plan of an L-shaped version of the single-storey single-roomed house (No. 12), Chora, Ios

when its rear was divided into two equal rooms, taking the form of the house with '*sala* and twin-rooms' (Fig. 6.85). The ground floor continued in use as a storehouse with some additional auxiliary facilities, such as a kitchen, a cistern, and toilet.

Historical context

As can be concluded from above, there are four historical developmental phases in the plan and layout of Chora, the main town of the island. A first establishment, such as a keep or tower, must have been made on the hill's summit in the 13th century, after the incorporation of Ios in the Duchy of Naxos. A typical Late Medieval *kastro* was established below and around the original keep by Marco Crispo in the early 15th century. The town started to shape into its present layout and form in rows of building blocks following the hill contours from the late 16th century onwards, when a number of Albanians were invited to repopulate the island. Another and final intense and planned building activity took place in the early 19th century through refugees from Crete and Chios around the district with the mills, at the Southeast edge of Chora, as well as after the War of Independence.

Accounts by foreign travellers who visited Ios during the Ottoman period put great emphasis on the frequent presence of corsairs on the island and in its harbour; the place was also referred to as 'Little Malta' because of the intense pirate presence on and around the island. Travellers also praise the natural fine harbour of the island, while Tournefort (1718) found the town quite populous and prosperous in the early 18th century. It is also true that travellers' accounts different in time show a gradual growth of the island's population. Thus, this population growth and relative prosperity must have boosted the development of the town. It would not be an exaggeration to argue that on the island of Ios the inhabitants must have taken advantage of their fine harbour and the frequent visits of pirates, who used it as a revictualling station and place where they traded their booty. Bent (1885) and his wife, who visited the island in 1884, were given hospitality by the family of Lorenziades, a wealthy family of Ios which owned a house in Chora. The daughters of that family felt very proud of showing their dowries off to the English travellers; their little 'wedding property' composed of

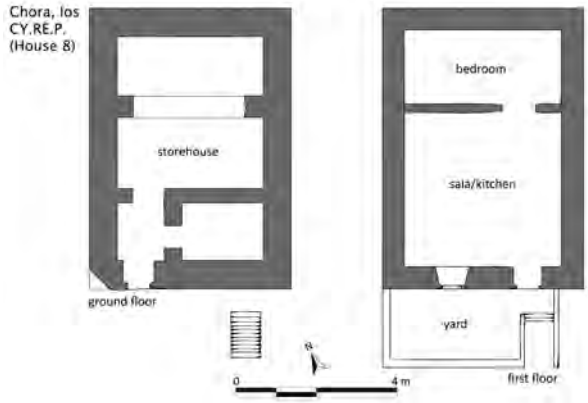


Fig. 6.83 Plan of an early version of the Post-Medieval narrow-fronted two-storey house (No. 8) with a light dividing wall, Chora, Ios

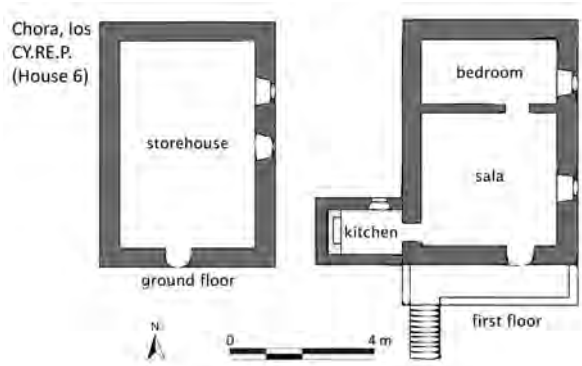


Fig. 6.84 Plan of a Post-Medieval narrow-fronted two-storey house (No. 6) with added room used as a kitchen, Chora, Ios

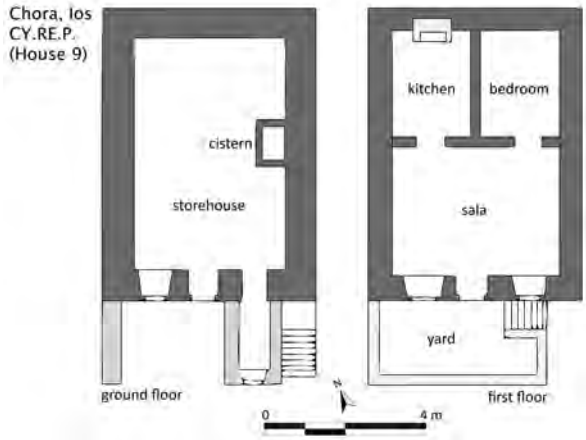


Fig. 6.85 Plan of a developed version of the Post-Medieval narrow-fronted two-storey house (No. 9) or house with '*sala* and twin-rooms', Chora, Ios

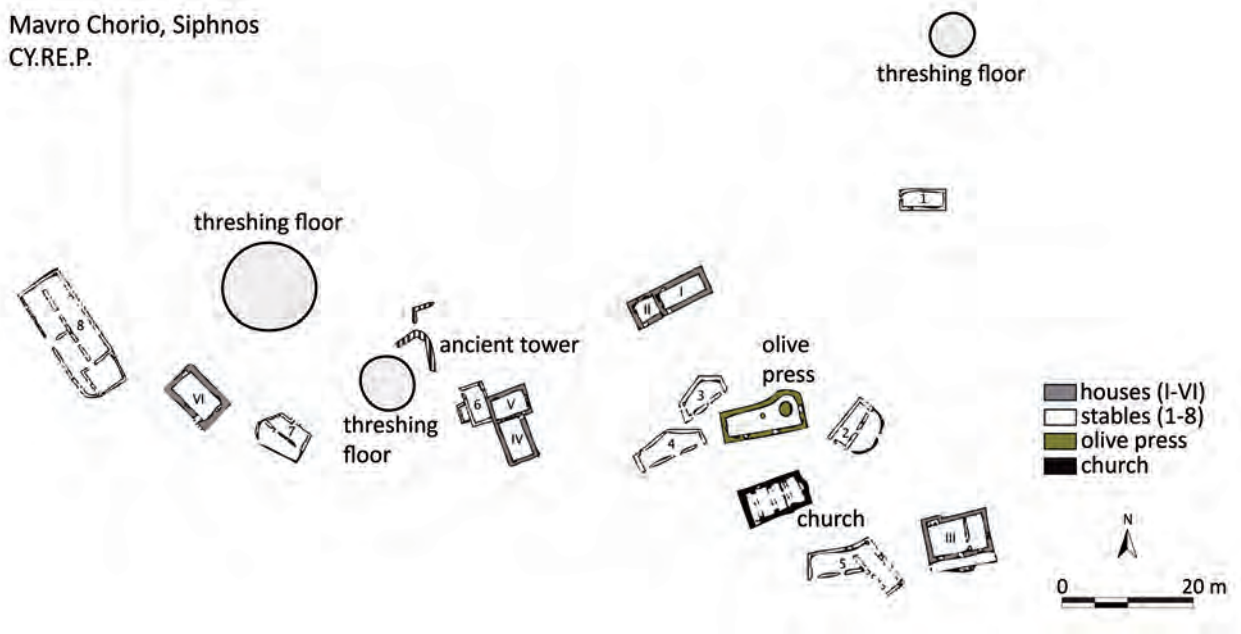


Fig. 6.86 Plan of the deserted hamlet of Mavro Chorio on Siphnos

precious items, such as jewellery, textiles and costly garments, metal-ware, imported porcelain and Venetian furniture.

6.4 POST-MEDIEVAL HAMLETS

6.4.1 Mavro Chorio, Siphnos

Layout

The remains of the deserted hamlet of Mavro Chorio (*i.e.* Black Village) are located on the Southwest side of the island (Fig. 6.1), on a hill-slope, 2 km North of the bay of Vathi. Access to the site is particularly difficult. There is only a single footpath (approximately 4.5 km long) leading to Mavro Chorio from the place of Kades (on the main road half-way between the village of Katavati and the bay of Platy Gialos). The site is not easily visible from the interior of the island, as it lies to the West of the high mountain of Prophitis Elias, which divides the island into two. Mavro Chorio has spectacular views to the West over the sea, while it lies on a hill rising 250 m above sea level between the bays of Chochlakoi (to the Southwest) and Vlychadas (to the Northwest). The area around Mavro Chorio, although very hilly, is fertile, still intensively cultivated and rich in water sources; a spring with drinking water is located a few metres Southeast of the site.

The remains of six houses, an olive-press, eight stables and storerooms, three threshing floors, and the remains of a Classical-Hellenistic watchtower were identified and topographically recorded at Mavro Chorio (Fig. 6.86). The whitewashed chapel dedicated to *Agios Polykarpos* (Fig. 6.87) located in the Southeast part of the site must have been built in the 17th or 18th century. According to a shepherd still occupying house III, the chapel used to preserve a dated stone above its entrance before its renovation in the middle 20th century.

There is nothing really special about the layout and building arrangement of Mavro Chorio. The houses, all of them single-roomed and single-storey, are scattered throughout the site (1.5 ha) parallel to the ground contours. Three threshing floors (one of them on the Northeast edge of the site has been recently restored) are located in empty space around them, where there is easy flow of wind for practical purposes. There is no central or focal point within the hamlet, apart from the church located on the Southeast edge of the site and a ruined olive-press (Fig. 6.88) a few metres to the North of the church

Fig. 6.87 View of the church of *Agios Polykarpos* at Mavro Chorio, Siphnos

Fig. 6.88 View of the Eastern part of the olive-press building at Mavro Chorio

Fig. 6.89 View of stable 3 at Mavro Chorio

Fig. 6.90 The remains of the ancient tower at Mavro Chorio

(Fig. 6.86). It is a single-roomed building of 45 m^2 in overall size, with its entrance and a window located on the South wall, as well as a second window and a hearth on the Eastern wall. Two mill-stones of 1.5 and 1 m still lie in-situ (Fig. 6.88). The stables (Fig. 6.89) are very basic stone structures also scattered at different areas within the settlement, although each one must be associated with its closely neighbouring house. All of them are roofed and have a stone enclosure on one of their long sides. All stables have stone-built troughs or *mantzadoures* for feeding animals. The remains of a Classical-Hellenistic tower (Fig. 6.90), built with good stone-masonry are located on the highest point of Mavro Chorio, preserved up to 1.2 metres in height, next to one of the old threshing floors.

Housing

Mavro Chorio consists of six single-roomed houses founded around the late 16th or early 17th century as a permanent agricultural establishment with a maximum of six households, at least during the last phase of occupation. The existence of threshing-floors, stables and an olive-press testify to the involvement of its inhabitants in agriculture and stockbreeding. The site was abandoned towards the middle-late 19th century, since the houses are preserved in a rather good condition, some of them with their roofs still in place.

All the structures at Mavro Chorio follow the direction of the contours and most of them have a North-East to South-West alignment (Fig. 6.91). They are flat-roofed single-roomed and single-storey buildings, constructed with local schist-stone, whilst mortar has been used only occasionally; large and flat stone-slabs supported by wooden beams form their roofs.

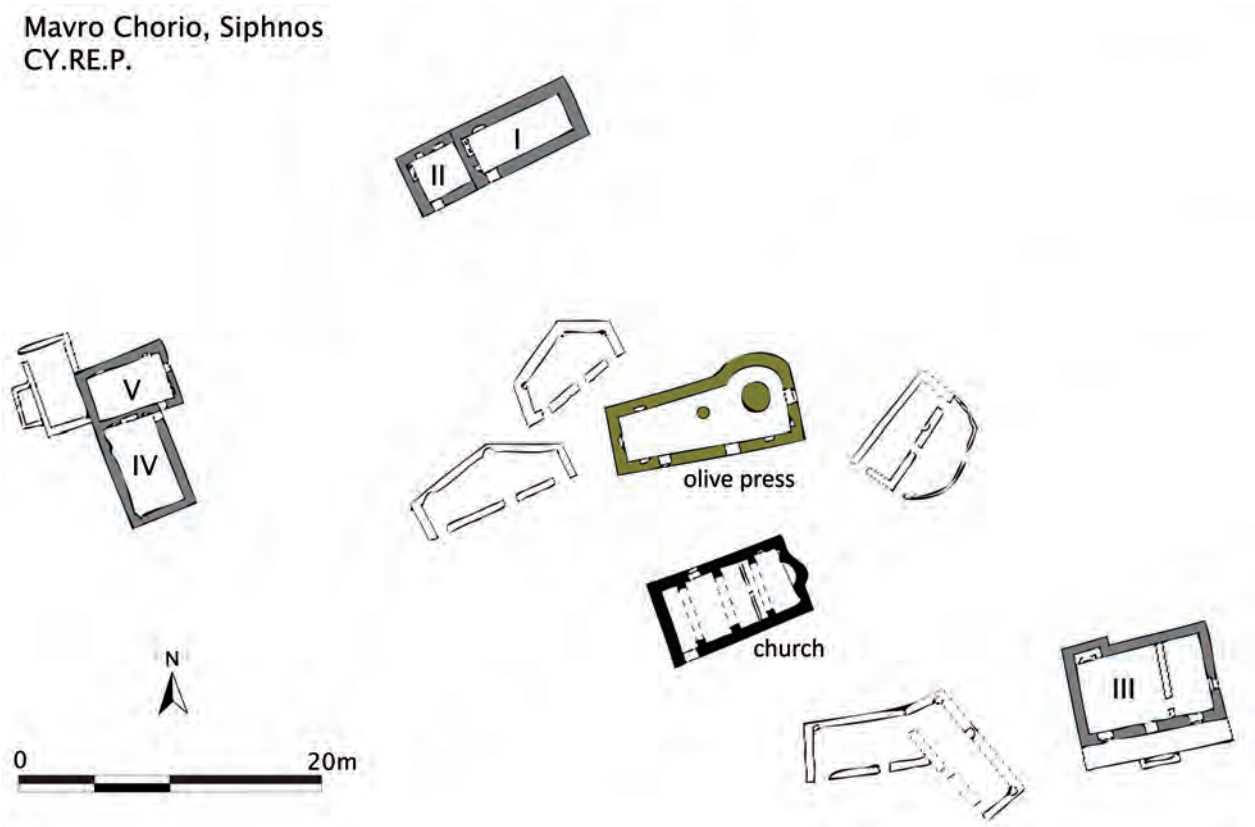


Fig. 6.91 Plan of the central portion of the deserted hamlet of Mavro Chorio

Fig. 6.92 View of house VI at Mavro Chorio

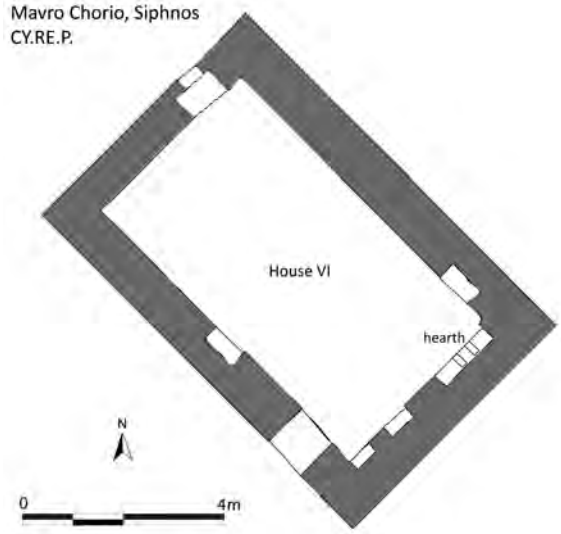


Fig. 6.93 Plan of house VI at Mavro Chorio

The size of the smallest house is about 10 m^2 (house II) and the largest 38.5 m^2 (house III). House III was renovated in the middle 20th century and an internal dividing wall provides separate space for the bedroom. Houses III and VI (Fig. 6.92) are single cells located on the Southeast and Northwest edges of the site respectively. Houses I and II, IV and V form twin-structures (Fig. 6.91), possibly belonging to

two related families. Doorways are located on the long side facing Southeast and Southwest, apart from house IV where the door is placed on the Northeast side. Generally speaking doorways never face north deliberately, because of the strong Aegean winds throughout the year; doors or other openings facing South is a general trend throughout Greece for winter sunshine and light. What is most surprising, however, are the small dimensions of doorways in the houses of Mavro Chorio; the walls do not exceed 2.2 m in height, 0.8 m in thickness, while the door is no higher than 1.2 m and door openings reach no more than 1.2-1.5 m. There are no other openings (apart from that of the doorway), with the exception of houses III and VI (Fig. 6.93), which have a small window each. All the houses have a hearth at floor level (Fig. 6.94) against the corner of the short walls, apart from house IV (preserving a hearth at the centre of the wall), with the chimney emerging through the roof. Niches are also very common in the houses, most of them located on either side of the hearth and used as storage niches. A small cistern for collecting water (1.2x2.8 m) is built against the Southwest wall of the stable adjacent to house V. Built features, such as a hearth and niches suggest semi-permanent or at least seasonal occupation, most likely during harvest seasons. What is most surprising, however, is the short height of the domestic structures.

Historical context

Although no surface ceramic collection was carried out, a study of pottery fragments on the site suggests that there was certainly occupation at Mavro Chorio during the Post-Medieval period. However, the existence of a church dated to the 17th century might suggest an early date for the site. The surface potsherds mainly come from rather large unglazed vessels used for storage (*i.e.* pithoi, jars). There was also a small number of glazed table-wares with painted and incised decoration (from bowls and dishes), dated to the period between the 1600s and the early 19th century. It should also be noted that there are foundations of earlier buildings most possibly of pre-Roman date at Mavro Chorio. Building material from the tower and other ancient buildings was used for the construction of houses and stables at Mavro Chorio.

Fig. 6.94 View of the interior of house I with its hearth and niches

Mavro Chorio must have been primarily occupied by a group of farmers and stockbreeders during the 17th, 18th and early 19th centuries (chronology provided on the basis of the church-construction and preliminary surface pottery dating). The only inhabitant of Mavro Chorio nowadays informed us that the site was already deserted during the time of his grandfather, born in the 1880s. The presence of a number of stables and storehouses, as well as an olive-press and three threshing floors points to the agricultural character of the site. Foreign travellers provide no direct evidence relating to the existence of Mavro Chorio and its inhabitants. The British traveller Wheler (1682), however, who visited the island in the second half of the 17th century mentions that Siphnos had ten villages and was famous for its excellent wine and beautiful women. Tournefort (1718) on the other hand, who visited the island around 1700, mentions that there were five villages on this island, which was one of the most fertile in the Cyclades, also popular for its good wine, fruits and wild fowl.

Although population figures by travellers are not always reliable, it seems that the numbers provided by trustworthy sources show a gradual and slight population increase from the later 16th to the middle of the 18th century. Siphnos contained sufficient numbers of population to explain the colonisation of smaller neighbouring islands, such as Kimolos, Sikinos and Pholegandros, in the late 16th and early 17th centuries (Komis 1999; Slot 2001). Indeed, according to the 1670 *tahrir defter*, Siphnos was a well-popu-

lated island, with an average number of 18 people per km^2; apart from the population increase noted for the period between 1570 and 1670, the approximate tax load paid per household doubled within a century. Thus, it is highly possible that Siphnos not only provided a considerable human force to colonise neighbouring islands in the late 16th and early 17th centuries; it also invested in colonising parts of the island itself, establishing a network of large villages, such as Artemonas, Apollonia (or Stavri) and others. Moreover, it seems that small family-groups of peasants founded a few permanent or seasonal 'pastoral' hamlets such as Mavro Chorio. Local population cycles of this period on Siphnos could not have been the only important factor for the establishment of Mavro Chorio. Another reason behind this colonising process of uninhabited Cycladic islands and remote areas of inhabited ones seems to be related to agricultural intensification, when grain prices in countries such as Italy and Spain were notably high during the late 16th and early 17th centuries. Ottoman presence in this area of the Aegean was not so intense, and islanders could sell their products to European vessels relatively easier (Slot 2001, 60). What is most important about Mavro Chorio however, is the fact that it provides evidence for a more dispersed settlement pattern in the Cyclades well before the period following the Greek War of Independence, even if the site was occupied seasonally. Local tradition wants Mavro Chorio to have been destroyed by pirates; it could have been so, considering the fact that piracy prevailed in the Aegean till the middle 19th century.

6.4.2 Ismaili, Tinos

Layout

The deserted hamlet of Ismaili is located on the Northwest tip of Tinos, being indeed the most Northerly village of the island (Fig. 6.1). It is built a few metres below the summit of a hill rising 260 m above sea level, spreading over its Southern slopes and making itself invisible from the sea and the straits between Tinos and Andros (Fig. 6.95). Tinos is one of the most mountainous islands in the Cyclades; a countless number of dry-stone walls were built on most mountainsides in order to hold the soil back, creating small terraced fields arranged in a step-like manner. The inhabitants of Ismaili were dependent on these cultivable terraced fields in the vicinity as well as on neighbouring little valleys between hills and mountains, a strategy still practised by farmers today. Its neighbouring village of Mamados is located on a directly opposite hill, 400 m to the East. Mamados is still inhabited, although very few people are now living there on a permanent basis; our interviewees (some of them originating from Ismaili) informed us that the last inhabited house on the site was abandoned in the 1950s. Some of its better-preserved houses are nowadays used for storage and stabling. The village is also known as Smail and Smaili.

Fig. 6.95 View of the deserted village of Ismaili on Tinos from the South, with Andros in the background

Ismaili constitutes a particularly interesting example of a Post-Medieval undefended village layout. Twenty-five houses, three dovecotes, seven threshing floors, two churches, eighteen stable- and storehouse-complexes, an open-air winepress and two auxiliary buildings were identified at the site (Fig. 6.96). No surface pottery was collected, however, as visibility and pottery preservation were very poor. Every single structure on the site was recorded and planned, giving us a complete picture of the entire deserted village and its layout at the final phase of habitation. The settlement layout follows a linear arrangement, where the houses are built next to each other in groups, forming a series of building blocks arranged in a long line, stretching out from the Northeast to the Southwest, protected from the strong Northern winds in the area. Most of the building blocks are laid out parallel to the hill contours, while there are a few that are arranged vertically, creating long step-like structures. Two churches of the Late

Fig. 6.96 Plan of the village of Ismaili on Tinos

Ottoman period mark both ends of the village, while a single narrow path runs through Ismaili parallel to the contours. The Southwest edge of the village is marked by a church, to the North of which there lies a group of five threshing floors with a diameter of 4.5-6 m. A group of stable- and storeroom-complexes are located further North, by the very entrance to the village (Fig. 6.97). There follows a line of domestic buildings along the path, moving towards the centre of the settlement; there are single- or two-roomed single-storey houses, built next to each other, forming four building blocks. The Northeast edge of the village similarly consists of a (smaller) number of stables and two threshing floors, located to the South of the second church, marking the other end-boundary of Ismaili; a small cemetery lies to the Northwest of the church. No water cisterns were identified within the settlement; there are springs with fresh water, however, about 100 m to the Southeast, in the ridge between Ismaili and Mamados.

Fig. 6.97 A group of stables and storerooms at the entrance of Ismaili

Ismaili preserves a rather Late Medieval or early Post-Medieval undefended layout, typical and very common on Tinos. Although undefended, the site is not visible from the sea, in a hidden location, not far from other major villages.

Housing

It is very possible that the surviving houses were built over the remains of earlier structures of the Late Medieval and early Post-Medieval periods. The hamlet is marked by the continuous repetition of the flat-roofed 'house with the arch' consisting of one or two rooms with an average size of 30 m^2. A representative single-roomed arched house is no. 19, while house no. 15 is a characteristic arched house with a second room added at the back at a later stage (Fig. 6.98). All the houses are single-storey, with the exception of houses 10 and 14, which preserve a single-roomed upper storey. House 14 is the most finely-built house of Ismaili, with a number of exterior decorative features, such as decorative stone-work on the corners of the roof and a *pagoniera* or schist-slab projecting from the wall outside the window of the upper floor (for placing flower-pots). The ground floor of house 10 was divided into three portions by two arches and was used as a large storehouse or workshop of some kind. Grey schist-stone is exclusively used for the construction of house-walls, joined with mud. A stone-built arch or *volto* in the middle of the room distributed the weight of the flat roof and supported the long-lived wooden beams of *phida*, upon which rested the large stone-slabs and mud that formed the ceiling (Fig. 6.99). Door and window jambs and lintels were made of more finely cut schist-stone or marble (Fig. 6.100). Some of the houses had a small yard before their entrance, with a low bench built against the facade-wall.

The interior space of the single-roomed house is divided into two halves by the supporting arch; the front half was used as a kitchen, dining room and *sala*. The two-roomed house is again divided into three areas; the front part of the arched room is used for cooking, dining and receiving, and the back portion as a bedroom. The room added at the rear functioned either as a storeroom of agricultural produce and other valuables or as a second bedroom or both. Seventeen out of twenty-five houses preserve a hearth at one of the front corners of the arched room (houses 0, 2, 3, 6, 7, 10, 11 and 18 do not seem to have a built hearth). A low fireplace is mostly located to the right of the doorway, used for both cooking and heating (Fig. 6.101). Niches are found in nearly every house, especially on the lower part of the arches and immediately next to the hearth on either wall, and were used as cupboards. More interestingly, a crypt or rectangular storage space dug under the floor was identified in house 5, indicating the need for storing extra valuables (Fig. 6.102).

Fig. 6.98 The domestic area of the deserted village of Ismaili

Fig. 6.99 A collapsed roof supported by an internal stone-built arch in a house at Ismaili

Fig. 6.100 Inscribed marble lintel above the doorway of a house at Ismaili

Extra storage areas have been identified also elsewhere; house 18 preserves a cistern-like structure made of large stone-slabs on the left corner by the doorway (Fig. 6.103). Similar structures are known to have existed on most islands, serving as built-beds, while the area underneath was used for storing grain. An additional structure was also identified in house 18, built against the rear wall of the arched room; it is a wine-press of small dimensions. This allows us conclude that house 18 was turned into a storehouse and working area at a later stage. Five houses (nos. 0, 5, 11, 21 and 24) and a storehouse (built against the Southeast wall of house 1) preserve

Fig. 6.101 Low corner-hearth in a house at Ismaili

Fig. 6.102 Underground storage area in house 5 at Ismaili

Fig. 6.103 Built cistern or bed with storage area in house 18 at Ismaili

Fig. 6.104 The remains of an oven in a house at Ismaili

the remains of ovens (Fig. 6.104). They were obviously used for baking bread and food. We should note that 'house 11' could not be identified as such with certainty. The large dimensions of the oven on the South corner of a square building and the absence of any other kind of built structures might suggest this was a communal oven, before the construction of individual ovens in some of the houses.

There is a roughly equal number of single-roomed and two-roomed single-storey houses at Ismaili, apart from houses 10 and 14, which are two-storey. The addition of an extra room at the back was made at a later stage, with the exception of a few houses, such as house 22, where the building was constructed in its present form from the beginning. The extension of the room was mostly made towards the rear of the arched room, with the exception of houses 7, 9 and 17, where the extension was made sideways. Finally, houses 3 and 20 have added rooms at the back as well as at the side, giving the house an L-shaped appearance; these extensions were made according to family needs at different periods.

Historical context

Since no surface pottery was collected from this site, architectural evidence and written testimony are the sole available data for providing a preliminary dating for the establishment and use of Ismaili. It goes without saying that the structures visible at Ismaili today represent the last phase of occupation on the site, since it is known that the last house was abandoned in the 1950s. There are texts of 1623 and 1652 (Koutelakis 2001, 205, 277-8), which refer to Ismaili as a 'village', indicating that the site must have been founded before the beginning of the 17th century. Architectural evidence does not contradict this information, since there are a lot of other hamlet- and village-sites of the same size and type dated in the final period of Venetian domination on the island, with house-forms identical to surviving examples from Ismaili. The neighbouring village of Mamados is believed to have been founded in the Late Medieval period (mainly because of the word ending in –*ados*). It has also been suggested (Koutelakis 2001, 277-8) that the word for *Mamàdos* probably derives from the name *Mamàis*, which is very commonly found in 16th-century documents from the neighbouring island of Andros. It is true that the Southern tip of Andros is very clearly seen from the Northern coast of Tinos, just a few hundred metres away. In addition, the Northwest region of Tinos, known as *Oxo Meria* with a strong Orthodox community (on a largely Catholic island) retained very close cultural and religious links with Andros.

An interesting linguistic research has been carried out by Koutelakis (2001) also for the root of the word for *Ismaîli*, which may have two derivations. Ismaili, also encountered in documents as *Smail*, may be derived from a family name that is also very common on the island of Rhodes since 1366. It might, however, also derive from the Frankish title of *mailos* (*i.e.* a minor noble). In the second case we would have the village name *Mail* or *Maili* and the suffix *Is-* (from the Greek *eis*, meaning 'to' or 'towards') in the same manner as the Turkish *Is-tan-bul* (meaning 'To the City') for the Byzantine *Constantinople*. If the second case is correct, then the origin of Ismaili should be traced in the first period of Venetian domination in the Cyclades in the 13th-14th centuries.

If indeed the origin of Ismaili is Late Medieval, it is interesting to note that the layout of the settlement has no defensive character whatsoever. It seems, though, that there are two types of Late Medieval undefended villages in Tinos. The commonest type is encountered in the countryside, where villages are built in a 'linear' fashion; houses were built close together in rows, while those in the outer row resembled *teichospita* (built against the interior of defensive walls in *kastra*), with no openings on their outer-back walls. Ismaili belongs to the second settlement-type (of a linear form without 'defensive' characteristics), which together with other villages in the area formed satellite sites around the main or 'great village' of Pyrgos. The inhabitants of Ismaili could flee to Pyrgos or the *kastro* of Exobourgo itself in case of a shortcoming danger. It must have been a rather costly and laborious business to fortify a village, considering that Tinos numbered some 45 villages and probably many hamlets in the early 1700s. Peasants were left free to chose the location of their village (within the boundaries of the feudal territory of their lord) and construct their houses. The choice of the particular site for the foundation of Ismaili was possibly the strategic importance of the locality, a hotspot controlling the straits between Tinos and Andros, where shipwrecks were frequent and their raiding was a profitable practice since the Byzantine period. The Classical tower of Agios Theodoros in the vicinity must have been used at all periods for watching over maritime traffic and informing the inhabitants of neighbouring villages of any incoming en-

emy (Koutelakis 2001). The existence of silver mines in the area between Mamados and Marlas was known to people in the region who must have been involved in a limited extraction either illegally or under the order of their lord.

The surviving structures at Ismaili, however, point to a rather agrarian character of the community that lived there not only during the last phase of occupation in the early-middle 20th century, but also much earlier. Stables and storehouses, an open-air winepress and the large number of threshing floors (considering the size of the village) indicate the role of Ismaili (and other settlements of its type) and point to the intensification of grain-cultivation during the Post-Medieval period. The troubled era for Tinos from the 16th to the early 18th century, with a continuous warfare between the Venetian forces and the Ottomans for possession over the island (and the Aegean in general) made grain a precious good to store within Exobourgo in cases of prolonged raiding. This was most possibly the period when most of the countryside settlements were established in the interior of the island. Like Mavro Chorio on Siphnos, hamlets and villages of the type of Ismaili suggest that the highly nucleated character of the Late Medieval settlement system started to alter in the early Post-Medieval era, with the establishment of permanent and seasonal agrarian sites, pre-dating the farmhouse-complexes of the Early Modern period.

Fig. 6.105 View of Aidonia from the valley of Korthi

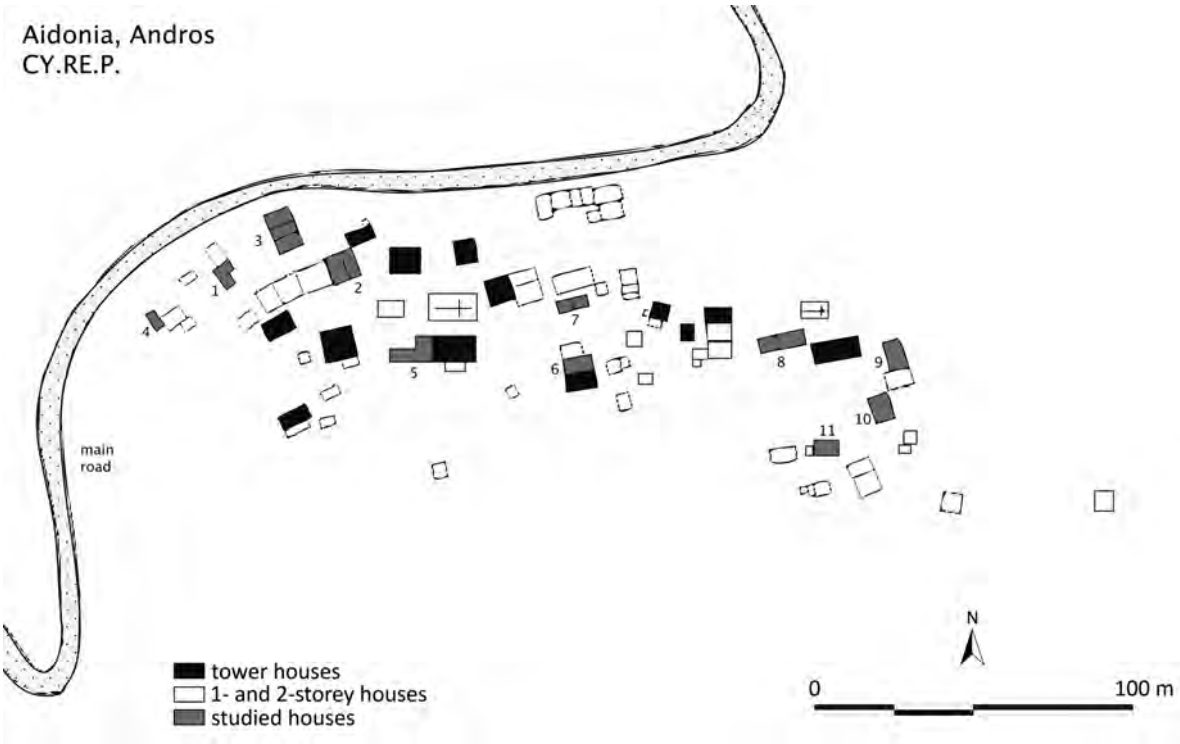


Fig. 6.106 Plan of the settlement of Aidonia on Andros

6.4.3 Aidonia, Andros

Layout

Aidonia is a settlement formed by a dispersed group of houses on the Southeast slopes of the stream valley at Korthi in Southern Andros (Figs 6.1 and 6.105). There are two clusters of houses (the East and the South), which form the settlement of Aidonia (meaning 'Nightingales'), located amphitheatrically, overlooking the valley and bay of Korthi. The whole valley and the surrounding area during the Ottoman period was the property of the Kampanis family, originating from one of the island's Latin feudal families; this is the reason the area is also known as *Kampana*. The group of houses studied by CY.RE.P. (on the South sector) comprises of 13 tower-houses of rectangular plan and ten single- and two-storey houses (Fig. 6.106). Many of the houses at Aidonia have external features and facilities, such as storerooms, dovecotes, stables, ovens, yards, gardens and toilets. It is evident that it was the wealthier inhabitants of the region who owned tower-houses at Aidonia. Foreign travellers of the Ottoman period who visited Andros praised the natural beauty of the place and the comfort and luxury of the tower-houses. The layout of Aidonia could be characterised as 'dispersed', with towers and large houses situated at almost equal distances from each other following the hill contours. The church of *Agia Kyriaki* on the East edge of Aidonia and *Agioi Saranda* close to the West formed the focal point of the settlement on Sundays, at Easter and during local religious festivals.

Housing

The South sector of Aidonia comprises a number of multi-storey tower-houses (or *pyrgospita*) and single- and two-storey broad fronted houses with various subdivisions and extensions, such as the so-called 'Arvanitic' L-shaped house (Fig. 6.106). The long sides of most of the buildings run parallel to the hill contours.

The tower-houses of Aidonia have a rather rural appearance compared to the tower-houses on the island of Naxos, and they must have developed in the area during the 18th and 19th centuries. They are free-standing and square in plan, although some of them tend to be rather broad-fronted, following the tradition of the most favourite house-type on the island. Most of them are two-storey, while there are a few examples with an extra storey added on at a later stage. Their ground floor is always used as an ancillary area, providing space for storage, stabling and in some cases accommodation for servants. The first and second floors were reserved for living rooms and bedrooms; a form of tower-house is found below Aidonia, in the valley of Korthi, where an early *pyrgospito* is dated to the late 17th century (Figs 6.107 and 6.108). Examples of tower-houses with added room(s) on the ground floor and the first storey are found all over the island, even on the Northern part of Andros, where Albanian settlement took place in the 16th century (Fig. 6.109). Access to the tower was always through the first floor by means of a wooden ladder that was drawn up at night. The interior articulation and arrangement of tower-houses form a version of the rural house-type with *sala* and twin-rooms, the most favourite type on the island.

The occurrence of the single-storey narrow-fronted and arched house-types is very restricted on Andros. The most common type at Aidonia and on the island overall is the broad-fronted house with variations and extensions. A simple version of the single-roomed broad-fronted house is house 1 (Fig. 6.110) with a later addition built against one of its long walls. A typical broad-fronted house of larger dimensions is house 2 (Fig. 6.111) from Aidonia, with symmetrically arranged doorway and windows along the facade and a two-room extension at its rear wall, forming a version of the house with *sala* and twin-rooms.

Sometimes an extension to the broad-fronted house is built on the corner of one of the long sides, transforming the layout of the house into an L-shaped structure; this is a type very common in the *Arvanitic* villages of Northern Andros (Fig. 6.112). The houses are one-and-a-half-storey, with the ground floor (with a very short height) used for stabling and storage. House 3 (Fig. 6.113) is the characteristic type of the most developed version of the broad-fronted house. The house was extended at different levels, making use of the topography and the slope, developing in a step-like manner, with rooms being built one next to the other in a linear fashion across the short side of the broad-fronted original cell.

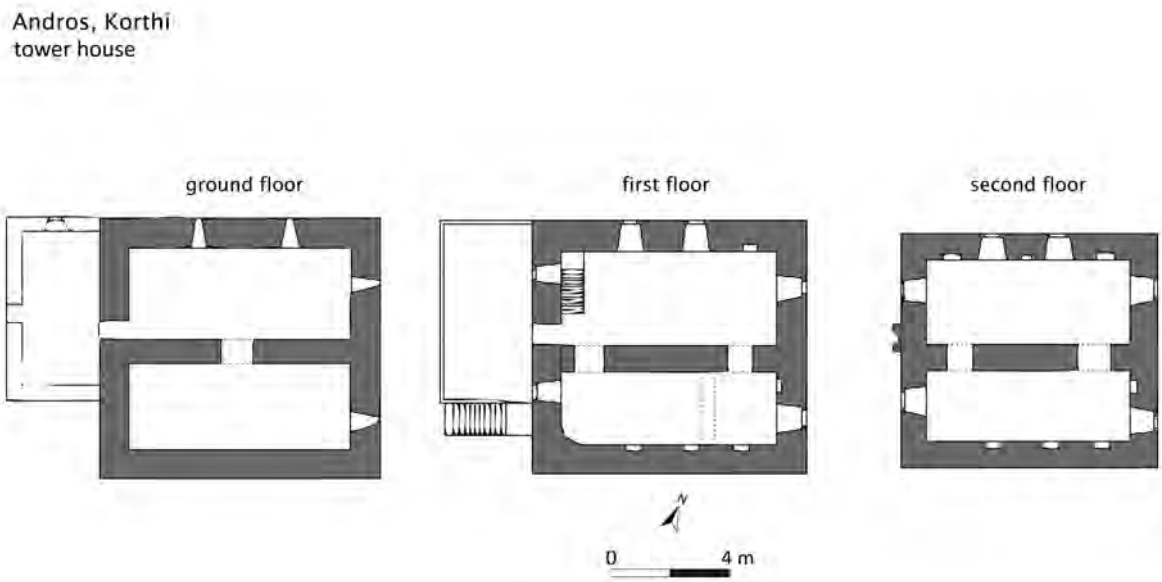


Fig. 6.107 Plan of the tower-house at Korthi, near Aidonia on Andros

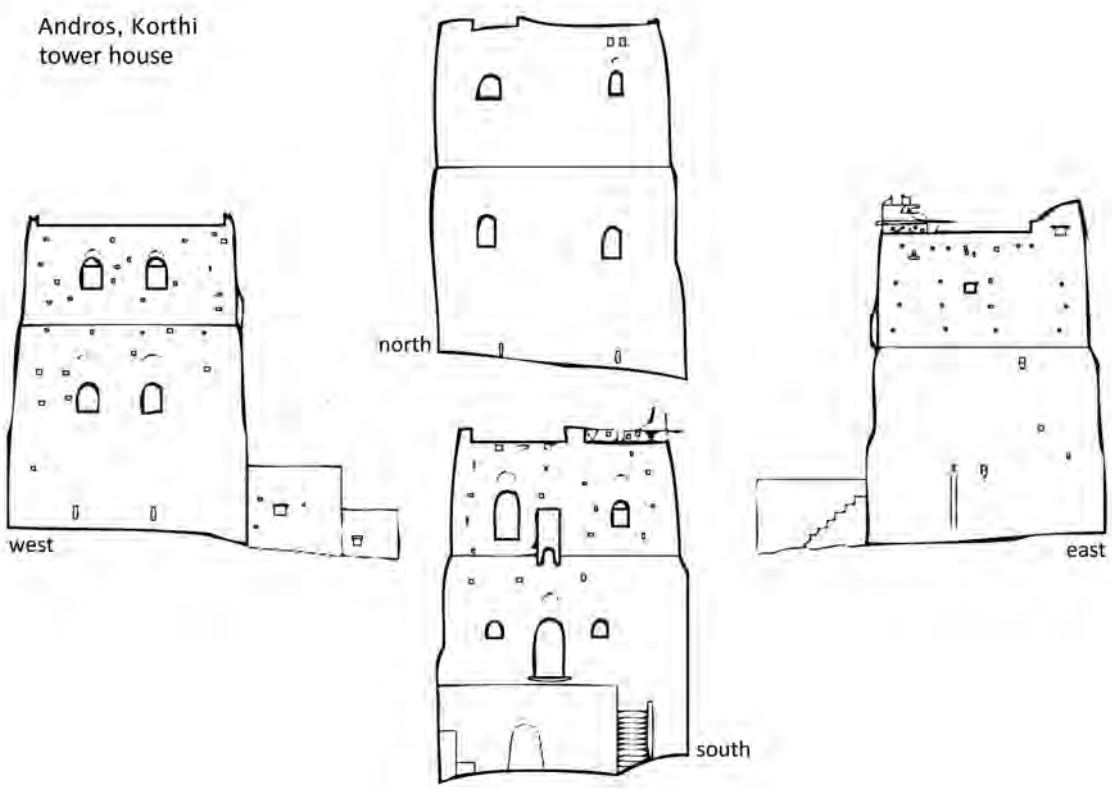


Fig. 6.108 Elevation of the tower-house at Korthi

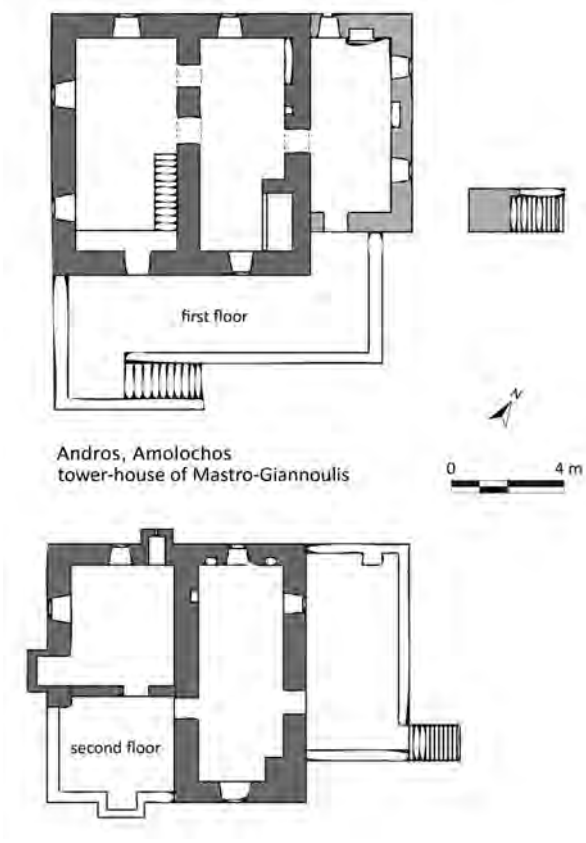


Fig. 6.109 Plan of the tower-house of Mastro-Giannoulis in Amolochos

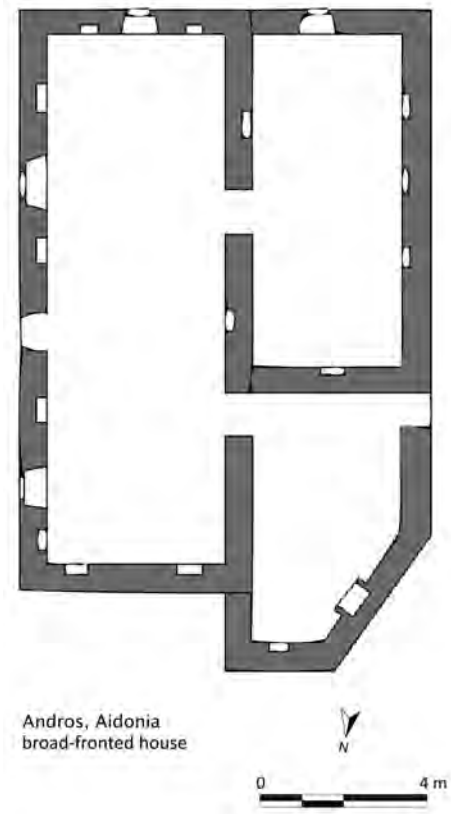


Fig. 6.111 Broad-fronted house (No. 2) with added rooms at the back at Aidonia

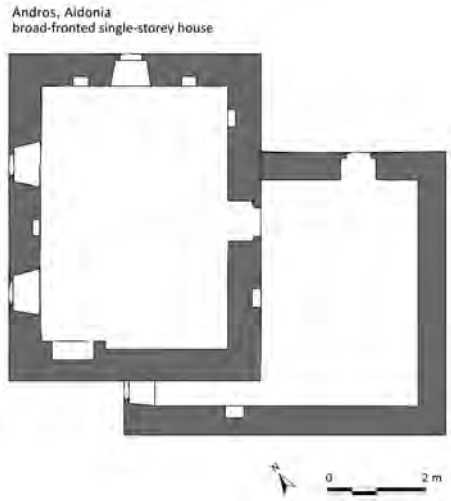


Fig. 6.110 Plan of a broad-fronted single-storey house (No. 1) at Aidonia

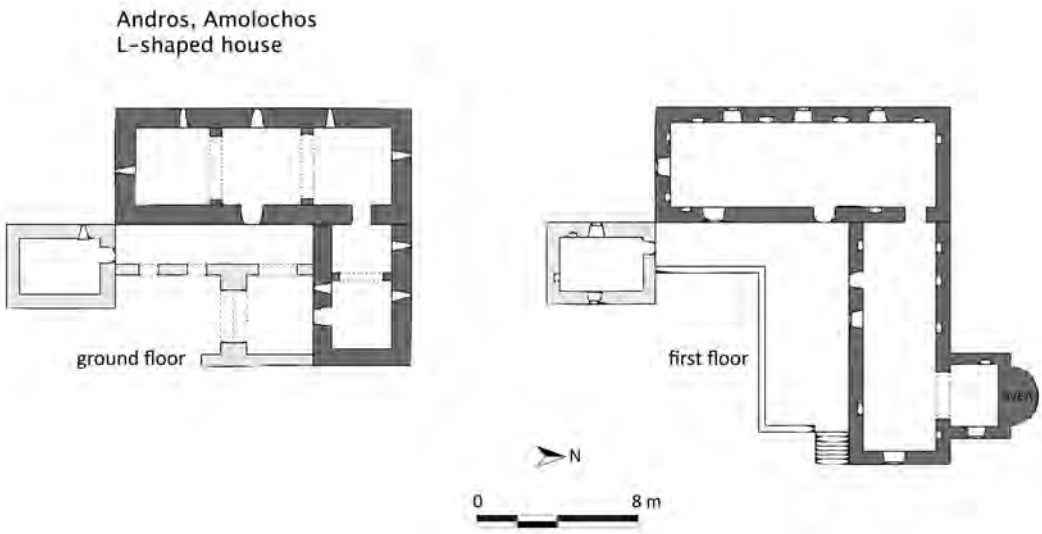


Fig. 6.112 L-shaped version of the broad-fronted house in Amolochos

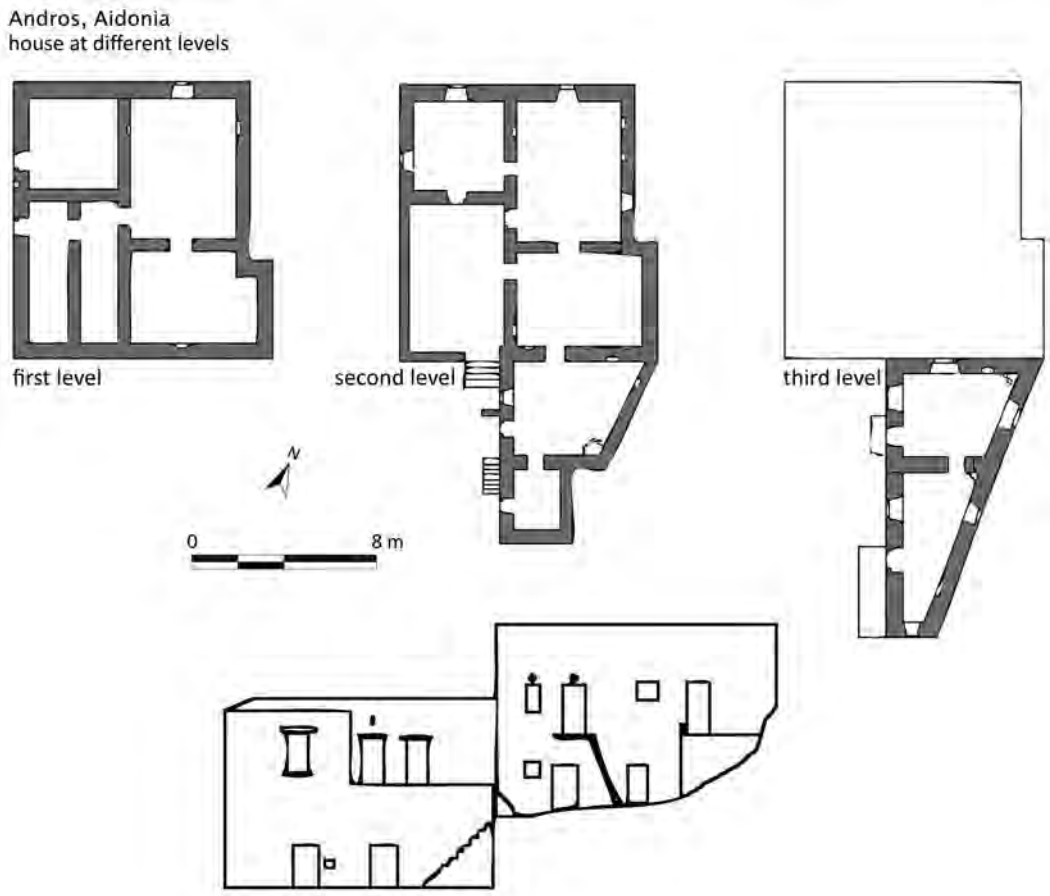


Fig. 6.113 Late form of the broad-fronted house developing at different levels at Aidonia

Historical context

The construction of tower-houses on the island of Andros is chronologically placed in the late 16th century, when the simplest form of *pyrgospito* made its appearance, although there is no reason to exclude the possibility that some of them might be earlier. Although no surface ceramic collection from the settlement of Aidonia and its immediate countryside was possible because of poor visibility and heavy modern disturbance, it is highly possible that the first tower-houses in the region must have been constructed by the 17th century. Tournefort (1718) provides us with an early description of a tower-house at the beginning of the 1700s. Tournefort describes the tower-house once located on a hill overlooking the Late Medieval capital-town of Andros and refers to it as *Tour de l'Agas* (the Aga's tower), mentioning that it is a very old building (Fig. 5.52). It was possibly the same tower that was described by Buondelmonti in his account in the 15th century. A more developed version of tower-houses made its appearance in the early 18th century, continuing in existence to the early 19th, with an additional storey that provided extra bedrooms and in some cases a second hall. Most of these towers served mainly as residences as well as storage areas of agricultural produce by the wealthy elite of Andros during the Ottoman period (descendants of Latin feudal lords), who kept in a sense the feudal system in place until the final decades of the 18th century. These tower-houses were also constructed in response to local upheavals against their owners, as well as in response to external threats. It is noteworthy that the building of such structures became more intense after 1674 and the capture of the main town of Andros by the French pirate Hugues de Creveliers. Their role, however, may have been mainly symbolic in an attempt of their owners to display luxury and power. Similar strategies can be traced on the islands of Naxos and Tinos, where intensive building activity during the 17th and 18th centuries by a wealthy class of aristocrats and Latin descendants aimed at the construction of larger and more elaborate houses and churches.

6.5 SURVEY IN A LATE MEDIEVAL COUNTRYSIDE

6.5.1 Choria Kephalou, Paros

The sites and monuments

The main purpose of the survey in the area of Kato Choria was to identify traces of Late Medieval activity in the countryside that could be related to the Frankish *kastro* on Mount Kephalos during the same period (Fig. 6.1). Surface survey was confined to the West and Southwest of Kephalos in 1999, and in 2001-2002 to the North and South of the present-day settlement of Marpissa, producing a good number of tiny dispersed sites, mainly concentrated around rural chapels dated from the late 13th to the 16th centuries. This large fertile valley along the East coast of the island is an area also referred to as *Kambos Kephalou* in documents of the Ottoman period. The sites presented below bear the codes 30-46 (Fig. 6.114).

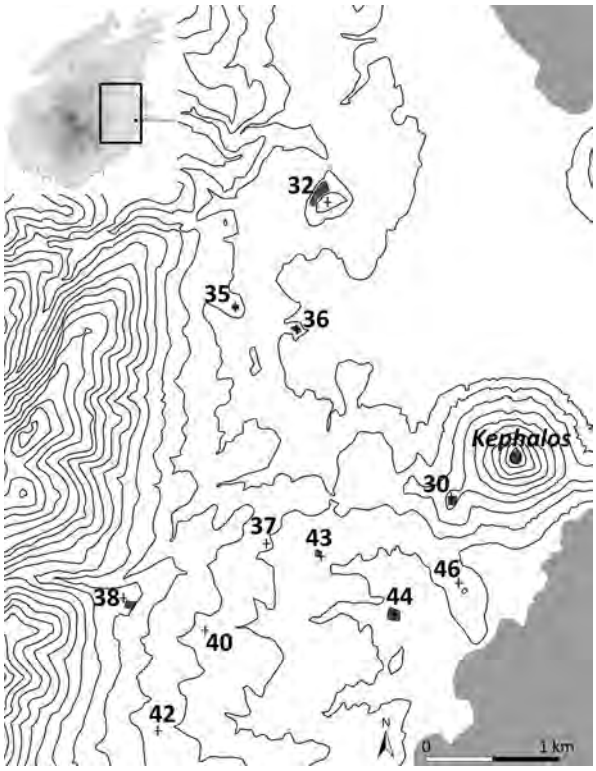


Fig. 6.114 Map of the area of extensive survey in Eastern Paros showing recorded Late Medieval sites and rural chapels

Surface pottery densities were counted in order to define the core and size of the sites, but only grab samples were collected. A sample of the pottery collected from the sites of Choria Kephalou is presented in Chapter 8.

Fig. 6.115 View of site 30 from the air

Fig. 6.116 The remains of the church of *Panagia Flouria* at site 30

Site 30: *Panagia Flouria*. The site is located on a low hill, 300 m. East of the village of Marpissa (Fig. 6.115), occupying an area of 1 ha to the East and South of a ruined church dedicated to Virgin Mary. Surface ceramics suggest this was a large hamlet-site of the late 13th-16th centuries. The ruined church of *Panagia* has been noted in the past by Orlandos (1961) and Dimitrokallis (1998), who assign it a Late Frankish date, probably in the 15th century. It is a barrel-vaulted single-aisled church (Fig. 6.116), the

Fig. 6.117 The Gothic arch above the altar of *Panagia Flouria* at site 30

East side of which ends in two apses. The larger apse (located closer to the North wall) projects about 2.1 m outside of the East wall in a square form. The inside of this apse preserves a spectacular gothic pointed arch built with *tufa* (possibly imported from Melos) above the altar (Fig. 6.117). A second apse is located on the East side (closer to the South wall) with a regular semi-circular arch above an altar of smaller dimensions. This occurrence of two altars in a single church has led some scholars (Orlandos 1961, 137) to conclude that chapels of this type functioned for religious ceremonies of both the Catholic and Orthodox rites. *Panagia Flouria* was a hamlet-site of the Frankish era in Paros (dependent on the *kastro* of Kephalos). It was in use from the late 13th century (when the first circuit wall of Kephalos was also built) to the early 16th (before the conquest of the island by the Ottomans).

Site 32: *Prophitis Elias*. The site is located on the slopes of a low hill (Fig. 6.118), 1 km North of the villages of Marmara and Prodromos, occupying an

area of 3 ha to the Northwest of the church of *Prophitis Elias*. Surface ceramics suggest this was a small village-site, occupied from the late 13th until at least the late 14th centuries, with a number of dispersed permanent farmhouses. The small chapel of *Prophitis Elias* that occupies the summit of the hill was built in two phases. The East part of the church, which is barrel-vaulted and single-aisled, must have been constructed in the 14th or early 15th century, since the apse above its altar is identical to that of the church of *Evangelismos* (which preserves an inscription bearing the date 1410) in the *kastro* of Kephalos. The West part of the chapel (flat-roofed with bell-tower) must have been added in the Late Ottoman or Early Modern period.

Fig. 6.118 View of site 32 on the hill-slopes of *Prophitis Elias* from the North

Site 35. *Agios Artemios*. The site is located on a low hill, 500 m North of the village of Prodromos, occupying an area of 0.25 ha around the ruined barrel-vaulted twin-chapel dedicated to *Agioi Apostoloi* (Fig. 6.119). A scatter of surface ceramics of various periods (including some 14th-16th-century potsherds), with no real concentration, suggests this was a site smaller than a hamlet, probably a farmstead occupied by one or two farmhouses of the Late Frankish and Early Ottoman periods. The presence and dating of the churches strengthens the above argument. They must have been family churches of an individual owning the surrounding cultivated land. The North chapel was built earlier than the South; the construction of its apse suggests again a 14th-15th-century date, while the South chapel must have been built a little later, most possibly in the Early Ottoman era. A heavily ruined chapel of the Ottoman period 40 m South of *Agioi Anargyroi* was dedicated to *Agios Artemios*, justifying the name of the hill.

Fig. 6.119 View of the twin-church of *Agioi Apostoloi* on site 35

Site 36: *Dragoula*. Another tiny hamlet-site is located on a low promontory halfway between the villages of Prodromos and Marmara, occupying an area of 0.35 ha, around a ruined chapel of unknown name (Fig. 6.120). A scatter of 14th-16th-century ceramic fragments was identified around the barrel-vaulted single-aisled church, indicating a confined use of the site by half a dozen farmhouses during the Late Medieval period. This was possibly another family-owned rural chapel, which preserves a slightly pointed apse built with coloured (creamy, olive-green and purple-red) *tufa* above the altar (Fig. 6.121).

Fig. 6.120 View of the ruined chapel on site 36 from the South

Fig. 6.121 View of the arch above the altar of the ruined church on site 36

Site 37: *Kastellanos*. A ruined barrel-vaulted single-aisled family-chapel (Fig. 6.122) of unknown name is located in the wider area of Kastellanos, 800 m Southwest of the village of Marpissa. No surface pottery was found, suggesting that this chapel was not associated with any kind of settlement. It is difficult to provide a dating for this chapel (4.5x11 m), since its Southern (and most importantly) Eastern walls lie in ruins. It is evident, however, that it was built in two phases; the East part of the chapel must have been built in the Late Frankish or Early Ottoman period, while its West part most likely in the Later Ottoman times. This chapel preserves a distinctive stone-built feature against the outside of the North wall, an arch-shaped structure (Fig. 6.123), resembling an *arcosol* tomb, quite common on the inside as well as outside of Late Medieval and Post-Medieval churches of the island.

Fig. 6.122 View of the ruined church in area 37 from the Northeast

Fig. 6.123 Arch-shaped structure built against the Northern wall of the church in area 37

Site 38: *Agia Aikaterini*. The site is located on a low hill, 1.5 km Southwest of the village of Marpissa, occupying an area of 0.9 ha to the East and South of a ruined church (Fig. 6.124) dedicated to St. Catherine. Surface ceramics suggest this was another hamlet-site of the 14th-16th centuries. It is assumed that the church of *Agia Aikaterini* (4.5x9 m) was built during the Late Medieval period (14th-15th centuries); it is a barrel-vaulted single-roomed chapel, while an arch built on its West portion provides extra support for the roof. This arch, together with the arch above the altar on the East side and a window on the West wall are built with grey and pale yellow *tufa*.

Fig. 6.124 View of the ruined chapel of *Agia Aikaterini* on site 38 from the West, with Kephalos in the background

Site 40: *Tsoukalas*. A ruined barrel-vaulted possibly family-owned twin-church (Fig. 6.125) of unknown name is located 1.5 km Southwest of the village of Marpissa (Southeast of site 38). No Medieval or Post-Medieval surface pottery was found in the vicinity, suggesting that the twin-church was not associated with a settlement nearby. The churches (overall dimensions 5.5x6 m) were built next to each other at different times; it is possible that the North chapel is earlier (Late Frankish?) than the other (Ottoman?). Creamy *tufa* has been used for the construction of the apse above the altar of the North chapel.

Fig. 6.125 View of the ruined twin-church in area 40 from the East

Site 42: *Tsoukalas - Agios Dimitrios*. The well-preserved barrel-vaulted single-aisled church (Fig. 6.126) dedicated to *Agios Dimitrios* is located 2 km Southwest of the village of Marpissa (South of site 40). This must have been another family-owned church, while no Medieval or Post-Medieval surface pottery was found in the vicinity, suggesting that *Agios Dimitrios* was not associated with a settlement nearby. The church (4x6 m) preserves an elegant arch built with finely-cut creamy and olive-green *tufa* above the altar. It was most possibly built in the Late Frankish period, being very similar to the churches of *Evangelismos* on Kephalos and *Prophitis Elias* on site 32.

Fig. 6.126 View of the church of *Agios Dimitrios* in area 42 from the Southeast

Site 43: *Kastellanos*. The site is located 500 m Southwest of the village of Marpissa, occupying an area of 0.25 ha to the Northwest of the deserted twin-church of *Agia Anna* and *Koimissis* (Fig. 6.127). A small scatter of surface ceramics of the 14th-16th centuries with no real concentration suggests that this was an 'estate' or another farmstead-site, probably occupied by a couple of farmhouses during the Late Frankish and Early Ottoman periods (similar to site 35). The window on the North wall of the North chapel (Fig. 6.128) and the interior of its Eastern wall preserve re-used architectural sculptures from a Middle Byzantine church of the 11th century (Pennas 2000, 10-12). The twin-church was constructed in two phases, the Northern one being older and constructed during the Late Frankish or Early Ottoman period. The North chapel (measuring 3x5.2 m) is barrel-vaulted and single-aisled, while the South (3.3x6 m) is flat-roofed (with large slabs). The name of the area (*Kastellanos* derives from the Latin *castellanus*, meaning 'governor of a *casteli-kastro*')

Fig. 6.127 Site 43 with the twin-church of *Agia Anna* and *Koimissis*

Fig. 6.128 Middle Byzantine *spolia* used as window-frames on the Northern wall of the twin-church on site 43

probably indicates that the region was the property of a feudal family, probably originating from the *kastro* of Kephalos.

Fig. 6.129 View of site 44 and the church of *Agia Triada* from the Northeast

Fig. 6.130 View of the altar and ruined arch of the church of *Agia Triada* on site 44

Site 44: *Dassoritis*. The site is located on a low promontory (Fig. 6.129), 900 m South of the village of Marpissa, occupying an area of 1.2 ha around the ruined church of *Agia Triada*. Surface ceramics suggest this was a large hamlet-site, occupied during the 13th-16th centuries. The church must be dated in the 14th-15th century, being identical to *Evangelismos* in

Fig. 6.131 View of the church of *Agios Georgios Thalassitis* in area 46

the *kastro* of Kephalos. It is a barrel-vaulted single-aisled church; its apse above the altar was built with finely-cut creamy *tufa* (Fig. 6.130). Its roof collapsed after the catastrophic rainfall in the Cyclades in 2002 and 2003, while its North and South walls preserve sketches of sailboats in black pigment.

Site 46: *Thalassitis*. It is difficult to determine whether the area around the barrel-vaulted single-aisled church dedicated to *Agios Georgios Thalassitis* (Fig. 6.131), on a steep hill 1200 m Southeast of the village of Marpissa is a settlement-site. Considerable building activity very close to the church in recent years does not allow surface survey in the region. The apse above the altar is built with creamy *tufa*. The interior walls preserve a large number of fresco paintings dated to the second half of the 13th century (Orlandos 1964; Mitsani 2000, 115). St. George (Fig. 6.132), Archangel Michael and a Church-Father or Saint are depicted on the North wall; Agios Dimitrios and other holy figures on the South wall; Christ in the apse of the East wall (although there seems to have been an older layer underneath) and the Assumption on the vaulted roof. It is possible that this church was associated with a community of the later Middle Byzantine and Frankish periods, although there is no ceramic evidence to confirm its size and type. The presence of Archangel Michael, the fact that the vaulted roof is dominated by the depiction of the Assumption, and the recent excavation of six schist graves (Fig. 6.133) around the church by the Department of Antiquities (as noted in the 2011 revisit of the site) suggests that this was also used as a cemetery chapel.

Historical context

It is evident that the *kastro* of Kephalos, which functioned as a defended settlement in Eastern Paros was not established in isolation. Although it is generally accepted that settlement during the Late Medieval period (13th-16th centuries) on the islands of the Cyclades is characterised by a high degree of nucleation within fortified settlements, it seems that Paros presents a slightly different picture. A number of sites of farmstead-, hamlet- and village-size developed in the fertile valley of *Choria Kephalou*, just below and outside the large defended site of Kephalos from the late 13th to the early 16th century. This conclusion confirms the discussion presented earlier concerning the historical context of the site of Ismaili on Tinos. Indeed, evidence for rural and agricultural expansion has been identified not only on the Mainland, but also on the Cycladic islands. A similar phenomenon has been discussed also for the island of Keos (Cherry *et al.* 1991, 351-64) during the 12th and 13th centuries, where 'amphora-only' sites were associated with apiculture. Sites representing two farmsteads, five hamlets and one village discovered by extensive survey in a study-area of 1250 ha at *Choria Kephalou* are a representative example that indicates a local or probably general Aegean strategy during the early period of Venetian domination in the region. This phenomenon should be seen as a policy for extending agricultural exploitation and the enlargement of cultivated land.

These sites were certainly associated and dependent on the *kastro* of Kephalos. The most remote site recorded in the survey area is not more than 3 km away from the *kastro*, so it would not normally take more than 30-40 minutes to cover this distance on foot. The range of decorated ceramics found at the sites presented above indicates a domestic use and a long seasonal or permanent settlement in the area. It is fortunate that post-12th-century glazed ceramics are more plentiful on rural sites and closely datable; although surface pottery densities were counted and only grab-samples were collected from *Choria Kephalou*, it does not affect the general pattern and our conclusions regarding the size and type of rural settlement.

Fig. 6.132 Fresco depicting *Agios Georgios* on the Northern wall of the church of *Thalassitis* in area 46

Fig. 6.133 Schist grave in the yard of the church of *Thalassitis* in area 46

The earliest surviving textual sources of the Ottoman period from the island of Paros indicate that the present-day villages of Marmara and Marpissa were already founded by 1606, and Prodromos possibly later in the 17th century. Marmara and Marpissa started to develop already during the second half of the 16th century, after Paros entered the Ottoman Empire. The same pattern has been noted also for other islands (*e.g.* Siphnos), where a number of undefended settlements started to develop outside the Late Medieval *kastra*. It is possible that the inhabitants of the hamlets in the survey area as well as those living within Kephalos founded the new villages of Marmara, Marpissa and Prodromos in the early Post-Medieval period.

If we accept the figure of 3.5 ha of land needed for subsistence per household during the Byzantine peri-

od (Harvey 1989), then the approximate total number of 70 households from our sites in *Choria Kephalou* would need some 250 ha for cultivation and minimal subsistence. The remaining 1000 ha in the valley and survey area below Kephalos would normally have needed some 285 households or 1140 people to cultivate it and be fed by it. Considering its total size, we could argue that 1000 to 1500 people occupied the *kastro* of Kephalos in its full extent during the 15th-16th centuries. Thus, Kephalos contained the right amount of people needed for the cultivation of the size of land (1000 ha) in the immediate periphery of the *kastro*, leaving the remaining of it (250 ha) to peasants living in dispersed hamlets within the valley and closer to their fields. Even if we assume that half of the population living within the walls of Kephalos belonged to a non-farming elite, then the average size of land-plots needed per well-off peasant household would be 5-6 ha (so that the remaining non-agricultural population of the *kastro* would be fed). Even so, the extent of farming land around Kephalos would have been sufficient in providing a subsistence surplus or a surplus beyond subsistence in either case. What we are not sure of, however, is whether there was indeed a general feudal policy on Paros and that the valley of *Choria Kephalou* was intensively cultivated in its full extent.

6.6 SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

6.6.1 The Settlements

Eight surveyed deserted sites and three inhabited settlements from the Cyclades islands have been presented and studied in order to provide the basis upon which settlement layout and type can be interpreted. These are sites very different in date and character, ranging from Early Byzantine fortresses and Late Medieval rural sites, to Frankish *kastra* and Post-Medieval towns and villages. The purpose is to trace the evolution of settlement through time across the islands, from the beginning of the 13th century to the late 19th.

It has become evident that the Cycladic built space was not restricted to nucleated settlements of the *kastro* type. Extensive survey in the valley of *Choria Kephalou* on Paros has shown that a number of satellite hamlets and villages of the late 13th - early 16th century existed and functioned around the defended site-*kastro* of Kephalos. A preliminary calculation of the average number of households in both rural sites around Kephalos and the *kastro* itself, in relation to the size and fertility of the extensive valley of *Choria Kephalou*, suggest an agriculturally intensified use of the rural landscape. Although this is a conclusion already drawn by previous intensive archaeological projects in Mainland Greece, the case of Paros presents an additional window to the study of Medieval rural landscapes from the Aegean islands. The fact that no pottery of the 12th or early/middle 13th centuries has been identified in any of the *Choria Kephalou* sites presented above, testifies to my argument about the socio-economic conditions in the Cyclades after the arrival of the Venetians. A period of relative 'agricultural prosperity' must have followed after the Latin regime was more firmly established by the late 13th century in the Aegean, as archaeological evidence in the Cyclades and comparative studies in other Venetian-dominated areas (*e.g.* Crete) show.

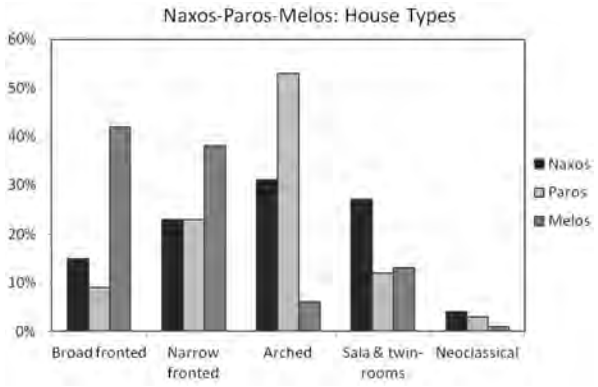
The walled settlements discussed above, equally present ample material evidence for a stratified society, which was composed of the local peasant majority and a minority of Latin and Greek landowners. It is very possible that the elite minority was living within the defensive walls, leaving rural areas to peasants. Apano Kastro on Naxos is a fine example of the political forces that directed its construction; as in other parts of the Latin Aegean, a foreign minority that succeeded the previous Byzantine social order needed time and strong 'means' to establish itself upon a recognisably different community. Apano Kastro testifies to the divide between Greeks and Latins and the struggle of the later to impose themselves and their socio-economic system on the indigenous communities, which in most cases revolted against the imported feudal lords. The planning and layout of the Late Medieval *kastra* is probably the best material evidence for the society of the period and the material expression of those who created it. All of the *kastra* presented above (*i.e.* Apano Kastro on Naxos, Kephalos on Paros, Kastro and Zephyria on Melos) preserve their layout and show the distinct relationship between 'upper' and 'lower' castle, or 'inner' and 'outer' zone. The elite minority always occupied the 'upper' or 'inner' part of a fortified set-

tlement, making itself visible from all directions, expressing power and symbolic order over the 'lower' or 'outer' part of the town. The earlier fort on the islet of Viokastro off the Northeast coast of Paros, though, is another example of the changing picture in society and daily life of a period in transition from Late Antiquity to the Middle Ages. It is true that the Venetians established all of the fortified settlements in the Cyclades that are still occupied in their majority today; this transition, however, to a different settlement model, this change-over from ancient *polis* to Medieval *kastron* was a process which already began in the 7th century AD.

Mavro Chorio on Siphnos and Ismaili on Tinos are nucleated villages that were established and developed during the Post-Medieval era, around the late 16th century. It is not only the aforementioned sites, but also a large number of other (still existing and occupied) villages in the Cyclades today that represent another period of prosperity, this time dating after the firm establishment of Ottoman rule in the region. As it has been demonstrated above, these newly established settlements started to develop outside the Late Medieval fortified centres. They were organised and in some cases very substantial villages, housing a large number of peasants. These villages provide very good evidence for yet a more intensified attempt for agricultural exploitation of available lands. Even more, the fact that most of these new settlements do not bear signs of defensive constructions around them, suggests a period of general stability and tranquillity, although the Aegean never ceased to exist as a ground for pirate activities. In the period beginning in the late 16th and early 17th centuries, a time of general decline for most of Europe and the Ottoman Empire, the Cyclades showed a first attempt for the making of agricultural establishments (*e.g.* Mavro Chorio), even if those were intended for seasonal rather than permanent residence. The need for raw materials and grain in Northwest Europe and the Western Mediterranean, and the involvement of foreign (illegal) trading activities in the Aegean, gave a new impetus for regional growth in the Cyclades. This was possibly a first attempt for the establishment of rural farmsteads, dated well before the well-known settlement pattern of dispersed farmhouses that prevailed in the early 19th century and later in the Cyclades.

6.6.2 The Houses

The main house-types in surveyed settlements and sites in the Cyclades have also been presented above. It is clear that every island preserves different house-types, although the basic forms of the broad-fronted and narrow-fronted versions with a number of extensions and variations remain dominant. A comparison between the islands of Naxos, Paros and Melos (Graph 6.5) with their *kastra* (in use during the Late Medieval and Post-Medieval times) shows a greater preference for the narrow-fronted and broad-fronted house, both of them versions that follow the tradition of the Late Medieval single-roomed two-storey type. The arched house is equally important, as it seems to be a Post-Medieval version of the broad-fronted type. The predominance and typical survival of the single-roomed two-storey house reflects the environmental factors, the basic socio-economic conditions and the needs of populations living within them during the Late Medieval era. Both types are very common in defended settlements and were formed, primarily as a result of lack of space within those highly nucleated settlements, as well as the need to provide basic defence to their inhabitants.

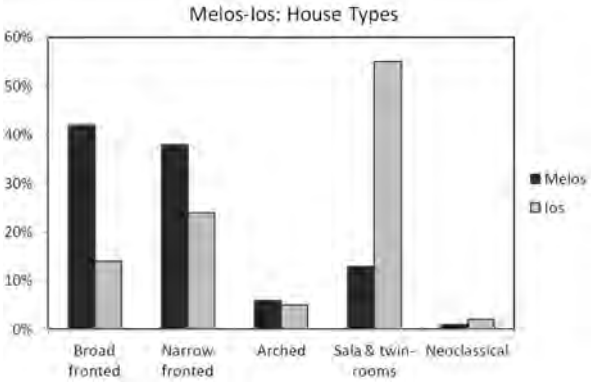


Graph 6.5 House-types on Naxos, Paros and Melos

It is very interesting the fact that examples of Late Medieval housing from the islands provide very clear indications for separation between 'clean' and 'dirty' activity areas, that is, between humans and animals or living areas and areas reserved for stabling and storage. The same pattern can be identified in most of the Venetian-dominated Aegean littoral and the Levant, in sharp contrast to Mainland Greece, where the so-called single-roomed *makrinari* or long-house

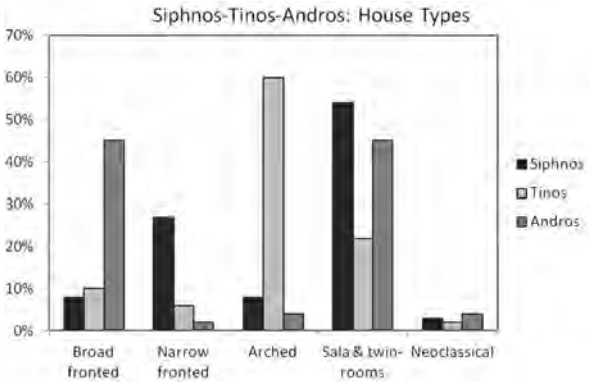
provided shelter to both humans and animals. Distinction between 'upper class' housing reserved for the Latin nobles and 'peasant' housing for the lower social strata can be identified mainly by the overall size of each domestic type, as well as by additional architectural and decorative features, such as marble lintels and the representative coat-of-arms of each Latin family.

The number of rooms is also another factor that distinguishes the two types, although there are cases where this is not always an important element. Examples of house-types in Post-Medieval towns, such as Plaka on Melos and Chora on Ios, on the other hand, show a preference for the house with *sala* and twin-rooms, a clearly more elaborate and developed type of the broad-fronted house (Graph 6.6). Although the single-unit house with one or two floors did not cease to exist, examples from both Melos and Ios provide evidence for an attempt to separate space (within these single-roomed houses) and provide dedicated space to different activities (mainly cooking-eating-receiving guests and resting-sleeping). Thus, housing of the early Post Medieval period bears evidence for a more 'private' domestic space, either by separating the single roomed house by means of a false dividing wall, or by the addition of an extra room at the rear or one of its sides.



Graph 6.6 House-types on Melos and Ios

More complex house-plans, such as the house with '*sala* and twin rooms' were introduced by the emerging middle class of the islands during the 17th and early 18th centuries, copying Late Medieval prototypes of noble housing. This transition from the single-unit house to the multi-roomed one was clearly the result of a relative socio-economic change during the Ottoman period. Rural settlements on the islands of Siphnos, Tinos and Andros show a preference for the single-roomed narrow-fronted, broad-fronted and arched houses, although the percentage of the house with *sala* and twin-rooms seems greater (Graph 6.7). This is because of the more intense building activity and the more elaborate forms developing on the islands during the later years of the Post-Medieval and Early Modern periods, again as a result of the socio-economic and political conditions prevailing in the Aegean. New forms and more elaborate styles were introduced from other parts of Europe and the Western Mediterranean through Aegean-island traders and the continuous growth of notions and ideas related to personal comfort, individualism and the power of status and symbolism in 19th century societies.



Graph 6.7 House-types on Siphnos, Tinos and Andros

7. Cycladic Settlements and Housing in a Social Context

7.1 INTRODUCTION

The chapter provides an introduction to the Byzantine past, discussing the role of the church and the economic meaning of households, especially during the Middle Byzantine era, in order to provide a background picture of changes in the domestic sphere in the succeeding periods. The role of *kastra* is also analysed, while an attempt is made in order to 'map' religious and socio-cultural identities in Late Medieval fortified settlements and Post-Medieval coastal towns. Evidence of church building is evaluated as an aspect of the Cycladic built environment, and is examined as a means for the formation of 'ethnic' and 'religious' identities in the period before the Greek revolt against the Ottoman Empire.

7.2 THE BYZANTINE BACKGROUND

7.2.1 Settlements and Church-Building

Information concerning settlement patterning, settlement layout and housing in the Cyclades during the Middle Byzantine period is indeed very limited and confined to a comparative study between the Melos and Keos Survey (Renfrew and Wagstaff 1982; Cherry, Davis, and Mantzourani 1991), and other archaeological programmes. It is generally held that the period between the 10th and late 12th centuries was a time of great Byzantine accomplishments despite internal problems within the Imperial Palace at Constantinople, especially during the first half of the 11th century. The first hints of recovery in the Byzantine countryside and the increase in rural settlements appeared during the 10th century, as a result of the 7th-8th-century administrative reforms throughout the Empire.

The Survey Programme on the Northern part of the island of Keos (Cherry, Davis, and Mantzourani 1991) has revealed potsherd concentrations dated to the Middle Byzantine period; it is not certain, however, whether these finds indicate a dispersed rural settlement or some other form of rural activity. The picture of the recovering Byzantine provinces during the 10th, 11th and 12th centuries has further been confirmed by a number of other intensive as well as extensive surface surveys in Mainland Greece. Those in the Argolid (Jameson *et al.* 1994), Boeotia (Bintliff 1995; 1996; 2000; Bintliff and Snodgrass 1985; 1988), Laconia (Armstrong 1996; 2002), Messenia (McDonald and Rapp 1972), Methana (Mee and Forbes 1997), Nemea (Alcock *et al.* 1994), Pylos (Davis *et al*. 1997) are amongst the best known. Similarly, excavations at centres such as Corinth, Athens and Thebes, have revealed urban revival, growth of the local 'industry' and trade, as well as a re-organised town plan during the later years of the Middle Byzantine era. The settlement layout in those cities followed the Late Roman urban plan but developed more freely, making use of the in-situ available building material. Workshops and houses tended to cover the few remaining public places of the ancient towns. In the 11th and 12th centuries Athens developed a soap and dye industry, while textual and archaeological evidence strongly suggest that Corinth and Thebes were engaged in glass and silk production (Bouras 2002; Kazhdan and Wharton-Epstein 1985; Scranton 1957; Thompson and Wycherley 1972).

More specifically, recent study of local documentary sources, church-building and religious art have presented a plethora of ecclesiastical remains in the Cycladic countryside, dated mostly to the 11th, 12th and early 13th centuries on the islands of Andros, Naxos, Paros and Santorini (Acheimastou-Potamianou 1997; Dimitrokallis 2000; Maltezou 2000; Mitsani 2000). This church-building activity might suggest a dispersed settlement pattern before the arrival

of the Venetians in 1207, while it seems that small peasant communities existed and a minority of local landlords was extracting taxes during the Middle Byzantine period. However, there is no archaeological evidence or indication of major nucleated settlements of an urban type before the Venetian colonisation of the Cyclades. Thus, to argue that at the beginning of the 13th century there was a process of change from a 'rural' to an 'urban society', would be a quite logical but perhaps a rather simplistic explanation relying on the absence of evidence (Vionis 2003, 196).

A case study from the island of Paros (10th - early 13th centuries) may provide a characteristic example of settlement patterning in the Cyclades, based on the study of church-architecture and extensive surface survey. Paros is a medium-sized island, typically Cycladic and suitable for this study, in contrast to the Middle Byzantine church-rich islands of Naxos and Andros, themselves exceptional cases due to their size, fertility and stronger links with the Byzantine capital.

Ecclesiastical remains on Paros have long suggested that the island experienced a period of revival from the early years of the 12th to the beginning of the 13th century (Fig. 7.1). An anonymous single-roomed barrel-vaulted church at Protoria, 3 km Southwest of the village of Naoussa, has been dated to the first half of the 13th century on the basis of its surviving frescoes, while their iconographic theme has been suggested to indicate that this was a cemetery church (Mitsani 1999, 8-9; 2000, 115). The area of Protoria bears evidence for the existence of a Middle Byzantine rural site. The concentration of dated surface ceramics, in an area of 1 ha around the church, indicates that a small village community occupied Protoria during the 12th and 13th centuries. This small village or hamlet at Protoria was probably replaced by the defended settlement of Naoussa, later in the 13th or 14th century, after the coming of the Venetians in 1207. Similarly, the church of *Agios Ioannis Theologos* at Kato Marathi in central Paros has been dated between the 11th and 13th centuries (Dimitrokallis 1998), on the basis of its close parallels to churches of similar plan on Naxos, Crete and Cyprus. Extensive surface survey in the area has produced only very limited evidence for the existence of an associated rural settlement in the Middle Byzantine and Early Frankish periods. Finally, the church of *Evangelistria* at Episkopiana or Psychopiana, almost 5 kilometres South of Paroikia, is dated between the late 12th and early 13th centuries on the basis of its similarities with the church of *Panagia at Archatos* in Naxos (Dimitrokallis 1998; Vionis 2006b).

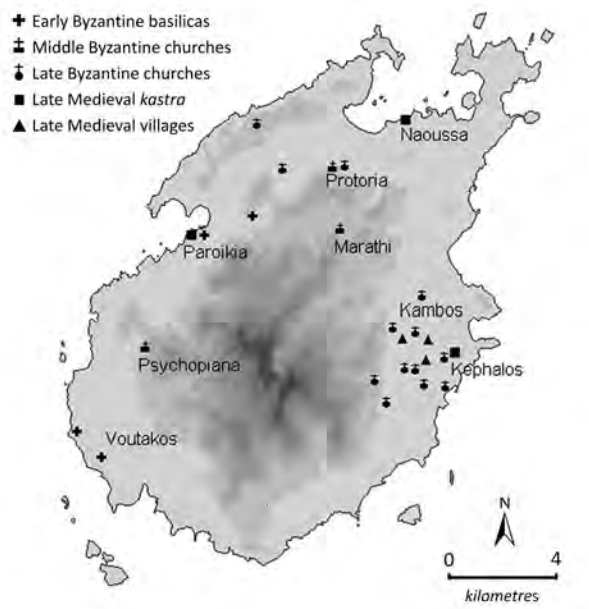


Fig. 7.1 Map of Paros with Early, Middle and Late Byzantine ecclesiastical remains

As is evidenced from the Middle-Late Byzantine ecclesiastical remains at Protoria, Kato Marathi and Episkopiana presented above, and along with historical hints about life on Paros between the late 10th and late 12th centuries, the island seems to have recovered before the arrival of the Venetians in 1207. Small rural sites (associated with country chapels built or renovated at a later stage), interpreted as hamlet communities living close to rich cultivable land, have recently been identified at various other locations within Paros (Vionis 2006b, 481-4). There is limited evidence for human occupation on the island during the Early Byzantine period, however, and it is still unknown where exactly life was focussed during that period. It seems that the settled landscape was possibly transferred from the gulf of Paroikia to that of Naoussa in the North during the Middle Byzantine era. On the basis of the evidence presented above and similar cases explored by long-running in-

tensive surveys in Mainland Greece (Armstrong 2002; Bintliff 1996; 2000), one could conclude that the emphasis on clusters of small settlement-sites (especially farmsteads and hamlets) during the 11th and 12th centuries became more intense. A similar pattern has recently been observed in the region of Tanagra in Boeotia, where a number of large and smaller rural nucleated settlement-sites of the Middle and Late Byzantine periods have been identified, scattered at regular intervals across the immediate territory of the ancient city, and focussed around medium-sized churches of the 12th-13th centuries (Vionis 2004-2005, 570-7; 2008, 34-5).

The transfer of political and economic control from Constantinople to provincial powers, such as the local aristocratic landowners, not only created ground for the development of the Western feudal system a little later, but also contributed to the establishment of farming estates, intensifying land-use (Armstrong 2002, 396; Kourelis 2002, 54). This economic trend and agricultural prosperity of the Middle Byzantine era could be compared to the general socio-economic expansion in a wider Mediterranean context. This growth of the agricultural sector has been argued (Laiou 2002, 1151) to have taken place within the framework of the estates, which acted as 'better managers' of agricultural practices, since land was then seen as a profit producing capital. However, this shift in control (from the Byzantine capital to provincial private landholders) further resulted in the village 'mushrooming' of the Komnenian period and strengthened rural development. Such village and hamlet communities were doing well enough to invest in religious buildings during the Middle Byzantine period, usually marking their settlements with churches, which formed the spiritual, architectural and social centre of the village communities (Gerstel 2005, 166). Finally, as is evidenced on Northern Keos (Cherry *et al.* 1991), finds associated with transport and agricultural production (*e.g.* Saraçhane 61 amphorae) in the Byzantine rural landscape, may indicate intensified need (of growing populations at urban centres) for provision with agricultural products.

Paros and Keos are definitely not the sole examples of Byzantine re-habitation and recovery in the Cyclades. The inland basin of Drymalia on Naxos, an olive-producing area with multiple settlements of all sizes, held almost half of all peasant *hane* (households) in the 17th century (Kasdagli 1999, 37). Similarly, during the later years of the Middle Byzantine period, the region of Chalki in the valley of Drymalia, must have been the most important settlement on the island, possibly functioning as a rural market. Byzantine Naxos seems to have been very important within the 'Theme of the Aegean', attaining good relations with Constantinople, while the elevation of the bishopric of Naxos into the Metropolitan of Paronaxia in 1083, testified to the prosperity and artistic fluorescence of the island (Acheimastou-Potamianou 1997, 140, 142; Bouras 1997a). The renovation of the *Protothronos* church at Chalki in 1052, as well as the building, renovation and decoration of large numbers of churches in the central and fertile part of the island during this period, stresses the prominent role played by imperial grants, prominent officials and better-off peasant communities.

7.2.2 Housing and Domestic Continuity

Secular or domestic architecture of the Byzantine period has not been thoroughly studied, since targeted and rescue excavations, mainly at Greek urban centres, have started to record Post-Roman domestic structures systematically only over the past 20 years. The monumental historical work of Koukoules (1951) remains a detailed account of everyday life during the Byzantine era. More specific interpretative works on housing and domestic life have been published at times, however, still largely relying on and confined by 'traditional' historical references and standing elaborate houses (Bouras 1982/83; Orlandos 1937). On the other hand, functional, economic and social implications of the development of the house have been discussed only on confined occasions (Kourelis 2005; Sigalos 2004; Sodini 1984, 1995). Well-studied and published examples of excavated housing of the Byzantine period are still very limited; however, a general picture of an elite and average household can be reconstructed on the basis of limited archaeological evidence and historical documents, such as hagiographical texts, monastery lists and dowries.

The Cyclades Islands have not been as fortunate to have preserved or provided evidence for housing of

the Middle Byzantine period. A few rescue excavations have recorded domestic structures of Late Roman times, with a gap for the Early and Middle Byzantine eras, while more evidence becomes available again for Frankish housing through surviving examples within the island *kastra*, discussed above. Past and on-going targeted and rescue excavations on the Greek Mainland have revealed that there were two distinct types of housing during the Middle Byzantine period. The commonest house-type is the one comprising a closed courtyard surrounded by a number of rooms, whilst the other consists of two-three rooms in a row or in a L-shaped arrangement, usually around an open yard (Koukoules 1951, 313-4; Frantz 1961, 17; Curčič 2002, 229; Sigalos 2004).

The layout of the first house-type, the one with courtyard, seems to be reflecting Hellenistic and Roman housing traditions, where a *peristyle* court surrounded by a series of rooms, functioned as the centre of household activities, led by the male head of the household or *paterfamilias* (Grahame 2000, 88-92; Sigalos 2004, 74-5). It goes without saying that houses of this interior articulation with an enclosed courtyard, rooms intended for special functions and of course with a number of storerooms, were destined for an urban upper class. Similarly, excavated elite housing of the 4th-6th-centuries could hardly be distinguished from its pre-Christian predecessor, where this type of *oikia* (*i.e.* house, household) consisted of a number of rooms centrally arranged around an enclosed courtyard (Ellis 1988). The *triklinon* or reception and dining hall of the Byzantine urban house may also have survived since Greco-Roman times, while the *domus ecclesiae* or private prayer-room discovered in a number of excavated examples is a new introduction to the Early Christian domestic structure (Ellis 1997; Bowes 2000; Curčič 2002). It is noteworthy that housing in both Middle and Late Byzantine towns developed in a spontaneous, organic and dynamic manner based on the private initiative of the inhabitants (Bouras 1974; 1981, 618-9). It seems, however, that the Byzantines could not avoid the physical inheritance of the past, in that they followed the still visible Greco-Roman house-remains and street plans, and traces of ancient fortification works (Frantz 1961; Bryer 1986, 263-4). It is sometimes impossible to distinguish and date building phases of the Byzantine era, as housing of the period reused building material from earlier structures for a second or third time (Bouras 2002). Meanwhile, the second Middle Byzantine house-type seems to have developed on the edge of towns and in the countryside, and if there was a distinction to be made between the two types, we could argue that the second one must have provided shelter to low- or average-status households. These houses consisted of one to three rooms arranged linearly or forming an L-shaped complex with or without an open yard. Examples of this house-type were excavated in the region of Armatova and Elean Pylos in the Peloponnese (Bouras 1982/83, 13; Curčič 2002, 234; Sigalos 2004, 199) and were dated to the 12th century. This structure comprised a long room at the front and two smaller ones at the back, while a colonnaded yard was formed before the main entrance. Three built benches along the North, East and West walls of one of the back rooms provided evidence for the *triklinon*-equivalent of this house-type.

It is evident that although the Christian Late Roman housing traditions followed earlier Antique prototypes, the period beginning in the late 10th century was a new era that emerged after the transitional 'Dark Ages', inevitably retaining in cases old domestic forms and establishing new ones under a new ideal and life-style. Life-ways during the Middle and Late Byzantine periods seem nonetheless to have taken a less sophisticated form. The open economy and cosmopolitanism of Late Antiquity within a public urban space gave way to closed economy, small towns and provincialism around the private space of a nucleated-family domestic interior (Oikonomides 1990, 213; Aggelidi 2002, 253). Middle and Late Byzantine housing resembled more the 'private' tradition of the Classical Greek house with an enclosed courtyard, whereas the Late Antique or Early Christian house must have retained the 'semi-public' tradition of the Roman *domus*. Thus, the urban Middle Byzantine 'courtyard house', with a number of rooms centrally arranged around a closed yard, should rather be perceived as a 'household', a semi-autonomous economic and social unit composed of its family-members, communicating between themselves as well as with other family units (Birdwell-Pheasant and Lawrence-Zúñiga 1999).

The greater degree of domestic privacy of the Middle Byzantine family, however, is particularly emphasised during this period, with rooms situated far from the 'public eye' or the public road fronting the house. The multi-functional Middle Byzantine house, with rooms reserved for special activities (storage, sleeping, dining and receiving guests), was a microcosm of economic and social relations. This was characteristic of the period, as from the late 10th/11th century, a new set of social and economic relations became impressed on material culture, reflecting a new and more 'realistic' life-style. The female image on figurative art, for instance, from the 10th century onwards no longer copied Greco-Roman prototypes of sensuality and subjugation to men; male and female in Middle Byzantine art were depicted with clothing of their times, both being involved in activities for gaining their 'daily bread' (Kalavrezou 2002; 2003, 14-5). Although it is generally held that women in Pre-Modern times were confined to the domestic interior, it seems that for Byzantine society this was a norm only for the upper class. The fact that marriage contracts and the institution of dowry were intended to support the woman and secure her financial well-being after she was divorced or in case her husband has deceased before herself, further testifies to the changing role of women in Byzantine society (Laiou 1981; Nikolaou 1993). Even weaving –the principal occupation for women– became an activity associated with the contribution to the economy of the average Byzantine household, while for women of the idle upper class this was simply an activity aiming at their confinement within the house, retaining all-time stereotypes (Nikolaou 1993).

The use of domestic space and household activities are aspects that deserve equal attention. *Triklinos* must have remained the main reception room, while another Roman remnant, the *cubicula*, were rooms intended to provide accommodation for sleeping and for the service of women when men outside the family were present in the Middle Byzantine upper-class house (Koukoules 1951; Grahame 2000). Textual evidence has in most cases proved very helpful in reconstructing domestic activities and understanding the use of domestic material culture. The absence of various essential domestic furnishings from the average Byzantine household, such as beds, tables and chairs, has led scholars to argue that the *triklinos* was indeed the main and most essential room of the house, especially the 'non-courtyard house'. *Triklinos* or 'three-bedded room' possibly derives its name from the Greek words for 'three' or *tri-* and *klini* or seat/couch/bed. *Triklinos* was a room with built benches along three of its walls and must have served as reception room (benches = couches), sleeping room (benches = beds) and dining room (benches = table and chairs) (Oikonomides 1990). Although there is not sufficient archaeological evidence to suggest where exactly cooking took place in both 'courtyard' and 'linearly-arranged' houses, it is assumed that –at least in peasant housing– there was no room reserved for the preparation of food. Cooking must have taken place in the (open) courtyard or in a corner immediately outside the house (Koukoules 1951, 308; Sigalos 2004, 78). A parallel comparison can be made between Middle Byzantine, Post-Medieval and contemporary communities in the littoral Aegean, where notional expansion of the domestic interior outside the doorstep is a commonplace and general practice (Polychroniadis and Chadjimichalis 1974, 87-90; Vionis 2001a, 128).

Finally, storage facilities seem to have been essential for both urban and peasant households. Courtyard houses preserve rooms intended for the storage of agricultural produce and other consumables in large *pithoi* (large clay containers used to store subsistence commodities), either standing (occupying considerable room-space) or buried in the earth up to their neck (saving space for more storage and providing a regular temperature) and covered with a stone slab (Grünbart 2007, 40). Such storage containers would rarely have been moved from their original position after the abandonment of their context, mainly because of their weight and size (Frantz 1961, 17). Thus, we could argue that the number of *pithoi* and storage jars recovered from an archaeological context represents the volume of storage strategies in Middle Byzantine households. The fact that storage containers are not usually mentioned in Byzantine deeds of 11th-15th-century urban housing but only in the households of laymen or monks living in the countryside (Oikonomides 1990, 211), as has been noted by Bouras (2002, 522-3), suggests that they were regarded as part of the built space, the house itself; an-

other important indication of the Byzantine tendency towards self-sufficiency.

It has been suggested (Sanders 2000, 170) that these large ceramic containers were probably expensive to acquire and most people were expected to buy no more than two or three in a lifetime. Thus, the storage capacity of a master of a courtyard house or a peasant would certainly reinforce his position and status among his community or family (Christakis 1999, 3; Vionis 2008, 38-9). However, apart from their high value, the scarcity of storage containers in a rather poor peasant-house could be explained by a 'functional' proposal for the preference for vegetables and other foodstuffs available seasonally in rural areas, making consumption more direct and limiting the numbers of *pithoi* (Vionis 2004-2005, 574). It is also possible that some households did not produce enough food to store and had to buy their surplus every time it was needed; that could very well explain the scarcity of large storage containers. Furthermore, archaeological evidence suggests that clay storage vessels were in some cases replaced by large stone receptacles or even other structures cut into the natural rock on the basement of a house, as well as storage pits, water tanks and wells (Bouras 2002, 522-3). Our limited knowledge of housing in the Middle Byzantine countryside presents only a hazy picture of peasant dwellings, single-roomed, twin- or three-roomed. In which case, storage would have been problematic in such limited domestic space. On the other hand, the transfer of political and economic control from the Imperial capital at Constantinople to the local aristocracy of great landowners in the 10th century contributed to the establishment of estates around urban centres, owned by private individuals and worked by dependent farmers. This landed aristocracy, therefore, gathering the produce from the countryside to the towns for further processing or trade, created the need for sufficient storage space, which was met within these urban courtyard houses (Sigalos 2004, 73-9).

7.3 THE LATE MEDIEVAL AND EARLY POST-MEDIEVAL TRANSFORMATION

7.3.1 Defining the Meaning of *Kastro*

The establishment of the still surviving defended settlements in the Cyclades and other Aegean Islands is a new form of *habitat* which developed in the 13th century and was the outcome of a new way of being or *habitus*, as Bourdieu (1977) would call it. This type of fortified nucleated settlements has influenced domestic architecture to the beginning of the 20th century and has attracted the attention of architects and architectural historians in the past as well as today (Michaelides 1974; Oliver 1974; Polychroniadis and Chadjimichalis 1974; Radford and Clark 1974; Vionis 2001a). Visits and accounts of the first 'reporters' outside their country of origin, the Western (European and American) travellers in the Eastern Mediterranean and the Aegean islands, such as Buondelmonti (Legrand 1897), testify to the existence of fortified settlements in the Cyclades in the 15th century. Buondelmonti refers to defended settlements as *Castella*, *Castrum*, *Castra*, *Oppidum*, *Castellum*. Similarly, travellers of the Post-Medieval period provide more detailed information on everyday life, current states of affairs and fortified settlements, referring to them as *Castell*, *Castello*, *Château*, *Château fort*, *Forteresse*, *Castle* (Tournefort 1718; Choiseul-Gouffier 1782; Sonnini 1801; Bent 1885; Philippa-Apostolou 1980).

The words *kastro* and *kastelli* as terms used to define defended settlements or walled villages established during the Late Medieval and early Post-Medieval periods in the Cyclades, derive from the Latin *castrum* or *castellum* and *castellium*. Similarly, the transformed versions of these terms into other European languages, such as the French *castell*, *château*, *casterasse* and *castre* usually define fortification works of the Gallo-Roman and Medieval periods; their most common use, however, is to describe fortified residences and tower-houses that belonged to feudal lords. These terms kept their meaning throughout the Renaissance in Western Europe, while the words *fortezza* or fortress were used to describe larger defensive works such as walls encircling towns, an equivalent to the Greco-Byzantine term *phrourion*, a fortified citadel, usually with the presence of a garri-

son. The Latin term *castelli* is often confused with the Greek for *pyrgos* or tower. *Castelli* was used to define a tower-structure designed to function within a defensive framework, while *pyrgos*, also meaning a tower, took a different definition especially during the Post-Medieval period, describing a fortified residence or tower-house (*pyrgospito*). The description of these structures by foreign travellers, from Buondelmonti (Legrand 1897) in the 15th century (*castra* and *oppidum* or cities) to travellers of the 17th and 18th centuries (*châteaux* and *forteresse* or fortresses) becomes in most cases very confusing (Zivas 1973, 109; Philippa-Apostolou 1980, 140-1; Poutiers 1987, 385). The general term *kastro*, however, was widely adopted from the 16th century onwards, probably as a result of its common reference within the *Chronicle of the Morea*. Thus, *kastro* is used throughout this book in order to refer to the still surviving and inhabited Late Medieval and early Post-Medieval defended settlements or walled villages and fortified towns of the Cyclades, and the Mastichochoria (*i.e.* the mastic-producing villages) of Chios, where similar structures exist. Finally, the term *kastelli* is used to refer to towers constructed for merely military and defensive purposes, as parts of a *kastro*-structure; the circular bastion with battlements and an inner tower protecting the Northern entrance of the harbour of Naoussa on Paros is such an example (Loupou-Rokou 1999, 107).

7.3.2 The Foundation of *Kastra*

As it has already been argued above, the Late Byzantine period has been characterised as a period of urban revival, where both towns and their inhabitants assumed a fresh identity and self-consciousness (Bryer 1986, 263). Excavations in cities such as Athens and Corinth have shown the absence of an organised plan, while private initiative was a force resulting in the small size of the houses and their vernacular style (Bouras 1974; 1982/83: 18-9). Even newly founded Byzantine towns such as Mistra, Monemvasia and Chrysoupolis remained physically unstructured (Bryer 1986). In the case of the Cyclades several *kastra* present similar examples. Kastro of Paros in Paroikia, for instance, was built around 1260 with *spolia* or marble architectural fragments from ancient temples found *in-situ* (Philippa-Apostolou 1978; 2000; Vionis 2003). On the other hand, the Late Medieval defended town of Mesta, as well as other towns built by the Genoese on the island of Chios, seems to have been designed and planned from the beginning. Buildings were approached from the inside, thus, forming a single open space in the centre of the town. Furthermore, limiting the number of gates resulted in the limitation of access to the centre and the concentric loops or *cul-de-sac* appearance of the settlement, always set out according to custom by a band of colonists (Eden 1950, 19).

The only historical reference for the building of an island-*kastro* according to a plan is the Kastro of Naxos, the capital of the Medieval Cyclades. Fotheringham (1915, 79), using an earlier source (Grimaldi 187...) informs us that 'Marco Sanudo planned and built a strong tower near the island of Bacchus, on a hill which they surrounded with twelve towers, and proclaimed that one might built a house in that place according to an appointed plan.' This phenomenon of castle-building in the Aegean made its appearance in the 12th century, while this activity seems to have become more intense in the Cyclades from the middle 14th to the late 16th century. There is a long list of *kastra* of the orthogonal (based on a high degree of organisation) and of the irregular plan (developing freely on hilltops), built either according to a plan in one phase or established and developing freely according to needs and local factors. There are three types of defended settlements, according to the relation between the defensive wall encircling the site and the houses (Philippa-Apostolou 1978, 86-90). Those are (a) the *kastra* that developed within a pre-existing defensive wall, (b) the ones that developed out of an undefended settlement (walled at a later stage), and (c) those new settlements where the defensive wall was the basis for the construction of the entire *kastro*. The castle of Naxos, for example, belongs to the first category, where the construction of houses followed the building of the enceinte, while both *kastra* on Antiparos and Kimolos were built in one phase and according to detailed planning (Philippa-Apostolou 1978; 2000; Vionis 2001a). Thus, it becomes evident that these defended settlements in the Cyclades, characterised as 'defended cities', 'fortified towns' and 'walled villages' were established on the basis of a general policy in the Aegean, were

not created by pure chance and did not comprise haphazard agglomerations functioning in isolation.

The period between the late 14th and the late 15th century was a time of planned castle building-activity and restoration in the Cyclades islands. After the disastrous effects of the Black Death in the Cyclades (as well as much of Europe) about 1345/6 and the continuous raiding by Ottoman-Turkish and Genoese pirate forces, the duke Giacomo I Crispo (1397-1418) led an ambitious policy. Apart from a series of campaigns against Muslim forces in the coasts of Asia Minor, he had cypress wood imported from Crete for the fortification of the Cyclades and the restoration of a number of *kastra* (Miller 1908, 598). Thus, by the beginning of the 15th century a number of new *kastra* were established, such as Naoussa on Paros and Kastro on Antiparos, while Astypalaia, Kythnos and Ios were re-colonised and their castles restored. By the late 15th century Exobourgo on Tinos and Kephalos on Paros were extended and reinforced in order to receive more inhabitants.

Before examining the wider historical, political, economic and other forces behind the creation of this new form of *habitat* in the Cyclades and the Aegean, it is worth noting its 'status' as a settlement form. Although establishing a definition for the 'city', 'town' and 'village' in the Frankish Aegean of the 13th-16th centuries is not an easy task, it should be made clear that written records and material evidence do provide some hints for the true status of these settlement-forms. For the case of Naxos, for instance, textual evidence informs us that Sanudo made the island the headquarters of the Duchy of the Aegean, after building Kastro on the site of the Classical acropolis in order to secure his domination. The general layout of this fortified settlement was designed to provide housing for a colonial minority and function as the administrative centre for the Duchy. As it has been argued above, Naxos could be referred to as a 'town' due to its planned street network, its central-focal point, relatively dense population, plots of houses of urban type, social differentiation within the community and religious organisation (Grenville 1997, 157; Vionis 2003, 197). Sanders (1996) on the other hand, notes the difference between *Kastra* or principal island-settlements, *choria* and *choridia* or villages, and *poleis* or *Chora*-settlements with true city status. We should note that the large island of Naxos with its *Chora* or *Kastro* had administrative functions, which influenced affairs within and outside it; other island-*kastra* were usually the principal towns but never had administrative power beyond the island itself (Sanders 1996, 155; Vionis 2001a, 118). In the case of the Cyclades those *kastra*, as it is discussed below, never functioned as military strongholds. They are comparable to similar establishments in the Eastern Mediterranean, functioning as colonial settlements that housed the populations within them, and controlled by a local lord residing in his tower at the centre of the settlement. *Kastra* of a higher status such as Naxos, provided the base for the colonial land-owning minority of Venetian aristocrats, and also for a number of artisans and traders, creating an administrative, maritime, commercial and artistic town-profile, in contrast to smaller island-*kastra* occupied by farmers and fishermen (*e.g.* Antiparos, Kimolos).

7.3.3 The Role and Identity of the Late Medieval *Kastro*

The role of *kastra* in the Cyclades, built during the period of Venetian domination was certainly not the fulfilment of military purposes. Rather, their primal aim was the preservation of the possessions the Venetian lords had already acquired, as well as the creation of an administrative seat and storage centre for the safekeeping of agricultural produce. This was the case also with other *kastra* of Frankish Greece. The castle of Thebes in Boeotia (central Greece), built in 1287, was demolished by its Catalan lords in 1331 before it fell into the hands of Hughes de Brienne, as it was obvious to them it would not provide any particular protection to the city (Miller 1908; Koutelakis 2001). Similarly, even the strongly fortified free-standing towers of central Greece and Euboea have been interpreted as agricultural and domestic in inspiration, and only very few of them, mainly set in strategic points close to the Aegean coasts, could be characterised as 'militarily defensive' (Lock 1986; 1989; 1996).

A number of castles and fortified towers in the Near East and Italy built during the 11th, 12th and 13th centuries suggest a general policy for reinforcing seigneurial authority and its social system over a ma-

jority of peasant population. The 11th century was a period of conquest and settlement in England and France, with castle building-activity aiming towards the enforcement of a social and administrative structure based on personal military obligations (Pringle 1986; Duby 1997). A similar pattern is observed in 12th-century Palestine, where the Crusaders aimed to protect themselves and establish Frankish control and a new political and economic regime into a foreign land. It is not denied that such structures may have served as bases for mobile garrisons prepared to meet the enemy in the field or to act as refuges in which the population could endure the enemy's occupation of the surrounding area (Pringle 1986, 14). Not all of these fortresses or large fortified tower-houses and castles in the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem were used for military garrisons or administrative posts; they were also erected as kernels for new settlements, some of them built near temporary markets and regional economic centres (Ellenblum 1998, 32). Some of these rural settlements were nothing more than a mirrored transplantation of Western feudalism into the Eastern Mediterranean based on vassalage for intensified agricultural exploitation and the collection of tithes (Boas 1999). The process of *incastellamento* discussed by Wickham (1978; 1979, 87) for the case of Italy was initially a response to defence against enemy attacks but later on, it similarly played the role for the construction of judicial, administrative and settlement foci in the final colonisation of the region.

A first and fundamental explanation for the Venetian 'colonisation' of the Cyclades islands should be sought in their geographical position and the state of naval and political affairs in the Aegean after the fall of Constantinople to the Latins of the Fourth Crusade. The growing antagonism, initially between the Italian maritime powers of Venice and Genoa, and later on between Venice and the increasing control of Ottoman authority over previously Byzantine lands, made the Cyclades important for the control of maritime routes from Cretan Candia to Euboean Negroponte and the Dardanelles. The fact that the Duchy kept good relations with Venice, while during the 15th century the Duke of the Archipelago was included in all treaties of Venice with the Ottomans, being exempted from taxes (Kasdagli 1987, 349), testifies to the importance of the Cyclades as allies of the Serene Republic. A number of fortified settlements with fine harbours, such as Kastro on Naxos, Naoussa on Paros, Mykonos, Siphnos, Anokastro on Melos and Kato Kastro on Andros suggest that the islands were not merely used as revictualing stations but also as markers of a colonial, commercial and strongly military Republic.

Even though piracy seems to have been the prime concern of peasant populations and their lords living on the islands, the recovery of small-island settlements, such as Astypalaia, Antiparos, Anaphe and Kimolos might suggest better conditions and a general plan for intensifying agriculture. As noted further above, the fact that the *kastra* of Antiparos, Kimolos, Sikinos and Pholegandros were built in the 15th and early 16th centuries in flat and accessible terrain, has been suggested to reflect a more stable political environment, housing the occupants close to their fields (Sanders 1996, 159). Indeed, the period between the late 14th and early 16th centuries in the Venetian-dominated Aegean areas must have seen the emergence of a new era, a period of recovery and relative prosperity, mainly attested to in the built environment. The defended settlements and the concentration of population within them, always seen within the wider historical consequences in the Mediterranean and the regional shifts in the Aegean, do not seem to reflect a period of threat, instability and insecurity to a large degree. Most of those defended settlements were built in accessible land and close to the coast. The Venetian fleet, frequently present in the Aegean, and the Venetian merchants' involvement in trade at the same time, promoted the establishment of such posts along the island-coasts of the Aegean Archipelago. Moreover, the economic crisis of the Byzantine Empire in the middle 14th century, with the devaluation by nearly 50% of the Byzantine currency and its replacement by the Italian one in the international market (Linnér 1995) gave the Venetian Republic and its dependencies good grounds for economic and commercial expansion. Although it would not be self-evident to argue that the era following the 13th-century Latin 'colonisation' of the Cyclades was a period of *Pax Venetica* for the indigenous population, it would have been so for the Duke and his followers who enjoyed Venetian protection and economic privileges.

It has become clear that the foundation of *kastra* in the Cyclades and the nucleation of people within them were not the result of fear for an enemy or pirate attack primarily. It may have been a result of 'insecurity' at that time, although this sense of insecurity was felt for the unsettled affairs in a reorganised Aegean society with a majority of Greco-Byzantine serfs or *vasmuli* and *villani* and a minority of Western feudal lords. Indeed, the layout of *kastra* was the reflection of a Western political and economic system in the region. There are several debated views concerning the form of 'feudalism' performed in the Aegean during the Frankish and Early Ottoman eras. What is characteristic, however, is the fact that the process of 'colonisation' of the islands by the Venetian Republic was a slow one, having begun after the Fourth Crusade and followed up by a series of immigrations and other commercial enterprises throughout the Late Medieval era (Slot 1991, 196). The need to provide 'housing' for this long-term process was already felt when Marco I Sanudo made Naxos the headquarters of his Duchy at the beginning of the 13th century, while the relatively large islands of Paros, Andros and Tinos formed independent *signorie* (*i.e.* lordships). Tinos was an exception since it remained under direct Venetian authority from 1390 to 1715; its *kastro*, however, was reconstructed in order to receive a new wave of Venetian nobles and provide accommodation within the fortified town for their feudal and commercial enterprises (Koutelakis 2001, 321). Slot (1991, 199) has rightly argued that the fact that the Latin lords of the islands got large parts of their revenues in products that were negotiable in the international market, is a strong argument for the 'colonial' character of the economy. This is explained by the construction of large towers centrally situated within *kastra*, acting both as the occasional residence of the lord on the island as well as an administrative centre of an agricultural estate and central storehouse of agricultural produce and other goods. Similarly, as mentioned above, the construction of small *kastra* on a number of uninhabited islands (*e.g.* Kimolos, Pholegandros, Sikinos) in the early 1600s by colonising groups from the island of Siphnos was done in the same manner as with the *kastro* of Antiparos in the 1440s. Agricultural expansion and economic opportunities, even on a local level by the early 17th century, was the result of a feudal model still persisting into the 18th century.

More importantly, *kastra* in the Cyclades were eventually a fortified place of habitation, a form of *habitus*, no matter what their symbolic, political or economic significance might have been. Although there is no direct evidence for the existence of auxiliary buildings such as stables, a mill-room, a bake-house or a kitchen in the case of Sanudo's tower in the *kastro* of Naxos, such as those at equivalent castles in the Near East (Harper and Pringle 2000), it certainly does not contradict the view about permanent residence within *kastra*. There is evidence that certain *kastra* (*e.g.* Kastro on Naxos, Zephyria on Melos and Exobourgo on Tinos) were under the direct authority of their lords. They actually lived on the islands they administered, in sharp contrast to other Latin lords who were absentees and in most cases residents of Candia (McKee 2000), simply interested in the revenues they extracted, appointing certain representatives, the *captains* and *castellans* (Wagstaff 1982a, 68; Zerlendis 1924, 8). The Sanudi family on Naxos (1207-1383), the Crispi on Melos (1383-1566) and the Ghisi on Tinos (1331-1390) seem to have resided on the islands for a considerable length of time, in the so-called *palatia* (*i.e.* palaces), tower-houses that were constructed on the central portion of their fortified towns. This is a very important piece of information, considering that this process of *incastellamento* in the Cyclades must have begun at the beginning of the 13th century with the erection of a series of fortified residences and fortresses. These defensive mega-structures primarily acted as 'kernels' for new settlements to develop within as well as outside them (as elsewhere in the Crusader Mediterranean), and as centres of authority or feudal estate management. As noted earlier, Sanders (1996) provides a fundamentally invaluable source for the establishment and development of Late Medieval fortified settlements in the Cyclades during the 13th century; he presents a minute document of the Senate, which is very possibly referring to the settlement of Zephyria (the village of Andrea Vassalo - a Melian *archon* or local ruler). Vassalo's village contained a tower used for the collection and safekeeping of tithes and this settlement must have grown rapidly; Buondelmonti's (Legrand 1897) map indicates the site of Zephyria referring to it as *Torre Episcopi* or the 'Bishop's Tower'. Therefore, if Vassalo built a tower (for the reasons mentioned above) and a settlement later

grew around it, then this must have been the town of Millo/Zephyria.

Whether this process of building activity after the Latin domination in the Aegean and the subsequent concentration of *villani* within *kastra*, could be termed a process of *incastellamento* – a mechanism introduced by the Frankish lords (three centuries later than in Medieval feudal Italy) is a matter that requires further research. My investigation in the Cyclades, however, draws similar conclusions to those of Wickham (1979, 66-95) in Early Medieval South Etruria. It is possible that the 13th century *incastellamento* in the Cyclades was a mechanism not totally unknown to the indigenous populations. There is evidence for the existence of similar castle-structures with defensive walls and domestic buildings in the Cyclades and other Aegean islands, built during the period of the Arab raids in order to provide defended housing to island populations. In the case of the Early Byzantine period a more central authority, such as the Byzantine capital, must have erected such public works and planned projects. In contrast to the Italian *incastellamento*, where peasants were 'secluded' within the walls, Venice undertook a similar scheme during the Frankish period in the Cyclades, initially only in order to provide housing for the Latin elite. Gradually, the Cycladic case evolved into an *incastellamento* process by including peasants within *kastra*, too. The result was that a small number of Latin opportunists and entrepreneurs were established in the Aegean with the 'blessing' of the Serene Republic and, as was the case with other European countries and the Crusader states in the Near East, new settlements were constructed (Ellenblum 1998). With the initiative of the Latin landlords, plots of land were distributed amongst settlers, together with houses and physical protection within the newly founded *kastra*. In the Cyclades, as well as on Chios and Rhodes in the Eastern Aegean, fortified towns and defended villages were constructed with houses built next to each other and in rows, the back walls of which formed the fortification wall itself. Such nucleated settlement-forms either housed large numbers of inhabitants, as is the case with most of the Cycladic *kastra*, or were constructed in order to allow close control over peasant populations, such as Apano Kastro on Naxos controlling the majority of Greek inland villages of the island.

It has been suggested that types of settlement are the spatial manifestation of social structures and one cannot fix boundaries between social structure and its spatial elements; similarly one cannot ignore the social and cultural background which the Latins brought with them from their countries of origin (Ellenblum 1998, 13). In the town of Naxos' plan (as in every plan of a *kastro*), the Catholic Cathedral and the main tower, the so-called Lord's residence, are located at the notional centre of the settlement, and all the roads lead to these two basic poles of attraction. The domestic structures themselves within the town are facing towards the symbols of ecclesiastical and secular authority (Kouroupaki *et al.* 1988; Vionis 2003). The prominent siting of the Lord's central tower (originally very tall) created an identifiable skyline (Vionis 2001a). One can clearly see the symbolic reflection of social order in the standard example of the newly founded town of Naxos, the capital of the Duchy of the Archipelago. Ellenblum (1998, 32) has similarly concluded that a fortress or a defended town was designed to be more of a power-symbol and a nucleus for a new settlement rather than an answer to acute security requirements. It is generally accepted that Italian knights settling on the Aegean islands brought with them various institutions. The plan of island *kastra* is the material reflection of the Venetians' foundation of a political, social and ecclesiastical hierarchy in a foreign land, as well as for the introduction of values common in the 13th-century feudal West (Jacoby 1989b, 5).

There has been a long debate upon matters concerning the administrative and economic system of the first years of Venetian rule in the Cyclades and the possible or not influence of the previously existing Byzantine traditions. As already noted above, each island, according to its size and fertility, had a different fate; on small and naturally poorer islands there was a limited presence and influence of Italians, while larger and more fertile ones attracted the Westerners more (Luttrell 1989; Dimitropoulos 1997). It seems, however, through comparison with other well-studied island cases such as Crete and Kythera, that feudal elements had already begun to filter into the Byzantine social structure before the arrival of the Venetians. Thus, the Italian lords instituted what may be termed a 'pseudo-feudal' system using feudal terminology, and applying rules of feudal law im-

ported from the Morea, in order to adapt a Western system to Byzantine law and local conditions (Jacoby 1989b, 3; Gasparis 1997, 25; Leontsinis 2000, 68). It is true that for the case of the Cyclades, as well as other Venetian-dominated Aegean lands, the top of the social pyramid included both Latin and Greco-Byzantine landlords. Both elements belonging to the landholding class needed each other in order to control the majority Greek population, while 'their common economic and class interests' (Lock 1995, 277) would have overridden aspects such as their ethnic backgrounds. Marco Sanudo, for example, divided the land of Naxos into 56 feuds while a small number of Greek land-owning families kept its possessions and social status (Nafpliotis-Sarantinos 1986, 73-4). If this is the case, then one can see again the reflection of the feudal system on the layout of planned settlements, such as that of Naxos. The tower of the Latin lord is situated in the centre of the town, crowning the hilltop and reflecting an 'elite identity', while the circular *kastro* embraces the Latin Cathedral and townhouses of the Catholic nobility (Vionis 2003, 198).

7.3.4 Church-Building and Settlement Patterns

There are historical hints that when Marco I Sanudo arrived in Naxos and established the Duchy of the Archipelago, the Greek population welcomed the coming of the new ruler and did not really seem to mind being ruled by an Italian. The fact that Sanudo was married to the sister of the Byzantine Emperor of Nicaea (a Byzantine princess of the Orthodox rite) and showed himself tolerant towards the Greek Orthodox population, leaving its Bishop undisturbed, resulted in his acceptance by the population of Naxos (Miller 1908, 643). Similarly, in other Venetian dominated Aegean areas, Greco-Byzantine peasants did not show resistance to the Venetians. The unpopular treatment of the Byzantine lower social classes by the *Angeloi* (*c.*1185-1204) and the special arrangement between the Latin lords and the Byzantine *archons* provided suitable ground for the establishment of the Franks at the beginning of the 13th century (Gounaridis 1993, 143-4). How the peasant population, forming the majority on the islands, and who farmed the estates for Greek and Latin lords, felt about the new situation was nowhere recorded, while the Latins needed the support of the Greek *archons* for control over the peasant majority (Lock 1995, 13, 277).

It has been argued that during the Early Ottoman period among the Christians of the Cyclades, 80% were of the Greek-Orthodox and 20% of the Catholic rite (Slot 1982, 14), while those on the smaller islands comprised less than 10% (Luttrell 1989, 147). The *Latins* of Syros, for instance, who constituted the majority of more than 90% of the population of the island until the War of Independence, behaved like 'Greeks', except in what concerns the rite. Therefore, it seems that at a certain moment the Greek population of Syros was converted to the Latin rite. Amongst those following the Greek-Orthodox rite there were also some of Albanian and Armenian origin (Slot 1982, 14; Luttrell 1989, 147).

A number of historical studies on the local Aegean and foreign communities have concluded that the divide between Greeks and Latins was a social and religious one (Lock 1995, 293). If there ever was from the side of the Latin population a tendency towards 'ethnic solidarity', that was mainly due to their being a minority, living in the towns, while the countryside was left to the Greeks. Latins and Greeks of the wealthier class generally lived in towns and ports, very seldom in the countryside, although there are cases where this was not always the rule. McKee's (2000) case-study of Venetian Crete, has also shown that identity between the local Greeks and the Venetians was largely determined by gender, religion, and social status alone. Intermarriage between the two communities gradually resulted in their acculturation and assimilation, both sharing the predominant Greek language, and absorbing aspects of Greek culture from the side of the Latins. The suggestion above is further testified to by the fact that marriage was a means of conveying property and status. Intermarriage between Greeks and Latins, however, was the result of the daily social and economic intercourse between the two communities. This cultural assimilation of indigenous and 'imported' populations in both Crete and the Cyclades by the 16th century was also based on socio-economic benefits. For example, Greeks involved in trade needed to learn the international language of commerce (*i.e.* Italian), while Latins involved in law and notarial business needed to have a good command of Greek in order to reach the

broad client base of Greek-speaking population (McKee 2000, 115, 124).

It should be noted that Venice, as well as certain Latin noble groups on the islands did not favour intermarriage with the Greek community. Such a practice would threaten the distinctive character of the Latin community (Jacoby 1989b, 10). However, mixed marriages between the Latin feudatories and Greek noble families must have been pursued also by the migrant Latins themselves throughout the period of Venetian domination, as a means for absorbing more wealth and social power in their possession. Intermarriage between Latin and indigenous families of the lower social levels must have been even more common in places with a stronger Venetian presence, such as Crete (McKee 2000, 169), but that was a practice officially discouraged. Mixed marriages were obviously something that Venice did not wish for and tried to prevent. Therefore, Greek blood entering the landholding class would mean that unfree Greek peasants could pass to the class of free citizens. Thus, one of the 'laws' of the Republic was that the children of a Greek mother with a Latin father would retain the unfree status of the mother (Lock 1995, 291).

The growing number of Greek-Orthodox churches being built during the period of Venetian domination (Vionis 2003, 198-200) as well as related textual sources concerning the Cyclades (Slot 1975) and other islands (*e.g.* Crete), seem to suggest that the Latin lords did not impose Catholicism on their subjects. In Naxos the number of Orthodox churches which were built or decorated with frescoes increased steadily by the 13th century. In the region of Filoti (in the interior of Naxos), for instance, one finds the largest number of dated inscriptions on decorative frescoes of the Byzantine style (dated in the second half of the 13th and early 14th centuries) even in the humblest little chapel (Mitsani 2000, 93-112). This could either be the result of a more stable and relatively prosperous period, or a reflection of the Orthodox population's need to associate and link itself with the Constantinople Orthodox Church rather than the imported Catholic ruling class. On the neighbouring island of Paros and in a barrel-vaulted Late Byzantine church at Protoria, wall paintings preserve the figure of the donor probably, wearing a red garb and a distinctive Western-style cap (Mitsani 1999, 9). Similarly in Crete, churches were being built and their interiors decorated with frescoes, very often depicting the donor, who could sometimes be of Venetian descent (Maltezou 2000). Even in art and architecture, the existence of different cultures on the same land resulted in the blending of different elements and the creation of new styles of religious expression. The cases of Cyprus, Rhodes, Crete and the Morea, where Gothic-style churches were erected and decorated with Byzantine-style frescoes and vice-versa, are standard examples (Weyl-Carr 1995; Christoforaki 1999; Gerstel 2001; Hirschbichler 2005; Stancioiu 2009).

There are historical hints that the division between Latins and Greeks was merely a religious rather than an ethnic one, at least during the first two centuries of Venetian domination. Although the Roman-Catholic replaced the Greek-Orthodox Church in the Venetian-dominated regions, the Latins did not impose Catholicism on the indigenous Orthodox population. Such a move would only have disrupted the existing social order, since members of the Catholic Church were considered freemen (Jacoby 1989b, 24). The Church played an important role as a cultural centre and in forming collective identities. Although there always was a *symbiosis* or co-existence on a daily level and intermarriage between members of the Greek and Latin communities, it seems that both groups preserved their sense of 'otherness': Orthodox and Catholics, peasants and landlords. A different case is noted in Venetian Crete, where there is sufficient textual evidence to suggest that acculturation by Latins sometimes (especially in the later Venetian period) meant tolerance of the Greek-Orthodox Church in such a degree that it is difficult to distinguish between the two communities (McKee 2000).

This formation of 'group identity' (reflected in the built environment and the intense church building-activity) also provides important historical and archaeological information for the identification of the settlement system on a number of Cycladic islands. Although *kastra* are evidently indicative of a nucleated settlement system, with large numbers of inhabitants living on a permanent basis under the protection of their defensive walls, they should also be

viewed as an element within a settlement hierarchy. Parallel research at Crusader sites in the Levant (Ellenblum 1998; Boas 1999) has revealed that Frankish settlement in the region included rural *burgi*, defended and undefended villages, manor houses and seigneurial strongholds. Similarly, intensive surface survey in rural Boeotia in central Greece (Sigalos 2004, 89-91) has revealed not only Frankish-era village-sites (successors of the Middle Byzantine hamlet- and village-sites) but also other settlement-types, such as towers with associated structures used for storage of agricultural produce. The Cycladic countryside was likewise not emptied by the Latin lords despite the successive concentration of a large part of population within the *kastra*. The presence of a relatively large number of churches in rural Naxos and Paros dated to the period of Venetian domination, provides a valuable indication of the spread and volume of settlement in the region. It seems that small single-roomed barrel-vaulted churches scattered around the countryside were usually but not always associated with a settlement around it, as in the case of *Choria Kephalou* on Paros. Wickham (1978; 1979) has also noted the same aspect about settlement distribution in Southern Italy between 700 and 1200 AD, where the high degree of settlement concentration did not disguise the fact that other settlement-types were probably in existence.

It is generally accepted that settlement during the Late Medieval period on the islands of the Cyclades is characterised by a high degree of nucleation within fortified settlements (Cherry *et al.* 1991; Davis 1991). Yet, a number of sites of farmstead-, hamlet- and village-size developed around rural churches in the fertile valley of *Choria Kephalou*, just below and outside the large defended site of Kephalos from the late 13th to the early 16th century. In a nucleated settlement system it would usually take peasants a long time to travel daily to the fields they cultivated, especially if these were scattered holdings. The existence of settlement-sites (even of small size) in the countryside in this case would certainly reflect a policy for extended agricultural exploitation and enlargement of cultivated land. The large fertile valley of *Choria Kephalou* in Paros, for instance, was possibly given out as parcels of land for an agricultural production based on grain, wine and olive-oil cultivation; Tournefort (1718) informs us that the Venetian army burnt all the olive-trees of Paros during the War of Candia (1645-1669). These sites on Paros were certainly associated with and dependent on the *kastro* of Kephalos; the same could be argued for the case of Naxos and the defended site of Apano Kastro with the sizeable Greek villages in its immediate territory. A similar pattern is noted on Tinos, where the Northern portion of the island was composed of a number of undefended 'satellite villages' around the secondary centre of Pyrgos or Megalo Chorio, which were established for the intensive cultivation of grain (Koutelakis 2001). Mainland Greece followed a similar pattern of agricultural expansion, as archaeological evidence from field survey suggests that there was still large frequency of rural settlement-sites during the 13th-14th centuries (Bintliff and Snodgrass 1985; Bintliff 1995; 1996; 2000).

The Late Medieval period in the Aegean was a pre-capitalist era with an essentially agricultural economy and character. It is widely accepted that modes of production and systems of cultivation influenced settlement status and patterning and the location of village- or hamlet-communities. In neighbouring Italy, the Late Middle Ages were a period of crisis as well as transformation. Populations begun to spread out in the countryside and establish scattered farmsteads after landlords had showed a preference for indirect farming, drawing their income from seigneurial rents and letting out their properties to cultivators (Jones 1968, 232). Similarly, the appearance of a number of small (but rather permanent) hamlet-sites at *Choria Kephalou* on Paros towards the late 13th/14th century and especially in the early 15th may be seen as a result of agricultural prosperity. Minor landlords of the period, acted as private landowners aiming at the extension of agricultural production, and contributed to the passage of peasants from *villain* (*i.e.* serfs) to people of free status (Frazee 1988, 72). Although socio-economic conditions differed between Late Medieval Italy and the Cyclades, it is worth noting that individual farms in central and Northern Italy became more prosperous, although there was a certain amount of less wealthy peasants who became labourers in such estates (Aymard 1982).

An example from Crete is a fine parallel to the settlement system and feudal strategies in the Cyclades; the agricultural expansion in Crete in favour of grain

and vine cultivation during the first centuries of Venetian occupation, resulted in a large number of inland villages dependent on a neighbouring castle. The majority of the nobility lived within the territory of their rural estates, which acted as kernels for the establishment of villages around them and the close control of their production and subordinate peasants. A feud in Crete could have been composed of entire villages, the base of economic life since the Venetian conquest of the island in the early 13th century, and characterised by intensive agricultural exploitation and production dominated by cereals and vines. The inhabitants of the village, cultivators of a feud, developed farming activities to the best possible advantage thanks to long-term grants of land-cultivation rights (Gasparis 1997). This system favoured the establishment of farming villages and dispersed hamlets dependent on a larger centre, such as a *castello*, and this settlement pattern remained the dominant one throughout the period of Venetian domination. The Cyclades must have acted in the same way, although the limited availability of large areas of fertile land confined the size and importance of rural settlements. However, it has become evident that settlement in the Late Medieval Cyclades was not confined to the *kastra* of each island; a satellite network of hamlets provided an extended effort for settlement, accommodation and agricultural exploitation.

7.4 THE POST-MEDIEVAL AND EARLY MODERN GROWTH

7.4.1 Defining the Meaning of *Settlement*

The Cyclades during the era of Ottoman domination on most Aegean islands from 1579 to 1821, experienced political unity under the Ottoman Empire, and an age of gradual population rise and relative economic prosperity. A number of political, economic and religious privileges granted to the islanders by successive Ottoman Sultans, and the commercial penetration of European states into the Southern Balkans, contributed decisively to the rise of the Greek middle class and the establishment and revival of a network of towns and minor settlements.

The Greek landscape preserves a wide diversity of settlements of different character, which were established or developed especially during the Late Ottoman period. The main distinction in rural settlements can be made between temporary and permanent ones (Wagstaff 1969). Temporary settlements were agricultural and pastoral, comprised of about 40-50 *kalyvia* or seasonal habitations (Sutton 1994). Permanent settlements comprised clustered villages of a compact or loose layout, such as the *çiftlik* or farm estate, which appeared in Mainland Greece in the 17th-18th centuries and was used for production of cash crops in a globalised economic environment (Wagstaff 1969; Sutton 1988; Sigalos 2004). Another village sub-type was the *komidio* or hamlet, a small settlement with a dozen permanent or seasonal farmhouses, lacking the amenities of a proper village (Wagstaff 1969; Sutton 1994); hamlets had lost their dominant role since the 12th-13th centuries, having formed part of a village or monastic establishment. A final but still major settlement-type is the isolated farmsteads (very common in the 11th-12th centuries), which became very dominant again, especially on the Aegean island-landscape from the middle 19th century onwards.

The village-type that is defined here and has been the dominant settlement-form in the Cyclades since the late 16th century is the so-called unplanned 'nucleated village' that followed local social, functional and aesthetic principles (Wagstaff 1969). The term for village or *chorion* (meaning a settlement smaller than a town) refers to a permanent nucleated settlement of any size, from clusters of farmhouses to hamlets and small towns. A broader definition of a *village* would describe 'a group of families living in a collection of houses and having a sense of community irrespective to its actual size' (Rowley and Wood 1995). The Cycladic village is mostly of the 'linear' form and its focus is usually located on a public square with a number of stores and coffeeshops around it, or in other cases the parish-church. There are certainly other village-types, such as the settlements of the evolved fortified form, which constitute a Post-Medieval extension of the Late Medieval fortified settlements. The study of Post-Medieval Cycladic settlements and their layout is based on evidence coming from above rather than below the ground (in contrast to examples studied by the 'Deserted Village' Programmes in Britain and the United States). Most of these settlements in the Cyclades are still occupied, with a small number that were de-

serted in the Late Ottoman and Early Modern periods, such as Mavro Chorio on Siphnos and Ismaili on Tinos.

The study of settlement patterning and layout of deserted and still inhabited villages of all sizes and forms, aims at the understanding and interpretation of the spatial arrangement of material culture and rural daily life, through the examination of standing buildings and domestic material culture (*e.g.* ceramics).

7.4.2 The Formation of Post-Medieval *Settlement*

The Post-Medieval village-type developed in the Cycladic countryside, acquiring different size and status, ranges from simple additional house-rings outside Late Medieval fortified centres to settlements of linear layout (developing in series along a single main path-street) and dispersed isolated farmsteads. In general, there was a greater degree of freedom and more space was available during the creation of rural settlements, but repetition was kept to a certain extent. Most of the Cycladic Post-Medieval settlements were founded after the firm establishment of Ottoman control in the region, between the late 16th and early 17th centuries. The inland linear settlements of Siphnos for example (*i.e.* Artemonas, Apollonia, Katavati, Exambela and Kato Petali) must have been formed in the early 17th century by earlier house-clusters, which functioned as seasonal hamlets built initially in order to provide shelter to farming communities closer to their fields. Plaka, the Late Ottoman and Early Modern main town of Melos, was possibly established around the middle of the 18th century, after the gradual abandonment of Zephyria; it is a settlement of the evolved fortified plan, the original core of which is probably dated in the middle 18th century. Similarly, the towns of Paroikia and Naoussa on Paros (both of the evolved fortified form) had added zones of house-rings along the East, South and West of the original *kastra*; these extensions first took place in the 16th century, with a more intense building-activity during the 17th and 18th centuries. Economic recovery, a greater sense of security and population rise during the centuries of Ottoman rule and a combination of other factors led to the establishment and growth of large and minor rural settlements in the Cycladic countryside outside the original Medieval nucleus.

There are two distinct types of settlement of the Post-Medieval evolved fortified form. The first type constitutes the defended-like rings of houses that were built immediately outside the Late Medieval fortified centres. The second type is characterised by its compact and circular layout, usually built on and around a low hilltop, imitating in a way the typical layout of fortified settlements of the irregular plan. The linear or traditional settlements in the Cyclades developed during the Post-Medieval and Early Modern periods and are equally very common. Their basic characteristic is that they form a continuous network of houses and have a largely linear layout, established on an inland plateau, a mountain slope or a hillside. The third settlement-type, the isolated or group of farmhouses started to be established only in the late 18th or early 19th century, especially after the Greek Revolution in 1821. The Cycladic farmsteads are groups of buildings, with the traditional seasonal or permanent residential structure as a main focus, around which a collection of buildings of agricultural character was attached. Hillsides and mountainous areas close to pastureland and cultivated fields, usually away from the sea but overlooking it, were areas preferred for the establishment of these dispersed countryside installations.

The growth of towns and rural settlements established in the Cyclades during the Post-Medieval period was done in a dynamic manner. This was accomplished without the use of a regular plan (as used to be the case with some of the Late Medieval *kastra*), 'but by meeting the day by day needs guided by the configuration of the land' (Bouras 1997b, 208).

7.4.3 The Role and Identity of the Post-Medieval *Settlement*

As it has already been noted on several occasions above, the intensive archaeological surface survey in Northern Keos has revealed that potsherds of the Middle Byzantine period in the countryside are considerable in number, while archaeologically recognisable artefacts of the Frankish and Ottoman periods are almost absent. The authors (Cherry *et al.* 1991, 362-3) have concluded that this reflects the abandon-

ment of the land by farmers (during those times) and the extreme nucleation of the island population in Chora (the main town of Kea). Indeed, the settlement pattern on the islands of the period prior the War of Independence could be termed 'nucleated', with the high concentration of the population in the still existing Late Medieval fortified centres. In contrast, that of the Early Modern period could be characterised as 'dispersed', with a considerable number of farming communities permanently living in the countryside, outside the old towns (Vionis 2003, 200). All this was the result of local political, social and economic changes marked throughout those periods in question.

The picture was changing slightly around the middle of the 16th century in the Cyclades, a short period of unrest; under the general economic stress and heavy taxation by both Venice and the Jewish duke Joseph Nasi, the islanders faced a different situation. Around this time, notions of national identity were born, probably as a reaction to the then current economic and social situation. It is worth noting that the terms 'Romania' and 'Rhomaioi' (Byzantine terms for defining the empire and the peoples living within it) were no longer used. Instead, more specific terminology, such as *Hellas* and *Asia* entered the vocabulary of the time, probably as a result of national rather than cultural lines being accentuated (Lock 1995, 24).

The Late Medieval defended settlements did not die out after the subsequent incorporation of the Cyclades into the Ottoman Empire. The built environment was accordingly shaped; the settlement plan of the town of Naxos provides again a standard example. The town was expanding through time, while newcomers and older inhabitants, different ethnic groups, formed different neighbourhoods. The Catholic Latins still occupied the defended medieval Kastro (*c.*1207). The Orthodox Greeks formed the district of Bourgo and Agora (*c.*1344). A number of Jews (and Armenians?) settled in Chora and created the district of Evriaki (*c.*1566). Refugees from other Ottoman-dominated areas (*c.*1734) and refugees from Asia Minor and Crete (*c.*1860) formed the district of Nio Chorio (Kouroupaki *et al.* 1988). It seems that each group (ethnic or social) had by that time formed its own identity and sense of otherness. Different populations were grouping themselves according to religious beliefs and common language, different socio-cultural and ethnic background (Vionis 2003, 200-1).

However, structures in the areas mentioned above were constructed with a greater degree of freedom because of more available space and marked by a lesser degree of planning. The domestic units, the structures housing the non-noble inhabitants were still constructed continuously forming another defensive wall and a primary line of defence (in the case of the evolved fortified settlements). The houses themselves were mainly two-storey (but not as high as those of the Kastro district on Naxos) having one-two rooms built of cheap local material and reflecting the social standing of their owners. It is characteristic that the houses within the Medieval Kastro of Sanudo (inhabited by the *Kastrinoi* – the Catholics of the Kastro) are called *archontika* or upper class housing. Those in the areas inhabited by Greeks, Armenians and Jews (the *Bourgianoi* – Bourgo defining the area outside the Medieval defended town) are called *laika* or low-class, popular houses (Kouroupaki *et al.* 1988, 86; Vionis 2003, 201).

It is noteworthy that most of the settlements (*e.g.* villages, minor rural settlements, towns) developing during the Ottoman period on the islands of the Cyclades were concentrated rather inland and away from the seaside (*e.g.* Naxos, Paros, Siphnos, Tinos, Melos). The exceptions to this rule are the towns of the evolved fortified form (which developed immediately outside the fortified house-rings of Late Medieval *kastra*). Many travellers in the Cyclades have noted the distinctive concentration of islanders in dispersed villages and hamlets during the Ottoman era. The British traveller James Theodore Bent (1885, preface), who visited Naxos in 1883, argued that,

> 'The islands were never, like the mainland, subject to the incursions of barbarous tribes... The Italian influence which was dominant in the Middle Ages in the Cyclades has left traces which extend little beyond the towns on the sea-coast... Up in the mountains of Naxos, a few hours' distance from the town, the villages are inhabited by Greeks of the most undoubted pedigree... If

> you leave the towns and go into the villages, you find customs existing the very nature of which stamps them as Hellenic... During the Turkish times the islanders were practically allowed self-government... It will be obvious that these islands, especially the smaller ones, offer unusual facilities for the study of the manners and customs of the Greeks as they are, with a view to comparing them with those of the Greeks as they were.'

It has been suggested by many scholars (Kolodny 1974, 149-70; Vakalopoulos 1976, 70-100; Sutton 1988, 187-215) that increasingly large payments extracted from peasants by Ottoman-Turkish local landowners with the *çiftlik* system since the late 17th century led to a clear demographic decline a century later. The result was an intense village movement and relocation with populations sometimes fleeing to other places for security reasons and in order to avoid paying the higher demands made by *çiftlik* owners. Although this is true for the situation on the Greek Mainland, it has also been suggested for the case of the islands (at least the larger and most fertile of the Aegean islands), where populations seem to have concentrated at higher altitudes around the same time (Sutton 1988, 191). It seems more plausible that the inhabitants of the Cyclades, though, followed a similar practice of settlement move and relocation, not so much because of the fear of piracy or warfare, but mainly to fulfil a process of agricultural expansion and exploitation. This was clearly not the result of peasant exploitation by *çiftlik* owners (since the Cyclades did not experience the *çiftlik* system); it rather reflects the general insecurity in the Ottoman-dominated Aegean, and the local Cycladic adaptation to the economic conditions set. After all, the interior of the island of Naxos for example, had been intensely populated since the Middle Byzantine period, due to its extensive upland fertile and water-rich plains. Similarly, neighbouring Paros developed a series of 'inland' villages (*i.e.* Marmara, Marpissa, Prodromos, Kostos and Lefkes) within the territory of fertile and well-watered plains.

All rural settlements (whether of town-status or simply countryside hamlets) are characterised by their highly nucleated layout, with a number of steep and narrow winding paved paths leading off a central street running through the village. The focal point was the village-square and a large church with its yard. A number of stores developed along the main street, while coffee-shops begun to be established as places of social intercourse between the male members of the community during the Early Modern period. The location of rural settlements on hillsides and close to a water source is a general characteristic, while the distinction of Aegean settlements into 'upper' and 'lower' or *ano* and *kato* signified the existence of a pair of neighbouring villages (Kasdagli 1999, 39). There are also cases on islands such as Naxos, where most rural settlements seem to have developed around a *pyrgospito*, in a fashion similar to *çiftlik* sites on the Mainland. Other examples of rural settlement-layout, such as Ismaili on Tinos and Mavro Chorio on Siphnos, exhibit parallels to Boeotia in central Greece, where some villages were confined between a tower and a church or between two churches (Sigalos 2004, 109-10). This is a special feature of the Cycladic towns and villages not only during the Ottoman period but also during the Frankish era on the islands, where settlement organisation is based on religious foci, mainly churches.

It should be noted that a confined number of island settlements associated with a monastery is comparable to the *metochi*-estates with associated settlements (exploited by a monastery) of Mainland Greece. Sutton (1988, 192) mentions that four villages with population of 1600 people were established in Northern Amorgos surrounding the harbour in the Post-Medieval period, while the inhabitants worked the lands of the Monastery of *Chozoviotissa*, which controlled most of the island. Economic activities varied between villages or different islands. Some of them were distinctively pastoral, such as Komiaki, the highest village of Naxos, while the majority of rural settlements in the Cyclades had a primarily agrarian economy, producing grain, olive oil and wine. As it has been noted above, the major product of the Cyclades during the Ottoman period was wine, followed by grain. Some notable exceptions existed on islands such as Andros that was involved in silk production, and Keos, where the export of oak or *velanidi* acorns for tanning leather was its major cash crop (Sutton 1988; Kasdagli 1999).

7.4.4 Church-Building and Settlement Patterns

Given that the Cyclades were granted special privileges by Ottoman Sultans, beginning with Sultan Murat III in 1580 (Slot 1982, 78), a lot of Greek communities welcomed the coming of the Ottomans, for they hated the Latins as much as the Orthodox Christians did. The characteristic phrase 'better the turban than the mitre' indicates the island-population's hatred of anything Western and Catholic. The Ottoman *millet* system administered subject peoples according to their religious beliefs, rather than their ethnicity. The boundaries of the two did not necessarily coincide, religion being a wider category in classifying people than their ethnicity (Sant Cassia 1986). The privileges towards the Cycladic communities granted by the Sultans, however, apart from protection of the Christian population's land ownership, rights for self-administration and the freedom from *devşirme*, included also freedom of belief, the building of new, and the restoration of old, churches (Vionis 2003, 201).

The Ottoman administrative system showed respect to the Orthodox Church, whose property was also privileged. The late 16th, 17th and 18th centuries saw an increase in the number of churches built on the islands. In Paros the period between about 1650 and 1750 is the period that church and monastery building reached its peak. Religious icon painting flourished as well. Orthodox church screens were coated with precious golden painted icons produced, in most cases locally, by students of the Cretan School of icon painting, a very highly valued, respected and appreciated School all over the Aegean world since the 1500s. It is evident that all this church building activity and icon painting is certainly reflecting the power of the Orthodox population, who, having already acquired privileges of self-administration by the Ottoman Sultans, felt the need to show off. Since it is true that certain wealthy individuals of the *Hellenised* Venetian aristocracy or local upper class of Greek origin must have been engaged in church building and church dedication, it would not be an exaggeration to suggest that the local communities were partly responsible for this (Vionis 2003, 201-2).

Historical hints refer to a small number of 'Turkish' families living on the island of Naxos during the 17th and 18th centuries. During the fourth decade of the 17th century there were about 70 Turks on the island, that is, Muslims whose wives were of the Greek-Orthodox rite (Katsouros 1989, 718). It is not always clear, however, whether these people were originally of Turkish origin or previously Christians who accepted Islam. Tournefort (1718) mentions that a few years before he visited Naxos, ten to twelve families from the island became Muslims. As is obvious, the term 'Turk' in the case of Naxos is identical with 'Muslim', although a Muslim might have been of Naxian origin. In this case, ethnicity seems to be the result of religious affiliation: Orthodox is a Greek, Catholic is a Latin, Muslim is a Turk. It has been suggested that the few Turks or Muslims on the islands were never welcomed. Much earlier than 1821 there were no Turks on Naxos. The few Turkish-sounding place names and material remains they left behind still attest to their previous existence on Naxos, for example the spring of *Hasan Aga* in the interior of the island, built in 1759 (Vionis 2003, 202).

On the other hand, textual information referring to the Russo-Turkish War of 1768-1774 as well as material remains in the Cyclades attests to the presence of the Orthodox naval forces of Catherine the Great in the Aegean. The Russian-Orthodox 'fair-haired race', whose aim was to restore the Greeks' 'ancient liberty' (Sonnini 1801) was welcomed on the islands, having raised hopes of freedom amongst the islanders. Nonetheless, no other province within the Modern Greek borders benefited as much as the Cyclades did during the period of Ottoman rule. The rights of self-administration and self-determination granted to the Cyclades resulted in the relative prosperity of the islanders and the rise of a middle class of Greek merchants in the late 18th century. Most importantly, the Sultan also granted the right of land-ownership to individuals and institutions, while the Orthodox Church enjoyed great freedom and wealth (Antoniadis-Bibikou 1996, 157-8). What was, therefore, the reason for revolt against the Ottoman Empire? It clearly seems to be the formation of an ethnic identity, especially in the late 18th and early 19th centuries, shaped by the then current social and economic conditions in the province of *Rumelia* (*i.e.* Mainland

Greece). The process towards the formation of an ethnic identity had probably begun at the beginning of the 18th century, as is attested in material culture and the built environment (Vionis 2003, 202).

It has become clear that towns and villages of the Ottoman period are characterised by the high number of churches constructed within their boundaries, while there are cases where the church or churches at different neighbourhoods within a settlement mark different focal points. The town of Ios constitutes a fine example of this practice. From the late 16th century onwards, church and monastery building-activity thrived on the islands of the Cyclades, probably being the result of privilege-grants by Ottoman Sultans, associated with the freedom of belief and the construction and restoration of churches. Moreover, the growing number of ecclesiastical buildings should also be interpreted in the light of religious affiliation and Greek-Orthodox identity, social elevation and status. Indeed, a good number of churches were privately owned and funded by wealthy individuals, reflecting 'a fundamental method of distinction and social promotion' (Bouras 1997b, 209). Older churches were incorporated into the town's grid, while new ones were constructed in a process of building expansion, marking different neighbourhoods, so acting as parish centres for different town-quarters.

The growing power of shipping and the rise of the Greek middle class since the middle 18th century had indirect consequences on the built environment by the middle of the following century. Syros became a very important port-town straight after the establishment of the Kingdom of Greece, encouraging an outward migration of people towards large commercial cities of the Eastern Mediterranean, such as Constantinople, Smyrna and Athens. Meanwhile, the distribution of 'Ottoman estate lands' encouraged a large number of island-populations to move out of towns and nucleated villages, creating a whole network of family-farmsteads dispersed into every corner of each island in the Cyclades. These isolated farmsteads or farming-hamlets must have been initially seasonally occupied, their owners retaining a family house in the principal town of each island. Such agricultural establishments gradually became permanent residences for a large number of island populations, exclusively involved in subsistence crop cultivation, and almost completely cut-off from any social interaction and opportunity for advancement in social hierarchy (Whitelaw 1991). I could explain settlement change in the Early Modern Cyclades in no better way than summarising Davis' (1991, 138-9) conclusions on settlement inside and outside the nucleated town of Keos. Thus, the traditional system of production prevailing during the Ottoman period, with the cultivation of wheat, barley and possibly vines, and olives over scattered land-holdings, would have encouraged farmers who worked on fragmented holdings to reside in a nucleated settlement. The alternative system, though, with greater emphasis on the maximisation of subsistence production of grain crops rotated with pulses in a specific area (not scattered holdings) would have encouraged permanent settlement outside the main centres and closer to the acreage of land owned by a farmer's family. This system resulted in the spread of peasant populations outside the Late Medieval defended centres and the Post-Medieval nucleated villages in the 19th century, yet while based in the countryside they were only providing their families with the necessities of subsistence agriculture. Wealthy landowners and people involved in shipping and commerce found themselves isolated within the boundaries of a provincial island and migrated to large centres in order to participate in politics and seek other opportunities for gaining further economic power. As a result, even thriving island towns and ports of the 19th century lost their importance and remained stagnant mini-powers only within the limited boundaries of every island.

7.5 CYCLADIC ARCHITECTURE AND DOMESTIC PRIVACY

7.5.1 Defining the Meaning of *House* in Western Literature

The interpretation of landscape and material culture has always been the subject of archaeology. Post-Medieval archaeology, however, has developed mostly in Northwest Europe and the United States, where new methods and models have been applied in order to explain the transition from feudal to capitalist societies and 'the move towards modern ways of life' (Johnson 1996, 1).

David Gaimster (Gaimster and Nenk 1997), a British domestic material-culture scholar and ceramic specialist carried out such a case study in the 1990s. Gaimster traced the transition from feudalism to capitalism and its consequences in the social stratification of middle 15th to middle 16th-century England through the study of the ceramic evidence. The outcome of this economic transition was the emergence of an urban middle class of merchants and artisans, living in towns and ports with access to national and international markets. This emerging middle class used its material possessions to express its status and existence, imitating its 'betters' in a social emulation process (Gaimster and Nenk 1997, 188). Similarly, the British material culture and domestic architecture specialist Matthew Johnson (1996), in his *Archaeology of Capitalism* deals with the development of housing in Pre-Modern England as a means to investigate changes to Modern lifeways. He attempts to identify such changes by looking at the 'role of objects as loci of cultural, social and economic relationships', and through his work he tries to understand these 'processes as entwined with the everyday actions of men and women' (Johnson 1996, 2; Vionis 2001a, 117). A different group of American material culture specialists, such as David Prown (1993), have tried to examine changes in domestic material culture of the Colonial and Post-Colonial periods in America, through the description and study of single artefacts which are treated as products of symbolic expression (Vionis 2005).

The birth of new theoretical and methodological approaches in the field of archaeology in the last decades has to a large extent provided the basis and topic for a number of conferences, papers and debates in Western Europe (Vionis 2001a, 117). More recent methodological approaches have been delivered in an effort 'to rescue archaeological reasoning from the so-called pitfalls of traditional archaeology' (Yiannouli and Mithen 1986, 167). In an attempt to incorporate related disciplines (folklore studies, socio-economic history, historical geography and architecture) into a single one, that of archaeology (Bintliff 1991; Johnson 1986), a number of theoretical archaeologists have seen purely functionalist or aesthetic approaches as a 'sterile and unimaginative' study of buildings (Grahame 2000, 2).

It is agreed amongst archaeologists that buildings need also to be seen as material manifestations of ideologies and cosmologies (Parker-Pearson and Richards 1994) and architecture as an instrument of social power (Grahame 2000). Hillier and Hanson (1984) made an attempt to analyse architecture and the built space in the 1980s with their *Social Logic of Space* and the method of 'Access Analysis'. This topographical method's aim is 'the representation, quantification and interpretation of spatial configuration in buildings and settlements' (Hillier and Hanson 1984, 363). This method works through the description of the relations of permeability in a building by 'reading' movement through it (Graham 2000, 3). It could be argued that one such method would work well with the excavated ruins of a prehistoric palace complex, where there is no textual evidence and the associated material culture is either very limited or makes no sense. In the case of Medieval and Post-Medieval littoral Greek housing, although the schematic representation of pathways through it might read the *use of space*, concentrating only on access patterns means that one can lose rather important information, such as room-size and household furnishing or decorative elements (Vionis 2001a, 118).

The term for a 'house' is not a generic one; one cannot detach it from meanings such as *domestic*, *home*, *household*, *family* or *privacy*. Beginning with the Greek for 'house' or *spiti*, it derives from the Latin *hospitum*, meaning the building itself as well as the inhabitants or family thereof, while the archaic *oikos* and *oikia* also refer both to 'house' and 'household' or 'generation'. One cannot ignore the social, economic and culture meanings that 'house' encompasses (Braudel 1985, 267); it is a 'bounded space' however and the 'household' included is an economically and socially important unit that its members are associated with (Birdwell-Pheasant and Lawrence-Zúñiga 1999). Following Rapoport's (1969; 1995; Oswald and Chaudhury 2005, 38-40) definition of the house as an institution and not just as a structure, it is more than a shelter, more than a utilitarian concept; it is a 'social unit of space' that also implies a mental state such as 'ownership', 'kinship' or 'control'. In other words, it is widely accepted that the 'house' or 'home' is not a container of material objects but rather a 'container' of social activities (Parker-Pearson and Richards 1994, 3; Smith 2010,

81-2). Domestic architecture has been suggested to be a 'reflection of behaviour' while the use of space is a 'reflection of culture' (Kent 1990, 3). The discipline of Ethnography has always been used by prehistorians in an attempt to explain archaeological phenomena, and has been employed as a signifier of complexity (Allison ed. 1999). Medieval and Post-Medieval archaeology, although dealing with a period closer to the present, have shown little attention to Ethnography for cases where textual information is lacking. Documentary evidence may also facilitate research into specific households, *e.g.* more elaborate upper class housing (Vionis 2005). Yet, architecture itself and 'the investigation of structural remains may lead to an understanding of cultural patterning of space but does not always lead to an understanding of the perceptions of those who built and inhabited those buildings' (Allison 1999, 4).

Advanced methods, theories and case studies of domestic architecture and material culture that developed primarily in Western Europe have made major contributions to the study of Post-Medieval archaeology. In Greece, remains and archaeological evidence of this period still come from above rather than below the ground. Bearing in mind certain questions concerning everyday provincial life and the meaning of objects (functional, social, cultural or symbolic), one can reconstruct what may be called a 'household'. That is, both domestic structures and the material culture associated with it. What factors led to the shape of a particular built environment, what life was like within certain types of domestic buildings and what shaped human relationships between social groups may form some of our basic questions. It is noteworthy, however, that Medieval and Post-Medieval housing (in the case of Pre-Modern Greece) is characterised as multi-functional in that it provided space for residence, food consumption, work and storage (Vionis 2005).

My intention in the final part of this chapter is to interpret the developments in housing on the Cyclades islands under socio-economic, functional and symbolic terms, always viewed as a reflection of culture and the occupants' interaction and activities within that bounded space. Apart from a container of 'household activities' a house is also defined by its material aspects, the domestic material culture, which itself defines the use of domestic space, especially in cases where the study of vernacular architecture lacks written sources or oral tradition does not survive. The interpretation of Cycladic vernacular architecture is aided by an overall study and review of domestic buildings on the Aegean islands, mainly based on published examples (for the islands where these exist), supplemented by data collected from personal research (for islands where data are limited or simply lacking). Appendix I provides visual guidance for the development of styles and house-types in the Cyclades and other Aegean islands during the Late Medieval, Post-Medieval and Early Modern periods.

Notes for reading Appendix I: FR = flat roof, VR = vaulted roof, TR = tile roof, BF = broad-fronted, NF = narrow-fronted, CP = central post, A = arched, S&TR = sala and twin rooms, NEOCL = neoclassical, TS = Turkish style

7.5.2 Settlements and House-Types in the Aegean

The Cyclades as well as other Aegean islands have preserved a great number of settlement and house-types from the Late Medieval period to the Early Modern era (Appendix I, Graphs A1-A3). Due to the nucleated character of Late Medieval *kastra* in the Cyclades and the compact building of houses, there was not enough space available within them for later additions, repair or demolition of houses. As a result, most examples of domestic architecture are found within Late Medieval and early Post-Medieval fortified settlements in the Cyclades (Appendix I, Graphs A1-A3 and B1-B6). The Cyclades islands generally remained faithful to the tradition of the flat-roofed two-storey narrow- and broad-fronted house. Exceptions in the Aegean as a whole are identified, however, in the Dodecanese, the Sporades and Argosaronic island-groups, as well as the large islands of the East and North Aegean, where there was a preference towards the tiled-roof 'Turkish-Style' house throughout the Ottoman period (Appendix I, Graphs C1-C14 and D1-D2). Indeed, islands closer to the coasts of Mainland Greece and Asia Minor adopted elements of Ottoman 'polite architecture' for mansions intended to satisfy the eclectic tastes of provincial island elite-groups. Although there were stronger links of the Cyclades with the West throughout the Ottoman period, mainly due to commerce and trading ac-

tivities of the population (especially from the middle 17th century onwards), we cannot identify a similar process of architectural adoption from the Euro-Mediterranean West. There are only confined examples from Santorini, Amorgos and Astypalaia, where the facades of some mansions preserve elements from Italian Renaissance architecture. Similarly, the 19th and early 20th centuries in the Aegean saw the introduction of Neoclassicism, especially in the large port towns of the Cyclades, such as Ermoupolis on Syros, Chora on Naxos and Paroikia on Paros. Examples of both flat-roofed houses with neoclassical elements in the decoration of their facades and arrangement of their interior space, and more 'real' tiled-roof neoclassical houses are to be found in the Cyclades, although not in such a volume as on islands closer to mainland coasts (*e.g.* Dodecanese, Sporades, Argosaronic). This was the result of the participation of island-populations in shipping and commerce after the War of Independence, and the general trend towards formal architectural styles from the West that re-cycled Classical architectural features as evidence for *Hellenic* continuity and re-birth. Comparative study on the Greek Mainland shows that the case was not different; the re-orientation from East to West, from the Ottoman style to Neoclassicism in the 19th century, signified the attempt for the building of a national identity (Sigalos 2004, 134-5).

One cannot ignore, however, the relationship between settlement type and housing. It has become clear that the two-storey narrow- or broad-fronted single-roomed house was the dominant type within fortified settlements, whether of the orthogonal or irregular plan. Extension was a result directed vertically rather than horizontally, giving emphasis to the symbolic and functional separation between living apartments reserved for humans and stables reserved for animals. Symbolic and social-theory-oriented approaches developed in recent years are believed to provide improved answers to questions regarding settlement layout and domestic space-use. Apart from economic and environmental aspects that have been thoroughly studied in the past, one can say more about social organisation and symbolism through the example of the plan of Kastro on Naxos. The back walls of the houses of the Naxian noble class form the defensive wall of the town. These houses are standing on the perimeter of the town. The Catholic cathedral and the Lord's residence are located at the notional centre of the town and all roads lead to these two basic poles of attraction, while the houses are facing towards the symbols of ecclesiastical and secular authority (Kouroupaki *et al.* 1988, 84; Vionis 2001a, 123). The Venetians imposed their social, political and economic power through symbolism, bringing along settlement- and architectural-examples from their contemporary homeland. The prominent siting of the Lord's central tower (originally very tall) created an identifiable skyline; a practice particularly noted some time later, when the skyline of Ottoman Istanbul was dominated by the minarets of mosques, the ideological symbol of the Sultan's patronage (Bierman 1991, 60-1; Vionis 2001a, 123).

The uniform appearance of the town of Naxos and other Late Medieval defended towns and villages in the Cyclades do indeed reflect social order and the degree of socio-political organisation of the period. The houses of the nobility in the case of Naxos and those of the peasant population in the case of Antiparos and Kimolos form the basic repetitive element, that of the dwelling unit (Polychroniadis and Chadjimichalis 1974, 86) and constitute the organisation-element of the town. In that sense the domestic unit echoes structural, social and symbolic meanings, keeping stability between public and semi-private, semi-private and private. The winding streets in the *kastro* of Naxos and the regular straight streets in other planned settlements were designed to define the physical boundary between public and private and intended to provide space for daily social and other activities (Vionis 2001a, 123)

7.5.3 Domestic Privacy and the Use of Household Space

As has been noted above, the single-roomed house, whether single- or two-storey has been the main dwelling unit in the Cyclades at least since the Late Medieval period. It was initially constructed within the fortified towns established by a group of noble or non-noble Latin colonists and had a narrow- or broad-fronted orientation to the paved street in front of it. The multi-functionality of such structures is to be stressed, as it is found not only in Late Medieval *kastra* but also in Post-Medieval and Early Modern

villages and hamlets. It seems that the general pattern is that broad-fronted houses are earlier than the narrow-fronted ones, both types being widely common in Late Medieval settlements; the broad-fronted house, though, became very common again in its single-storey version during the 19th century when settlement spread outside defended centres.

Summarising, the most common Late Medieval and early Post-Medieval type within the defended settlements is a single-roomed two-storey house. The ground floor is reserved for animals and/or storage, while the upper floor (access to it is provided by an external stone or wooden staircase from the street) is reserved for humans. It is a house provided for the peasant community working the land of the feudal lord. The physical division between humans and animals or humans and storage areas has been stressed since the beginning of the Late Medieval period and is kept in vernacular Cycladic housing till today (Vionis 2001a; 2005). In a sense, symbolic and functional notions such as humans-animals, living-storage and clean-dirty are reflected in aspects of housing and household organisation of the period. Access to the ground floor was made via a door opening up in front of the public street. Access to the upper floor was provided through an external wooden or stone staircase. Only in rare occasions was there access between upper and ground level by means of an internal trap door and wooden staircase leading to the ground floor. This fashion of separating living and storage or stabling areas is distinct in the Cyclades in sharp contrast to building traditions in other parts of Europe and Mainland Greece, where the single-roomed long-house (mainly in *çiftlik* estates) provided shelter to both humans and animals (Grenville 1997; Vionis 2001a; 2006a; Sigalos 2004).

Instead of explanations, such as financial difficulties or extreme conditions of peasant exploitation by Latin feudal lords, Medieval town-planning, a way of life and a sense of hierarchy and social homogeneity between inferiors might be an explanation for the establishment of the single-roomed single-storey house in fortified settlements. One could suggest that the idea of the single-unit domestic structure stresses the linear arrangement of household activities and probably some degree of privacy. Although all household activities took place under the same roof, there was a notional division of activity zones. The front of a narrow-fronted single-roomed house was occupied by the entrance and a hearth, reserved for daily use, such as cooking and food consumption (it is on the front and closer to the house-entrance and the street). The back end is occupied by a stone or wooden raised bed-platform and is reserved for sleeping, resting and storing valuable goods. The back end of the room is the private area, secluded in a way by the bedding-structure itself and a curtain in front of it. Thus, domestic privacy in this case is identified in depth. As one proceeds through the house from front to back, as well as from downstairs (the street and the store-room) to upstairs (the living apartment) one moves along a 'privacy gradient' from 'public' to more 'private spaces' (Parker-Pearson and Richards 1994, 8). The 'front' and 'back' portions within a single-unit house are of particular importance as the long room is the only space along the full length of which daily activities take place. The 'front' and closer to the street is more public, being 'on-stage' as this is the area where visitors are received, while the 'back' is the private and 'off-stage' region of a household (Grahame 2000, 16; James and Kalisperis 1999, 207). This house-type has been identified in most of the Cyclades (*e.g.* Mykonos, Siphnos, Kimolos, Paros) and Crete. As a result, apart from practical needs (sleeping and storage), the stone and wooden bedding structures at the end of the long room served another very basic human need, that of privacy.

On the other hand, the Late Medieval two-storey broad-fronted single-roomed house, also very common not only in the Cyclades but in almost all parts of the Aegean region, provided space for similar activities within the domestic unit, but the degree of organisation was different to some extent. It is suggested that this type is slightly older than the narrow-fronted one (Appendix I, Graphs A3 and B2-B6), as it is found in the original core of the planned settlements of Antiparos, Kimolos and Naoussa on Paros. The main entrance was located on the long side of the house towards one of the corners and a small window was usually located on the other end of the long side. The organisation of household activities here was not directed in depth but horizontally and in relation to proximity with the doorway. The fireplace was located on the corner closer to the door, while the sleeping area was always reserved on the

opposite corner, and further from the entrance. However, in both narrow- and broad-fronted houses, the single-unit living space reflects a social homogeneity (especially in 'new' *kastra* built after the early 15th century) and a general sense of town planning directed and initiated by a band of Latin colonists. The organisation of domestic space reflects a particular lifestyle, which is predominantly agrarian, with the largest part of the day spent outdoors for agricultural activities. The single basic element, the dwelling unit remained unchanged throughout the Late Medieval period. There was nonetheless a tendency for social display, by decorating the single-roomed house with a few items of quality and prestige. The family used this room in order to live and carry out part of its daily activities within it, while the domestic interior must have remained the domain of the woman who took pride in accomplishing her household tasks (Radford and Clark 1974, 66).

It is important to note that the single dwelling unit in Late Medieval *kastra*, inhabited at all periods, was conceptually expanding outside the doorstep. The human scale of the built environment encouraged or was a result of the development of friendship ties among its inhabitants. The impulsive temperament of the people played an important role in the creation of social links. Life until very recently was easily transferred from the private interior to the threshold, to the neighbour's staircase, to the street. In a sense, the limited single-unit space was extended to the semi-private and semi-public outside. Thus, the collective form of the towns created and kept a meaningful built environment, an environment with its own identity (Polychroniadis and Chadjimichalis 1974, 87-90; Vionis 2001a, 128).

Evidence for gentry-housing of the noble-class mainly comes from the fortified towns of Naxos and Siphnos. It is very different from peasant housing and surviving examples seem to be the most elegant Late Medieval houses of the Cyclades. It has been suggested that their plan bears similarities (especially the mansions of Naxos) to the so-called 'Mediterranean' house-type in which the rooms are built around the edges of a closed courtyard; here though, the living room replaces the courtyard (Kouroupaki *et al.* 1988). The bedrooms and kitchen are located around the large central living room, giving rise to a certain inward-looking tendency, for the living room is distinct from the rest and its central position enables the life of the entirely family to be centred on it (Vionis 2001a, 123-4). Evidence from Siphnos suggests a second type of Late Medieval mansions with a *sala* on the front of a narrow-fronted structure and two rooms of almost equal size at the back, one of them used as a kitchen and the other as a bedroom. Both of them could have been used as bedrooms, with kitchen facilities located on the ground floor. Here the separation (in both mansion-types) of household activities is evidently more stressed than in the multifunctional peasant single-roomed housing. One can also see the Medieval perception of the noble house as a 'large semi-public structure with its central and large hall for receiving visitors for feasting and other commonly shared activities' (Parker-Pearson and Richards 1994, 9). These were houses with elaborate decoration and furnishings, certainly providing a greater degree of comfort and 'dedicated space' for different household activities; such elaborate furnishings within pre-industrial households can undoubtedly be interpreted in terms of display and social status. Johnson (1996) has shown that domestic comfort and notions of privacy are elements that always penetrate the domestic sphere. In the rising middle class houses of the Post-Medieval period in Western Europe, space had become more neutral, less fixed and the meanings of space were then defined by movable furniture; this was a fashion that reached Aegean middle-class housing a few centuries later.

A first attempt to divide domestic space seems to have taken place in the early Post-Medieval period, in the 16th century. Evidence from settlements that were developed or established around that time in the Cyclades, indicate that there was a tendency to separate private and public space or front and back areas of a house by the construction of a false wall made of plastered-over reeds. The area formed at the back as a second room, retained its function and strengthened its private character. It is very possible that interior division in peasant housing of the early Post-Medieval period was simply the result of emulation, moving down from Late Medieval upper class housing examples. This was the time when the so-called single-storey 'arched' house made its appearance in towns and villages. This was another 'peasant' house-type with a more pronounced idea of se-

paration of household activities in different corners of the same room, first established and developed in the littoral areas of Greece. It appeared in the Cyclades in the early Post-Medieval period (Appendix I, Graph A3), spreading further during the later Post-Medieval period. It became particularly popular in rural areas of the Northern and central Cyclades (Appendix I, Graphs B4-B5) during the Post-Medieval and early Modern Periods, while Crete still preserves the largest number of arched houses in the Aegean (Appendix I, Graphs C2 and D2). This was a later version of the single-roomed broad-fronted house, with a central stone arch supporting the flat roof and dividing internal space into four activity areas. Here the organisation of space is linear again, although there is also a degree of centrality, as the arch creates four cubicles (one at each corner of the house) and leaves the centre of the room as a unifying centre, usually used as reception room. Every corner within the arched house has a separate function; the hearth is located on a corner of the front portion (with possibly a loom at the other corner of the same side). The back cubicles were always used as sleeping areas, with stone-built beds, the underneath space of which was reserved for storing grain or other valuables. This house-type reflects a peasant life-style that continued until the Early Modern period, although it is clear that there was an intention to provide a more fixed separation of household activities and evidently more privacy secured at the back portion of the room. A narrow auxiliary room (a stable, a storeroom or a kitchen) was in some cases constructed against the front long wall of the arched house during the later Post-Medieval and Early Modern periods, giving a L-shaped appearance to the structure.

In the case of the Post-Medieval and Early Modern lower and middle class households, extra rooms were being added to the original single-unit houses (in the countryside and always outside the Late Medieval defended centres), while fixed furniture no longer existed. Built benches, beds and storage places were in some cases (in wealthier households) replaced by mobile furniture, embroideries and imported or locally copied prestige household items such as ceramics (*e.g.* maiolica), metal-ware and mirrors (Vionis 2001a; 2005). The result was the three-roomed house, or house with '*sala* and twin-rooms' that appeared in the 17th century and became the commonest house-type of wealthy landowners and of a rising middle-class of merchants and traders, who built their houses immediately outside the Late Medieval towns or in newly established villages. Most examples of this house-type are found in the Cyclades (Appendix I, Graph D2), while it is particularly popular on the islands of the Northern and Southern Cyclades (Appendix I, Graphs B4 and B6). It is a clear development of the Late Medieval mansion-type (such as the one found on Siphnos) and the single-roomed arched house, although it could be seen as a later copy suiting the tastes of a rising class that tried to imitate the Medieval aristocratic class of Latin fief-holders. This was a more complex house-type with clearer objectives in terms of its functional articulation, having the large front room as the main room reserved for receiving and special social gatherings. For the first time privacy and domestic comfort in rural areas found its expression in Cycladic domestic architecture.

While developments and extensions of the single- and two-roomed peasant house took place during the Post-Medieval and Early Modern periods in towns, but also in rural settlements according to need and financial advancement, a new type made its appearance in Cycladic towns and ports of the 19th century. The rise of the urban middle classes after the Greek War of Independence introduced Neoclassicism, reflecting ethnic identity and assimilation with the contemporary West, as well as power and status. The ornamentation of the facades and the interior articulation of the rooms found symmetry and complexity in both flat-roofed and tiled-roofed Cycladic 'houses with neoclassical features'. The commonest type was the one with *sala* and regular rooms of smaller dimensions arranged at either side as symmetrically as possible. Neoclassicism had a greater impact on islands close to the Mainland coasts, such as the Sporades and the Argosaronic island groups (Appendix I, Graphs C12, C14, D2). Even the Cyclades themselves present differentiation, with the islands of the Western and Northern Cyclades (and closer to the Mainland) preserving a greater number of neoclassical housing or houses with neoclassical elements than the rest of the island group (Appendix I, Graphs B3-B4). Apart from eclecticism, domestic privacy, comfort and an elevated urban middle-class life-style, neoclassicism in the Cyclades, the Aegean is-

lands and Mainland Greece expresses a social, political and economic transformation with a 'conscious reorientation towards the West, regarded as having enlightened the Greek nation' (Sigalos 2004, 69).

7.6 SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The definition of house, *domus* or *oikos* has always been perceived as a means to emphasise privacy, shelter and ownership. Meanings such as 'to hide' (*hus* and *huden*) (Birdwell-Pheasant and Lawrence-Zúñiga 1999, 6) and 'private' (*idios* and *idiotikos*) (James and Kalisperis 1999, 207) have always expressed notions of 'household identity', 'household privacy' and 'multi-functionality'. Expanding Western European commercialism during the Post-Medieval period as well as internal economic and social reforms during the Ottoman era in the Aegean seem to have transformed, slowly but steadily, aspects of the built environment and the use of domestic space. Household space began to acquire a more private character and separate rooms were constructed increasingly through late Post-Medieval and Early Modern times in order to provide separate space for different activities. More specifically, Cycladic domestic architecture shows a growing tendency for privacy, with the construction of more complex housing forms, and with more rooms added onto the original Late Medieval single-unit habitation (Appendix I, Graph E1). Emphasis was placed on the 'front' and 'back' regions, on an 'on-' and 'off-' stage domestic life throughout the period under study, although in earlier times separation of internal domestic space and household activities was only notional. In addition, opportunities for display of household furnishings and belongings were never limited or confined on a daily basis or at special cases such as social gatherings, from the Late Medieval unpretentious houses to the Post-Medieval and Early Modern mansions. The extension of Cycladic household space from the inside to the doorstep and the street has also been a practice that has never been abandoned and always provides a notional connection between the private domestic interior and the neighbours, the village-community and the outer world in general.

The basic conclusions retrieved from this chapter can be summarised as follows:

1. The built environment in the Cyclades during the Late Medieval period was characterised by a high degree of concentration within *kastra*. This has been seen as a later 'local' or Cycladic adoption of the Italian *incastellamento* process in South Etruria. It is certain that this settlement formation and layout echoes feudal traditions, not completely unknown in the Aegean before the arrival of the Latins, but certainly strengthened after the establishment of Venetian control in the region.
2. Settlement layout in the Late Medieval Cyclades reflects social organisation and differentiation between different groups, the indigenous Greek-Orthodox peasants and the minority of Latin feudatories. The feudal lord's central tower dominated within most *kastra* of the period, while rows of almost identical houses formed the defensive wall of towns and provided housing to both noble and peasant inhabitants.
3. The Late Medieval countryside in the Cyclades was filled with Greek-Orthodox churches, some old ones renovated and redecorated and some new ones bearing inscriptions and representations of their donors. The Late Medieval era was a period when religious and socio-cultural identity played the most important role in the Aegean island-societies. The Latins did not impose Catholicism for they needed indigenous *archons* or landowners for better control over the peasant majority.
4. The built environment began to change in the early Post-Medieval period, after the firm establishment of Ottoman domination in the Cyclades, when certain privileges granted to local Christian communities by Ottoman Sultans and the general economic framework allowed a general political stability and economic prosperity. The Late Medieval *kastra* developed further with the addition of extra rows of houses, while new settlements started to be founded in the Cycladic countryside, as a result of a more intensive agricultural exploitation and better living standards. This was a period when the formation of collective identities became more pronounced. In towns and ports with a good or lesser degree of commercial activities, different peoples, social or ethnic groups, started to settle different zones of the town.

5. The familiarity of the islanders with the long tradition of piracy and privateering in the Aegean led to the gradual growth of a mercantile marine and the emergence of a Greek-island bourgeoisie, especially during the late 18th and early 19th centuries. This 'nouveau' middle class of merchants who dominated the trade of the Aegean and much of the Mediterranean rapidly adopted Western mentalities that found expression in the construction of their *archontika* or mansions with neoclassical architectural influences. This architectural move, influenced by Renaissance and Western Enlightenment ideas, became the symbol of a revived *Hellenic ethnos* and a growing nationalist expression that resulted in the Greek Revolt against the Ottoman Empire in 1821. The appearance of most Cycladic towns and ports was greatly changed with the construction of more elaborate housing forms influenced from Western neoclassicism.
6. As has been noted many times, the single-roomed house (one- or two-storey) remained the commonest domestic form in the Cyclades throughout the period in question. More complex house types appeared during the Post-Medieval and Early Modern times still having developed out of the single-unit house.
7. Domestic privacy and the use of domestic space deserve equal attention when examining changing domestic behaviour. The division of domestic space was not completely unknown to the occupants of the Late Medieval single-roomed house. There was a notional division between household activities, between the 'front/semi-public/dirty' portion of the house reserved for cooking, consumption and receiving guests and the 'back/private/clean' portion reserved for sleeping. The linear arrangement of household activities remained very prominent. Changing economic conditions gradually provided an impetus for a better household organisation and a more fixed separation of space with the construction of additional rooms reserved for different uses. Meanwhile, the continuous need for social, economic, and symbolic display of household valuables led to the decoration of the central room of the house, the *sala* or living room, with various items of status and wealth. Fixed structures, such as built beds and niches used as cupboards, started to disappear towards the 18th century, giving priority to mobile furniture, either imported or locally produced.

8. Typo-Chronology of Post-Roman Wares and CY.RE.P. Surface Ceramics

8.1 INTRODUCTION

In Northwest Europe it has long been realised that potsherds should not be used exclusively as a dating tool, but also as a means for examining aspects of socio-economic organisation, trade and exchange, dining and drinking habits. In contrast to methodological advances in Northwest Europe, Medieval and Post-Medieval Archaeology in Greece is still in its dawn. Remains of the Post-Roman periods have begun to be decently excavated and scientifically recorded. Ceramics of the Medieval and Post-Medieval periods have started to gain the importance they deserve by archaeologists and material culture historians alike over the past 15 years. Observing the functional, socio-economic or symbolic meaning of ceramics, one can obtain a wealth of information concerning Pre-Modern life-styles and social behaviour. As in traditional Aegean societies today, it seems that the average Medieval and Post-Medieval Mediterranean household required two distinct types of pottery. The glazed wares for food and drinking hot liquids such as coffee (glaze seals the pot and makes it waterproof), and the porous unglazed wares for holding liquids such as water and wine (porous so that these liquids should keep cool) (Casson 1951). The most profitable area in which to examine changes in social and domestic life is the household itself, as Gaimster (1994, 286) has rightly argued.

The purpose of this chapter is to outline the main trends in glazed pottery in the Aegean from the 11th/12th to the late 19th century (the Byzantine and 'Frankish', the Post-Medieval and Early Modern periods). Different pottery shapes, decorations, and traditions will be considered, together with current views on manufacturing centres and economic trends in the Byzantine and Ottoman Empires respectively. As it has already been mentioned earlier, the Greek countryside and townscapes transformed in the period between the late 7th and early 9th centuries, and showed signs of recovery during the subsequent Middle Byzantine period and later. This has been confirmed by surface surveys on Keos (Cherry *et al.* 1991), on Methana peninsula (Mee and Forbes 1997) and in Boeotia (Bintliff 2000; Vroom 2003; Vionis 2008), as well as by excavations at Athens (Stavropoulos 1930/31; Waage 1933; Frantz 1938; 1942; Charitonidou 1982; MacKay 2001) and Corinth (Waage 1934; Morgan 1942; Sanders 1987; 2000; 2003). These and other (more recent) studies have been consulted in order to review the glazed ceramic wares common in the Aegean throughout the period in question. The present chapter is followed by a catalogue of representative table- and common-wares identified during the course of the CY.RE.P., referring to relevant pottery drawings in Appendix II (A-E).

8.2 BRIEF HISTORY OF RESEARCH ON POST-ROMAN CERAMICS IN GREECE

One of the very first publications of Byzantine ceramics was made as early as the beginning of the 20th century. Dawkins and Droop (1910/11) of the British School at Athens published the Byzantine finds from excavations at Sparta. The pottery was found in numerous trial pits made on and around the Acropolis of Sparta and was classified into two distinct ware-groups: *sgraffiato ware* and *painted ware*. D. Talbot Rice's *Byzantine Glazed Pottery* (1930) was the first and serious attempt to classify and study Byzantine ceramics. He divided pottery into two main groups of different types (*i.e. faience* and *earthenware*) laying the foundations for the study, analysis and dating of Byzantine pots. Next worth mentioning is the publication of Waage (1933) on the Byzantine material recovered during the excavations of the American School of Archaeology at the ancient Agora of

Athens. Subsequently, the work of Frantz (1938) on the Middle Byzantine pottery in Athens was a further study of Byzantine ceramics, which also provided a few observations concerning pottery production. However, it seems that at that stage it was too early to infer which were the main centres of pottery production in the Byzantine world.

What seems to have been the groundwork of all subsequent studies for a long time, however, was the review by Morgan (1942) in *Corinth* (vol. XI). Morgan published the glazed pottery from the excavations at Corinth and provided a finer classification into different decorative styles (*i.e. glazed*, *engraved*, *painted*, *sgraffito* and *untreated*). He analysed and discussed problems of Medieval pottery dating and classification, but he confined himself to a four or five-century time-span on the basis that his finds were dated between the 9th and 14th centuries.

A further advance was made a few years later with Stevenson's (1947) publication of the glazed pottery from the excavations in the Byzantine palace at Constantinople. This publication presented the results of four seasons (1935-1938) of excavation in Istanbul carried out on behalf of the Walker Trust. Stevenson (1947) divided the ceramics from the Southwest corner of the Upper Terrace of the Great Palace into 'Pre-Byzantine' and 'Byzantine' glazed pottery. Seven thousand potsherds were unearthed and divided into five chronological categories or 'stages', beginning with the 7th and ending in the 12th century. Stevenson's publication was later used as the basis for the classic modern work of J. Hayes (1992) of Saraçhane.

Megaw (1968a) made a new attempt to review Byzantine glazed pottery in Charleston's edited volume, *World Ceramics*. Megaw explores the main glazed pottery types throughout the Byzantine period (*white-ware*, *polychrome ware*, *slip painted*, *fine sgraffiato*, *gouged* and *coloured sgraffiato* wares), discussing parallel techniques and possible influences from the Islamic Near East, and proposing a Byzantine intermediary role for the revival of glazed pottery in Anglo Saxon Britain.

So far, the study of Medieval and Post-Medieval pottery had been limited to the finely decorated rather than more numerous coarse-wares. The noteworthy exceptions to this rule were more recent, *e.g.* Bakirtzis' (1989) published research on Byzantine coarse-wares (*Byzantine Tsoukalolagena*), and Hayes' (1992) publication of pottery from the excavations in the area of Saraçhane in Istanbul. Influenced by the rapid development of methods by New Archaeology, Bakirtzis (1989, 128) laid the foundations for the study in Greece of undecorated utensils and containers used by the Byzantines, such as fireproof cooking pots, transport vessels and storage containers of the period from the 9th to the 15th century. The chronological period of the assemblages from Istanbul studied by Hayes (1992) extends from the 5th century AD to the end of the Ottoman era, with the exception of the years 1700-1850 (which are weakly represented) and the Frankish period (1225-1450), which is not represented at all (François 1994, 512-9). The study of Byzantine and Post-Byzantine common wares, culinary practices and food preferences has shown tremendous growth over the past 15 years with the publication of pottery from a number of systematic surface surveys in Greece (Armstrong 1996; Vroom 2003; Vionis 2006a; 2006b), ongoing excavations and studies dedicated to certain unglazed and undecorated vessels, such as cooking pots, frying pans, jugs and jars (Joyner 2007; François 2010; Vionis *et al.* 2010).

Recent excavations at Corinth seem to have provided answers to most problems of pottery chronology and classification, due to the unparalleled collection of stratified ceramics in association with coins. The main challenge of the excavations at Corinth has been the establishment of an accurate chronology for most pottery styles found, not only in Corinth itself, but also in other parts of present-day Greece (Vionis 2001b, 86-7). Corinth was a major city of the Byzantine world and, according to its excavators, technological innovations in glazed pottery must have appeared there earlier than they did in other production centres in Greece (Sanders 2003, 394). The pottery assemblage presents a more or less unbroken continuity until the early 14th century (after the Catalan intervention and the subsequent demise of the city). Moreover, the Corinthian ceramic material provides suitable evidence for a dramatic change in the appearance of Medieval ceramics towards the end of

the 11th century, in the light of Byzantine economic and social reforms (Sanders 2000, 153-4).

Modern technology (*e.g.* chemical analysis) has been employed since the late 1990s in order to answer questions related to production centres and the distribution of decorated wares throughout the Byzantine and Post-Byzantine periods. One of the earliest studies of the origin of Byzantine ceramics was published by Megaw and Jones (1983), providing interesting results about the origin of certain wares based on the analysis of samples from sites such as Corinth, Thessaloniki, Dhiorios and Lapithos in Cyprus etc. Similarly, the volume of studies edited by Maguire (1997) presents new methods for determining the origin of certain decorated wares (*e.g. Incised Sgraffito* and *Champlevé* Wares) on the basis of their clay and glaze composition, and manufacturing technology. More recently, MacKay (2003, 403-4) reviewed research carried out on the potting and glaze of *Champlevé* Ware (a very common group of Byzantine lead glazed pottery) at Corinth, one of the production centres of glazed wares during the Middle Byzantine period, and has suggested that it cannot be a Corinthian product but was possibly made in Asia Minor. Published studies, however, focussing on the provenance of Byzantine and Post-Byzantine glazed pottery found within the borders of present-day Greece are very limited, while most studies have focussed on Asia Minor and the Black Sea region, having produced, though, new and important results (François 1997a; Waksman and Spieser 1997; Waksman 2005; Waksman and von Wartburg 2006). Byzantine and Post-Byzantine pottery production centres have also been identified through the remains of kilns and kiln wasters at various localities in Greece, such as Serres in Northern Greece (Papanikola-Bakirtzis 1992; 1997), Thessaloniki (Papanikola-Bakirtzis 1983; 1999), Mikro Pisto in Thrace (Papanikola-Bakirtzis 1999, 243-8), Sparta (Sanders 1993), Trikala (Papanikola-Bakirtzis 1999, 258-9).

A distinct exception to the archaeological study of the Medieval and Post-Medieval Cyclades is the study of the material remains from the excavation (in 1991-1996) at Kato Kastro (the Late Medieval islet fort) on the Eastern peninsula-tip of the town of Andros (Dori *et al.* 2003). The excavation has provided more secure evidence for the nature and the construction date of the fort in Chora, in the first half of the 13th century. Although the excavations on the islet of the Venetian fort did not yield well-stratified layers (due to later disturbance especially during the 20th century), a representative collection of 143 potsherds is included in the final publication. Comparative material from excavations in other parts of Greece has been used for the approximate dating of the excavated ceramics from Andros, while a number of Late Medieval imported pots from Italy (*i.e.* Venice, Florence, Pisa), Spain (*i.e.* Malaga and Valencia) and Palestine has been identified. In addition, Post-Medieval imported pottery from Anatolia (*e.g.* Miletus, Iznik and Çanakkale) has also been recovered in the fort. The pottery-groups presented in the publication are: *Zeuxippus* and *Derivatives*, *Monochrome Sgraffito* (from Lemnos and Thessaloniki), *Brown and Green Sgraffito*, *St. Symeon Ware*, *Spatter Painted* and *Slip-Painted Ware*, *Dotted Style*, *Protomaiolica* and *Archaic Maiolica*, *Marbled Ware*, *Plain Glazed Ware*, *Spanish Wares* (from Valencia and Malaga), *Iznik* and *Çanakkale Ware*. Although the large number of potsherds recovered from the excavated area initially led the excavators to the assumption that a more permanent settlement might have existed there, further research suggested otherwise. It seems that that the people of Chora, as well as their Venetian lord, might have used the site only occasionally, seeking refuge within the islet at brief periods of danger (Dori *et al.* 2003, 216-9).

8.3 GLAZED POTTERY OF THE 11TH–14TH CENTURIES: AN AEGEAN SOURCE

8.3.1 Slip-Painted Ware

There are two main types of *slip-painted* decoration. The most common is made by painting the designs in white slip against the natural clay and then covering them with a colourless, light yellow or greenish glaze (Vionis 2001b, 88). Morgan (1942, 95-6) argues that in order to darken the ground colour, the inner surface of the pot was sometimes covered with a dark red-brown slip before the white was applied. Shapes of *Slip-Painted Ware* include medium-sized deep and shallow bowls with low ring bases (Fig. 8.1), and vertical and in-turned rims offset from straight walls. Some of the earliest examples of this Ware come from Corinth and have been dated as early as the

11th century (Morgan 1942, 95-103). According to new data from the ongoing excavations at the same site, the production of *Slip-Painted Ware* increased into the 12th and early 13th centuries (Sanders 2003, 386), and it is present in both rural and urban Middle Byzantine sites. *Slip-Painted Ware* has been identified on the Greek Mainland, the Aegean islands, Constantinople, Asia Minor, Cyprus, Palestine and Syria (Stevenson 1947; Vavylopoulou-Charitonidou 1981/82; Pringle 1985; Papanikola-Bakirtzis 1989; Armstrong 1989; 1996; Cherry *et al.* 1991; Tonghini 1995; Dori *et al.* 2003; Vroom 2003; Vionis *et al.* 2010).

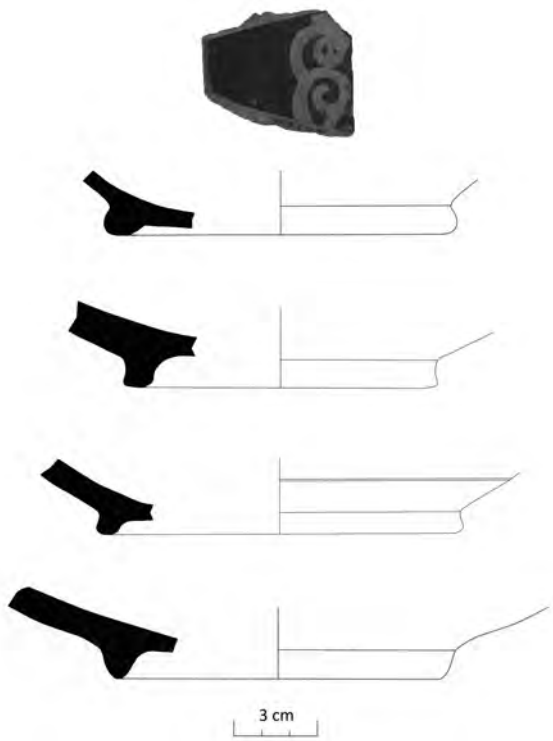


Fig. 8.1 Shapes of *Slip-Painted Ware* (Tanagra region; A. Vionis)

Corinth has been linked to the production of *Slip-Painted Ware*, as wasters (recognised as belonging to the this Ware) have been discovered at the site (Megaw and Jones 1983, 238-9). Fabric analysis of published fragments of this Ware from Pergamon suggests that they belong to the main group of locally produced table-wares; the quality, however, of their glaze and decoration suggests that they belong to a group of Slip-Painted wares dated slightly later, from the early 13th to the 14th century (Waksman and Spieser 1997, 120, 129).

Slip-Painted Ware has a long life span, making its dating even more difficult; the decoration technique was well known from the late 11th century onward (Morgan 1942, 95-103). Armstrong (1989, 42) notes that if a distinction were to be made between early and later examples of *Slip-Painted Ware*, it would be based on the type of glaze: the Byzantine glaze is thin and matte, while the later one is thick and glossy. *Slip painting* is still practised very much today in folk pottery especially of the Sporadhes (Skyros) and the Cyclades (Siphnos) in the Aegean (Korre-Zographou 1995).

8.3.2 Green and Brown Painted Ware

Green and Brown Painted Ware is a red-bodied ware, painted over a white slip and under a yellow-tinted lead-glaze in matt green and brown (Megaw 1968a). Samples of this Ware from the Athenian Agora have been called 'Black and Green Painted Ware' because the brown outline (filled with green) can also be dark brown or black (Waage 1933, 323). On finer examples the outline is carefully drawn, but the technique readily degenerates and the designs become splashes of green bearing very little relation to a wandering and uncertain black line (Frantz 1938, 430). The decoration most often consists of concentric circles and lozenges, spiral and floral motifs, and wavy bands (Vionis 2001b, 87). The shape is usually a fairly deep bowl with a tall straight flat-topped rim. The ring-foot base is low and medium (Fig. 8.2).

Green and Brown Painted Ware made its appearance late in the 11th century (Morgan 1942). Wasters of this ware have been found at Corinth, where the source of its inspiration is suggested by the presence of fragments of an analogous Persian fabric (Morgan 1942, 72). The Corinthian potters perhaps also sought to reproduce the effect of Islamic lustre wares (Megaw 1968a). Frantz (1938, 436) has argued that from the time that the *sgraffito* technique establishes itself, towards the end of the 11th century, its greater decorative possibilities led to the gradual displacement of painted wares, although these continued to co-exist for some time, and has noted that by the end of the 12th century it is not uncommon to find

Fig. 8.2 Shapes of *Green and Brown Painted Ware* (Tanagra region; A. Vionis), and bowl with painted decoration (Archaeological Museum of Ancient Corinth; Sanders 1999, 161, fig. 8)

deposits with no *Brown and Green Painted Ware* at all. At Corinth, where this Ware has been recovered with coins, several variants of *Green and Brown Painted Ware* have been found in late-11th-, 12th-, and early-13th-century contexts, although there is a tendency to date it to the second half of the 12th and the beginning of the 13th century (Sanders 2000, 159-61). Similarly, Armstrong (1989) has dated this group mostly to the 12th century, with a lesser quantity to the 13th. Intensive surface surveys and excavations have identified this ware at a number of urban and rural sites, *e.g.* Corinth (Morgan 1942), Athens (Frantz 1938), Keos (Cherry *et al.* 1991), Boeotia (Vroom 2003; Vionis 2004-2005), Phokis and Laconia (Armstrong 1989; 1996), Messene (Yangaki 2006), as well as at Sagalassos in Asia Minor (Vionis *et al.* 2010), where it has been given a date between the 12th and early 13th century.

8.3.3 Fine Sgraffito Ware

This Ware, known today as *Fine Sgraffito* (Morgan 1942, 117) or *Early Sgraffito* before that (Talbot Rice 1930, 32) was preferred by Byzantine potters who applied a plain glaze of yellowish tint and the technique of incising through the white slip with a sharp tool to expose the dark body of the clay. This decorative technique derives its name from the Italian word 'sgraffiare', meaning 'to engrave' (Talbot Rice 1930, 32; Papanikola-Bakirtzis 1999, 18). Birds, imaginary animals, human figures geometric and scroll patterns were the most common decorative motifs and appear within central medallions or in bands around the walls, while shapes include rather wide bowls or shallow dishes of fine proportions with a low ring base (Vionis 2001b, 87) (Fig. 8.3).

Worth introducing at this stage is the fashion of raised open forms on the table, with an interesting parallel to Medieval Europe and communal eating habits. Although there have been very few studies of Greek Medieval ceramics related to cooking traditions and dining habits (Vroom 2003; Vionis 2006b), Medieval material from Northwest Europe may provide a suitable and stimulating suggestion. Studies of the history of food and cooking in Medieval Britain have been related to archaeological finds and contemporary depictions of domestic life and have concluded that large, deep, footed central bowls for fish and meat were used by all diners sitting around the table. Each diner used a knife and probably a spoon, together with hard bread, instead of individual plates (Black 1985). Similar conclusions have been drawn for the typical strong survival of glazed raised ring-base fragments discovered through intensive surface survey at Medieval sites in Boeotia in central Greece, where communal bowls of open forms on the table possibly stressed the need for interior and highly visible ornament (Vionis 2008, 38).

Fine Sgraffito has generally been dated to the 12th century (Hayes 1992, 44). Ongoing research at Corinth attributes *Fine Sgraffito* a date between the middle 12th and early 13th century (Sanders 2000;

Fig. 8.3 Shapes of *Fine Sgraffito Ware* (Tanagra region; A. Vionis), and dish with fine sgraffito decoration (Byzantine and Christian Museum, Athens; Papanikola-Bakirtzis 1999, 31, No. 10)

2003). The style was already widely distributed over the whole Near East and this suggests that examples in the Byzantine world must have been inspired from the Islamic area, more specifically from Persia. This could be testified to by the use of 'Kufic' or 'Pseudo-Kufic' script to form a decorative border around the rim of the dish or bowl in the Aegean (Talbot Rice 1968, 500-12). Early excavations in the Athenian Agora have provided no evidence for the existence of *sgraffito* in Athens before 1050-1075, but the incised technique followed not long after and this new method was established by the middle of the 12th century, both for principal and for accessory design (Frantz 1938, 436).

Fine Sgraffito was indeed widely distributed in the Eastern Mediterranean world. Examples of middle 12th century Byzantine *sgraffito* were imported into the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem. Morgan (1942, 117-23) notes that the developed style never occurs in closed deposits later than the reign of Manuel I (1143-1180) and seems not to have survived the end of the 12th century and the Latin conquest that immediately succeeded it (Boas 1994).

The publication by Boas (1994) of Neutron Activation Analysis (NAA) of four pottery groups, including Byzantine *sgraffito* of the middle 12th and early 13th century and the so-called *Aegean Ware*, shows that by the middle 12th century, Cyprus exported its ceramics to various parts of the Byzantine world, such as Constantinople, Athens, Corinth, Thessaloniki and elsewhere (Vionis 2001b, 88). This does not exclude, however, the possibility that *Fine Sgraffito* was produced locally in other parts of the Byzantine Empire, too. Frantz (1938) notes that there is no evidence for the existence of potters' workshops in the Athenian Agora before the Ottoman conquest, but the similarity between the pottery of Athens and that of Sparta indicates a common source for much of it. Excavations in all these cities have produced material similar to that found in Constantinople (Hayes 1992, 44), while research in Corinth has also produced wasters of *Fine Sgraffito* (Megaw and Jones 1983, 238-9). Excavations and surface surveys have identified *Fine Sgraffito* in various regions in Greece, *e.g.* rural sites on Keos (Cherry *et al.* 1991), Eastern Phokis (Armstrong 1989), Pelagos Island in the Sporadhes (Kritzas 1971), Boeotia (Vroom 2003; Vionis 2008), and Athens, Corinth, Sparta, Ephesos (Talbot Rice 1968; Parman 1989).

8.3.4 Incised Sgraffito and Champlevé Wares

Both Wares have been known in published literature as 'Aegean Wares' due to their distribution in the Aegean area throughout the 12th century (Megaw 1975, 39; Vionis 2001b, 89; Sanders 2003, 388-9).

Today a distinction is made into *Incised Sgraffito Ware* and *Champlevé Ware* on the basis of the decoration techniques employed; both Wares are generally dated from the middle 12th to the early decades of the 13th century (Papanikola-Bakirtzis 1999, 19-20). This monochrome type of pottery, of a relatively coarse fabric, includes shapes of large shallow bowls and plates with vertical thickened and turned up rims on straight and slightly curved walls and everted or rounded ring-foot bases with incised and gouged decoration (Fig. 8.4).

Fig. 8.4 Shapes of (a) *Incised Sgraffito* and (b) *Champlevé Wares* (Sagalassos; A. Vionis), and large bowl and plate with incised and champlevé decoration (Thebes; Papanikola-Bakirtzis 1999, 55, No. 45, 65, No. 60)

Incised Sgraffito succeeds *Fine Sgraffito Ware*, as broader and more careless linear decoration is incised through the white slipped interior surface of the vessel, revealing its red body underneath. Decorative themes (Fig. 8.4a) range from figurative motifs, such as warriors, hunters, stylised birds and other animals (Papanikola-Bakirtzis 1999, figs. 34-40), to linear and abstract decoration, such as disc and palmette-like patterns, lozenges, radiate-stars and octopus-like motifs (Papanikola-Bakirtzis 1999, figs. 43-46).

The decoration technique of *Champlevé Ware* employed the removal of the white slip over the entire field of the representation, so that the figures could be projected against it in a low relief (Papanikola-Bakirtzis 1999, 20). It is a rather thickly-potted Ware, and its decorative patterns appear under a yellow to pale brown or green glaze with random green, brown and yellow splashes of paint. Decorative themes (Fig. 8.4b) include human figures, such as warriors (Papanikola-Bakirtzis 1999, fig. 50) and animals, such as birds, hares, felines and lions (Papanikola-Bakirtzis 1999, figs. 57-67). Megaw (1975) dated this Ware to the early 13th century on the basis of its existence in the destruction fills from the 1222 earthquake at Paphos, Cyprus. Evidence from Corinth suggests a similar date, *c.*1200-1260+- (Sanders 2000, 159-61).

As noted above, previous fabric analysis and petrographic examination of potsherds and wasters of the *Incised Sgraffito* and *Champlevé Wares* found at Pergamon have shown that they were probably imported, although the available evidence (tripod stilts, wasters and unfinished wares) 'still leaves open the possibility of considering them local, made with a clay other than that used for the main Byzantine production' (Waksman and Spieser 1997, 115-6). Research carried out on the potting and glaze of *Champlevé Ware* at Corinth, has shown that it cannot be a Corinthian product but was possibly made on the Mainland of Asia Minor (MacKay 2003, 403-4). Neutron Activation Analysis of *Incised Sgraffito Ware* has shown that it was produced in Cyprus at the end of the 12th century (after the Latin conquest of the island) and was exported to Syria, Palestine, and the Aegean (Boas 1994). The published results of a recent chemical analysis of *Incised Sgraffito* and *Champlevé Ware* fragments, together with samples from *Slip-Painted*, *Green and Brown Painted Ware*, *Fine Sgraffito* and *Monochrome Plain Ware* from a number of sites in Greece, Turkey, Cherson, Lebanon and Cyprus, have greatly contributed to our understanding of the variety of production and the diffusion of Middle Byzantine Wares in the Aegean and the Eastern Mediterranean (Waksman and Wartburg 2006). Although archaeologists previously tended to

accept the view that different decoration techniques correspond to different places of manufacture, the aforementioned chemical analysis asserted that nearly all samples analysed belong to a single homogenous chemical group, and it is likely that all the Ware-types that cover the period between the middle 12th and middle 13th centuries share a common origin (Waksman and Wartburg 2006, 380). On the basis of Neutron Activation Analysis of 'Aegean' ceramics found at Kinet, Blackman and Redford (2005, 100) had identified Cyprus as the possible centre of 'Aegean-style' glazed pottery. Although Waksman and Wartburg (2006, 377-85) could not support Blackman's and Redford's hypothesis about the Cypriot origin of 'Aegean-style' glazed table-wares, they have concluded that their results point to 'a main workshop, or a group of workshops located in the same geological region and using very similar clays, which distributed its products around the Mediterranean and the Black Sea.'

Archaeological evidence from throughout the Aegean world and the Eastern Mediterranean, as well as from shipwrecks (*e.g.* Kastellorizo, East of Rhodes), provides direct evidence for the bulk transport and trade of *Incised Sgraffito* and *Champlevé Wares* (Filotheou and Michailidou 1986). Armstrong (1991) has noted that *Incised Sgraffito* and *Champlevé Wares* are not limited to urban centres but they are very common on rural sites as well. Both Wares have been found in Chalkidiki in Northern Greece (Pazaras and Tsanaka 1990, 368), Thebes (Koilakou 1986, 28-9; 1993, 77-8), Athens (Frantz 1938, figs. 17, 30), Corinth (Sanders 2003, 388-9), Chios (Vavylopoulou-Charitonidou 1988, 187), at many sites in Eastern Phokis (Armstrong 1989, figs. 7, 9) and Boeotia (Vroom 2003, 164; Vionis 2004-2005, 573), and as far as inland Sagalassos in Southwest (Vionis *et. al.* 2010, 444-8), and Kinet on the Southeast coast of Asia Minor (Blackman and Redford 2005, 96-8).

Fragments of *Incised Sgraffito* and *Champlevé Ware* have been recovered from Kephalos in Paros (K.i.1-4, P.i.1-2) and Apano Kastro in Naxos (N.i.1). Their fabric is fairly hard to hard, pale brown to reddish-brown (M 2.5 YR 5/6 to M 5 YR 6/4), with a few lime and some quartz and fine micaceous inclusions. Shapes include shallow bowls (or dishes), decorated internally with incised (or gouged) lines (forming circles) around the centre of the base. The decorated surfaces are covered with a thick whitish slip under a coarse yellow-ochre or pale green glaze with occasional splashes of green colour. All fragments from Paros and Naxos are dated to the first half of the 13th century.

8.3.5 Zeuxippus Ware and Derivatives

Zeuxippus Ware is a lead-glazed fine dark-red-bodied *sgraffito* ware and it is distinguished from all other Medieval pottery styles by its better quality of firing and the glaze. It is the most thinly potted and the hardest fired of its contemporary wares. The most common shapes of *Zeuxippus Ware*, quite different from earlier *sgraffito* wares, include small deeper hemispherical bowls and basins with steep walls and designs of concentric circles at the base, 'S' shapes and mushroom-like patterns as well as some figurative subjects (Fig. 8.5a). The greenish or yellowish thick glaze covers the white slip on the inside, while the exterior is only partly covered with slip, applied in a simple pattern usually of vertical tongues or loops (Vionis 2001b, 89).

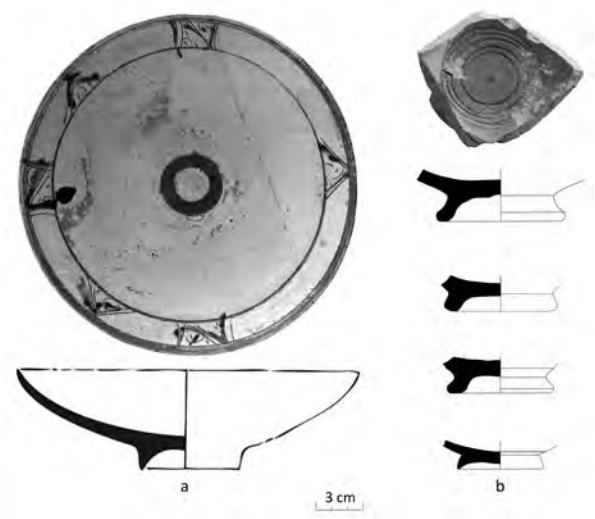


Fig. 8.5 (a) Example of a *Zeuxippus Ware* plate (Thebes; Papanikola-Bakirtzis 1999, 71, No. 70), and (b) shapes of *Zeuxippus Derivatives* (Tanagra region; A. Vionis)

It was initially believed to have originated in Constantinople and named after the place where it was first excavated, *i.e.* the Zeuxippus Baths in Constantinople (Megaw 1968b, 67-8). More recent excava-

tions, however, in other parts of the Eastern Mediterranean have proved that it was manufactured elsewhere, *e.g.* Cyprus, Jerusalem, Corinth, and even Northern Italy (Megaw and Jones 1983, 263; Megaw 1989, 262-3). Pringle (1985) and Boas (1994) support the idea that *Zeuxippus Ware* was developed in the Aegean area, but also manufactured elsewhere. Megaw (1968b, 1989) dates it in the last decades of the 12th and the first years of the 13th century. Boas (1994) believes that the absence of this class amongst the published finds from the Pilgrims' Castle (Atlit), where building commenced in 1217, indicates that the Ware was no longer being manufactured by that time.

Also worth noting is the introduction of tripod stands used to separate vessels while firing in the period of manufacture of the *Zeuxippus Ware*. These stands are considered to have arrived in the Mediterranean from the Far East by the beginning of the 13th century. Megaw (1989) views the distribution of *Zeuxippus Ware* in various parts of the Byzantine world (from the Black Sea to Caesarea and the Levantine coast) as the result of enterprises of the Italian mercantile Republics. Excavations at Chora on the island of Andros have revealed a large number of fragments of *Zeuxippus Ware* and its derivatives (Dori *et al.* 2003). Moreover, excavations in Corinth by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens have revealed *Zeuxippus Ware* finds in contexts dated between *c.*1200 and 1260 (Sanders 2000; 2003, 392-3).

Imitations of *Zeuxippus Ware*, also known as *Zeuxippus Derivatives* (Vroom 2003, 164) have been identified at a number of sites throughout the Aegean region, the Black Sea, Cyprus and the Levant (Boas 1994; François 1997b; Waksman *et al.* 2008). No single production site of *Zeuxippus Derivatives* can be identified, as excavations and chemical analyses have located possible workshops of this Ware in Pergamon (Waksman and Spieser 1997, 110-5), Lemba and/or Paphos in Cyprus (Megaw and Jones 1983, 263), and Venice (Berti and Gelichi 1997, 87-9). It seems plausible that local variations of *Zeuxippus Derivatives* can be identified at different locations throughout the Aegean region, as wasters of this Ware have also been identified by the author in the area of Managros in Southwest Chios and Tsoukalia on the East coast of Paros.

The incised decoration of *Zeuxippus Derivatives* is generally confined to the bottom of open vessels (although there are sometimes incised parallel lines just below the rim on the interior) and consist of careless concentric lines or spirals, engraved through the white slip under yellow, pale green or pale brown glaze (Fig. 8.5b). Sometimes, splashes of green colour are added over the incised decoration. Shapes include mainly deep bowls with a ring base, fairly steep walls and rounded rim edge.

The fabric of *Zeuxippus Derivatives* fragments from Paros (K.ii.1) and Naxos (N.ii.1) is moderately soft to fairly hard, pale reddish-brown in colour (M 2.5 YR 6/6), with a few fine lime and sand inclusions. The decorated surface is covered with a white slip and a pale green or yellow-ochre glaze, while the incised motifs comprise of an incised circle or concentric lines (enhanced with a splash in dark green colour) around the centre of the base of hemispherical bowls. A possible *Zeuxippus Ware* fragment (P.ii.1) has been identified on Paros (Medieval site 02); it is a ring-foot fragment of a bowl, made of a fine reddish-brown fabric (with a few fine lime and sand inclusions), and very similar in shape and decoration to a *Zeuxippus Ware* bowl found in Corinth and dated to *c.*1220-1250 (Papanikola-Bakirtzis 1999, fig. 74).

8.3.6 Monochrome Sgraffito Wares

There are two main types of *Monochrome Sgraffito Ware* of the Late Byzantine period, initially introduced as *Local Late Sgraffito Ware* from Corinth (Sanders 1987, 163-6) and *Plain Sgraffito Ware* from Thessaloniki (Papanikola-Bakirtzis 1999, 75-85).

The first type of *Monochrome Sgraffito Wares* was possibly produced in Corinth. Its fabric has been recognised by Sanders (1987, 164) as 'probably local'. It is a reddish-brown fabric (M 5 YR 6/6 to 7/6), hard and fine, with sparkling inclusions, white grits and occasional voids; its body is covered with a white slip under a dirty and glossy yellow or green glaze (Sanders 1987, 164). Examples of this Ware from

Corinth and Isthmia (Gregory 1993b, 284-8) are decorated with an abstract design, usually an incised short spiral or large curvilinear scrawl at the centre of the floor, while shapes include hemispherical bowls with a low ring base and a central nipple in the middle of the underside (Fig. 8.6a). The material from Corinth has been dated between the second half of the 13th and the early 14th centuries (Sanders 1987, 159), while Gregory (1993b, 284-8) supports a chronology well into the 14th century, on the basis of a Venetian coin of *c.*1382-1400 found in association with the Ware. MacKay (1967, 264), on the other hand, has suggested that *Monochrome Sgraffito* was made in Corinth and took the place of *Zeuxippus Ware*.

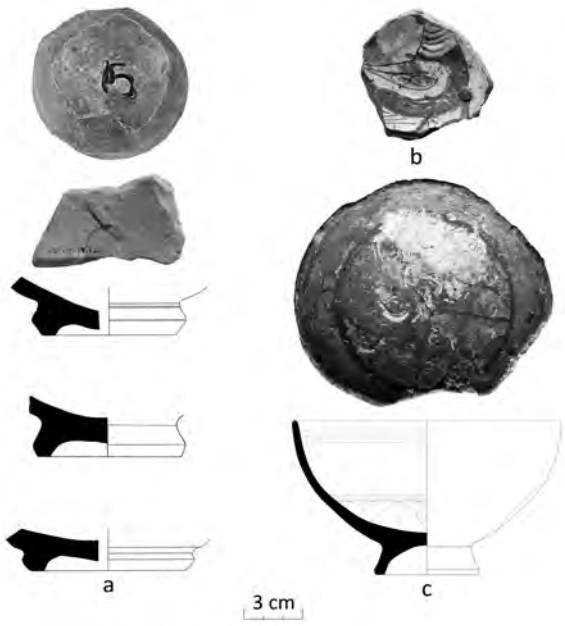


Fig. 8.6 Examples of *Monochrome Sgraffito Wares* (a. Tanagra region; b. Kastro on Naxos; c. the bay of Naoussa, Paros; A. Vionis)

Fragments of *Monochrome Sgraffito Ware* from Corinth have been identified at various rural sites in Boeotia during the course of the Cambridge-Durham Boeotia Project (Vroom 2003, 165) and the Leiden Ancient Cities of Boeotia Project (Vionis 2004-2005, 573). As Vroom (2003, 165) has pointed out, the fragments discovered at rural sites in Boeotia come from hemispherical bowls with a low ring foot, while most examples preserve a carelessly engraved spiral or circle at the bottom of the base, stylistically parallel to the published examples from Corinth.

The second type of *Monochrome Sgraffito Wares* was produced in Thessaloniki. Its fabric is hard and reddish (M 5 YR 6/4 to 6/6), with white inclusions, sparkling elements and a few voids (Papanikola-Bakirtzis 1983; 1999, 189). The provenance of this type has been aided by the discovery of wasters and unfinished products in Thessaloniki. The commonest motif is a bird (in a combination of the *incised* and the *champlevé* techniques) next to one of two pointed plants (Fig. 8.6b), while another category of motifs includes floral and abstract designs, such as incised plain and composite rosettes, guilloches, knots, spirals and checkerboard patterns, with areas hatched with *fine graffito* lines (Fig. 8.6c) (Papanikola-Bakirtzis 1999, figs. 215-254). The surface that receives the engraved decoration is covered with a white slip (sometimes forming 'tongues' on the exterior of open vessels below the rim), and the incised patterns are covered with a yellow or ochre-yellow glaze, sometimes enhanced by brushstrokes of green colour. The most predominant shape in this type of *Monochrome Sgraffito Wares* is a small hemispherical bowl with an upright rim with rounded lip, and a slightly flaring ring foot with a flat resting surface. Jugs with a disc base are also present (Papanikola-Bakirtzis 1999, fig. 220).

Fragments of *Monochrome Sgraffito Ware* from Thessaloniki have been identified not only in Thessaloniki itself (Papanikola-Bakirtzis 1983; Vavylopoulou-Charitonidou 1989), but also in Constantinople (Talbot Rice 1930; Morgan 1942), various rural sites in Boeotia (Vroom 2003, 165-6; Vionis 2004-2005, 573), in Kastro of Naxos (Fig. 8.6b) and underwater in the bay of Naoussa in Paros (Fig. 8.6c). This Ware is dated to the second half of the 13th and the 14th century (Papanikola-Bakirtzis 1999, 189).

Four fragments from Kephalos on Paros (K.iii.2-4) and Apano Kastro on Naxos (N.iii.5-6) are identified as *Monochrome Sgraffito Ware* from Thessaloniki. Their fabric is orange-pinkish (M 5 YR 7/4) to reddish-brown (M 2.5 YR 6/4), fairly hard and fine, with a few fine lime and sand inclusions (and quartz occasionally). The main shape represented is a (small) bowl. The interior of the potsherds preserves

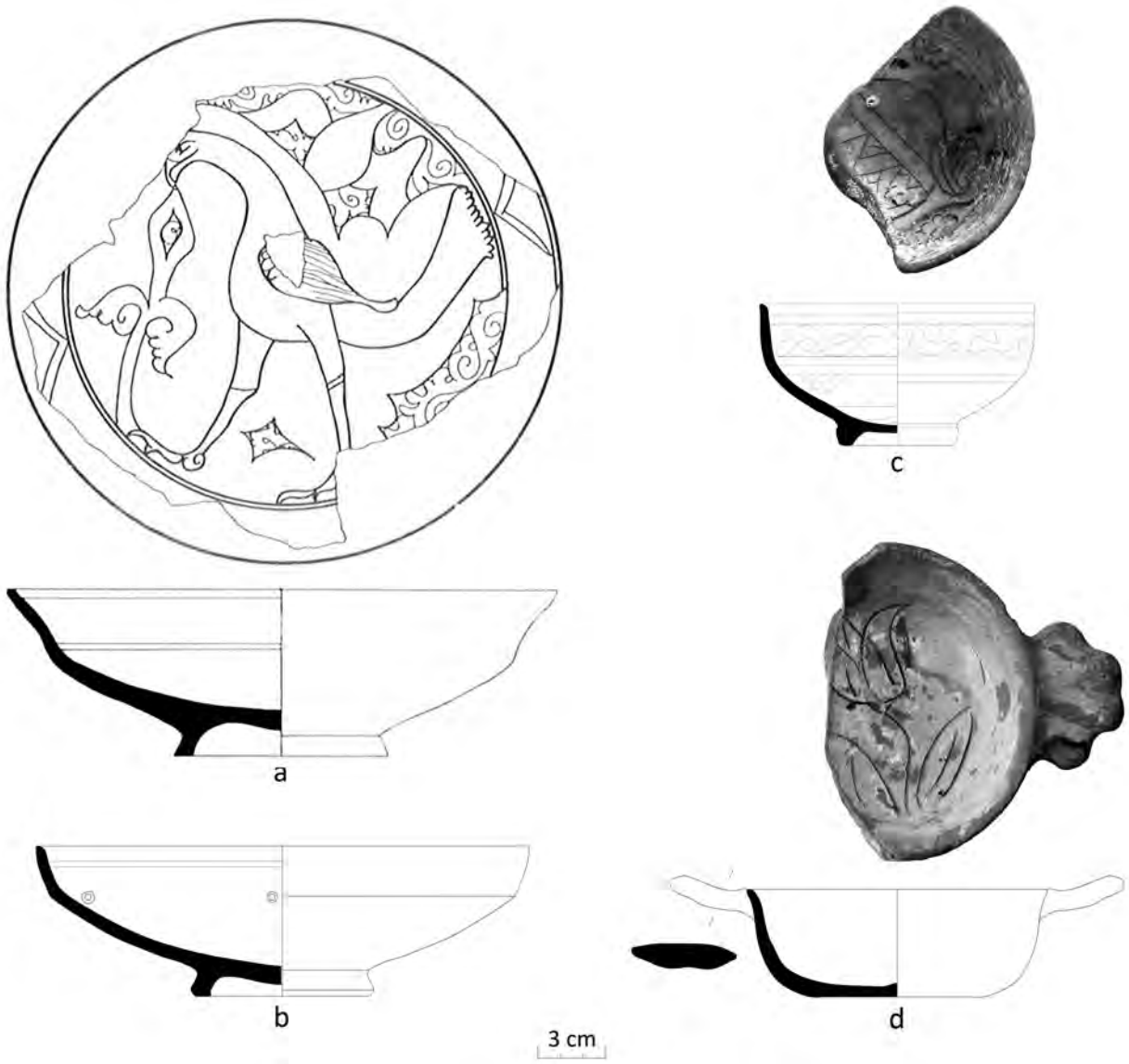


Fig. 8.7 Examples of *Brown and Green Sgraffito Wares* (a. Thessaloniki; Papanikola-Bakirtzis 1999, 237, No. 279; b-d. the bay of Naoussa, Paros; A. Vionis)

engraved squiggles, parallel and circular lines or hatched designs, sometimes enhanced by green colour. Seven *Monochrome Sgraffito* fragments from Kephalos (K.iii.1, K.iii.5), site 32 at Choria Kephalou on Paros (P.iii.1) and Apano Kastro (N.iii.1-4) cannot be identified as products of either Corinth or Thessaloniki. They possibly belong to another category of *Monochrome Sgraffito Wares* (mainly small bowls). Their common characteristic is their engraved decoration, consisting of parallel lines, squiggles and fish-scale patterns under a yellow, yellowish-lime or green glaze.

8.3.7 Brown and Green Sgraffito Wares

Brown and Green Sgraffito Ware, a term introduced by Megaw (1951), also known as 'Late Sgraffito' or 'Coloured Sgraffito Ware' (Papanikola-Bakirtzis 1999, 86-114; Papanikola-Bakirtzis *et al.* 1999, 149), seems to have been the most common of all

Medieval decorated wares throughout the Eastern Mediterranean since the late 13th century, and continuing up to the 17th or even the 19th century (Korre-Zographou 1995, 124-5; Vionis 2001b, 89). The finer incised technique declined and died, and was replaced by broad-line *sgraffito* (the lines of decoration became heavier and careless). The characteristic of this type of pottery is the additional thick brush-strokes or splashes of brown and green colour under a yellow or colourless glaze (over a white slip), adding a rich colour effect and new possibilities to the decoration of late 13th- and 14th-century pottery (Fig. 8.7) (Papanikola-Bakirtzis 1999, 23). Another novelty evidenced during this period is detected in shapes, with turned-out dish rims and turned-up bowl rims and higher ring-foot bases (Pringle 1985).

The examples of *Brown and Green Sgraffito Ware* found in Caesarea are an import from Cyprus, representing products of the 1222's onwards. Their characteristics are the flanged bowls with flanged rims or carinated bowls, goblets and cups with vertical externally concave rim and an out-turned high foot-ring base. Fragments of bowls found during the excavation of a Medieval house-kitchen in Cyprus, together with a coin of the Lusignan dynasty of the period *c.*1328-1358, help us date them in the 14th century (Papanikola-Bakirtzis 1988; Herrin 1973). This type of pottery, known as 'Cypriote Sgraffito' was produced in Cyprus in the 13th century and was exported to other parts of the Eastern Mediterranean, such as Jerusalem, constituting about 90% of the imported wares there, although it was initially assumed that it was produced on the Levantine Mainland due to the frequency of appearance and the variety of the fabrics (Pringle 1985, 190-2; Boas 1999, 149; Stern 2008, 3). Excavated and surveyed kiln sites in Paphos, Lemba and Kouklia have confirmed the production of *Brown and Green Sgraffito Wares* in Cyprus already during the 13th century (Papanikola-Bakirtzi 1996, 215). Products from Paphos date between the early 13th and 14th centuries and are mostly decorated with geometric and floral motifs, while products of the Lapithos workshops are slightly later, dating to the late 14th and 15th, or as late as the early 16th century, and are decorated with floral (*e.g.* rosettes and palmettes), animals and human figures, such as female dancers and marriage scenes (Papanikola-Bakirtzis 1996).

It is very hard to identify the centre where *Brown and Green Sgraffito* originated and was developed. The Ware appears almost everywhere in the Aegean, the Middle East, the Balkans and Italy. Apart from Cyprus, local workshops have also been identified in Thessaloniki (Vavylopoulou-Charitonidou 1989) and Serres in Macedonia (Papanikola-Barirtzis *et al.* 1992), as well as at Mikro Pisto in Thrace (Zikos 1999; 2003), and surely one cannot exclude the possibility for the existence of more, local workshops, in other parts of present-day Greece. It is not yet known whether Levantine potters introduced *Brown and Green Sgraffito* (Vroom 2003, 167) although such a hypothesis seems the most probable. This polychrome glazed ware was also produced in Northern Italy, possibly from as early as the 13th century, whilst it reached its apogee in Italy in the 15th and 16th centuries (Berti *et al*. 1997, 383-5; Vroom 1998a, 526; 2003, 167). It seems that 13th-century 'Cypriote Sgraffito' (and *Brown and Green Sgraffito* subsequently) was influenced by Byzantine *sgraffito* and *Port Saint Symeon Ware*. On evidence for kiln wasters this last-named polychrome lead glazed ware is suggested to have been manufactured at al-Mina, the Crusader Port Saint Symeon near Antioch, and it dates from the last decade of the 12th or the early 13th century until the end of Frankish rule in the area (*c.*1268), with the Mamluk conquest of the site (Lane 1937; MacKay 2003, 413). There is no evidence for the manufacture of this class elsewhere, and, although perhaps not manufactured by Frankish potters, occasional examples of Christian motifs leave no doubt that this class of ware was intended for the 'Frankish' market, widely traded throughout the Crusader states.

The discovery of kiln wasters and unfinished pots in Serres suggest that the workshop of *Brown and Green Sgraffito Ware* produced lead glazed pottery of a fairly coarse and hard reddish fabric (M 7.5 YR 6/4) from the late 13th to the early 14th century (Wiseman *et al.* 1997; Papanikola-Bakirtzis 1999, 222-3). The commonest shapes are shallow plates with a narrow horizontal rim and bowls with a rim set at an angle to the body (Fig. 8.7a-b). The incised or engraved decoration on open and closed vessels requires the application of a white slip over the surface, and the sealing of the decorated surface with a transparent lead glaze. The wide variety of decorative mo-

tifs includes floral and vegetal patterns, animals and birds, usually within a central medallion. The most characteristic motif consists of a bird with high robust legs, hooked claws and powerful wings (Fig. 8.7a) (Papanikola-Bakirtzis 1999, 222, figs. 261-5). The wide diversity and variety of *Brown and Green Sgraffito* decorative themes is a new and innovative popular art, in contrast to its contemporary and conservative religious decorative art of icon-painting. Its popularity, development and distribution was so great, that *Brown and Green Sgraffito* from workshops in Serres and possibly elsewhere (Papanikola-Bakirtzis *et al.* 1992) have been found in many parts of the Southern Balkans and the Greek peninsula, *e.g.* Meleniko in Bulgraria, Skopje in FYROM, the Strymon Valley, Chalkidiki and Philippi in Macedonia, Maroneia in Thrace, Epirus, Corinth, and as far as the Lagoon in Venice (Papanikola-Bakirtzis 1999, 223).

The discovery of unfinished pots, kiln wasters and tripod stilts has confirmed the existence of another glazed pottery workshop at Mikro Pisto in Thrace, producing *Monochrome Sgraffito* and *Brown and Green Sgraffito Wares* throughout the 13th century (Zikos 1999; 2003). Their fabric is moderately soft, reddish-orange (M 2.5 YR 6/4 to 10 R 66) and fine, with a few limestone, a few black quartz and some voids (Vroom 2005, 119). Shapes include bowls with a usually high ring-foot base, steep walls and a horizontal out-turned rim or a rim set at a 'smooth' angle to the body and bevelled slightly inwards (Papanikola-Bakirtzis 1999, figs. 287-92). The most common decorative motifs include abstract and vegetal designs, such as S-motifs, figure-of-eight guilloches, star-like patterns and concentric circles with alternate hatchings (Fig. 8.7c). The interior surface of open shapes bears a white slip and a yellowish or pale green glaze, while the incised decoration is enriched with brushstrokes of yellow-brown and green colour.

None of the fragments from Kephalos (K.iv.1-5, K.iv.10) and site 30 on Paros (P.iv.1), Apano Kastro on Naxos (N.iv.2-6) and Kastro on Melos (M/K.i.1) can be identified as products of Cyprus, Serres or Mikro Pisto. This suggests that there were more (local) production centres of *Brown and Green Sgraffito Wares* of the (late) 13th to 14th (and early 15th) centuries in the Aegean and possibly elsewhere. The fabric of the fragments from the aforementioned sites is reddish-brown to reddish-orange (M 2.5 YR 5/6 to 5 YR 6/4), fairly hard and generally fine, with a few fine lime and some sand or micaceous inclusions. The surface is covered with a whitish or pinkish slip and the incised decoration is sealed with a transparent glaze of a yellowish or pale green tint. The decoration consists of incised lines and oval motifs, enriched with occasional brushstrokes of green and yellow-brown colour. Shapes include bowls of small to medium size, with a medium-high ring-foot base, straight rim with rounded lip and in some cases everted flattened rim and divergent upper wall. The variety of shapes during this period is also noteworthy, with open vessels decorated with special motifs, *e.g.* incised tulips enriched with green and brown splashes, flat base and pedal-like handles, such as the example found underwater in the bay of Naoussa in Paros (Fig. 8.7d).

Additionally, a number of finds from Kephalos (K.iv.6-9) and site 13 on Paros (P.iv.2), as well as from Apano Kastro on Naxos (N.iv.1) has been included in the category of *Brown and Green Sgraffito Wares*, as possible products of the island of Lemnos. Occasional finds of medium-size bowls with raised flaring ring foot, upright rim with rounded lip and hemispherical body with thin walls, decorated with incised motifs (birds, spirals, vertical and horizontal lines) and enriched with fine brushstrokes of dark green colour, have been identified as probable exports to sites in the Aegean (*e.g.* Thasos, Rhodes, Andros) from Lemnos (François 1995, pl. 9b; Papanikola-Bakirtzis 1999, fig. 106; Dori *et al.* 2003). Similarly, the fragments from Paros and Naxos share the fabric, shape and decoration characteristics of the Lemnos production. Their fabric is pale brown to gray (M 2.5 YR 6/3 to 2.5 YR 5/2), hard and fine, with a few fine lime and micaceous inclusions. Their surface is shiny and glassy, bearing a pale green glaze over a white slip (also just below the rim on the outside). The decoration consists of incised (almost fine) lines, enhanced by fine brushstrokes of dark green colour. The predominant shape is a small to medium-size hemispherical bowl with a medium-high ring-base with flat-resting surface.

8.4 GLAZED POTTERY OF THE 13TH–17TH CENTURIES: WESTERN TRENDS

8.4.1 Italian Proto-Maiolica Wares

Proto-Maiolica is a polychrome tin-glazed pottery of various subtypes produced in Southern Italy (Apulia, Calabria, Campania) and Sicily from the end of the 12th to the beginning of the 15th century (Berti *et al.* 1997, 392-5). The products of the Apulia workshops in particular are commonly found in 13th- and 14th-century settlements in the Levant, such as at Al-Mina, Caesaria and Acre (Pringle 1985), and on many urban and rural sites in Greece, namely Sparta, Corinth, Isthmia, Arta, Boeotia, Crete, Andros and Messene (Dawkins and Droop 1910/11, 23-8; Gregory 1993b, 289; Papadopoulou and Tsouris 1993, 248-53; Armstrong 1993, 304; MacKay 1996, 127; Dori *et al.* 2003, 152-7; Vroom 2003, 167-9; Yangaki 2006, 439-41). The various types of *Proto-Maiolica Wares* are a distinctive table-ware group, and the earliest examples of exported pottery of this kind from the central Mediterranean. They are decorated onto a tin-opacified glaze by the technique of over-glaze painting rather than *sgraffito* or *slip-painting*, both of which use a transparent glaze only over the decoration (Boas 1994). Tin glaze makes an ideal white base for the display of painted decoration (generally in manganese-brown and copper-green, or brown and cobalt-blue), which then requires a clear glaze to seal and protect the decoration. This Ware consists of hemispherical or flanged-shaped bowls and dishes with a low ring-foot base and either a ledge- or a flanged rim; jugs with a flat base, conical body and tall neck are also present in this group. The decoration is in blue, black, green and yellow over a white ground, and consists of geometric designs, plant, animal and figural motifs (Fig. 8.8).

Fig. 8.8 Examples of *Italian Proto-Maiolica Wares* (a-b. Corinth; c. Lucera in Apulia; Korre-Zographou 1995, 47, fig. 86)

Sanders (1989) notes that certain *Proto-Maiolica Wares* were manufactured from the late 12th century on in Apulia and were imported into Southern Greece even before the Frankish conquest in the first decade of the 13th century (Vionis 2001b, 90-1). One of the most common types of *Proto-Maiolica*, 'Grid Iron Proto-Maiolica', is found not only in Mainland Greece, but also, as mentioned above, on a number of sites in the Eastern Mediterranean, such as Atlit, Khirbat-ad-Dair and at Caesarea. All examples of 'Grid Iron Proto-Maiolica', both earlier and later, date within the 13th century and the first decades of the 14th, as coin evidence from Corinth suggests (Sanders 1989, 194; Williams and Zervos 1995, 22). The typical shape of 'Grid Iron Proto-Maiolica' is a bowl with hemispherical body, in-turned rim and low

ring-base. The second most common group, the 'RMR' type, initially identified as 'Proto-Maiolica II' (Morgan 1942), derives its name from the Italian words 'Ramina Manganese Rosso' for 'Cooper-Green Manganese-Brown and Red' (Whitehouse 1980, 82-3), and it is found in Italy during the period between the middle 13th and middle 14th centuries. Archaeological evidence from Corinth, where large quantities of 'RMR' were excavated, suggests that this type only began to be imported in the last decades of the 13th century. 'RMR' Ware is the commonest type of *Proto-Maiolica* in the Corinthian assemblage, representing over 31% of *Proto-Maiolica* wares revealed (Sanders 1987, 170). Its most characteristic decoration includes concentric horizontal bands in reddish-brown and bluish-gray with green borders, while other designs include hatching, lozenges, triangles, birds and human figures (Vroom 2005, 129).

'Archaic Maiolica', Morgan's (1942) 'Late Proto-Majolica Group I', is another type of imported *Proto-Maiolica* which is less common in excavation assemblages, such as that at Corinth, while shapes of this ware include hemispherical bowls and dishes with flaring rim and internal ridge (Sanders 1987). Its decorative repertoire is characterised by floral motifs and hatched lines in manganese and green colours. Manufacture centres in North Italy produced this ware from the 13th century. The Tuscan workshops produced almost exclusively closed forms and trade was limited to closed jugs, which accompanied the 'Savona Archaic Graffita' (of functional types such as basins and bowls), already flourishing in the 12th and 13th centuries (Vionis 2001b, 91). Benente *et al.* (1993) have suggested that this style of the 'Savona Archaic Graffita' reflects imports from the Byzantine world and the Islamic territories (mainly North Africa) to Italy. Probably craftsmen brought in from the Eastern Mediterranean (mainly Syria) were responsible for the development of the 'Archaic Graffita' Ware in Italy. The production of 'Archaic Maiolica' in Liguria and Savona, however, took off during the second half of the 14th century. It must have continued in use until the middle 16th century and probably after that on a reduced scale. Milanese (1993) adds that early *Iznik Ware* influenced the 16th-century styles of the 'Savona Archaic Maiolica'. These Ligurian Iznik-inspired Maiolica are called 'Berettino', while the 'prototype' *Golden Horn Ware* imports have also been found in the area of Genoa. The 'Savona Archaic Graffita' jugs were exported together with dishes and bowls and have been noted in Corsica, Sardinia (decorated in blue, yellow and green) and elsewhere in the Eastern and Western Mediterranean during the 16th century. Stratigraphic evidence from Genoa and Rome (Milanese 1993) suggests that blue-and-white Ligurian tin-glazed production started in the 16th and continued into the 17th century.

Whitehouse (1993) argues that the whole *Maiolica* ceramic industry took off in the 14th century, when competition and demand for more costly and beautiful ceramic objects were the driving forces for the Italian potters to produce greater quantities of *Maiolica*. This trend for more costly and elaborately decorated tableware for functional and display purposes did not leave the areas which imported such objects uninfluenced. Local workshops in Greece (Athens, Arta, and Crete) and the Balkans (especially Slovenia) were producing local variants of *Painted* and *Sgraffito Maiolica* from the Italian manufacturing centres (discussed below).

Only one rim and body fragment of a *Proto-Maiolica* bowl dated to the second half of the 13th century was identified in the assemblage from Kephalos in Paros (K.vi.1). It has a moderately soft, fine, pale-pinkish fabric (M 10 R 8/4), with some fine micaceous inclusions and a few medium dark particles. The preserved painted linear decoration in dark-brown and yellow-reddish colour on a pale yellowish ground suggests that the fragment belongs to the 'RMR' type, while the composition is most possibly of the 'heraldic' type (a coat-of-arms or an armed figure), similar to open vessels from Apulia (Fig. 8.8c) or bowls from Cyprus and Corinth decorated with fake painted heraldry (Williams 2003, fig. 25.4; Papanikola-Bakirtzis 2004, 74-5).

8.4.2 Spanish Lustre Ware

Tin-glazed or *Lustre Ware* production started in Spain in the 12th century and it flourished from the middle of the 13th century onwards. The main characteristic of *Spanish Lustre Ware* is its glossy interior and exterior surfaces, which are covered with a white

slip and an irregular pale tin glaze, while production centres have been identified in Murcia, Malaga, Manises and Paterna (Ray 2000, 5). One of the earliest production centres of *Spanish Lustre Ware* was Malaga, the industry of which continued into the 15th century (Carnegy 1993, 19). The fabric of the Malaga products is pale orange to greenish gray, with red and black schistose metamorphic rock (Vroom 2005, 135). The early production of *Spanish Lustre Ware* from Malaga, which is dated between the middle 13th and 14th centuries, includes thin-walled bowls and jugs, *albarelli*, jars and goblets, decorated with Fatimid-inspired motifs, such as scrolls or foliage spirals, tress of life and pseudo-Kufic inscriptions in cobalt blue and brown-yellow lustre (Gutiérrez 2000, 44-60). The second phase of the Malaga *Lustre Ware* production lasted throughout the 15th century, with the same shapes and colours surviving, while the predominant motif, the so-called *alafias*, is believed to have been inspired from the *spur chains* and *Gothic rose* motifs of the Valencian *Lustre Ware* products (Gutiérrez 2000, 24-43).

Valencia and its region is another important centre of *Lustre Ware* production and it has been suggested that the area was chosen in the 14th century by potters from Malaga who migrated there (Hurst *et al.* 1986, 40-4). The first sub-group of the Valencia production is dated to the first half of the 14th century, and its decoration repertoire is very close to that of Malaga. Scrolls, chevrons, trees of life and heraldic motifs were painted in cobalt blue and lustre on the white tin-glazed ground of small bowls with upright rim and low ring-foot, dishes with concave bases, *albarelli* and jugs (Fig. 8.9a-c). The pale buff-brown fabric of *Spanish Lustre Ware* from Valencia is soft and medium fine, with some fine limestone, a few quartz and iron inclusions and many medium voids (Vroom 2005, 135). The second sub-group, dated to *c.*1320-1375, includes bowls and plates decorated with stars, pineapples and trees of life (Fig. 8.9d-e), while the peak of the Valencia *Lustre Ware* production was reached in the 15th century, represented by the third sub-group of open and closed shapes decorated with a more sophisticated repertoire. This is supposed to be the most mature phase of the Valencia *Lustre Ware* group (produced mostly in Manises), and its decoration is painted in brownish lustre and dark blue (Gerrard *et al.* 1995, 286; Ray 2000, 70-1; Yangaki 2008, 218). The most common decorative motifs include coat-of-arms, bryony flowers and ivy leafs, crowns, and the inscription 'Ave Maria' in Gothic letters (Gerrard *et al.* 1995, 286; Ray 2000, 72-3; Yangaki 2008, 218). Valencian workshops continued to produce *Lustre Ware* jugs, *albarelli*, plates and bowls (Fig. 8.9f-h) until the end of the 17th century, but the motifs had become simpler and the painted lines thicker, with a variety of linear compositions around birds, carnations and other floral patterns.

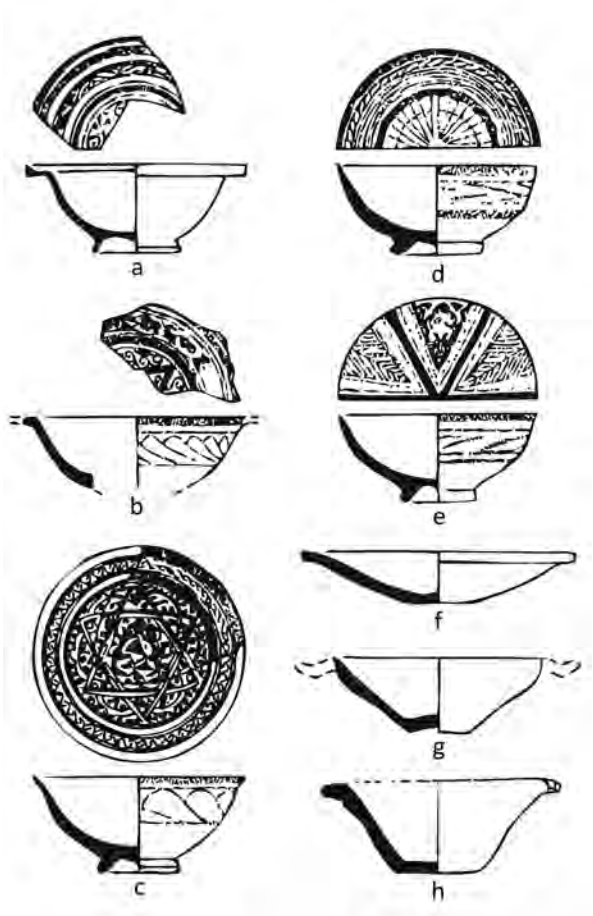


Fig. 8.9 Shapes of *Spanish Lustre Ware* (Wessex; Gutiérrez 2000)

Spanish Lustre Ware was distributed throughout the Mediterranean and Northwest Europe, as far as Britain and the Netherlands (Ray 2000, 70-3), Northwest Germany and Scandinavia (Vroom 2005, 135), Avignon, Sardinia, Italy, Sicily and Egypt (Yangaki 2008, 218-9). Fragments of this Ware have also been

identified at several sites in the Aegean, *e.g.* at Isthmia (Gregory 1993b, 302-4), Rhodes (Michailidou 2000, 421-2), Crete (MacKay 1996, 130; Yangaki 2008, 215-8), Thasos (François 1995, 240), and Andros (Dori *et al.* 2003, 161-4), while a database of *Spanish Lustre Ware* finds in Greece is currently being compiled (A. Yangaki, pers. comm.).

Only one fragment from Apano Kastro (N.vi.1) has been identified with certainty as *Spanish Lustre Ware*, while another two fragments from Kephalos (K.ix.1-2) have been included in the same category, although their identification as such remains speculative because of their preservation and size. Their fabric is moderately soft, pale yellowish-white to pinkish-orange (M 2.5 Y 8.2 to 2.5 YR 8/3) and fine, with a few fine sand inclusions. The decoration of the fragment from Apano Kastro is painted over the white tin-glazed ground in a yellow-gold colour. This example is most possibly identified as a product of Valencia and is dated to the 14th or 15th century.

8.4.3 Italian Maiolica Ware

Italian Maiolica Ware refers to a special kind of colourful tin-glazed table pottery of Italian Renaissance production centres, especially Faenza, Deruta and Montelupo. Its name is suggested to derive from the island of Majorca, which functioned during the High Middle Ages as a station between Valencia (the *Lustre Ware* industry of Moorish Spain) and Italy (Rackham 1977, 2). The technique employed for the decoration of *Italian Maiolica Ware* involved the coating of the surface with a white tin glaze (mixed with lead) after the first firing, and the decoration of the vessel with designs painted in blue, while another layer of lead glaze sealed the decorated surface before the second firing (Poole 1997, 7-8).

Some of the most common shapes of *Italian Maiolica* of the 15th century include jugs with a flat base, a trefoil mouth and a strap handle (Fig. 8.10a), and the so-called *albarelli* or cylindrical drug-jars with a flat base from Northern Italy (*i.e.* Tuscany, Faenza), decorated in the *stile severo*. This decorative style combined blue-painted designs on the white ground with reddish-brown and green colour (Whitehouse 1975, 11-2), while the commonest motif on jugs exported from Italy is the so-called 'ladder medallion design' (Vroom 2003, 173), a blue-painted oval medallion around the body of the jug, comprised of two circles filled with parallel lines, forming a ladder motif. Another type of blue-painted *Italian Maiolica* is the so-called *alla porcellana*, which obviously owes its name to Chinese porcelain of the Ming period, while its decorative designs reveal an influence from Ottoman ceramics (Rackham 1952, 20). This group of *maiolica* originated in Faenza in the late 15th and early 16th century, but its production is also attested in Venice (Carnegy 1993, 33) and Montelupo (Blake 1981, 103). Apart from trefoil-mouth jugs and *albarelli*, other shapes of *Italian Maiolica* include dishes with an everted flattened rim and hemispherical bowls with a ring-base (Fig. 8.10b).

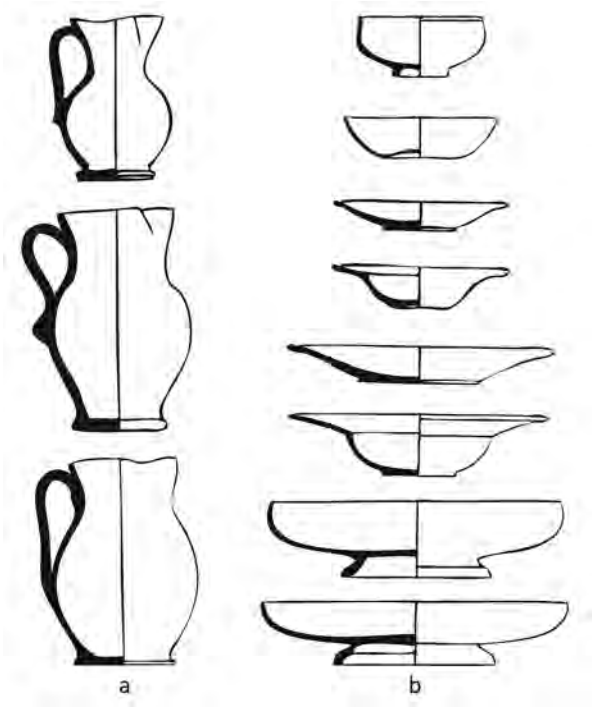


Fig. 8.10 Examples of (a) closed and (b) open shapes of *Italian Maiolica Ware* (Munarini and Banzato 1993)

Italian Maiolica Ware of various types has been recognised beyond the Italian peninsula, and especially in sites of the 15th and 16th centuries in Mainland Greece, the Aegean islands, Crete and Cyprus, namely Corinth (Morgan 1942, 172), Athens (Frantz 1942, fig. 34), Thebes (Armstrong 1993, 328, 334) and Boeotia (Vroom 2003, 172-3), Epirus (Vavylopoulou-Charitonidou 1986/87, fig. 22), Thessaloniki

(Evgenidou 1982, 23-4), Skyros (Korre-Zographou 1995, 187-206), Andros (Dori *et al.* 2003, 158-9), Chania and Herakleion on Crete (Hahn 1989, 232; MacKay 1996, 129), and Nicosia and Kouklia on Cyprus (Megaw 1951, figs. 18, 25; Papanikola-Bakirtzis 1998, 14, figs. 21-24).

Fragments of *Italian Maiolica* have been identified at Kephalos on Paros (K.vi.2-11), Apano Kastro on Naxos (N.v.1-2) and Zephyria on Melos (M/Z.i.1 and possibly M/Z.i.2). Their fabric is moderately soft, white to yellowish-white (M 2.5 Y 8/1 to 2.5 Y 8/2) and fine, with a few fine sand inclusions. Most of them come from jugs with a trefoil mouth and the 'ladder medallion design' painted on a white ground in blue, and occasionally reddish-brown and green colours (K.vi.2-3). Some of the examples are identified as products from Faenza.

8.4.4 Italian Polychrome Sgraffito Wares

Workshops of *Polychrome Sgraffito Wares* are known to have been active in the Veneto region in Northern Italy (*i.e.* Venice, Padua, Ferrara, Bologna and Pisa) since the middle 15th century (Rackham 1952, 26-7). The characteristic feature of this red-bodied earthenware is its incised decorative motifs, enriched with green, yellow-brown, blue and purple colours. The repertoire includes floral patterns (*e.g.* flowers in a kantharos-like vase), animals (*e.g.* hares, birds), heraldic motifs and portrait-busts of human figures (Fig. 8.11). Several names have been attributed to this type of *sgraffito wares* from Italy, such as 'graffita policroma', 'graffita arcaica tardiva' and 'graffita rinascimentale' (Magnani and Munarini 1998; Vroom 2003, 170). The technique of broad incision or 'a stecca' is used to produce one of the most elaborate Wares of *Italian Polychrome Sgraffito* from Pisa or the Veneto region decorated with human and animal figures, dated to the 16th century, and identified at a few sites in Greece, *e.g.* Rhodes, Crete, Boeotia (Hahn 1989, 232; Michailidou 1993, 333-40; Papanikola-Bakirtzis 1999, 116-7; Vroom 2003, 170-1), the gulf of Naoussa in Paros (Fig. 8.11c) and Cyprus (Megaw 1951, 157-8). Other products from Pisa and Montelupo, decorated with incised birds or heraldry and enriched with green and yellow-brown colours, have been identified in Athens (Waage 1933, 320-1) and Constantinople (Hayes 1992, 265). Shapes include trefoil-mouth jugs, as well as bowls and dishes with flanged rims and medium-high ring-bases (Fig. 8.11).

Fig. 8.11 Examples of *Italian Polychrome Sgraffito Wares* (a-b. Herakleion in Crete; Papanikola-Bakirtzis 1999, 116-7, Nos 132-3; c. the bay of Naoussa, Paros; A. Vionis)

One fragment of *Polychrome Sgraffito* from Kephalos (K.vii.1) has been identified as an Italian product. It is made of a fairly hard, fine, orange-red fabric (M 2.5 YR 6/8), with a few fine sand, lime and micaceous inclusions, decorated with incised lines and highlighted with green and blue paint. Four fragments from the same site (K.iv.10, K.v.2-4) have been recognised as 'imitations' of *Italian Sgraffito*. They bear decoration similar to vessels produced in Northern Italy, and an Italian origin of these fragments should not be excluded (especially K.iv.10, K.v.2).

8.5 GLAZED POTTERY OF THE 15TH–18TH CENTURIES: AEGEAN VERSIONS

8.5.1 Polychrome Sgraffito Wares

Also known as 'Coloured Sgraffito', *Polychrome Sgraffito Ware* comprises a later version of the Late Byzantine *Brown and Green Sgraffito*. It is the most common of all decorated table-wares of the Ottoman period produced in Greece (*e.g.* Athens, Arta, Trikala, Veroia, Thessaloniki and Crete) and the Balkans (*e.g.* Slovenia). Its main characteristic is the incised, careless and asymmetrical *sgraffito* designs, such as spirals and winding lines, enriched with brushstrokes of yellow-brown and green colour, alternating in dense arrangement (Charitonidou 1982, 61; Korre-Zographou 1995, 44-8; Papanikola-Bakirtzis 1999, 23; Vionis 2001b, 92). Waage (1933), Frantz (1942), Hahn (1989; 1991), Vavylopoulou-Charitonidou (1986/87) and Zbona-Trkman (1991) describe the Ware in detail and date it to the 15th-18th centuries, with only slight differences in shape and decoration. The fabric of -mainly- open vessels is generally thinner and finer, while the transparent glaze over the white slip is hard and glassy. The deep and hemispherical, almost straight-sided bowls with plain straight rims and low ring-foot or dishes with low ring-foot and broad flaring or horizontal rims are usually decorated with several incised grooves in and out (Fig. 8.12). The decorative motifs vary from simple squiggles, wavy lines (Fig. 8.12f), and fish-scale patterns (Fig. 8.12e) to stylised flowers (Fig. 8.12b) and animals, while the sgraffito decorative patterns are enriched with splashes of yellow-brown (from iron oxide) and green (from copper oxide) colour. The development of the *Polychrome Sgraffito* style from the Balkans finds a comparable continuity in Cyprus, where pottery with engraved decoration and a variety of shapes continued to flourish throughout the 15th century. The Cypriot production seems to have declined during the 16th century, possibly as a result of the mass importation of more luxurious *maiolica* wares from Italy (Papanikola-Bakirtzis 1999, 23-4).

The trefoil-mouth jug was still very much in use during this period. The distinctive feature of the 15th-16th-century jugs from Chania in Western Crete (Hahn 1989; 1991) is the neck-ring, a characteristic of Italian jugs that continue to be in use into the 17th century, also identified in the group of glazed ceramics from the gulf of Naoussa in Paros (Fig. 8.12d). The shape of the Chania jugs suggests a metal prototype, perhaps from Islamic areas; commercial contacts, though, between Venetian-dominated Crete and Italy must have influenced local pottery production to some extent. The examples from Arta (shapes and *sgraffito* decoration) also suggest a metal (in copper or silver) prototype. Vavylopoulou-Charitonidou (1981/82) notes the similarity of decoration in both ceramics and metal-ware from Arta, since both applied the same incised technique of decoration. The metal industry of Epirus was one of the most flourishing of the Greek world during the 17th and 18th centuries. Moreover, the proximity of Epirus to Italy could also have led to influences or even imitations between *Italian Sgraffito Wares* and pottery produced in Mainland Greece. The Arta production started in the 16th century and its decorative repertoire includes incised fishes, birds, human figures, floral patterns and abstract linear designs highlighted with vivid yellow-brown and green brushstrokes (Papanikola-Bakirtzis 1999, figs. 121-9).

The earliest examples of sgraffito from the Slovenian assemblage (Zbona-Trkman 1991) date to the 15th century while the youngest to the 17th. Ceramic forms include plates, cups, and bowls that have typical Venetian features, such as the concave ring-foot base. The decorative repertoire includes geometric, floral, zoomorphic, anthropomorphic, Christian and heraldic motifs and mythological symbols. The most interesting of all decorative motifs, are the male and female figures in profile, with typical Renaissance clothes, which occur in many places, and are dated to the second half of the 15th and 16th centuries (Vionis 2001b, 92). This tradition probably derived from the habit that engaged couples gave each other a pot decorated with symbols of love or human images. The same tradition existed in 14th- and 15th-century table-wares from Cyprus, decorated with symbols of fertility and scenes of twin-couples (Papanikola-Bakirtzis 1998, figs. 12, 14).

Several fragments of *Polychrome Sgraffito Ware* have been retrieved from Kephalos (K.v.1, K.v.5-9) and sites 02 and 30 on Paros (P.v.1-3), as well as Kastro on Melos (M/K.ii.1). Their fabric is mostly

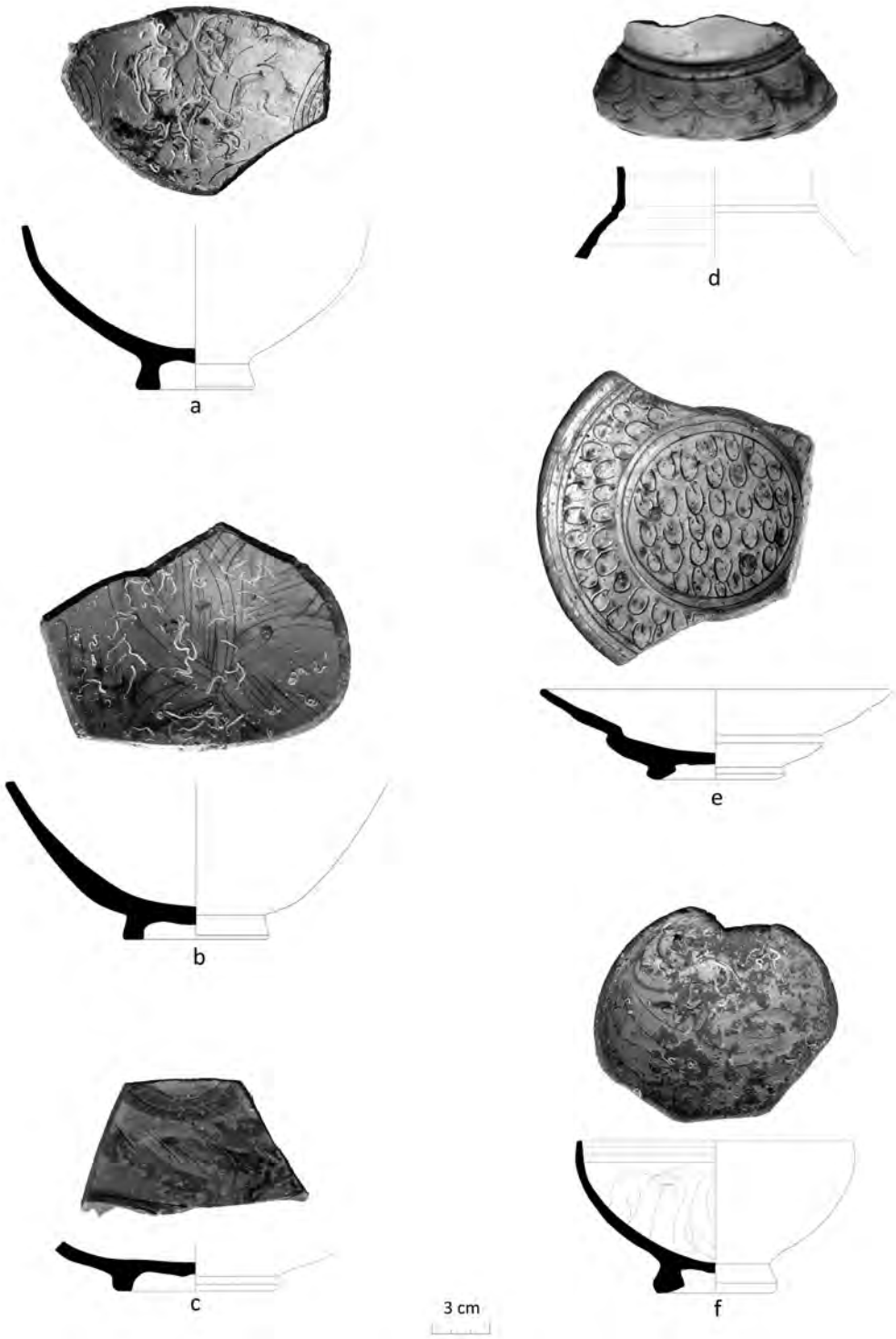


Fig. 8.12 Examples of *Polychrome Sgraffito Wares* (bay of Naoussa, Paros; A. Vionis)

fairly hard, reddish to reddish-brown (M 2.5 YR 6/6 to 5 YR 6/4) and medium-fine, with some lime, micaceous and mineral inclusions, and occasionally some quartz. The dominant shape is a hemispherical bowl with low ring-base, decorated with incised wavy lines, floral patterns and squiggles, enriched with yellow-brown and green colours. The fact that four fragments from Kephalos (K.iv.10, K.v.2-4) are identified as possible 'imitations' of *Italian Polychrome Sgraffito* strengthens the aforementioned argument for influences from Italian production centres.

8.5.2 Greek Maiolica Ware

Greek pottery production centres were influenced during the Ottoman period by contemporary Italian blue-and-white tin-glazed *maiolica* imports. Frantz (1942, 1-2) named the local Athenian imitations of *Italian Maiolica* 'Blue-and-White Painted Ware' and dated them to the late 16th and early 17th century. *Greek Maiolica Ware*, although similar in perception to *Italian Maiolica*, is distinguished for the dirty and poor quality white tin or lead glaze, and its crude blue-painted designs. This ware is described as 'the most attractive' of later wares and is decorated by painting the designs in blue outline (occasionally with some surfaces filled in, in red, yellow-brown or green) over a white slip. The commonest decorative motifs of the Athenian Agora collection are birds, rosettes and cross-hatchings (Frantz 1942; Korre-Zographou 1995). A floral border of varying degrees of decadence usually surrounds them. The most characteristic Attic shapes are small bowls with low ring-foot and plain rim, medium to large plates with heavy ring-foot, flat floor, curving sides and rim either plain or thickened and flattened on top, and the trefoil-mouth jugs with flat bottom, ribbon handle and short neck (Fig. 8.13). Characteristic amongst the decorative motifs is a simpler version of the 'ladder medallion design', copying the Italian prototypes (Frantz 1942, 1; Armstrong 1993, 319, No. 202; Vionis 2001b, 91-2; Vroom 2003, 173). Apart from Athens itself, *Greek Maiolica* have been identified in Eastern Phokis and Boeotia (Armstrong 1989; 1993, 319, 324; Vroom 2003, 173).

The trefoil-mouth jug, which has been discussed earlier, seems to have developed from a lengthy oval shape in *Proto-Maiolica* into a more globular type in the 15th and 16th centuries. Another characteristic feature of the ware is the oval to spherical section strap handle, which very often ends on the belly in a 'tail', a feature that appeared in the middle 14th century (Hahn 1991). The features of the group of 15th-16th-century jugs from Western Crete have convinced Hahn (1991) that these were local Cretan products of the Chania workshops, very much influenced by the tin-glazed Italian imports of the period. One of the jugs, however, with a painted apple seems to be an import from Faenza. The Greek-Swedish excavations at Chania, Crete, have produced an assemblage of 15th-16th-century Italian *maiolica*, richly represented among the finer tableware, but also a local production of *sgraffito* ware with great resemblance to contemporary Italian wares of this kind (Hahn 1989).

Fig. 8.13 *Greek Maiolica Ware* jug (ancient Agora of Athens; Korre-Zographou 1995, 47, fig. 84)

Ceramics of a similar type as those of the local Athenian and Cretan workshops have been published by Vavylopoulou-Charitonidou (1981/82). These finds have been identified as products of local workshops

in Arta and have been dated to the 16th-18th centuries. The decoration technique of the painted ones is also the same as those from Athens, while Vavylopoulou-Charitonidou (1981/82) refers to them as 'Pseudo-Maiolica' because of their similarities with the *Italian Maiolica* products. Vroom (2003, 173) has observed in the case of Boeotia the conscious use of poor-quality lead glaze on the outside of bowls instead of the more expensive tin glaze. The most characteristic shapes are the shallow plates and the trefoil-mouth jugs, although the group from Arta includes jugs of taller neck and higher base than the ones from Athens and Crete. This characteristic feature of *Maiolica* from Arta helps us distinguish them from the relatively earlier jugs of the Athenian workshops. More ceramic finds similar to those from Arta have been identified in the Castle of Rogoi in Epirus and represent products of a different workshop (Vavylopoulou-Charitonidou 1986/87).

The tradition of tin-glazed painted ceramics is not confined to Mainland Greece. The excavations at four castles in Northwest Slovenia have revealed a number of high-quality finds including painted wares of the 'Blue-and-White' tradition, which flourished during the second half of the 16th, 17th and early 18th century. The most common form is the jug with flat base, trefoil mouth and strap handle ending on the body in a 'tail'. It is also polychrome painted in yellow (iron), green (copper), lilac-brown (manganese), and blue (cobalt), while the decoration can be geometric or floral. The catalogue published by Zbona-Trkman (1991) includes representative samples of the Slovenian assemblage, similar to examples from Greece. The earliest examples from Slovenia date to the 15th century while later examples continue to the 17th, more or less contemporary with the production from Athens and Arta.

8.5.3 Painted Ware

The term for *Painted Ware* used here has been borrowed from Vroom's (2003, 175) technical description of a rather 'unknown ware' dated to the Post-Medieval period. The term is used to describe a rather thickly-potted table-ware, decorated with careless designs painted in yellow-brown and green, dated to the period between the late 16th and early 18th centuries. The inner side of the pot and the area just below the rim on the outside are covered with a white slip and a colourless or pale yellow lead glaze, while designs, such as spirals and wavy lines, or simply brushstrokes in yellow-brown and green paint are applied under the lead glaze, on the interior part of the pot and the upper half of the outside (Vionis 2006a, 789). Commonly found shapes include bowls and dishes with chunky foot-ring bases and broad everted rims, as well as jugs with spherical body, flat base and fairly narrow neck (Fig. 8.14).

The attribution of this Ware to a specific production centre is difficult. On the basis of fabric and decoration descriptions, it is assumed that the production of *Painted Wares* is not restricted to a single centre. Fragments of this Ware, made in a soft, fine, dull orange fabric (M 7.5 YR 7/3 to 7.5 YR 7/4 or 5 YR 7/4) with some medium lime and a few fine quartz inclusions have been identified at 16 sites in Western and Northern Boeotia, during the course of the Cambridge-Durham Boeotia Project (Vroom 2003, 175). Similarly, fragments of *Painted Ware* in a fairly hard, medium-fine, dull pinkish-brown fabric (M 7.5 YR 7/3 to 7.5 YR 7/4 and 5 YR 7/4) with a few fine black quartz and a few fine lime inclusions have been identified at two sites in Eastern Boeotia, during the course of the Leiden Ancient Cities of Boeotia Project (Fig. 8.14b) (Vionis 2006a, 790-1). It is highly possible that Boeotia was one of the production centres of *Painted Ware*, since the similarity of fabric, shape and decoration of fragments from various sites within the province is quite characteristic, and the finds are numerous. Arta in Epirus has also been suggested as one of the production centres of this Ware, on the basis of a number of excavated vessels of open and closed shapes, decorated with human figures, fishes and linear patterns painted in vibrant green and yellow-brown colours (Vavylopoulou-Charitonidou 1981/82, 10, 12; Korre-Zographou 1995, 87-8). The Ware has long been recognised also in Athens, and the shapes represented are the bowl with almost upright rim or deep dish with horizontal rim (Frantz 1942, figs. 23.3, 24.4, 28.5), while other examples include jugs dated to the 16th-17th century, with a flat disc-base, a spherical body partly covered with white slip, and decorated with brown-painted spirals and green brushstrokes (Kalopissi-Verti 2003, 71, No. A28). Two *Painted Ware* vessels, a dish and jug, were recovered from

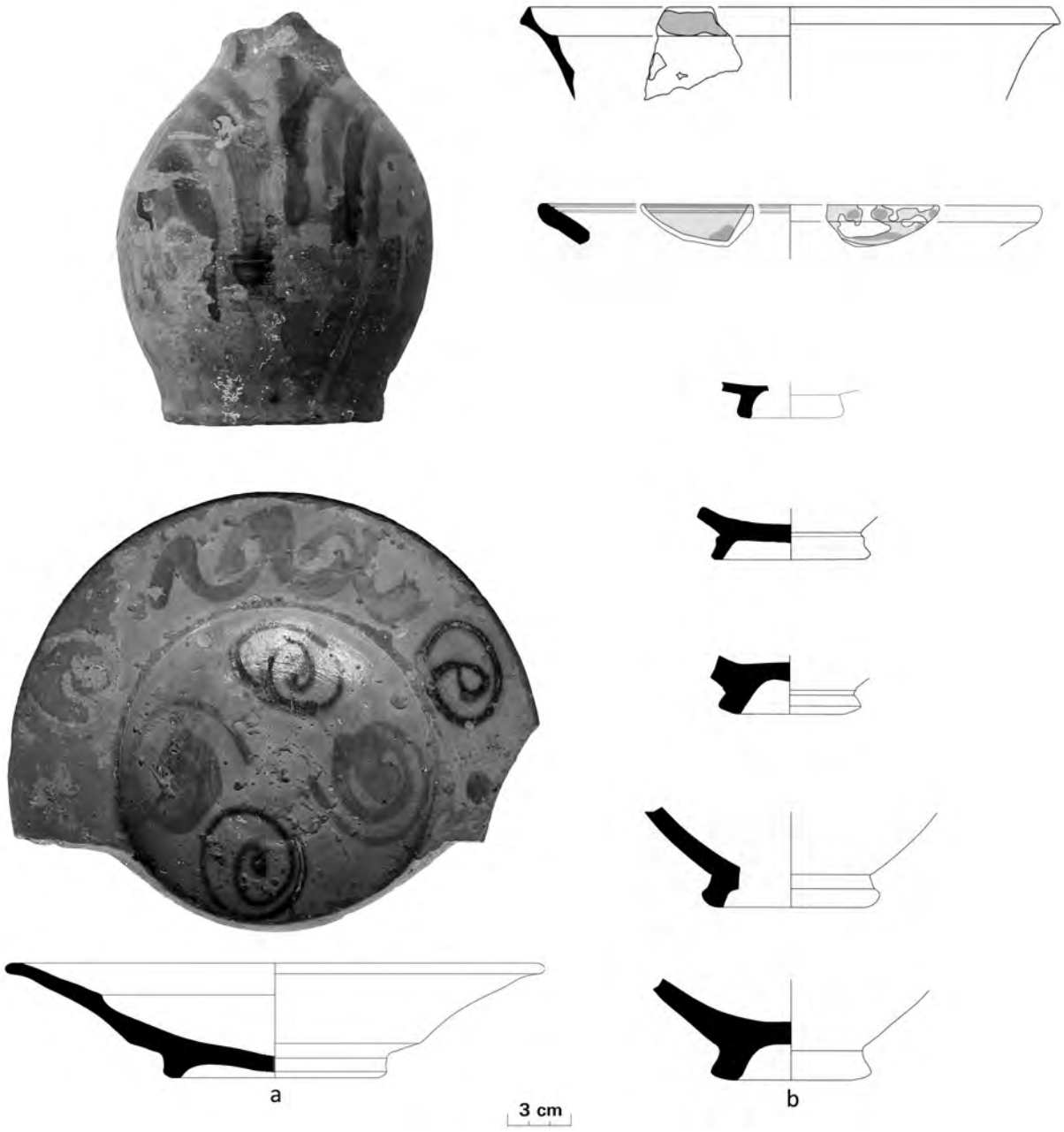


Fig. 8.14 Examples of *Painted Ware* (a. bay of Naoussa, Paros; b. Tanagra region; A. Vionis)

underwater in the gulf of Naoussa, Paros (Fig. 8.14a). Their decoration consists of green and yellow-mustard painted spirals and wavy lines under a dirty lime-yellow glaze.

Apart from the aforementioned examples from Mainland Greece, published examples of *Green Painted Ware* from Lapithos suggest a Cypriot production centre during the late 15th and 16th centuries. The Cypriot products are made in a rather fine yellow-brown fabric (M 2.5 YR 6/6 and 5 YR 7/3), and

shapes include hemispherical bowls of various sizes, with an almost upright rim and a heavy low ring base, decorated with green-painted wavy lines and geometric designs (Papanikola-Bakirtzis 1996, 186-8, pl. LXVII-LXIX).

Several fragments of *Painted Ware* have been identified at Kephalos (K.xii.1-7), site 15 on Paros (P.viii.1), Zephyria (M/Z.v.1) and Kastro on Melos (M/K.iii.1). They mostly come from medium-size bowls with straight rim, convex divergent upper wall and low ring base, and large deep dishes with flaring-horizontal rim and convex divergent upper wall. Closed shapes are represented by a flat base-fragment of a jug. The decoration consists of reddish-brown and olive-green abstract brushstrokes or splashes of dark green and yellowish-orange over a white slip and under a transparent glaze, in some cases, speckled yellow-mustard in tone. Some of the fragments from sites in the Cyclades are comparable to published pottery from Boeotia (Vroom 2003, 215-6, W31.4, 31.5) and the Oikonomopoulos Collection (Kypraiou 1995, 11, pl. 5.6), dated to the 15th and 16th centuries.

8.5.4 Polychrome Marbled Ware

This type of decorated table pottery, also known as 'Marbled Ware', a term introduced by Talbot Rice (1930, 48-9), is striking for its colourful decoration, which imitates veined coloured marble. The decoration is produced by slips of different colours, shaken together while being applied on the white-slipped surface of the vessel in order to produce the marble-effect. The most common shapes are basins with a flat base and flaring walls, hemispherical bowls with almost upright rim and low ring bases, as well as deep dishes with everted or overhanging rims and low ring base (Fig. 8.15).

Various regions have been considered as possible production centres of *Polychrome Marbled Ware*, which dates to the Post-Medieval period, from the middle 16th to the 19th century. Pisa, Montelupo, Savona and Lombardy in Northern Italy and Provence in Southern France have been proposed as production centres of the middle 16th to middle 17th centuries (Blake 1981, 105; Berti and Tongiorgi 1982, 163), producing both bichrome (in red and white) and polychrome (in brown, green and black) vessels. Examples of *Polychrome Marbled Ware* attributed to workshops from Pisa and Provence have been identified in Constantinople/Istanbul (Hayes 1992, 265, 344), Athens (Waage 1933, 326-7), incorporated in the walls of the church of Phaneromeni on the island of Salamis (Nikolakopoulos 1980, 16; Korre-Zographou 1995, 72), at three rural sites in Boeotia (Vroom 2003, 176-7), Kato Kastro on Andros (Dori *et al.* 2003), as well as in Northwest Europe and the Americas (Vroom 2003, 177).

Imitations of *Polychrome Marbled Ware* were also produced in Didymoteicho in Thrace in the 18th and 19th centuries (Bakirtzis 1980, 151). The difference between the Northern Italian products and the Ottoman imitations of this Ware is noted in surface treatment. The use of a white slip under the various colours mixed for producing the decorative marble-effect is a technique employed by centres producing imitations during the Ottoman period in the Balkans (Kontogiannis and Arvaniti 2007, 359). The group of bowls and dishes found underwater in the gulf of Naoussa in Paros belong to the category of *Polychrome Marbled Ware* imitations of Italian pottery, possibly produced in Didymoteicho (Fig. 8.15).

Two fragments of *Polychrome Marbled Ware* have been retrieved from Kephalos (K.xiii.1-2). Their fabric is moderately soft, fine and pale reddish-orange (M 5 YR 6/6 to 7/4), with a few fine micaceous, lime and sand inclusions. Both fragments belong to a bowl or dish with low ring base; pale green, dark green and pale brown colours have been applied over a white-slipped surface and probably under a transparent glaze. They are dated to the 17th or 18th century, and cannot be identified as products of the Pisa workshops with certainty; it is highly possible that they comprise imports of *Polychrome Marble Ware* imitations from Didymoteicho.

8.5.5 Late Slip-Painted Ware

Slip-painting, used since the Middle Byzantine era, is one of the techniques of glazed pottery decoration that survived into the Early Modern period in the Aegean. The island of Skyros is one of the most representative cases, where potters used this technique until very recently, in order to decorate vessels by

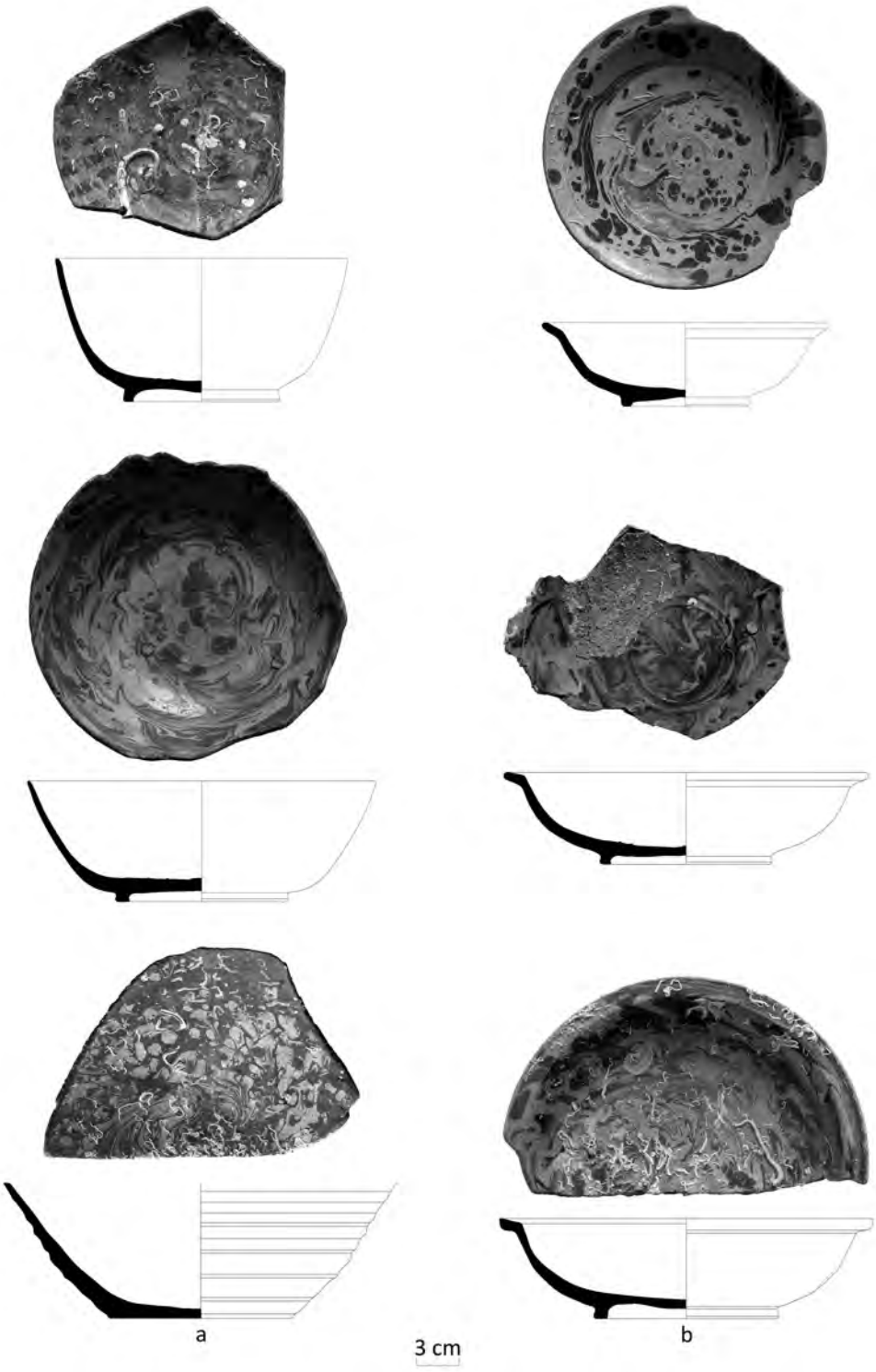


Fig. 8.15 Examples of *Polychrome Marbled Ware* (bay of Naoussa, Paros; A. Vionis)

painting the decoration directly on the vessel's body, with the aid of a tiny bottle with a pointed end, the so-called *ploumidistiri* (Kyriazopoulos 1984, 34-4; Korre-Zographou 1995, 203-4). Thus, *Late Slip-Painted Ware* comprises a survival and late variant of the *Slip-Painted Ware* of the Middle and Late Byzantine periods.

The decoration of *Late Slip-Painted Ware* consists of spirals, concentric circles and wavy lines in the form of star- or flower-like motifs, painted over the bare body of the vessel in a thick white slip (which appear in low relief) and covered with a green- or yellow-tinted lead glaze; the unslipped areas appear darker (dark green or brown), while the slipped decorative lines appear paler (light green or yellow), and overall, the vessels' surface has a glassy and shiny effect (Fig. 8.16). Shapes include hard-fired large shallow dishes with thick walls, a pie-crust rim, an almost flat bottom and medium-size ring base with a flat resting surface (Vionis 2006a, 790). This Ware is dated, according to excavation data in Greece, between the 16th and late 18th century (Vroom 2003, 174-5).

Fig. 8.16 Example of *Late Slip-Painted Ware* (bay of Naoussa, Paros; A. Vionis)

The manufacture centre of *Late Slip-Painted Ware* is still unknown, but Arta and Ioannina have been suggested as possible workshops of the 17th and 18th centuries (Vavylopoulou-Charitonidou 1981/82, 14-5; Tsouris 1982, 274). Apart from Arta and Ioannina, the Ware has also been identified in Constantinople/Istanbul (Hayes 1992, 321, Ware N), at 11 sites in Western and Northern Boeotia (Vroom 2003, 174-5), at two sites in Eastern Boeotia (Vionis 2006a, 790), in Eastern Phokis (Armstrong 1989, 41-2), Athens (Charitonidou 1982, fig. 18), Corinth (Vroom 2003, 175) and the gulf of Naoussa, Paros (Fig. 8.16).

Only two fragments of *Late Slip-Painted Ware*, dated to the 15th-16th centuries, have been recovered from the site of Kephalos (K.xi.1-2), while another two fragments from site 11 on Paros (P.vii.1-2) belong to the earlier class of this Ware, dated to the 14th-15th centuries.

8.5.6 Monochrome Glazed Ware

Monochrome Glazed Ware is probably the most common of all glazed wares of the period and the least sophisticated. The interior surface of open vessels and the exterior of closed ones is covered with a while slip, over which a yellow- or green-tinted glassy lead glaze is applied. Shapes include large bowls with an almost upright rim with rounded lip, deep dishes with medium or high ring bases, thick walls and a broad flaring rim ending on a rouletting or pie-crust lip, as well as jugs with a flat disc-base and strap handle (Vionis 2006a, 789). Very often, tripod stilt marks are visible on the inside of open forms, as it is the case with four almost complete *Monochrome Glazed* bowls and dishes found in the gulf of Naoussa (Fig. 8.17).

This Ware has been identified in Constantinople/Istanbul by Hayes (1992, 233, 281, fig. 107) and has been dated to the 16th and 17th centuries. It has also been published amongst glazed finds from central Greece, such as Thebes, dated to the 17th and early 18th centuries (Armstrong 1993, 317, fig. 12, 321), at 12 sites in Western and Northern Boeotia (Vroom 2003, 173-4), at two sites in Eastern Boeotia (Vionis 2006a, 789, 791, 800, fig. 14), in Eastern Phokis (Armstrong 1989, figs. 8, 13, 14, 16, 19, 23), in

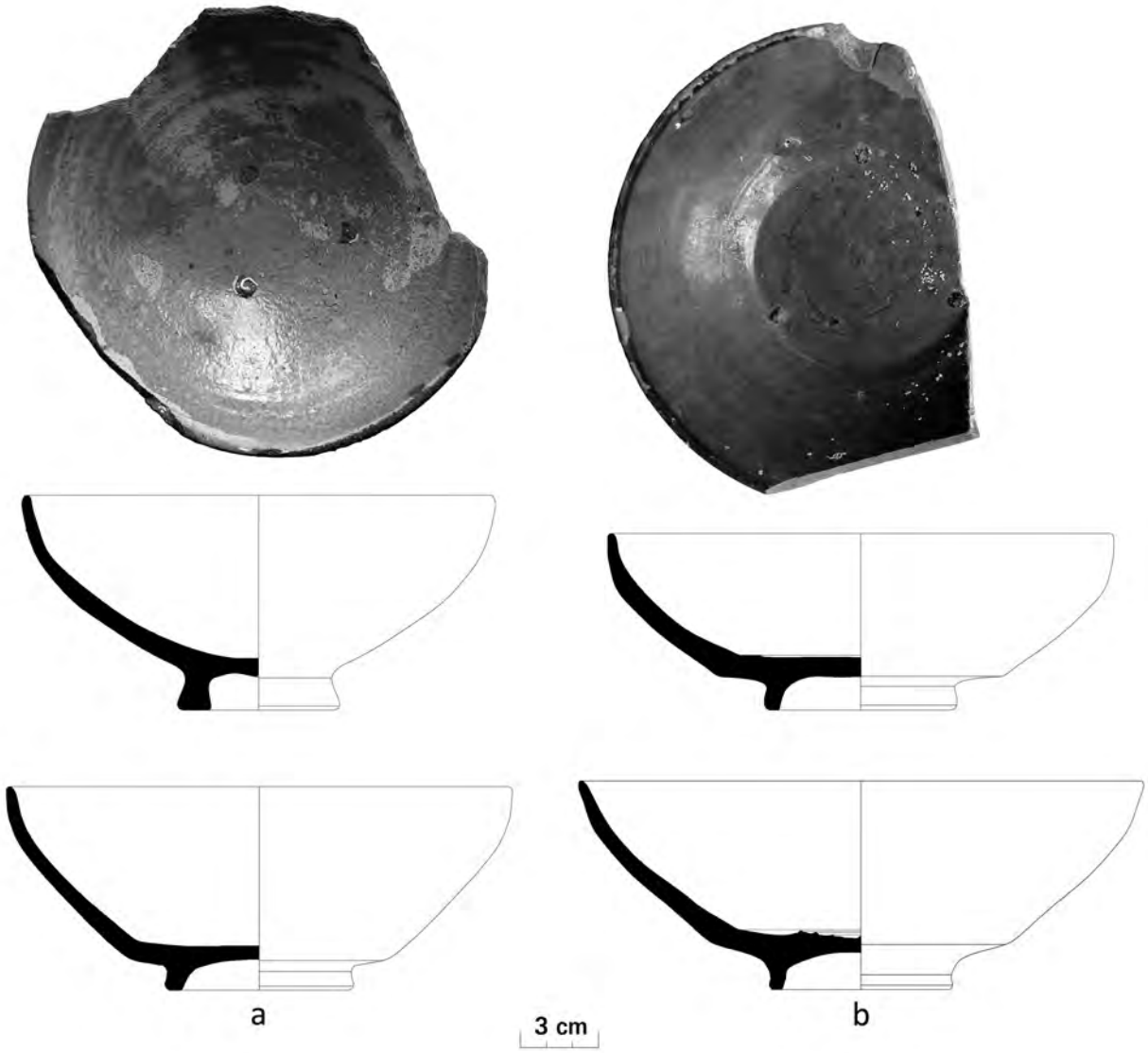


Fig. 8.17 Examples of *Monochrome Glazed Ware* (bay of Naoussa, Paros; A. Vionis)

Lakonia (Armstrong 1996, 129), and Corinth (Vroom 2003, 174).

Several fragments of *Monochrome Glazed Ware* have been retrieved from Kephalos on Paros (K.x.2-15), Apano Kastro on Naxos (N.vii.6-8), Zephyria (M/Z.iv.1-2) and Kastro on Melos (M/K.vi.1-5), mostly dated to the 15th-16th and 17th-19th centuries. A few fragments of this Ware from the Cyclades are dated slightly earlier (14th-15th century) but their surface treatment is very similar with examples of the Ottoman period, *e.g.* on Kephalos (K.x.1) and at the sites 15, 38 and 44 on Paros (P.vi.1-3), and Apano Kastro on Naxos (N.vii.1-5). The fabric of the later examples is hard, reddish-brown to pale brown (M 10 R 5/6 to 2.5 YR 6/4) and medium-fine, with some lime and a few fine sand and micaceous inclusions. Most of them are bowl fragments with a medium ring base with a flat resting surface and central nipple underneath.

8.6 GLAZED POTTERY OF THE 15TH–19TH CENTURIES: EASTERN FASHIONS

8.6.1 Miletus Ware

The production of *Miletus Ware*, dated to the late 14th and 15th century, signifies the beginning of a new era for decorated table-wares of Post-Medieval Asia Minor. The Ware was first recognised in the 1930s by Friedrich Sarre during excavations at the site of ancient Miletus in present-day Western Turkey (Sarre 1939, 341-5), hence its name. Contemporary archaeological research has shown that *Miletus Ware* was actually produced in several towns, such as Iznik, Kütahya, and probably the wider region of Miletus, and was distributed throughout Seljuk/Ottoman Anatolia (Holt *et al.* 1970, 734; Crane 1987, 53-4; Atasoy and Raby 1994, 82-3).

The fabric of *Miletus Ware* has nothing to do with the later fine white frit-ware from Iznik; the body of this earthenware is orange-reddish to reddish (M 2.5 YR 7/6 to 2.5 YR 5/6), with some lime and many fine micaceous inclusions (Vroom 2005, 157). The interior and exterior surface of the vessel is covered with a white slip, upon which the decoration is painted in azure blue, reddish purple, dark brown and black and under a transparent alkaline-lead glaze. According to Vroom (2005, 157), the glaze of this Ware has the tendency to flake, and does not always cover the white slip coating on the outside. The most common decorative patterns, painted mainly in blue and black over a white background, possibly imitating Chinese porcelain, include geometric and floral motifs, such as triangles and hexagons encircling floral designs within a central medallion, as well as 'wavy-and-rock' motifs and cross-hatched patterns, while the outside is decorated with spiralling tendrils, wavy and parallel lines painted in green or purple brown (Fig. 8.18) (Atasoy and Raby 1994, 82-3). The commonest shapes include large dishes with low flaring ring foot, concave walls and everted flanged rim, as well as deep bowls with low flaring ring foot and high, concave walls (Crane 1987, 53).

Although it seems that *Miletus Ware* did not circulate very much outside Anatolia, a bowl fragment, dated to the late 14th - early 15th century, has been identified at the site of Kephalos on Paros (K.viii.1). It has a hard, medium fine, reddish fabric (M 2.5 YR 5/6), with some micaceous and lime inclusions. The pale yellowish ground (M 10 YR 8/2) on the outside is painted with a band in dark green colour (PMS 350 C) under a thin clear glaze. The white slipped surface (M 10 YR 8/1) on the inside is painted with bands in blue (PMS 653 C), under a transparent clear glaze.

Fig. 8.18 A *Miletus Ware* bowl (Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts, Sultanahmet, Turkey)

8.6.2 Iznik Ware

A comprehensive analysis of ceramics of the Ottoman era, both fine table-wares and unglazed common wares, is provided by Hayes (1992) in his published volume on the pottery from the excavations at Saraçhane district in Istanbul. This glazed ceramic group was named after the place of its production, Iznik or Nicaea in Northwest Turkey (Aslanapa *et al.* 1989). The prestigious fine ceramics of Iznik (an imitation of Chinese porcelain), tiles and pottery, distributed throughout the Ottoman Empire, were at first given a typology by Lane (1957, 45-60), who divided them into three main groups, according to colours used for its decorative themes: Iznik I or 'Abraham of Kütahya' type, dated between 1480/90 and 1525/30, is characterised by the blue painted decoration on a fine white surface; Iznik II or 'Damascus' type is dated to 1525-1560, and has a polychrome (excluding red) decorative repertoire; finally, Iznik III or 'Rhodian' type, dated between 1555 and 1700, is decorated in green, 'tomato-red' (appearing in relief) and blue with black outlines. Two other types overlap the

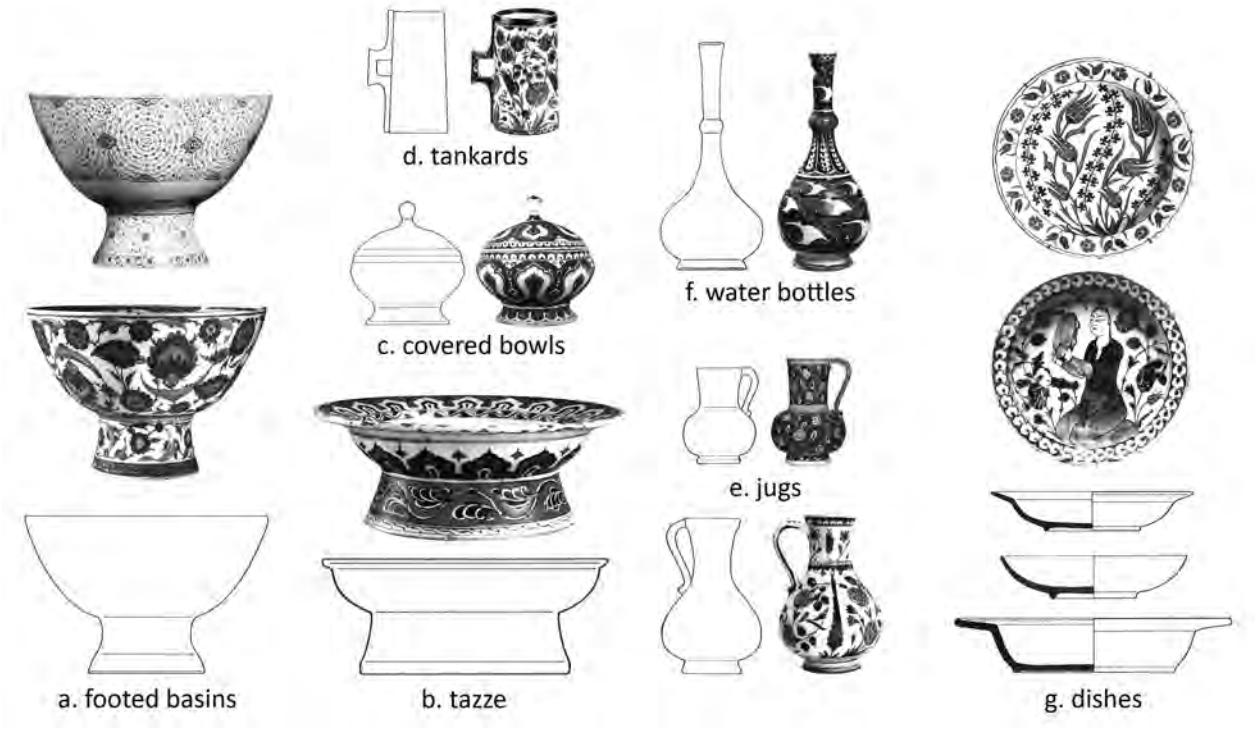


Fig. 8.19 Shapes of *Iznik Ware* (Atasoy and Raby 1994, 38-9)

previous categories, *i.e.* the 'Golden Horn' type (1510-1540), and an often monochrome vessel-type, dated to 1550.

Iznik pottery shapes (Fig. 8.19) include deep bowls of different sizes with a ring base, highly decorated large dishes with a ring base and an everted flattened or foliated rim, and delicate jugs. Other special shapes include footed basins, small covered bowls, 'tazze' or large dishes with a rather high foot, tankards, delicate water bottles, ewers, jars, carafes, candlesticks, and hanging mosque lamps (Atasoy and Raby 1994, 38-9). The body of *Iznik Ware* is composed of a hard, compact and fine off-white clay and quartz-frit (M 5 YR 6/3), hence the use of the term 'frit-ware', fired at a maximum temperature of 1260 degrees Celsius (Altun 1991, 8). A thick white slip of a quartz-frit type is applied on the interior and exterior of the vessel, providing a smooth white ground for the painted decoration. Decorative motifs are painted directly on the white surface, while a colourless lead over-glaze (with added tin and alkaline) is applied all over the pot and fuses completely with the clay to form a continuous mass (Vroom 2003, 175).

Iznik Ware production does not seem to have been the same throughout the centuries of its manufacture. It reached its peak during the first half of the 16th century, the so-called 'Golden' or Classical Age of the Ottoman Empire, when the major building programmes took place. A period of decline followed between the late 16th and middle 17th century, when the colour- and glaze-quality of *Iznik Ware* seems to have deteriorated. The Turkish traveller and geographer Evliya Çelebi (Korre-Zographou 1995, 56) mentions that 'in 1648 there were only nine ceramic workshops at Iznik, while during the reign of Sultan Ahmed I (1603-1617) there were three hundred of those'.

The classification of the Iznik pottery products was until now based on the combination of colours in the decoration, although this method of identifying different phases of Iznik production has not been totally abandoned. *Iznik Ware* coexists with other good quality pottery in the Mediterranean area. *Italian*

Maiolica (some types of which show influences from *Iznik Ware*), *Polychrome Sgraffito Ware* of the region of Venice and the lower Po Valley, as well as *Marbled* and *Painted Wares* of the workshops of Pisa are contemporary to products from Ottoman Iznik (François 1994).

Special interest has been shown in the Iznik tile industry and export as well. The tiles provided a fitting accompaniment to buildings erected for the Sultans, and to mosques and pavilions in Istanbul, and elsewhere. Both pottery and tiles reflect the successive stylistic phases of the Ottoman court art, from the arabesque compositions of the first decade, to the bold naturalism of the second half of the 16th century. Henderson and Raby (1989) examined the technology of 15th-century Iznik tiles and concluded that the period between 1475 and 1520 was a transitional period, which saw gradual development of the classic Iznik 'fritware' technology. The authors found links between the composition of the frit body and the glaze, while it is suggested that glaze lead-frit was mixed in with the body paste, by initial accident or deliberate experimentation, and that this discovery should be credited to the potters of Iznik (Henderson and Raby 1989).

Gervers-Molnar (1978) examined 17th-century Iznik tiles, the motifs of which are always outlined in black, a significant difference with tiles of the earlier period outlined in a darker shade of blue. The quality of the decoration and glaze, as well as the quality of production has declined, since orders from within Anatolia were not sufficient to provide work on a constant basis, and as a result, the Iznik workshops produced mainly for export. Kütahya was established as the successor of the Iznik industry, while written sources show that Istanbul must have been another centre of tile production, although, in the archaeological record, no tiles have been identified as having been made there (Gervers-Molnar 1978).

Iznik Ware and tiles were widely distributed within the Ottoman Empire, as well as in Northwest Europe (Hurst *et al.* 1986, 12). In Mainland Greece and the Aegean islands, products of the Iznik industry have been reported at Corinth (Williams and Zervos 1992, 172), Athens (Waage 1933, 327), Thessaloniki (Vavylopoulou-Charitonidou 1989, 225), Boeotia (Vroom 2003, 175-6), Crete (Hahn 1989, 229), Andros (Dori *et al.* 2003, 166-8), Skyros (Korre-Zographou 1995, 187-206), and as far as Cyprus (Megaw 1951, 152).

Only one *Iznik Ware* fragment has been recovered at Zephyria on Melos (M/Z.ii.1). It is the base of a large dish, made of a moderately soft, fine, creamy-gray fabric (M 5 YR 7/2) with very few fine mica and a few fine sand inclusions. The painted floral decoration (appearing in relief) in reddish-brown, green and purple, is outlined with black, and it is identified as Iznik III, dated to the middle 17th century. The handle and body fragment of an Iznik tankard from Paros (Othon Kaparis Collection) with similar painted designs is dated to the early 17th century.

8.6.3 Kütahya Ware

Excavations in the vicinity of Kütahya, a small town in central Anatolia, showed that fine ceramics, similar in tradition to those from Iznik, have been made there since the late 14th century (Carswell 1998). Most, if not all, of the examples of *Kütahya Ware* date to the 18th and 19th centuries, the heyday of Kütahya pottery production (likewise influenced by Chinese porcelain), although its quality started to decline by the second half of the 18th century (Carswell 1991, 55). Kütahya products are also widely distributed in various parts of the Ottoman Empire and these products are seen as successors and imitations of the Iznik pottery industry. It is a polychrome ware, using blue, green, red, purple and yellow colours for the decoration, painted over a white slip and under a clear transparent glaze. Amongst the commonest decorative motifs, one finds human figures of Muslim (portraits of Ottoman townsfolk in costumes of the period) and Christian interest (portraits of saints, two-headed eagles and angel-like figures), as well as floral and geometric patterns. *Kütahya Ware* has a fine pale fabric (M 10 YR 8/2), comparable to *Iznik Ware*, but not of as high quality as the products from Iznik. This Ware has also been described as 'peasant porcelain' or as a cheaper substitute for real porcelain (Lane 1957, 65). *Kütahya-Ware* types include small thin-walled utensils (even lemon-squeezers), bowls,

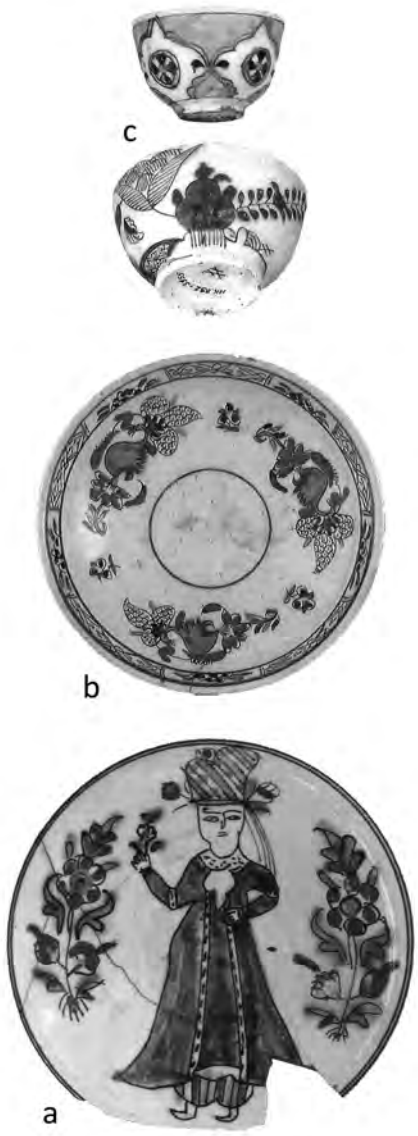


Fig. 8.20 Examples of *Kütahya-Ware* (a. dish; Korre-Zographou 1995, 67, fig. 114; b-c. cups with saucers; Carswell 1991, 67, 71, 73, Nos 29A, 42, 53)

jugs, perfume sprinklers, incense containers, sweetmeat dishes, coffee pots and coffee cups with matching saucers (Fig. 8.20) (Lane 1939; Carswell 1976). The Greek word for coffee cup or *flintzani* most possibly derives from the Turkish *fincan*, through the habit of coffee drinking. Coffee was very popular throughout the Ottoman Empire since the 18th century or even earlier (Vroom 1996, 16). Coffee cups were decorated in a variety of floral and geometric designs, while in some cases imitation Meissen cross-sword marks are preserved on their base (Fig. 8.20c). It has been suggested (Lane 1939, 236; Carswell 1991, 55) that Meissen in Germany exported coffee cups to the lands of the Ottoman Empire during the first half of the 18th century, influencing the shapes of the Kütahya coffee-cup production.

Evliya Çelebi, who visited Kütahya in 1671, noted that its pottery was indistinguishable from that of Iznik. A reference to porcelain 'de Cutaji' by Paul Lucas in 1715 (Carswell 1991, 54) suggests that the local potters had developed the characteristic fine white, almost translucent paste that so successfully imitated the appearance of Chinese porcelain (Lane 1939). It has also been suggested (Lane 1957, 64; Kyriazopoulos 1978) that Kütahya was an Armenian and/or Greek production centre, hence vessels have been found with Armenian and Greek inscriptions. Another plausible explanation could be that potters got orders from different consumer groups, who could be Armenian or Greek speaking from time to time. Lane (1939, 232), commenting on the cheaper pottery production of Kütahya and Çanakkale, notes that 'it is the art of the lower classes imitating their betters, and as it takes time for a fashion to filter down into the lower level of society, it usually appears old-fashioned'.

Kütahya Ware has been found in Mainland Greece and the Aegean islands, *e.g.* Athens (Waage 1933, 327, fig. 20h-p; Frantz 1942, group 8, Nos. 7-8, group 9, Nos. 1-3), Boeotia (Vroom 2003, 178), Eastern Phokis (Armstrong 1989, 42-3), Crete (Hahn 1989, 229), Skyros (Korre-Zographou 1995, 187-206), as well as at Kouklia on Cyprus (Von Wartburg 2001, 367).

Only one *Kütahya Ware* fragment was recovered from Zephyria on Melos (M/Z.iii.1). It is a body fragment of a jug or bottle, in a moderately soft, fine, and pale creamy-gray fabric (M 10 YR 8/2) with a few mica and a few fine sand particles. The decoration consists of a leaf-like design in blue with black outline, and it dates to the 18th century.

8.6.4 Çanakkale Ware

Examples of *Çanakkale Ware* are found almost everywhere in the Aegean coasts and islands, and were initially accepted as evidence that they were made there (Lane 1939). The centre of its production, though, was at Çanakkale on the Dardanelles in Northwest Asia Minor. This red-bodied earthenware derives its name from the Turkish words for a type of bowl or 'çanak' and 'kale' or fort. *Çanakkale Ware* production, of inferior quality to ceramics from Iznik and Kütahya, started in the late 17th century and flourished during the second half of the 18th and first half of the 19th centuries (Öney 1991, 104; Korre-Zographou 1995, 155-72). The quality of later products from Çanakkale deteriorated during the second half of the 19th century and, according to Öney (1976, 173-4), the style became quite tasteless and grotesque. Workshops of *Çanakkale Ware* were still in use, with a notable decline in quality, until the early 20th century, with the termination of its last phase of production around 1922 (Korre-Zographou 2000).

Çanakkale Ware is an earthenware made of a hard-fired coarse red to orange-red clay (M 5 YR 6/8) painted in thick earthy pigments coloured purplish dark brown, orange, white, yellow and dark blue over a white slip and under a transparent dirty yellow, brownish-orange or beige glaze (Lane 1939; Öney 1991). Çanakkale production can be divided into two different periods. According to Korre-Zograpgou (2000, 72-3), the first phase of *Çanakkale Ware* production, lasting from 1670 to 1800, is characterised by the dominance of (a) large shallow dishes (up to 34 cm in diameter) with a broad everted rim, decorated with stylised spots, animals, sailboats, flowers, mosques and kiosk motifs, (b) jugs with or without handles with floral and lattice designs, and (c) deep bowls with droplet motifs, spots and plant designs, all types showing influence from the pottery of Iznik and Kütahya. The second and last phase of production, lasting from 1800 to 1922, was a period characterised by deteriorating quality, while a number of unique shapes made their appearance. There is a wide range of water pitchers, as well as pitchers for ornamental purposes with plump bodies and long necks with heads resembling birds and other animals (Fig. 8.21). Painted and attached-relief decorative patterns of a 'baroque' character, such as rosettes, leaves and flowers, appear on many green- and brown- or dirty yellow-glazed bodies (Öney 1991, 105). Colour-glazed flowerpots, candlesticks, salt and pepper cellars, ring-shaped jugs, coffeepots, sugar bowls with flat lids crowned by animal figurines, horse-shaped cups, braziers, animal and human statuettes became popular during the late 19th and early 20th centuries (Öney 1991, 108-12; Korre-Zographou 1995, 155-72).

Çanakkale Wares were widely distributed throughout the lands of the Ottoman Empire and as far as Russia, Rumania, France, Tunisia, Egypt, the Near East and Cyprus (Korre-Zographou 2000, 37-8; Von Wartburg 2001, 367-9; Vroom 2003, 182). Products from Çanakkale were particularly popular in Greece and the Aegean islands especially. The Ware has been found at urban centres, such as Athens (Waagé 1933, 325-6, fig. 19i; Charitonidou 1982, 63, figs. 14-15) and Thessaloniki (Evgenidou 1982, 25), as well as at rural sites in Mainland Greece and the Greek islands, *e.g.* Western and Northern Boeotia (Vroom 2003, 180-2), Crete (Hahn 1989, 227-9, fig. 1), Skyros, Rhodes and other Aegean islands (Kyriazopoulos 1978, 80; Korre-Zographou 1995, 187-209; 2000, 53).

Only one fragment of a dish from Çanakkale, dated to the first half of the 18th century, has been found at the site of Kephalos (K.xiv.1). Its fabric is hard, reddish-orange (M 2.5 YR 6/8), and fine with a few fine micaceous and mineral particles. The decoration, consisting of a central floral motif close to the centre of the base, is painted in blue and dark brown over a pinkish-white slip. The fragment belongs to the early phase of Çanakkale production (late 17th – middle 18th century), characterised by large dishes with flat everted rim and low flat-resting foot ring, decorated in cobalt blue and reddish-orange over a white slip and under a transparent colourless glaze. The Othon Kaparis Collection in the Historical-Folklore Museum of Paros, exhibits a variety of Çanakkale products of the 19th and early 20th centuries (Fig. 8.21) collected from most of the Cyclades islands, testifying to their popularity in the Aegean region. The collection includes (a) jugs with a bulbous body, long neck, a stylised bird-head mouth and a twisted handle (Fig. 8.21b), (b) ewers with a long and narrow neck,

Fig. 8.21 Examples of *Çanakkale Wares* (Historical-Folklore Museum, Othon Kaparis Collection, Naoussa, Paros; A. Vionis)

a single twisted handle and a narrow spout (Fig. 8.21d), (c) jugs with a bulbous body, long neck, a stylised bird-head spout and attached floral and heraldic motifs (Fig. 8.21c), (d) ship-shaped gas lamps (Fig. 8.21e), (e) sugar bowls with a lid with attached animal figurines (Fig. 8.21f), (f) salt cellars of various forms (Fig. 8.21g), and (g) horse-shaped cups or jugs (Fig. 8.21h).

8.6.5 Clay Tobacco Pipes

As has already been noted by Braudel (1985, 261), between the 16th and 17th centuries, tobacco conquered the whole world, from the Americas to China and from England to Egypt and the Middle East, enjoying greater popularity than coffee and tea. The activity of tobacco smoking in Britain is recorded from the last quarter of the 16th century (Gaimster 1994, 302), while clay pipe-bowls were in common use throughout the Ottoman Empire and the Middle East from the beginning of the 17th century onwards (Hayes 1980, 3; Robinson 1985, 152-3). Clay pipe bowls (or *lüle* in Turkish) and smoking scenes are very often depicted in foreign travellers' drawings, but it is very difficult to establish a stylistic chronology through these drawings, since they do not show tobacco pipe-bowls in great detail (Hayes 1980; Robinson 1985). The tobacco pipes used in the East during the Ottoman period (in contrast to the *nargile* or the 'hubble-bubble' type common throughout the Arab Middle East nowadays) were of the *çibuk* style. That is, the piece (the pipe-bowl) was

moulded separately, while the stem (made of wood or reed) was inserted into the bowl. In the West, though, the stem was moulded of a piece with the bowl (Evely 1988, 135). According to Robinson's (1985, 152) comprehensive study of tobacco pipes excavated at Corinth and the Athenian Agora, after the middle 17th century 'smoking became universally accepted and was practiced by men and women, high or low, rich and poor, young or old.'

A clear distinction between early and later tobacco pipes is made through their fabric colour. According to a first typology established by Hayes (1980), early pipe-bowls were made of fine pale gray clay (with rather long shanks) during the 17th and early 18th century (Fig. 8.22a). Robinson (1985, 153) on the other hand, argues that the gray and white ware for pipes had been replaced by red before the end of the 17th century (Fig. 8.22b). Early pipes of gray ware were very small, since tobacco was still rare and

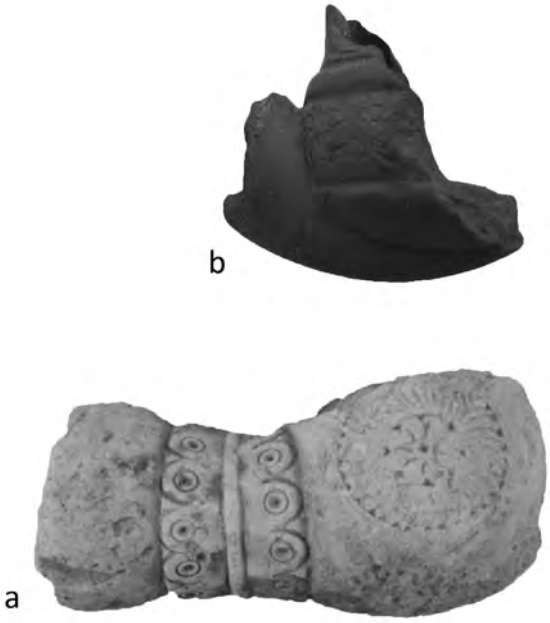


Fig. 8.22 *Clay Tobacco Pipes* (a. bay of Dryos; b. Kephalos on Paros; A. Vionis)

expensive at the beginning of the 17th century. Bowl size, however, grew accordingly (as well as the size of tobacco boxes, examples of which are mainly found in Northwest Europe) as the cost of tobacco decreased (Robinson 1985, 153; Gaimster 1994, 302-3). Early red-ware pipes of the 18th and early 19th century had a red (of various tones) fine fabric and were polished on the outside. A type of red-burnished pipe-bowl made its appearance in the 19th century (Hayes 1980). The red appearance of pipes seems to have been esteemed; a fine reddish clay called 'Spring Rose' (or *Gülbahar* in Turkish) was imported to Istanbul from Lake Van in Eastern Anatolia to give pipes a rich ruby tint (Robinson 1985, 153). Istanbul was possibly the greatest pipe-production centre of the Ottoman Empire, while many large towns must have produced pipes for local distribution. Pipe-bowls also existed in metal, wood or stone, but the clay ones were by far the commonest. The red-ware pipe-bowls very often had stamped decorative patterns, such as rayed dots, lattices, palmettes, combed crescents, arcs, petals, tear-drops and others.

A tobacco pipe was found at the site of Kephalos (K.xv.1). It has a hard, red (M 10 R 5/6) fine fabric with some fine micaceous inclusions. It has a reddish-brown (M 2.5 YR 5/6) polished surface and it is decorated with a band of stamped rayed dots close to the top of the bowl and another stamped band with bars at the base of the rim. It belongs to the group of tobacco pipes dated to the 18th (-19th) century.

Tobacco pipes were widely distributed in the Ottoman Empire and Northwest Europe, *e.g.* in Istanbul (Hayes 1992), Athens and Corinth (Robinson 1985), Thebes (Koilakou 1994) and many other urban and rural sites in Greece, Turkey, Cyprus and the Near East (Vroom 2005). A large number of tobacco pipes of the 18th and 19th centuries were recovered from underwater in the bay of Dryos and the bay of Naoussa in Paros.

8.7 EARLY MODERN GLAZED POTTERY: WESTERN AND AEGEAN EXAMPLES

8.7.1 Late Polychrome Painted Maiolica

Late Polychrome Painted Maiolica is another group of decorated glazed pottery imported into Greece from the middle or late 18th to the early 19th century. This Ware was produced in Pesaro on the Adriatic coast of Northeast Italy and was so widely popular in 19th-century Mainland Greece and the Aegean is-

lands, that local workshops in Epirus produced imitations around the middle of the century (Charitonidou 1983, 287-9; Korre-Zographou 1995, 125). *Late Polychrome Painted Maiolica* from Pesaro is particularly known for its 'mastrapades' or 'fagentiana', a type of single-handled trefoil-mouth wine jug with a broad disc-base (Korre-Zographou 1995, 127, 127). According to Korre-Zographou (1995, 127), pottery from Pesaro travelled through the Adriatic, the Ionian and the Aegean from the port of Ancona, where Greek traders from Epirus were established already since the 15th and 16th centuries.

The most characteristic shapes of table-wares from Pesaro were, apart from the trefoil-mouth wine jug of different sizes, large dishes and basins with an everted flanged rim (Fig. 8.23). Their fabric is moderately soft to fairly hard, whitish to pinkish-yellow (M 2.5 YR 8/2 to 7.5 YR 7/3) and fine, with a few lime and sand inclusions. The interior and exterior surfaces are covered with a white slip and tin glaze. The painted decoration on wine jugs is grouped into two categories (Korre-Zographou 1995, 127). The first category includes the two-headed eagle painted in black, surrounded by a variety of floral motifs in blue and yellow orange, while their base is decorated with horizontal and wavy bands; the second category includes verses of a 'Bacchic' character in a central medallion surrounded by floral designs painted in yellow-orange, brown, blue and green colours. Other motifs include birds and architectural or other floral motifs (Korre-Zographou 1995, figs. 224-227).

The Ware is widely distributed in Mainland Greece and the Aegean islands, *e.g.* Athens (Frantz 1942, fig. 22, No. 22; Kalopissi-Verti 2003, 109, No. 100), Corinth and Boeotia (Vroom 2003, 177-8), as well as the Ionian islands, Epirus, Skyros and Samos (Korre-Zographou 1995, 127-32, 193-7).

A dish fragment of *Late Polychrome Painted Maiolica* has been found in Zephyria on Melos (M/Z.vi.1). Its fabric is fairly hard, pale pinkish-yellow (M 7.5 YR 7/3) and fine, with a few fine lime and sand inclusions. The linear designs are painted in orange-brown and reddish brown colours. This example belongs to the group of *Late Painted Maiolica* from Italy, dated between the late 16th and 18th centuries.

Fig. 8.23 Examples of *Late Polychrome Painted Maiolica*. A trefoil-mouth jug from Pesaro (Epirus; Korre-Zographou 1995, 121) and a basin (bay of Naoussa, Paros; A. Vionis)

8.7.2 Painted Ware from Grottaglie and Corfu

The similarity of this characteristic type of white-glazed painted tableware from Grottaglie in Apulia in Southern Italy with ceramic vessels from the Ionian island of Corfu in Western Greece has been discussed in the past by Charitonidou (1987) and Korre-Zographou (1995, 111-7). South Italy is believed to have been the source of inspiration for this widely distributed Ware in Greece, while workshops and imitations of Grottaglie have also been identified on the island of Corfu (Charitonidou 1983, 292). *Grottaglie Ware* reached many regions in Greece and beyond during the 19th and early 20th centuries.

The commonest shapes of *Grottaglie Ware* and its imitations from Corfu include deep and shallow dishes with flat everted or thickened flaring rims, covered bowls with raised foot, cylindrical jars (with resting lids), trefoil-mouth jugs with strap handle and

Fig. 8.24 Examples of *Painted Ware from Grottaglie and Corfu* (a. bay of Naoussa; b-e. Historical-Folklore Museum, Othon Kaparis Collection, Naoussa, Paros; A. Vionis)

flat base, and double-handled small shouldered vases (Fig. 8.24). The Italian examples have a fairly hard, pale yellow or pale gray fabric, while the decorative repertoire include linear, floral, animal and meander designs painted in light blue and brown. Their imitations from Corfu are rather thick walled, and their surfaces are covered with a mixture of an off-white or yellowish lead and tin glaze (Vroom 2003, 182). Painted designs on the body of the trefoil-mouth jugs and on the rim of plates and dishes include linear designs, five-leafed flowers in light blue, other floral motifs and the Greek meander design; the favourite motif on the centre of the interior of large plates and dishes is a cock, a bird or a flower-composition (Korre-Zographou 1995, 115). Korre-Zographou (1995, 113) argues that potters from South Italy established workshops on the island of Corfu at the beginning of the 20th century, such as Vitto Gianfrate whose workshop was established at Mantouki (on Corfu) in 1921. The Gianfrate workshop on Corfu followed the decorative designs of the older Grottaglie workshops. There is evidence for the establishment of Italian potters from Venice (such as the Gatti family) on Corfu in 1530, thus providing an explanation for the introduction of Italian shapes (*e.g.* trefoil-mouth jugs) into Greece during the early 16th century (Korre-Zographou 1995, 113).

Painted Ware from Grottaglie and Corfu has been identified at several places in Greece and Turkey, *e.g.* Boeotia, Myra (Vroom 2003, 182). The Othon Kaparis Collection on Paros also includes *Painted Wares* from Corfu in a variety of shapes (Fig. 8.24).

One possible dish fragment of *Painted Ware from Grottaglie* or *Corfu* has been identified on Kastro, Melos (M/K.iv.1), and it is dated to the 19th century. Its fabric is fairly hard, fine and pale pinkish (M 2.5 YR 7/4), with a few fine mica and a few fine lime inclusions. A straight line is painted in blue over a creamy slip.

8.7.3 Slip-Painted Ware from Didymoteicho

Slip-Painted Ware was produced at Didymoteicho in Western Thrace during the 19th and early 20th centuries, and its products reached several markets within the Greek borders and beyond. Pottery workshops at Didymoteicho have previously been studied and published by Bakirtzis (1980), while the tradition of pottery making in the town could be dated back to the 13th century. This tradition continued until the 17th century, on the basis of information provided by the Ottoman traveller and geographer Evliya Çelebi who informs us that approximately 200 workshops existed at his time in the town of Didymoteicho (Bakirtzis 1980, 153; Korre-Zographou 1995, 151). Workshops at Didymoteicho, as well as at Ainos (on the Aegean coast of Western Thrace) and Çanakkale produced mainly glazed decorated wares of fairly good quality and reasonable price that reached peasant markets throughout the Aegean and beyond (Gavrilaki 2006). It is also suggested that these pottery production centres employed as potters mainly Armenians and Greeks organised in guilds (Kyriazopoulos 1978; Korre-Zographou 1995).

Slip-Painted Ware from Didymoteicho was made with a fine reddish to orange-brown fabric (M 2.5 YR 4/8 to 5 YR 6/4) with a few fine lime and sand inclusions. The commonest shapes include shallow and deep bowls and large dishes with an everted hooked rim, low ring base and straight divergent upper wall (Fig. 8.25), as well as spouted or trefoil-mouth jugs with attached decoration (Bakirtzis 1980, pl. II-VI). The most characteristic decorative treatment of the body of open vessels is *slip-painting*, a technique known since the Middle Byzantine period. The designs are formed by the white slip, which is directly and thickly applied on the rim of the pot and it is left to drip towards the interior bottom of the vessel against the natural clay. The pot's interior is afterwards covered with an ochre-yellow (which turns into yellow over the white slip and brown over the clay) or greenish glaze (which turns into light green over the white slip and dark green over the clay) (Gavrilaki 2006, 91-4).

Although during the 19th century the pressure of the European capitalist market contributed to the decline of the Ottoman economic system, pottery guilds do not seem to have been affected until the beginning of the 20th century. Thus, as is commemorated on an inscription of 29th May 1839, the pottery guild of the Ainos area (on the Aegean coast of Western Thrace) could afford the building of the church of Saint Nicholas (Kalentzidou 2000, 177; Korre-Zographou 1995, 152). Ainos was particularly known

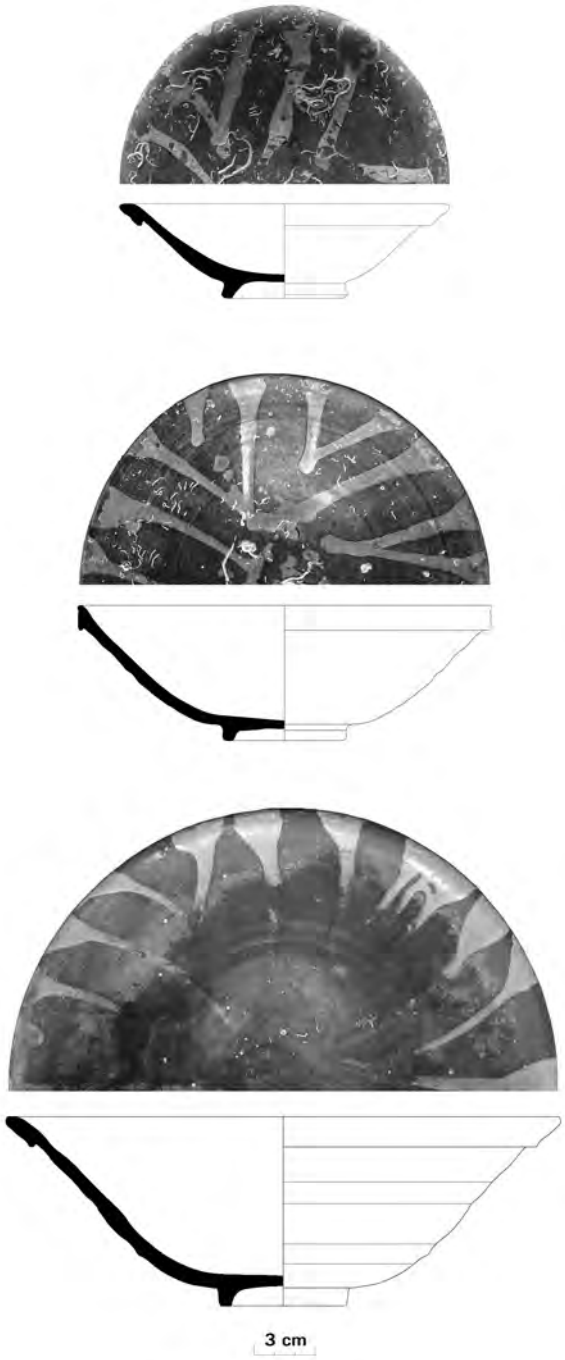


Fig. 8.25 Examples of *Slip-Painted Ware from Didymoteicho* (bay of Naoussa, Paros; A. Vionis)

for its *pithoi* exported to oil-producing areas, as well as other glazed household pottery, *e.g.* dishes, jugs, bowls (Korre-Zographou 1995, 153). Ceramic producing centres during the Late Ottoman and Early Modern periods are also known to have existed at Xanthi, Komotini, Soufli and Metaxades in Western Thrace.

The rim fragment of a *Slip-Painted* dish from Didymoteicho has been identified at the site of Kastro on Melos (M/K.v.1). Its fabric is fairly hard, pale orange-brown (M 5 YR 6/4) and fine, with a few fine sand inclusions. The white-slip decoration appears yellow under a transparent yellow-tinted lead glaze. A base and a rim fragment (M/K.v.2-3) of a *Slip-Painted* dish and basin from the same site are identified as products of the 19th century from Crete (or Thasos). The *slip-painted* decoration technique of the Cretan production centre is similar to that from Didymoteicho, although ceramic products from Crete are characteristic for their glassy transparent glaze on their inside (Vroom 2005, 191).

8.7.4 Siphnos Ware

The quality and durability of household pottery and fireproof cooking vessels made on the Cycladic island of Siphnos, as well as the island's natural materials were already widely-known at the beginning of the 18th century, when Pitton de Tournefort (1718) visited Siphnos in the early 1700s. Tournefort (1718) mentions that Siphnos had plenty of good-quality lead, a lead like pewter [as hard as pewter], which vitrifies easily 'and makes the seething pots of the island exceeding good.' The thick layer of good-quality local lead glaze applied on the interior of the pot, and Siphnos' good-quality reddish fabric (mainly because of its micaceous inclusions) made cooking pots from the island a distinctly high heat-resistant ware, particularly popular in Aegean households and beyond. This pottery-making tradition continued and developed during the following centuries, while Siphnos' ceramic workshops remained very active until metal-ware and plastic taper-ware widely replaced pottery in the 1970s. Theodore Bent (1885), who visited Siphnos in the late 1870s, noted that the potters of the island were 'celebrated throughout Greece'; they set off their travels in spring, settling in towns and villages until the place was supplied with large well-made earthenware amphorae and cooking utensils. Products of Siphnos' pottery workshops have been identified on many Cycladic and Dodecanese islands, on Crete, in Attica, Euboea,

Thessaly, Macedonia, Thrace, Thasos, Laconia and Messenia, Asia Minor, Cyprus, Palestine, Egypt and Malta (Wagner 1974, 52-4).

Cooking pots such as the 'tsikali', used for food cooked over the fire, and 'giouvetsi' or 'katsarola' (used for food baked in the oven), both with everted rim, straight walls and rounded bottom, as well as plain glazed dishes with broad everted rim or rounded lip, are amongst the commonest shapes of the Siphnos production (Fig. 8.26). Various other shapes were equally well known and widely used: 'mastelo' for meat oven-baking, 'stamna' or jar for transporting water and/or oil, 'lainas' or jug for serving water and/or wine, and 'apladena' or large dish centrally placed for eating from by diners around the table (Troullos 1991; Kyriazopoulos 1984). There is a number of other vessel-types made on Siphnos for transport and storage. The traditional 'tsikalia' (glazed and unglazed cooking pots with a flat or rounded base) produced on the island of Siphnos nowadays are equally regarded by Greek families as the best cookware, since food cooks slowly and nicely in these, and it becomes particularly tasteful (Troullos 1991, 13). The 'tsikali' or 'tsoukali' cooking pot's name is suggested to derive from the Italian word 'zucca' (meaning a pumpkin), since it resembles a pumpkin in form (Bakirtzis 1989, 31; Troullos 1991, 13). The shape of these cooking pots also contributes to providing food with an extra taste, since watery dishes cook in their own juice and come in contact with the fabric of the vessel itself (especially in non-glazed vessels).

Large numbers of plain glazed dishes, cooking pots and jugs are to be found in Folklore Museum Collections in the Cyclades. The Othon Kaparis Collection on Paros displays a variety of such domestic wares of the 19th to middle 20th century, produced on Siphnos (Fig. 8.26).

Fig. 8.26 Examples of *Siphnos Ware* (Historical-Folklore Museum, Othon Kaparis Collection, Naoussa, Paros; A. Vionis)

8.7.5 Syriana or Faience Wares from Syros

The affluent rising middle class of merchants, sea captains and other professionals of the middle 19th century seems to have felt the need for the acquisition of more expensive and beautifully ornamented vessels and tableware, *e.g.* dinner sets. The average Aegean household required locally produced glazed and unglazed earthenware of low cost, such as pottery produced at Didymoteicho and Siphnos. Dinner sets and household interior ornaments in faience, decorated over a white ground with themes of national interest and contemporary political life, became very fashionable during the second half of the 19th century, especially after the accession of King George I

Fig. 8.27 Examples of *Syriana* or *Faience Wares from Syros* (Historical-Folklore Museum, Othon Kaparis Collection, Naoussa, Paros; A. Vionis)

to the Greek throne in 1863. The white-fired fabric of these Wares came to be called 'faience' because of its fine-looking quality, a version of 18th-century English cream-ware, but mainly because of its association with the Italian town of Faenza, where tin-glazed earthenware with a white surface started to be produced since the Late Medieval period. Decorative themes on the body of vessels were made with the 'transfer-printing' technique. The decorative themes were carved onto a bronze plaque, the surface of which was inked, while the design was then transferred onto thin paper and from there to the ceramic object (Korre-Zographou 1995, 257; Vroom 1998b, 146). This decoration technique was already widely used in England by the middle 18th century, mainly thanks to its relatively low cost. However, factories for the manufacture and impression of these vessels did not exist in Greece in the 19th century and consequently the illustrative themes were designed in Greece but the Ware was manufactured in Northwest Europe, especially England (Kyriazopoulos 1975, 8).

Since the Greek merchants who placed the orders of such dinner 'faience wares' were established on the island of Syros, one of the most important commercial ports of the newly founded Kingdom of Greece,

they were termed 'Syriana'. The trademark of both the European manufacturer and of the Greek merchant from Syros was printed on the underside of these Wares. Although *Syriana Wares* required a greater financial outlay (compared to locally produced earthenware), they were table-wares for everyday use in bourgeois houses of the second half of the 19th century; less prosperous households used *Syriana Wares* mainly as items of value and display. Shapes included dinner plates, dishes and platters, as well as soup tureens (Fig. 8.27). It seems that the decorative themes of the *Faience Wares from Syros* were based on figures and events of historical and national significance, very favourable amongst members of the urban middle class (Kyriazopoulos 1975). Decorative themes were derived from the Classical Greek and Byzantine past, as well as from contemporary political figures and events: Athena and the Muses, Alexander and Constantine the Great, Lord Byron and Kolokotronis, Venizelos, the unification of Thessaly and Epirus with the Kingdom of Greece and members of the Greek Royal family, were amongst the most popular decorative themes (Korre-Zographou 1995, 258-61; Kyriazopoulos 1975, 11-5).

Syriana Wares were widely distributed in the Aegean region, especially in the Cyclades. The Othon Kaparis Collection on Paros (Fig. 8.27) could be compared to the Folklore Museum Collection on the island of Mykonos (Kyriazopoulos 1975), in terms of the variety of *Faience Wares from Syros*. Other collections in Athens, *e.g.* the Benaki Museum and the Vorre Museum (Korre-Zographou 1995, 258-61), also provide good comparative material in terms of the variety of decorative themes.

8.8 A PRELIMINARY DISCUSSION

8.8.1 Medieval and Post-Medieval Pottery Production in Greece

As it has been already pinpointed above, a dramatic development in the study of Post-Roman ceramic chronology, production and distribution in Greece started some 15 years ago and it is continually being refined. Excavations at urban centres of the Medieval and Post-Medieval periods have immensely contributed to our understanding of ceramic sequences from Late Antiquity to Early Modern times. One should certainly not omit studies on pottery outside the borders of the Byzantine and Ottoman Aegean. Byzantine ceramics incorporated in the walls of Italian churches as *bacini*, as well as Ottoman tiles from Iznik and bowls from Kütahya have also encouraged the study of Post-Roman decorated pottery in neighbouring countries. The fluorescent Late Medieval era in Cyprus, on the other hand, has left many traces of material culture, pottery being the most important and relatively well studied (Papanikola-Bakirtzis 1996).

The process of Medieval and Post-Medieval ceramic production, such as glazing and firing is understood and appreciated on the basis of published archaeological data. However, only very few Medieval and Post-Medieval pottery kilns have been systematically excavated so far. The location of Post-Roman production centres and the provenance of specific ceramic ware-groups are amongst the main fields of research in Greece at the moment. The primary aim of both foreign and Greek archaeologists is to identify sites where there were workshop facilities and especially pottery kilns (Papanikola-Bakirtzis 1999; 2003). The majority of data indicating the existence of a pottery workshop and the possible location of a kiln is mainly waste material. Wasters are unwanted products discarded during production, such as deformed, burnt, broken or unfinished pots, and items of equipment such as clay tripod stilts that were used to separate glazed vessels from sticking together in the kiln while firing. Most of the information on chronology, provenance and distribution of Post-Roman ceramics is about decorated glazed pottery.

Direct evidence for the manufacture of Post-Roman ceramics comes from excavated pottery kilns. Kiln-sites of the Medieval period have been excavated at the Agora of Athens, 9th-10th centuries (Kazanaki-Lapa 2002), Corinth, 11th-12th centuries (Morgan 1942; Sanders 1999), probably also in the Nemea Valley, 11th-12th centuries (Wright *et al.* 1990), Oreoi in Euboea, 11th-13th centuries (Sampson 1973/74), and Thessaloniki, 13th-14th centuries (Papanikola-Bakirtzis 1999). Pottery kilns of the Post-Medieval period have been fully or partly excavated at the Agora of Athens, 16th-17th centuries, Trikala, 16th-17th centuries (Theocharis 1965), Veroia, 15th-

16th centuries (Papazotou 1999), and Didymoteicho, 15th-19th centuries (Bakirtzis 1980). It is not always easy to identify a pottery kiln. The excavators of ancient Corinth had previously identified four Medieval pottery kilns in the area of the Roman Forum but only one can be described as a pottery kiln with any degree of certainty by the excavations director. In addition, 'there are three known kiln sites outside the Forum area as well as hundreds of wasters that attest both their output and the products of still unidentified workshops' (Sanders 1999, 159). It seems, however, that the identification of pottery kilns is not always correct. Not every circular structure is a kiln, while any circular kiln could also be other than a pottery kiln. Finally, it is also sometimes difficult to distinguish between a kiln used for the firing of glazed and unglazed vessels.

The first detailed evidence from excavated pottery kilns comes from the Middle Byzantine era in the 11th-12th centuries. Excavations at Corinth seem to suggest that the commonest kiln during the Medieval period was of the updraught type (Sanders 1999). They are mostly cylindrical structures with a dome, while the fire was burning in a hearth next to the under-flow fire chamber. Heat passed through the fire chamber and from there upwards through a floor pierced with holes into the domed baking chamber where the pottery was stacked (Morgan 1942, 14-7; Vroom 2003, 268). It has been suggested (Rice 1987, 160; Sinopoli 1991) that firing temperatures in updraught kilns reached approximately 900-1000 or 900-1200 degrees Centigrade for earthenware in general. Excavated Medieval pottery in most cases contains marks that show how it was stacked in the kiln. Since pots had to be piled in the kiln as compactly as possible, and at the same time touching each other as little as possible, they were arranged from the bottom of the kiln to the top in columns according of their size and weight, while clay devices, the so-called 'tripod stilt', was used to separate pots, ease hot air circulation and avoid the risk of sticking with each other during firing (Morgan 1942, 21-2; Papanikola-Bakirtzis 1999, 21). It has been suggested (Vroom 2003, 269) that when pots were stacked upside-down, it was indicated by the drops of glaze that can be found at the rims, and the absence of accumulated glaze in the bottoms of vessels. The use of clay tripod stilts was introduced around 1200, and it is believed to have been imported into Byzantium from the Islamic world, where its use dates back to the 9th century; the Islamic potters in turn appear to have taken the method from China, the great teacher of Islamic pottery (Morgan 1942, 22-3; Papanikola-Bakirtzis 1999, 21; Dark 2001, 80-8). Tripod stilts are also associated with the increase in the capacity of the kiln, with the reduced numbers of misfired pottery, with mass production of glazed ceramics and increased output (Papanikola-Bakirtzis 1999, 21), ranging glazed table-wares as affordable items of everyday use.

Apart from the discovery of a confined number of actual kiln-sites, the occurrence of a number of workshop wasters and the identification of large numbers of earthenware, their quality, the similarity of their shapes and decorative themes, is another method of identifying the provenance of Post-Roman glazed ceramics in Greece. Serres and Rodopi in Northern Greece, Larissa and Thebes in central Greece, Argos and Sparta in the Peloponnese, and Lemnos in the Aegean have been suggested as urban and provincial ceramic production centres of the Medieval period (Papanikola-Bakirtzis 1999). Similarly, Thessaloniki, Arta and Thebes in Mainland Greece and Chania on the island of Crete have been identified as Post-Medieval workshops of glazed pottery (Papanikola-Bakirtzis 1999; 2003). It should be noted that information about ceramic production during the 11th and 12th centuries comes mainly from urban centres, such as Corinth, Athens and Thessaloniki. Archaeological data for the succeeding 13th, 14th and 15th centuries presents a different picture. Available information suggests a process of decentralisation, with local provincial workshops starting mass production of wares with their own distinctive characteristics. As has been noted above, pottery workshops seem to have been established in rural areas, such as at Serres and Mikro Pisto (Rodopi) in Northern Greece, Larissa and Thebes in central Greece, Argos and Sparta in the Peloponnese, Oreoi on the island of Euboea, and Lemnos, along with continuing production at urban centres such as Thessaloniki. Ongoing archaeological research has shown that glazed ceramic wares of the 11th-12th centuries are decorated with a variety of painted and incised motifs, such as narrative themes with human figures and love scenes, hunting scenes and animals. The rendering and the quality of the

decoration attest to a specialised workshop personnel. Ceramic table-wares of the 13th-15th centuries are decorated with stereotyped and abstract themes, such as geometrical and stylised vegetal motifs, animals and birds are depicted in isolation, while human figures are only rarely seen. Evidence for a large-scale pottery production at urban centres for marketing and export during the Medieval and Post-Medieval times (along with other luxury products, such as silk), shows that cities were not just consumer centres, but also areas of specialised and high quality production (Laiou 2002, 1157-8; Laiou and Morrisson 2007, 184-7).

The identification of local workshops of Post-Medieval pottery has produced similar results, with a relatively rich variety of highly decorated glazed wares, including Italian and Anatolian fine-ware imports, such as *Maiolica* and *Polychrome Sgraffito Wares* from Italy, or *Iznik* and *Kütahya Wares* from Anatolia. Ceramic studies in Greece have concluded that pottery assemblages from towns and villages are generally characterised by their poor potting quality towards the 17th and 18th centuries (Vionis 2006a, 793). However, parallel historical research into the Ottoman tax registers for many regions of present-day Greece suggest rather prosperous living conditions, at least during the late 15th and 16th centuries (Kiel 1992; 1997). This probably explains the fact that more pottery workshops continued springing up in the provinces, such as Didymoteicho, Veroia, Trikala and Arta in Mainland Greece and Chania on Crete. Moreover, large centres such as Athens, Thebes and Thessaloniki continued to produce glazed ceramics. Decoration on Post-Medieval vessels is mostly applied in the interior and the upper part of the exterior of the pot's surface. Decorative themes, however, are not particularly carefully executed. Zigzag lines encircle the body of the vases in bands, and winding lines create rossete-like motifs. The engraved decoration is enhanced by brush-strokes of green and brown colour. The glaze covering the decorated surface is colourless and fairly thick.

One could argue that accessible and published information on Post-Roman ceramic production centres in Greece, especially for the period between the 11th and 17th centuries is quite consistent. Excavation and surface survey projects, and the study of Post-Roman ceramic remains in both towns and the countryside enable us to identify the distribution of pottery of known centres at various localities. Here the input of surface survey in Greek rural areas should be emphasised. Archaeologists and Post-Roman ceramic researchers can potentially identify small village pottery workshops through surface survey. A piece of kiln furniture was found together with many tile wasters on the Late Medieval village-site of VM4 or Palaiopanagia in the Valley of the Muses in Boeotia; Vroom (2003, 261) has argued that although it is not possible to say if that kiln fragment came from a rectangular or rounded kiln, the glassy residues on top of it suggest a large or small scale pottery production in the vicinity of the site. Similarly, more of these over-fired tiles and other wasters of the Late Antique - Middle Byzantine period have been identified by the author during the course of the Leiden Ancient Cities of Boeotia Project (directed by J.L. Bintliff and B. Slapsak) in and around the ancient city of Tanagra in Boeotia. Additionally, I noted glazed pottery wasters of the 13th-14th centuries in the surface ceramic assemblages of the Chios Project (directed by L. Beaumont) from rural sites in the area of Managros in Southwest Chios and Tsoukalia on the East coast of Paros.

8.8.2 Pottery Types and Ceramic Economy

As Frantz (1938) has noted long before, some of the Byzantine pottery shapes are associated with certain decorative types and certain periods. The widely flaring bowls, for example, with sharply defined rims and usually flat around the top are found almost exclusively amongst the *Green and Brown Painted Ware* finds. Plates with an almost vertical rim, flaring sides and low foot ring are found in nearly all periods and amongst all wares, but they were particularly common during the Middle Byzantine era. Towards the end of the reign of Emperor Manuel I (1143-1180 AD) the sides begin to curve in, while during the 13th century one of the most common shapes is a bowl with slightly in-curving sides and a widely flaring foot, frequently decorated with hares and other animals. In addition, the ring-foot base of the 13th-century *Green and Brown Sgraffito Ware* from Cyprus becomes higher and the bowls become steep-walled and deeper. Whether this was an indigenous

development or a trend introduced by the Latin conquerors is not entirely certain.

As noted above, introduced by Levantine potters or through Islamic channels (from North Africa through Italy), *Brown and Green Sgraffito Ware* was also produced in Italy, mainly in the North, possibly from as early as the 13th century, whilst it reached its apogee in Italy in the 15th and 16th centuries (Berti *et al.* 1997, 383-5; Vroom 1998a, 526; 2003, 167). Through commerce, especially with the Venetian-dominated areas in the Mediterranean, *sgraffito* seems to have influenced local pottery production. The shapes of open vessels of local Greek workshops did not change dramatically. The introduction of the trefoil-mouth jug (a shape common in many parts of the Mediterranean) remained very much in fashion, influencing the production of early 19th-century Greek folk pottery. Research in Italy (*e.g.* Pisa, Genoa, Venice, Pavia), on matters regarding the origin of ceramics present in the country between the 10th and 13th centuries, have shown an uninterrupted flow of supply (especially in Pisa from the second half of the 10th century) from Western Islamic countries (Berti and Gelichi 1992). Thus, it seems that influence came firstly to Italy in the second half of the 10th century, when local Italian wares developed glazed styles from imports out of the Maghreb, Arab Spain and Sicily.

Glazed ceramics of large urban pottery-producing centres and local provincial workshops seem to have been widely accessible and distributed. A number of shipwrecks in the Aegean, loaded with glazed bowls and dishes that were decorated with *sgraffito* designs and shared identical technical features point to large organised workshops with a systematic and meticulously manufactured output (Laiou and Morrisson 2007, 117-8). Maritime trade is probably the main means for the diffusion and distribution of pottery forms and decorative styles in the Mediterranean. It is remarkable that the shipwreck that was found close to the island of Pelagonissos in the Northern Sporadhes revealed a cargo of some 1500 *Fine Sgraffito* vessels of the middle 12th century, closely related to Corinthian workshop production (Kritzas 1971, 176-82; Papanikola-Bakirtzis 1999, 122). It should be noted that *Fine Sgraffito Ware* has been found in many parts of the Byzantine Empire and Italy, from the Middle East to Venice and the Tyrrhenian coastline (François 1997b, 231-6; François and Spieser 2002, 601). Thus, it should not come as a surprise that the *sgraffito* technique found food ground for development in Northern Italy a little later. Another shipwreck on the Southwest coast of Kastellorizo Island, close to the coast of Lycia in Asia Minor, was loaded with *Incised Sgraffito Wares*, possibly on a starting voyage on the maritime trade route from Cyprus and Rhodes to the Aegean (Philotheou and Michailidou 1989, 173-6; François and Spieser 2002, 602). Although originally found only in Cyprus, *Incised Sgraffito Ware* turned out to be widely distributed in the Near East, the Black Sea, Asia Minor, Greece, and Venice in Italy (Megaw 1975; François and Spieser 2002, 602; Waksman and Wartburg 2006, 377-85).

Lead-glazed ceramics are the most common finds amongst glazed-ware assemblages in Medieval and Post-Medieval archaeological contexts. Tin must have been expensive for tin-glazed wares to be common utensils amongst the average Medieval or Post-Medieval household furnishings. Tin glazing, discovered by the Assyrians, flourished during the Arab expansion in the 9th century. Based on the prohibition of the *Koran* for everyday use of vessels made of precious metals such as tin, the introduction of *Lustre Wares* probably provided a solution and explained the expansion of Spanish products throughout the Mediterranean during the late 14th-16th centuries (Zbona-Trkman 1991).

Hugo Blake's (1980) influential study of Medieval ceramics has shown that the socio-economic status of a settlement can be predicted from the surface collection of potsherds. Tin-glazed wares became more common in Italian rural sites between 1350 and 1500 and subsequently, rural population was better off since they could acquire more expensive and luxury wares (Blake 1980, 6-8). Since tin could be found only in a few places in the Mediterranean, metal vessels were even more expensive for the peasantry to buy; thus, shiny and good-quality tin-glazed pots were acquired in a desire to behave and live like the more wealthy social classes. One cannot avoid noting that this fashion of acquiring more luxurious and good-quality tin-glazed wares coincides chronologically with (or is the result of) the spread of capitalism

and the rise of the 'individual' in Europe (Johnson 1996).

Evidence from Greece for the preceding Middle to Late Byzantine or Frankish eras presents a fine example of how rural prosperity is attested in the proportion of glazed pottery in assemblages from excavations and surface surveys. Past and on-going excavations at urban centres, such as Corinth (Sanders 1999; 2000), have confirmed the growing occurrence of glazed ceramics after the wider adoption of glazing in the 11th century throughout the Eastern Mediterranean. For example, glazed pottery in the Corinth assemblage (by weight) accounts for 0.7% in the 10th and 11th centuries, 2% in the early 12th, 6% in the middle 12th, and 20% in the middle 13th century (Sanders 2003, 394). Preliminary results of the Tanagra Project in Boeotia have shown that glazed wares or tableware used for food and beverage consumption reaches some 40% of the ceramic assemblage (of the 12th-14th centuries) from villages in the rural territory around the ancient city of Tanagra (Vionis 2008, 38). One would normally have expected an assemblage typical of a rural community living entirely off the land, with a greater emphasis on vessels used for storage and food preparation rather than at meal times. In this case, ceramics may indicate that glazed tableware would be rated as objects of daily use rather than objects reserved only for special occasions, further suggesting that peasants in the Late Medieval countryside were possibly better-off. The same growing pattern continues in later levels, reaching its peak during the Ottoman period, when glaze is also commonly found on kitchen and storage vessels, *i.e.* in the interior of cooking pots and pithoi.

Nearly all of the studies dealing with Byzantine glazed ceramics, their origin, development and distribution, note that glazed pottery types developed much earlier in Islamic lands. Lane (1947) has argued that in the 9th century glazes fluxed with lead were more favoured in Mesopotamia than the alkaline glazes still being used in Syria and Egypt. The development of Islamic pottery in many of the Islamic lands of the Near East influenced Byzantine potters to a great extent, especially in terms of its decoration techniques and inspirations (Megaw 1968a). Already in the 1950s and 1960s, researchers tried to link the revival of glazed pottery in Northwest Europe and Britain to contacts with and influences from Italy, Byzantium and the Near East (Megaw 1968a; Stevenson 1954). Originally, the imports of Chinese wares opened wider horizons to Muslim potters, who looked to China for the improvement of shape, glaze and the imitation of the manner of T'ang prototypes (Philon 1980). It is generally accepted that China was the ultimate source of inspiration for the technological advances of glazed pottery developed in the Near East and later employed within Byzantine territories.

A number of other researchers attempted a different approach to the study of glazed pottery focussing on the origin of more recent ceramics, although their perspective was more oriented towards attributing a national identity to different production centres and earthenwares. For example, Kyriazopoulos' (1978) study on the origin of some Late Ottoman and Early Modern ceramic vessels misses the real point of the political, economic and cultural unity of the Ottoman Empire. He eagerly attributes the Kütahya and Çanakkale potters a national identity of a 'Greek' or an 'Armenian', on the basis of the inscriptions' languages on the vessels. Sinemoglu (1976), on the other hand, stresses the relative freedom for a peasant boy to become a recognised specialist under the strength of the Ottoman state and its economic potentialities. It seems more logical to suppose that Anatolian pottery workshops employed potters of different nationalities, who produced pottery for different 'national' groups living within the Ottoman Empire.

8.9 SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Excavations and surface surveys in many parts of Greece and the Eastern Mediterranean have shown the remarkable increase in glazed table-wares throughout the Post-Roman period, especially from the 11th century onwards. This was possibly the result of better economic conditions and social stability in towns and the countryside. Meanwhile, it should be born in mind that lead glaze became gradually cheaper, so that peasant populations could also afford to acquire glazed vessels for their household needs. The upper classes must have satisfied their need for consumption and display in metal-wares (mainly silver and copper) although the provision of more lux-

urious imported ceramic wares from the Middle East and Italy was more widespread amongst them. The 15th-century fluorescence in Italy saw an impressive increase in the production and export of tin-glazed *Maiolica Wares*, such as trefoil-mouth jugs, which gradually influenced local Greek production centres. The constant need for more luxurious wares and new pottery forms and styles resulted in local imitations of *Maiolica* with blue-painted designs on an opaque white ground. The 16th century in Greece, in connection to the general economic prosperity of the Early Ottoman period, saw a widespread use of imported and local *Maiolica Wares*, as well as other imported ceramics, such as *Iznik Ware*, even in village assemblages. This must have been the result of the presence of Latin feudal traditions in most of the previously Byzantine lands until the middle and late 15th century, as well as of the special links with important centres in Italy and Asia Minor through Italian maritime commerce. The 17th and early 18th centuries in Greece experienced a relative decline in population and economy (as in much of Europe during the 17th century), as well as in the quality of ceramic production. A real socio-economic takeoff during the late 18th and 19th centuries in commerce, economy and population rise brought back a wide range of colourful glazed ceramics in every Aegean household, both imported and locally produced, possibly as a result of cheaper ceramic mass-production from the West. Thus, cheaper glazed pottery forms and styles (of lesser quality than their Early Ottoman predecessors) started to make their appearance in the 18th century, from production centres such as Kütahya and Çanakkale in Anatolia, and Didymoteicho in Thrace a little later, in almost every Aegean household.

Since textual evidence about the Late Medieval Cyclades is almost non-existent, it is laid almost entirely upon archaeologists to reconstruct daily life and living standards amongst island communities. The presence of a relatively good number of imported wares from Spain and Italy in Late Medieval and early Post-Medieval assemblages in port-towns such as Andros and Naxos, or even on Kephalos on Paros, testifies to the intensive trade and exchange activities in the region. Andros was one of the major silk industries of the early Frankish period, while Naxos produced and most possibly exported a good deal of cheese and olive oil. Thus, island ports were very important for the distribution of exotic ceramic wares in most of the Cyclades at that time. Meanwhile, local production must have been an equally important business in places such as Siphnos, where good quality lead and clay provided a good impetus for the production and wide distribution of fire-proof cooking vessels at least since the late 17th century.

The involvement of Cycladic populations in maritime trade and the effect of the Ottoman economic system, very favourable for the Cyclades since the late 16th century thanks to special privileges granted to them, transformed daily life and elevated living standards, gradually but steadily, until the middle 19th century. The so-called *Syriana* or *Syros Faience Wares*, produced in England on behalf of merchants from the island of Syros, satisfied the need for consumption and display of most middle class households of the period with a wide set of table-wares. Plates, soup tureens and a whole range of dinner settings made their appearance, introducing a new trend in eating manners and a tendency for individualism and private eating utensils. The majority of these *Faience Wares* were decorated with the method of transfer-printing (already known in England since the middle 18th century). Decorative themes included scenes from the Classical past of Greece, heroes of the Greek revolution against the Ottoman Empire and contemporary events from the country's political life. These decorative scenes were the material expression of a nation-conscious people who still fought to trace their glorious historical past and their identities, either social or ethnic.

8.10 CY.RE.P. SURFACE CERAMIC FINDS: CATALOGUE

This section presents a catalogue of the surface ceramics collected from the sites surveyed by CY.RE.P., *i.e.* Kephalos (Appendix IIA) and the Medieval sites at Choria Kephalou on Paros (Appendix IIB), Apano Kastro on Naxos (Appendix IIC), Zephyria (Appendix IID) and Kastro on Melos (Appendix IIE). The surface of the site of Kephalos was gridded (grids measuring 10x20 m), and all visible pottery was collected and catalogued for dating and functional analysis. The other sites on Paros, Naxos and Melos were not gridded; they were divided in zones and only grab-samples were collected. The aim of this catalogue is to function as a reference to representative examples of Medieval and Post-Medieval ceramics found in the Cyclades, comprising a first attempt to present a typo-chronology of different wares on the islands. The presentation below relates to pottery drawings in Appendix II. Every potsherd was given a date in centuries (avoiding the more general terms 'Post-Roman', 'Medieval', 'Post-Medieval'), on the basis of dated and published examples from other sites in Greece.

The description of ceramic shapes below follows the Medieval Pottery Research Group's publication (1998), *A Guide to the Classification of Medieval Ceramic Forms*. Fabric colour is described according to the *Munsel Soil Color Charts* (1994, revised edition), while glaze colours have been described and attributed a code according to the classification by *Pantone Color Formula Guide, The Pantone Matching System* (1999, New Jersey). Following, important notes referring to the catalogue of surface ceramic finds: Preserved h. = best preserved height, pres. width = best preserved width, wall th. = wall thickness, diam. = diameter. For fabric hardness, 'hard' = pottery surface can just be scratched by iron, 'fairly hard' = pottery surface can be scratched by iron, 'moderately soft' = pottery surface can be scratched by finger-nail. For fabric inclusions, 'fine' = inclusions less than 1 mm, 'medium-fine' = inclusions between 1-2 mm, 'coarse' = inclusions about 2 mm. For frequency of inclusions, 'very few' = 1% or less, 'a few' = 1-2%, 'some' = 2-5%, 'many' = 5-10%.

8.10.1 Kephalos, Paros Island (Appendix IIA)

Incised Sgraffito and Champlevé Wares

K.i.1 [Kef99.SE6.1]: Base fragment, bowl. Preserved h. 0.029, wall th. 0.008. Fig. K.i.1

Fairly hard, medium fine, light brown fabric (M 7.5 YR 6/4); a few lime inclusions and some dark particles, some pores. Straight/smooth break. Wash on the outside. Thick whitish slip and yellow ochre glaze (PMS 118 C) on the inside. Decoration in: three gouged circular lines around the centre of base fragment. One tripod stilt mark (0.010x0.011). Medium-sized ring base. *Champlevé Ware*, 13th century.

K.i.2 [Kef99.NE5.1]: Body fragment, bowl (?). Preserved h. 0.020, pres. width 0.021, wall th. 0.006-0.007. Fig. K.i.2

Hard, medium fine, reddish fabric (M 2.5 YR 5/6); a few lime and quartz inclusions. Granular break. Reddish wash (?) on the outside. Whitish slip and light green glaze (PMS 366 C) on the inside. Decoration in: two parallel incised lines. *Incised Sgraffito Ware*, 13th century.

K.i.3 [Kef99.SW1.2]: Rim and body fragment, shallow bowl. Preserved h. 0.022, pres. width 0.026, wall th. 0.005, rim diam. 0.120. Fig. K.i.3

Fairly hard, medium fine, reddish-orange fabric (M 2.5 YR 6/6); a few fine micaceous, some medium lime and a few sand inclusions, very few fine pores. Granular break. White slip and transparent lead glaze, pale yellowish in tone (PMS 1215 C), on the inside and just below rim on the outside; glaze becomes brown (PMS 175 C) on the un-slipped clay-part after firing on the outside. Decoration in: green paint (PMS 371 C) on and just below rim and straight incised line. Straight rim and divergent upper wall with knick. *Incised Sgraffito Ware*, 13th century.

K.i.4 [Kef99.NW17.3]: Body fragment, plate (?). Preserved h. 0.061, pres. width 0.067, wall th. 0.004-0.006. Fig. K.i.4

Hard, medium fine, reddish-brown fabric (M 2.5 YR 5/6); some fine micaceous and some medium lime

inclusions, some medium pores. Granular break. A trace of white slip and olive-green glaze (PMS 363 C) on the outside. White slip and matt pale yellow glaze (PMS 134 C) on the inside. Decoration in: a band of three parallel incised circular lines enclosing an incised wavy line; an added green splash (PMS 363 C). *Incised Sgraffito Ware (?)*, late 13th (-14th) centuries.

Zeuxippus Ware Derivatives

K.ii.1 [Kef99.SW2.3]: Base fragment, hemispherical bowl. Preserved h. 0.016, wall th. 0.006, base diam. 0.080. Fig. K.ii.1

Fairly hard, medium fine, pale orange fabric (M 2.5 YR 6/6); a few lime and sand inclusions, a few pores. Smooth break. Light reddish-brown wash (M 2.5 YR 6/4) on the outside. Thin pinkish slip and light olive-green glaze (PMS 398 C) on the inside. Decoration in: six incised concentric lines around the centre of base; dark green splash (PMS 350 C) on the edge of base. Low ring base with flat resting surface and arch-like gap around the middle of ring-foot. *Zeuxippus Ware Derivative*, late 13th - first half of 14th centuries.

Monochrome Sgraffito Wares

K.iii.1 [Kef99.SW7.1]: Base fragment, large dish. Preserved h. 0.023, wall th. 0.012, base diam. 0.140. Fig. K.iii.1

Hard, medium fine, reddish-brown fabric (M 5 YR 5/4); some lime and a few sand inclusions, some pores. Smooth break. Wash and traces of creamy slip on the outside. Whitish slip and yellow glaze (PMS 110 C) on the inside. Decoration in: incised lines forming the body of a fish (?). Low ring base. *Monochrome Sgraffito Ware*, late 13th - 14th centuries.

K.iii.2 [Kef99.NW3.4]: Body fragment, (small) bowl. Preserved h. 0.052, pres. width 0.048, wall th. 0.005-0.011. Fig. K.iii.2

Fairly hard, fine, dull orange-pinkish fabric (M 5 YR 7/4); a few lime and sand inclusions, some pores. Smooth break. Thin wash on the outside. Thick white slip and yellow-ochre glaze (PMS 117 C) on the inside. Decoration in: five parallel incised lines, incised squiggles and hatched incised decoration. *Monochrome Sgraffito Ware (from Thessaloniki?)*, late 13th - 14th centuries.

K.iii.3 [Kef99.MY.73]: Body fragment, bowl. Preserved h. 0.017, pres. width 0.042, wall th. 0.006. Fig. K.iii.3

Hard, medium fine, light reddish-brown fabric (M 2.5 YR 6/4); a few lime and sand inclusions, a few pores. Smooth break. Light reddish-brown wash (M 5 YR 6/4) and traces of white slip on the outside. White slip and pale yellow glaze (PMS 120 C) on the inside, partly flaked off. Decoration in: incised squiggle highlighted partly with a light brown splash (PMS 1395 C). *Monochrome Sgraffito Ware (from Thessaloniki?)*, late 13th - 14th centuries.

K.iii.4 [Kef99.NW3.3]: Rim and body fragment, large plate. Preserved h. 0.049, pres. width 0.066, wall th. 0.010 (body) and 0.006 (rim). Fig. K.iii.4

Moderately soft, fine, reddish-yellow fabric (M 5 YR 6/6); a few sand and quartz inclusions, a few pores. Granular break. Light brown wash (M 7.5 YR 6/3) on the outside. Splashes of creamy slip (M 10 YR 8/2) and clear glaze just below rim on the outside, becoming ochre-yellow (PMS 1245 C) over slip and dark brown (PMS 1545 C) on the clay after firing. Creamy slip and yellow-ochre glaze (PMS 1245 C) on the inside. Decoration in: one circular and two parallel incised lines. Round lip and divergent upper wall. *Monochrome Sgraffito Ware (from Thessaloniki?)*, late 13th - 14th centuries.

K.iii.5 [Kef99.C1.2]: Base fragment, bowl. Preserved h. 0.024, wall th. 0.007, base diam. 0.058. Fig. K. iii.5

Hard, medium fine, reddish fabric (M 2.5 YR 5/6); some lime and many quartz inclusions, a few pores. Granular break. Light brown wash (M 7.5 YR 6/4) on the outside. Thin pinkish slip and dark olive-green glaze (PMS 350 C) on the inside, partly flaked-off. Traces of two concentric sgraffito lines around the centre of the ring base. *Monochrome Sgraffito Ware*, 14th (- 15th) century.

Brown and Green Sgraffito Wares

K.iv.1 [Kef99.MY.63]: Rim and body fragment, (conical) bowl. Preserved h. 0.044, pres. width 0.044, wall th. 0.006, rim diam. 0.180. Fig. K.iv.1

Fairly hard, medium fine, reddish-brown fabric (M 2.5 YR 5/6); some sand and quartz inclusions, a few pores. Granular break. Pinkish slip and yellow-ochre glaze (PMS 117 C) on the outside. Pinkish slip and pale yellow glaze (PMS 380 C) on the inside. Decoration in: incised decoration of four parallel straight and a wavy line, highlighted with dark green painted decoration (PMS 341 C). *Brown and Green Sgraffito Ware*, late 13th - 14th centuries.

K.iv.2 [Kef99.NE7.1]: Rim fragment, dish. Preserved h. 0.029, pres. width 0.040, wall th. 0.007, rim diam. 0.240. Fig. K.iv.2

Fairly hard, fine, reddish-brown fabric (M 2.5 YR 5/6); some sand, a few lime and grog inclusions, some pores. Smooth/conchoidal break. Pinkish-white slip (M 2.5 YR 8/2) and transparent glaze, pale yellowish-lime in tone (PMS 393 C) on the inside and just under rim on the outside. Decoration in: painted decorative band in brown (PMS 1405 C). Straight rim with rounded lip. *Brown and Green Sgraffito Ware (?)*, late 13th - 14th centuries.

K.iv.3 [Kef99.SW10.1]: Rim and body fragment, dish. Preserved h. 0.034, pres. width 0.048, wall th. 0.005, rim diam. 0.200. Fig. K.iv.3

Moderately soft, fine, pale pinkish-yellow fabric (M 7.5 YR 7/4); a few micaceous and some fine sand inclusions, a few pores. Smooth/granular break. Pale pinkish-white slip under transparent glaze, speckled mustard-brown in tone (PMS 117 C) on the inside and outside. Decoration in and out: green painted (PMS 377 C) narrow band on body. Everted flattened rim and divergent upper wall. *Brown and Green Sgraffito Ware (?)*, late 13th - 14th centuries.

K.iv.4 [Kef99.SW10.2]: Rim fragment, dish. Preserved h. 0.019, pres. width 0.041, wall th. 0.007, rim diam. 0.260. Fig. K.iv.4

Fairly hard, fine, reddish-brown fabric (M 5 YR 6/6); a few medium line and a few sand inclusions, a few pores. Smooth/conchoidal break. Pinkish-white slip (M 7.5 YR 8/3) and transparent glaze, pale yellow-green in tone (PMS 386 C) on the inside and just below rim on the outside. Decoration in: painted decorative band in green (PMS 371 C). Straight rim with rounded lip. *Brown and Green Sgraffito Ware (?)*, late 13th - 14th centuries.

K.iv.5 [Kef99.SW7.2]: Base fragment, bowl. Preserved h. 0.020, wall th. 0.007, base diam. 0.080. Fig. K.iv.5

Fairly hard, medium fine, reddish-orange fabric (M 2.5 YR 6/6); a few lime and many medium black inclusions, a few pores. Conchoidal break. Light reddish-brown wash (M 5 YR 6/4) and a drop of thick pinkish slip (M 7.5 YR 8/3) on the outside. Pinkish slip and yellow-green shiny glaze (PMS 386 C) on the inside. Decoration in: incised wavy line, brown painted (PMS 1817 C) wavy line and trace (?) of green splash (PMS 348 C). Low ring base. *Brown and Green Sgraffito Ware (?)*, (late 13th -) 14th century.

K.iv.6 [Kef99.SW16.1]: Body fragment, (deep hemispherical?) bowl. Preserved h. 0.026, pres. width 0.043, wall th. 0.004. Fig. K.iv.6

Hard, medium fine, light brown fabric (M 2.5 YR 6/3); some micaceous and lime inclusions, a few pores. Granular break. Traces of whitish slip (M 7.5 YR 8/2) and olive-green glaze (PMS 385 C) on the outside. White slip and light green glaze on the inside (PMS 398 C). Decoration in: incised decorative straight and curved lines, highlighted with splashes of dark green glaze (PMS 3425 C). *Brown and Green Sgraffito Ware (from Lemnos?)*, 14th (- 15th) century.

K.iv.7 [Kef99.C1.7]: Rim fragment, small hemispherical bowl. Preserved h. 0.019, pres. width 0.015, wall th. 0.003, rim diam. 0.110. Fig. K.iv.7

Hard, fine, light brown fabric (M 2.5 YR 6/3); a few lime inclusions. Smooth/granular break. White slip and pale lime-green glaze (PMS 365 C) on the outside. White slip and light green glaze (PMS 366 C) on the inside. Decoration in: three parallel incised

lines just below rim, enriched with two fine dark green brushstrokes (PMS 357 C). *Brown and Green Sgraffito Ware (from Lemnos?)*, 14th (- 15th) century.

K.iv.8 [Kef99.NW17.5]: Body fragment, (small hemispherical?) bowl. Preserved h. 0.030, pres. width 0.024, wall th. 0.003. Fig. K.iv.8

Hard, fine, light brown fabric (M 7.5 YR 6/4); a few lime inclusions. Smooth/granular break. White slip and light green glaze (PMS 372 C) with dark green splash (PMS 364 C) on the outside. White slip and pale lime-green glaze (PMS 379 C) on the inside. Decoration in: incised line. *Brown and Green Sgraffito Ware (from Lemnos?)*, 14th (- 15th) century.

K.iv.9 [Kef99.SW8.1]: Rim and body fragment, (carinated) bowl. Preserved h. 0.033, pres. width 0.028, wall th. 0.003, rim diam. 0.140. Fig. K.iv.9

Hard, fine, reddish-orange fabric (M 5 YR 5/6); few lime inclusions, a few pores. Smooth/granular break. Creamy slip and shiny glassy light olive-green (PMS 398 C) glaze with a small splash of dark green (PMS 364 C) on the outside. Glassy light green glaze (PMS 380 C) on the inside. Decoration in: an additional brushstroke in dark green (PMS 364 C) on lip inside. Straight rim with round lip and convex divergent wall. *Brown and Green Sgraffito Ware (from Lemnos?)*, 14th (- 15th) century.

K.iv.10 [Kef99.SE6.2]: Base and body fragment, deep bowl or small basin. Preserved h. 0.042, wall th. 0.006-0.005, base diam. 0.110. Fig. K.iv.10

Fairly hard, medium fine, dull orange-pinkish fabric (M 5 YR 7/4); very few lime and some sand inclusions, a few fine pores. Smooth break. Thin reddish wash (M 10 R 5/4) on the outside. Thin creamy slip and light olive-green glaze (PMS 617 C) on the inside. Decoration in: Three parallel incised lines on the edge of base and incised decorative lines on body; splash in dark green (PMS 335 C) running from body to base. Flat base and straight divergent wall. *Brown and Green Sgraffito Ware (or imitation of Italian Sgraffito Ware?)*, late 14th - 15th centuries.

Polychrome Sgraffito Wares

K.v.1 [Kef99.MY.38]: Body fragment, bowl. Preserved h. 0.024, pres. width 0.024, wall th. 0.004-0.005, Fig. K.v.1

Hard, medium fine, grayish-brown fabric (M 10 YR 5/2); some fine micaceous and some lime inclusions, a few pores. Conchoidal break. Creamy slip and transparent glaze appearing in creamy-gray (PMS 404 C), probably because of having been misfired. Decoration in: incised lines, highlighted with yellow-brown (PMS 132 C) and green splashes (PMS 349 C). *Polychrome Sgraffito Ware*, late 14th - 15th centuries.

K.v.2 [Kef99.SE5.1]: Rim and body fragment, conical bowl. Preserved h. 0.035, pres. width 0.039, wall th. 0.005. Fig. K.v.2

Moderately soft, medium fine, pale orange fabric (M 10 R 7/4); some dark particles and a few lime inclusions, some pores. Smooth/granular break. Creamy slip and green glaze (PMS 349-350 C) on the outside. Creamy slip and light green glaze (PMS 359 C) on the inside. Decoration in: two parallel incised lines just below lip and incised decoration underneath, highlighted with mustard-brown (PMS 132 C) and dark green splashes (PMS 342-343 C). Straight rim with round lip and convex divergent upper wall. *Polychrome Sgraffito Ware (or imitation of Italian Sgraffito Ware?)*, late 14th - 16th centuries.

K.v.3 [Kef99.SE12.1]: Body fragment, bowl. Preserved h. 0.026, pres. width 0.023, wall th. 0.005-0.007. Fig. K.v.3

Moderately soft, fine, dull orange fabric (M 2.5 YR 7/4); a few fine micaceous and some mineral inclusions, a few fine pores. Smooth/granular break. Thin white slip and pale green glaze (PMS 366 C) on the inside. Decoration in: two parallel incised lines, highlighted with brown (PMS 1255 C) and green splashes (PMS 342 C). *Polychrome Sgraffito Ware (or imitation of Italian Sgraffito Ware?)*, late 14th - 16th centuries.

K.v.4 [Kef99.C1.1]: Body fragment, bowl. Preserved h. 0.031, pres. width 0.021, wall th. 0.003-0.004. Fig. K.v.4

Fairly hard, fine, pale reddish fabric (M 2.5 YR 6/6); a few lime inclusions and a few mineral inclusions, a few pores. Smooth break. White slip and clear/transparent glaze (PMS 1 C) on the outside. Decoration out: incised curving lines, highlighted with green (PMS 3415 C), light (PMS 139 C) and dark brown (PMS 1545 C) splashes. White slip and clear/transparent glaze (PMS 1 C) on the inside. Decoration in: incised curving lines (probably forming a flower?), highlighted with brown (PMS 1545 C) and green splashes (PMS 3415 C). *Polychrome Sgraffito Ware (or imitation of Italian Sgraffito Ware?)*, 16th century

K.v.5 [Kef99.SE4.1]: Base fragment, (medium-sized hemispherical) bowl. Preserved h. 0.025, wall th. 0.008, base diam. 0.072. Fig. K.v.5

Hard, medium fine, light reddish-brown fabric (M 5 YR 6/4); some black grains and some lime inclusions, some pores. Conchoidal break. Light pale brown wash (M 2.5 YR 6/4) on the outside. Creamy slip and pale green glaze (PMS 365 C) on the inside. Decoration in: incised curved lines, highlighted with brown (PMS 161 C) and green splashes (PMS 364 C). Medium-sized ring base with flat-resting surface and concave underside. A scar (0.007x0.006) of tripod stilt on base. *Polychrome Sgraffito Ware*, 15th century.

K.v.6 [Kef99.SE12.2]: Rim and body fragment, bowl. Preserved h. 0.026, pres. width 0.024, wall th. 0.004, rim diam. 0.180. Fig. K.v.6

Fairly hard, medium fine, reddish-yellow fabric (M 5 YR 6/6); a few fine lime and some dark particles, a few pores. Granular break. Creamy slip and green glaze (PMS 341 C) on the outside. Creamy slip and pale green glaze (PMS 345 C) on the inside. Decoration in: a straight incised line just below rim and a wavy incised line below, highlighted with dark brown splash (PMS 4975 C) and dark green paint (PMS 343 C) on and below lip. Round lip and convex divergent wall. *Polychrome Sgraffito Ware*, 15th (- 16th) century.

K.v.7 [Kef99.NW7.1]: Base fragment, bowl. Preserved h. 0.026, wall th. 0.011, base diam. 0.090. Fig. K.v.7

Fairly hard, coarse, reddish-brown fabric (M 2.5 YR 6/6); some medium lime and many dark inclusions, some pores. Granular break. Pinkish-yellow wash (M 7.5 YR 7/4) on the outside. White slip and (partly flaked-off) turquoise-green glaze (PMS 338 C) on the inside. Decoration in: incised curving lines, highlighted with brown (PMS 140 C) and purple-brown splashes (PMS 269 C). Medium-sized ring base with flat-resting surface and slight central nipple. *Polychrome Sgraffito Ware*, 15th - 16th centuries.

K.v.8 [Kef99.C1.3]: Base fragment, bowl. Preserved h. 0.020, wall th. 0.007, base diam. 0.072. Fig. K.v.8

Moderately soft, medium fine, pale orange fabric (M 2.5 YR 7/4); a few micaceous, some lime and many quartz inclusions, a few pores. Conchoidal break. Traces of white slip on the outside. Creamy slip and (partly flaked off) yellow-ochre glaze (PMS 458 C) on the inside. Decoration in: incised decoration, highlighted with brown (PMS 469 C) and dark green splashes (PMS 350 C). Low ring base with flat-resting surface. *Polychrome Sgraffito Ware*, 15th - 16th centuries.

K.v.9 [Kef99.SW24.2]: Body fragment, bowl. Preserved h. 0.043, pres. width 0.048, wall th. 0.005-0.007. Fig. K.v.9

Fairly hard, fine, reddish-brown fabric (M 5 YR 5/4); a few lime and a few dark inclusions, some pores. Smooth/conchoidal break. Pinkish-yellow wash (M 7.5 YR 7/4) on the outside. White slip and pale yellow-green glaze (PMS 386 C) on the inside. Decoration in: incised curved lines and squiggles, highlighted with brown (PMS 1545 C) and green splashes (PMS 349-350 C). *Polychrome Sgraffito Ware (from Athens?)*, 16th century.

Italian Proto-Maiolica and Maiolica Wares

K.vi.1 [Kef99.NE8.2]: Rim and body fragment, shallow bowl/plate. Preserved h. 0.082, pres. width 0.062, wall th. 0.007, rim diam. 0.200. Fig. K.vi.1

Moderately soft, fine, pale pinkish-yellow fabric (M 10 R 8/4); some fine micaceous inclusions and a few medium dark particles, a few fine pores. Smooth/granular break. Decoration in: painted linear decoration in dark brown (PMS 497 C) and yellow-reddish (PMS 4715 C) on body and flat rim, on a light yellow-ochre background (PMS 616 U) under a clear (tin?) glaze. Everted, flattened rim and slightly convex divergent body. *Italian Proto-Maiolica Ware*, middle-late 13th century.

K.vi.2 [Kef99.MY.1/2]: Body and neck fragment, jug. Preserved h. 0.053, pres. width 0.050, wall th. 0.005-0.006. Fig. K.vi.2

Moderately soft, fine, pinkish-white fabric (M 7.5 YR 8/2); very few fine sand inclusions. Smooth break. Clear tin glaze on the inside and outside, over a white ground (M 5 Y 8/1). Decoration out: painted blue decoration (PMS 295 U) of the 'ladder design' around a medallion encircled by a band painted in reddish-brown (PMS 1605 U). *Italian Maiolica Ware (from Faenza?)*, late 15th - 16th centuries.

K.vi.3 [Kef99.MY.2]: Body fragment, jug. Preserved h. 0.037, pres. width 0.039, wall th. 0.004-0.007. Fig. K.vi.3

Moderately soft, fine, white fabric (M 2.5 Y 8/1); very few fine sand inclusions, a few fine pores. Smooth break. Pale yellow-whitish slip (M 2.5 Y 8/2), unglazed on the inside. Pale grayish-white ground (M 10 YR 8/1) and clear (tin) glaze on the outside. Decoration out: painted blue decoration (PMS 539 C) of the 'ladder medallion design' and traces of a small patch of green (PMS 556 C) and orange-brown (PMS 1605 U) at the top of the sherd. *Italian Maiolica Ware (from Faenza?)*, late 15th - 16th centuries.

K.vi.4 [Kef99.MY.2/3]: Body fragment, jug. Preserved h. 0.027, pres. width 0.018, wall th. 0.004-0.005.Fig. K.vi.4

Moderately soft, fine, pale yellowish-white fabric (M 10 YR 8/2); very few sand inclusions. Smooth break. Pale grayish-white ground (M 5 Y 8/2) and clear tin over-glaze on the outside. Matt (-slipped) pale yellowish-white ground (M 2.5 Y 8/3) on the inside. Decoration out: painted blue (PMS 294 U), green (PMS 555-556 C) and orange-brown (PMS 1605 U) decoration. *Italian Maiolica Ware (from Faenza?)*, late 15th - 16th centuries.

K.vi.5 [Kef99.NW7.2]: Base fragment, jug. Preserved h. 0.030, wall th. (body) 0.005, base diam. 0.120. Fig K.vi.5

Moderately soft, fine, pale yellowish-white fabric (M 2.5 Y 8/2); very few fine sand inclusions. Smooth break. Pale grayish-white ground (M 5 Y 8/1) and tin over-glaze on the outside. Lead glaze, pale yellow in tone (M 5 Y 7/3) on the inside. Decoration out: blue painted decoration (PMS 295 U) of possibly the 'ladder medallion design'? Flat disc-base and divergent lower wall. *Italian Maiolica Ware (from Faenza?)*, (late 15th -) 16th century.

K.vi.6 [Kef99.MY.1]: Base fragment, jug. Preserved h. 0.042, wall th. 0.006, base diam. 0.120. Fig. K.vi.6

Moderately soft, fine, pale yellowish-white fabric (M 2.5 Y 8/2); a few fine sand and very few lime inclusions. Smooth break. Pale yellow ground (M 2.5 Y 8/3) and (tin?) glaze on the outside. Lead glaze on the inside, pale yellow in tone (M 2.5 Y 7/4). Decoration out: blue painted decorative band (PMS 294 U) of possibly the 'ladder medallion design'? Flat disc-base and straight divergent lower wall. *Italian Maiolica Ware (from Faenza?)*, (late 15th -) 16th century.

K.vi.7 [Kef99.SE6.3]: Body fragment, jug. Preserved h. 0.027, pres. width 0.019, wall th. 0.004-0.005. Fig. K.vi.7

Moderately soft, fine, pale yellowish-white fabric (M 10 YR 8/2); very few fine sand inclusions. Smooth break. Pale yellowish-white ground (M 2.5 Y 8/1) and clear tin over-glaze on the inside and outside. Decoration out: blue painted zigzag band (PMS 294 U). *Italian Maiolica Ware*, 15th - 16th centuries.

K.vi.8 [Kef99.NW3.2]: Body fragment, jug. Preserved h. 0.028, pres. width 0.022, wall th. 0.004. Fig. K.vi.8

Moderately soft, fine, pale pinkish-yellow fabric (M 7.5 YR 8/3); few fine sand inclusions. Smooth break. Matt pale yellowish-white ground (M 10 YR 8/2) on

the inside and outside (over-glaze probably completely flaked off). Decoration out: blue painted lines (PMS 295 C). *Italian Maiolica Ware*, late 15th - 16th centuries.

K.vi.9 [Kef99.NW3.1]: Body fragment, open shape (bowl?). Preserved h. 0.021, pres. width 0.021, wall th. 0.004. Fig. K.vi.9

Moderately soft, fine, pale yellowish-white fabric (M 2.5 Y 8/2); very few fine micaceous and sand inclusions. Smooth/granular break. Creamy-white ground (M 5 Y 8/1) and matt clear tin over-glaze on the inside and outside. Decoration in and out: blue painted (PMS 279 C and 281 C) floral-like decorative patterns. *Italian Maiolica Ware*, (15th -) 16th century.

K.vi.10 [Kef99.MY.2/2]: Rim and neck fragment, jug. Preserved h. 0.034, pres. width 0.022, wall th. 0.004. Fig. K.vi.10

Moderately soft, fine, pale pinkish-yellow fabric (M 7.5 YR 7/4); very few micaceous and sand inclusions, very few medium pores. Smooth break. Creamy-white ground (M 7.5 YR 8/1) on the outside and pale pinkish-white (M 7.5 YR 8/2) on the inside, both under a clear tin over-glaze. Decoration out: blue painted decoration (PMS 287-8 U) possibly of the 'ladder medallion design'? Trefoil-mouth jug. *Italian Maiolica Ware (from Faenza?)*, 16th century.

K.vi.11 [Kef99.NE4.1]: Body fragment, jug. Preserved h. 0.013, pres. width 0.026, wall th. 0.004. Fig. K.vi.11

Moderately soft, fine, pale pinkish-yellow fabric (M 10 YR 8/2); a few fine sand inclusions. Smooth break. Grayish-white ground (M 2.5 Y 8/1) under a clear tin glaze on the outside and inside. Decoration out: dark blue painted (PMS 289 C) floral-like motifs. *Italian Maiolica Ware (from Faenza?)*, 16th century.

Italian Polychrome Sgraffito Wares

K.vii.1 [Kef99.NE9.2]: Body fragment (of a base?), bowl. Preserved h. 0.028, pres. width 0.025, wall th. 0.007. Fig. K.vii.1

Fairly hard, fine, orange-red fabric (M 2.5 YR 6/8); a few medium grog, a few fine sand, lime and micaceous inclusions, a few pores. Smooth/conchoidal break. White slip (M 10 YR 8/1) and clear glaze on the inside. Decoration in: incised decoration of parallel lines, highlighted with green (PMS 348 and 350 C) and grayish-blue (PMS 429-430 C) splashes. *Italian Polychrome Sgraffito Ware*, late 15th - 16th centuries.

Miletus Ware

K.viii.1 [Kef99.SW1.1]: Body fragment, open vessel (bowl). Preserved h. 0.030, pres. width 0.019, wall th. 0.007. Fig. K.viii.1

Hard, medium fine, reddish fabric (M 2.5 YR 5/6); some micaceous and lime inclusions, a few pores. Smooth/granular break. Pale yellowish-white ground (M 10 YR 8/2) and dark green painted band (PMS 350 C) on the outside, under a clear glaze. White ground (M 10 YR 8/1) and blue painted decorative bands (PMS 653 C) on the inside, under a transparent/clear glaze. *Miletus Ware*, late 14th - early 15th centuries.

Spanish Lustre Ware

K.ix.1 [Kef99.NW13.1]: Body fragment, jug. Preserved h. 0.024, pres. width 0.029, wall th. 0.005. Fig. K.ix.1

Moderately soft, fine, pale yellowish-white fabric (M 2.5 Y 8/2); a few fine sand inclusions. Smooth/granular break. Pale grayish-white ground (M 2.5 Y 8/1) and transparent/clear glaze on the inside. Pale grayish-white ground (M 5 Y 8/1) on the outside. Decoration out: black painted (PMS Black 2 C 2X) decorative lines under a transparent/clear over-glaze. *Spanish Lustre Ware (?)*, 14th - 15th centuries.

K.ix.2 [Kef99.MY.1/1]: Body fragment bowl (?). Preserved h. 0.046, pres. width 0.028, wall th. 0.006. Fig. K.ix.2

Moderately soft, fine, pale yellowish-white fabric (M 2.5 Y 8/2); a few fine sand inclusions, some fine pores. Smooth break. Matt pale yellow (lead?) glaze (M 2.5 Y 8/4) on the inside. Matt grayish-yellow

ground (M 2.5 Y 7/4) on the outside. Decoration out: black painted (PMS Black 6 C) decorative lines under a transparent/clear glaze. *Spanish Lustre Ware (?)*, 14th - 15th centuries.

Monochrome Glazed Wares

K.x.1 [Kef99.SE2.1]: Base fragment, bowl. Preserved h. 0.043, wall th. 0.006, base diam. 0.062. Fig. K.x.1

Hard, fine, pale reddish-brown fabric (M 2.5 YR 6/4); a few sand and very few fine micaceous inclusions, a few medium and a few fine pores. Smooth break. Thin pinkish slip (M 2.5 YR 8/3) and pale yellow glaze (PMS 615 U) on the inside. Ring base with round-resting surface and flat underside with central nipple and straight divergent upper wall. *Monochrome Glazed Ware*, 13th - 15th centuries.

K.x.2 [Kef99.SW19.1]: Handle fragment, jug. Preserved h. 0.064, handle cross-section 0.009x0.015. Fig. K.x.2

Hard, fine, pale brown fabric (M 2.5 YR 6/4); a few lime, sand and some micaceous inclusions, a few pores. Smooth break. Pinkish slip (M 2.5 YR 8/3) and transparent white-tinted glaze and some brown splashes (PMS 462 C). *Monochrome Glazed Ware*, 15th - 17th centuries.

K.x.3 [Kef99.SE3.1]: Base fragment, bowl. Preserved h. 0.019, wall th. 0.010, base diam. 0.100. Fig. K.x.3

Hard, medium fine, pale brown fabric (M 5 YR 6/4); a few lime and micaceous inclusions, some pores. Smooth/conchoidal break. Thin creamy slip and mostly flaked-off green glaze (PMS 348 C) on the inside. Low heavy ring base with round-resting surface. *Monochrome Glazed Ware*, 15th - 17th centuries.

K.x.4 [Kef99.SW21.1]: Base fragment, bowl. Preserved h. 0.024, wall th. 0.007, base diam. 0.060. Fig. K.x.4

Hard, coarse, reddish-brown fabric (M 10 R 5/6); some fine micaceous, a few medium lime and stone inclusions, a few pores. Granular break. Creamy slip and pale green glaze (PMS 390 C) on the inside. Low ring base with flat-resting surface and central nipple. *Monochrome Glazed Ware*, 15th - 17th centuries.

K.x.5 [Kef99.SW4.2]: Base fragment, bowl. Preserved h. 0.020, wall th. 0.006, base diam. 0.052. Fig. K.x.5

Hard, medium fine, pinkish-red fabric (M 10 R 6/6); a few medium lime, some sand and micaceous inclusions, some pores. Granular break. Creamy slip and speckled green glaze (PMS 364 C) on the inside. Ring base with flat-resting surface and flat underside with a central shallow nipple. *Monochrome Glazed Ware*, 15th - 17th centuries.

K.x.6 [Kef99.SE6.4]: Base fragment, cup. Preserved h. 0.016, wall th. 0.003, base diam. 0.046. Fig. K.x.6

Hard, fine, pale orange fabric (M 10 R 6/4); a few fine micaceous and a few fine sand inclusions. Smooth/conchoidal break. Pinkish-brown wash (M 10 YR 7/3) on the outside. Creamy slip and pale green glaze (PMS 372 C) on the inside. Flat base and straight divergent lower wall. *Monochrome Glazed Ware*, 15th - 16th centuries.

K.x.7 [Kef99.SE12.3]: Base fragment, small bowl/cup. Preserved h. 0.023, wall th. 0.004, base diam. 0.070. Fig. K.x.7

Hard, medium fine, reddish-brown fabric (M 2.5 YR 6/6); very few large lime and a few sand inclusions, a few pores. Smooth break. White slip and pale greenish glaze (PMS 351 C) on the inside. Tripod stilt mark (0.006x0.007). Flat base with angular transition and straight divergent lower wall. *Monochrome Glazed Ware*, 15th - 16th centuries.

K.x.8 [Kef99.NW29.1]: Base fragment, shallow bowl/dish. Preserved h. 0.032, wall th. 0.006, base diam. 0.090. Fig. K.x.8

Medium hard, fine, reddish fabric (M 2.5 YR 5/6); very few medium lime, a few micaceous and sand inclusions, some pores. Smooth/conchoidal break. Pale yellow-orange wash (M 5 YR 6/6) on the outside. Creamy slip and yellow-brown glaze (PMS 132

C) on the inside. Heavy ring base with round-resting surface and flat underside. *Monochrome Glazed Ware*, 16th - 17th centuries.

K.x.9 [Kef99.MY.53]: Base fragment, shallow bowl. Preserved h. 0.024, wall th. 0.008, base diam. 0.060. Fig. K.x.9

Hard, medium fine, pale brown fabric (M 10 R 5/4); many sand, some lime and some micaceous inclusions, a few pores. Granular break. Pale creamy/gray wash (M 10 R 7/2) on the outside. White slip and brushstrokes in light green (PMS 3245 C) under a transparent/clear glaze on the outside. De-coloured green glaze (PMS 357 C) on the inside. Tripod stilt mark (0.006x0.004). Ring base (broken at the edge), with flat underside and central nipple. *Monochrome Glazed Ware*, 16th - 17th centuries.

K.x.10 [Kef99.MY.29]: Base fragment, bowl. Preserved h. 0.023, wall th. (base) 0.010, base diam. 0.060. Fig. K.x.10

Hard, medium fine, reddish fabric (M 2.5 YR 6/8); a few fine micaceous, a few medium stone and some sand inclusions, many medium pores. Smooth/conchoidal break. Pale gray slip and brown glaze (PMS 469 C) on the inside. Ring base with round-resting surface and central nipple. *Monochrome Glazed Ware*, 16th - 17th centuries.

K.x.11 [Kef99.NE5.2]: Base and body fragment, cup/small bowl. Preserved h. 0.039, wall th. 0.007, base diam. 0.060. Fig. K.x.11

Hard, fine, pale brown fabric (M 5 YR 6/3); a few fine micaceous and sand inclusions, some fine pores. Smooth break. White slip and glassy green glaze (PMS 371 C) on the inside and outside. Flat base and straight divergent wall. *Monochrome Glazed Ware*, 16th - 17th centuries.

K.x.12 [Kef99.SW25.1]: Rim, body and handle fragment, jar. Preserved h. 0.044, pres. width 0.044, wall th. 0.005, rim diam. 0.090. Fig. K.x.12

Hard, fine, pale brown fabric (M 2.5 YR 6/4); very few fine micaceous inclusions, a few fine pores. Smooth/granular break. White slip (M 10 YR 8/2) just below rim on the inside. White slip and pale green glaze (PMS 358 U) just below rim and under handle root on the outside. *Monochrome Glazed Ware*, 16th - 17th centuries.

K.x.13 [Kef99.SW1.3]: Rim and body fragment, bowl. Preserved h. 0.022, pres. width 0.049, wall th. 0.003, rim diam. 0.200. Fig. K.x.13

Hard, fine, pale brown fabric (M 10 R 6/3); a few lime inclusions, a few fine pores. Smooth/conchoidal break. White slip and traces of green glaze (PMS 342 C) just below rim on the outside. White slip and partly flaked-off glassy green glaze (PMS 342 C) on the inside. Flat rim and convex divergent upper wall. *Monochrome Glazed Ware*, 16th - 17th centuries.

K.x.14 [Kef99.MY.45]: Rim and body fragment, dish. Preserved h. 0.037, pres. width 0.052, wall th. 0.006, rim diam. 0.270. Fig. K.x.14

Fairly hard, fine, reddish-brown fabric (M 10 R 5/6); some lime and very few fine micaceous inclusions, a few pores. Smooth/conchoidal break. Pinkish-cream slip and speckled mustard-brown glaze (PMS 117 C) just below rim on the outside. Pinkish-cream slip and speckled mustard-brown glaze (PMS 117 C) on the inside. Broad everted rim and convex divergent upper wall. *Monochrome Glazed Ware*, 16th - 17th centuries.

K.x.15 [Kef99.SW22.1]: Rim and body fragment, basin. Preserved h. 0.054, pres. width 0.074, wall th. 0.007, rim diam. 0.280. Fig. K.x.15

Hard, medium fine, reddish-brown fabric (M 10 R 5/4); many lime, sand and micaceous inclusions, a few pores. Conchoidal break. White slip and creamy/yellow-tinted glaze (PMS 4525 C) on the inside and just below rim on the outside. Everted rim with straight divergent upper wall. *Monochrome Glazed Ware*, 17th - 19th centuries.

Late Slip-Painted Ware

K.xi.1 [Kef99.MY.62]: Base fragment, bowl. Preserved h. 0.030, wall th. 0.007, base diam. 0.060. Fig. K.xi.1

Hard, fine, reddish fabric (M 10 R 5/6); some micaceous, a few sand and lime inclusions, a few pores. Smooth/conchoidal break. Reddish-gray wash (M 10 R 6/2) and traces of creamy slip (under base) on the outside. Pale yellow-tinted glassy glaze on the inside, becoming red-brown (PMS 497 C) on clay after firing. Decoration in: slip-painted decoration, yellowish in tone (PMS 1215 C). Tripod stilt mark (0.007x0.006). Medium-sized ring base. *Late Slip-Painted Ware*, 15th - 16th centuries.

K.xi.2 [Kef99.SW4.1]: Base fragment, bowl. Preserved h. 0.042, wall th. 0.007, base diam. 0.070. Fig. K.xi.2

Fairly hard, medium fine, orange-red fabric (M 2.5 YR 6/6); some micaceous, some sand and a few grog inclusions, some medium pores. Smooth/conchoidal break. Pale yellow-orange wash (M 2.5 YR 7/4) and trace of thick white slip (M 10 YR 8/2) on the outside. Pale yellow-tinted glassy glaze on the inside, becoming ochre-brown (PMS 4495 C) on the clay after firing. Decoration in: slip-painted decoration, yellowish in tone (PMS 393 C). Tripod stilt mark (0.008x0.010). High flaring ring base. *Late Slip-Painted Ware*, (late 15th -) 16th century.

Painted Ware

K.xii.1 [Kef99.SE19.1]: Base fragment, bowl. Preserved h. 0.026, wall th. 0.006, base diam. 0.060. Fig. L.xii.1

Fairly hard, medium fine, reddish-orange fabric (M 10 R 6/6); a few lime, some sand and some medium grog inclusions, a few medium pores. Smooth break. Pale yellowish-brown wash (M 10 YR 7/3) on the outside. Thin pinkish-white slip (M 10 YR 8/2) and pale grayish-green glaze (PMS 4515 C) on the inside. Decoration in: brown painted decorative lines (PMS 463 C) and reddish-gray brushstrokes (PMS 483 U). Low ring base with round-resting surface; tripod stilt mark (0.004x0.006). Convex divergent lower wall. *Painted Ware*, 15th century.

K.xii.2 [Kef99.SW24.3]: Rim and body fragment, (small deep) bowl. Preserved h. 0.048, pres. width 0.036, wall th. 0.007, rim diam. 0.140. Fig. K.xii.2

Moderately soft, medium-fine, reddish-gray fabric (M 10 R 6/4); very few micaceous, some medium grog and a few sand inclusions, some pores. Smooth break. Pale pinkish-white slip (M 7.5 YR 8/3) and glassy transparent glaze, speckled yellow-mustard in tone (PMS 117 C) on the inside and just below rim on the outside. Decoration in: reddish-brown paint-splashes (PMS 175 C). Straight rim with round lip and convex divergent upper wall. *Painted Ware*, 15th (- 16th) century.

K.xii.3 [Kef99.NW18.1]: Rim and body fragment, bowl. Preserved h. 0.060, pres. width 0.062, wall th. 0.008, rim diam. 0.180. Fig. K.xii.3

Moderately soft, medium fine, reddish-orange fabric (M 10 R 5/6); very few fine micaceous, some medium lime and some sand inclusions, a few fine pores. Smooth/conchoidal break. Thin whitish slip and transparent glaze, speckled yellow-mustard in tone (PMS 117 C) on the inside and traces of it just below rim on the outside. Decoration in: reddish-brown paint-splashes (PMS 1615 C). Straight rim with round lip and knick in upper wall. *Painted Ware*, 15th (- 16th) century.

K.xii.4 [Kef99.MY.32]: Rim and body fragment, bowl. Preserved h. 0.039, pres. width 0.039, wall th. 0.007, rim diam. 0.160. Fig. K.xii.4

Moderately soft, fine, pale reddish-brown fabric (M 2.5 YR 6/4); very few micaceous, some medium voids and a few sand inclusions, a few medium pores. Smooth/conchoidal break. Transparent/clear glaze just below rim on the outside, becoming brown-green (PMS 147 C) on clay after firing. Whitish slip and transparent/clear glaze, pale yellow in tone (PMS 611 U) on the inside. Decoration in: light olive-green (PMS 392 C) paint on body and dark green (PMS 3995 C) brushstroke on lip. Straight rim with round lip and convex divergent upper wall. *Painted Ware*, 15th - 16th centuries.

K.xii.5 [Kef99.SW23.1]: Body fragment (near rim), (large deep) dish. Preserved h. 0.043, pres. width 0.075, wall th. 0.007 (body) and 0.006 (near lip). Fig. K.xii.5

Moderately soft, fine, brown-reddish fabric (M 2.5 YR 5/6); a few micaceous, a few sand and some medium lime inclusions, a few pores. Smooth/conchoidal break. Pale orange wash (M 2.5 YR 6/6) and drops of creamy-white slip (M 10 YR 8/2) on the outside. White slip and (partly flaked-off) transparent glaze, spotted pale brown-yellowish in tone (PMS 612 C) on the inside. Decoration in: painted brushstrokes in dark brown (PMS 497 C) and green (PMS 364 C) on the edge of sherd, close to rim. Flaring rim and convex divergent upper wall. *Painted Ware*, 16th (- 17th?) century.

K.xii.6 [Kef99.SE22.1]: Rim fragment, (large deep) dish. Preserved h. 0.047, pres. width 0.072, wall th. 0.007, rim diam. 0.200. Fig. K.xii.6

Moderately soft, fine, reddish-yellow fabric (M 5 YR 6/6); very few fine micaceous and a few lime inclusions, some pores. Smooth break. Pinkish-cream slip (M 7.5 YR 8/1) and transparent glaze, pale yellowish-orange in tone (PMS 1345 C) on the inside and traces just under rim on the outside. Decoration in: painted decoration in green (PMS 377 C) on rim. Broad everted rim and convex divergent upper wall. *Painted Ware*, 16th (- 17th?) century.

K.xii.7 [Kef99.SW27.1]: Base and body fragment, jug. Preserved h. 0.044, pres. width 0.079, wall th. 0.005 (body), base diam. 0.100. Fig. K.xii.7

Moderately soft, medium fine, reddish-orange fabric (M 2.5 YR 6/6); a few medium grog, some sand and a few fine micaceous inclusions, some pores. Granular break. Creamy slip (M 10 YR 8/2) on body on the inside. White slip and pale green glaze (PMS 358 C) on the outside, mostly flaked-off. Glaze becoming olive-green (PMS 3995 C) on the un-slipped clay after firing (close to base on the outside). Flat base and divergent lower wall. *Painted Ware*, 16th (- 17th) century.

Polychrome Marbled Ware

K.xiii.1 [Kef99.NW17.2]: Body fragment, bowl. Preserved h. 0.043, pres. width 0.035, wall th. 0.004. Fig. K.xiii.1

Moderately soft, fine, pale reddish-orange fabric (M 5 YR 7/4); a few micaceous and sand inclusions. Smooth/conchoidal break. White slip on the inside and outside. Decoration in: slip-painted decoration formed by light green (PMS 366 C) and dark green (PMS 350 U) stripes and light brown splashes (PMS 4635 C) under a transparent/clear glaze. Decoration out: slip-painted decoration of light green (PMS 366 C) and light brown (PMS 4635 C) stripes. *Polychrome Marbled Ware (from Didymoteicho?)*, 17th - 18th centuries.

K.xiii.2 [Kef99.NE9.3]: Base fragment, dish. Preserved h. 0.017, wall th. 0.009, base diam. 0.080. Fig. K.xiii.2

Moderately soft, fine, pale reddish-orange fabric (M 5 YR 6/6); a few fine micaceous, a few lime and sand inclusions. Smooth break. Creamy slip on the inside. Decoration in: slip-painted decoration of light green (PMS 358 C) and dark green (PMS 350 U) stripes under a transparent/clear glaze. Low ring base with wheel-turning marks. Tripod stilt mark (0.012x0.010). *Polychrome Marbled Ware (from Didymoteicho?)*, 17th - 18th centuries.

Çanakkale Ware

K.xiv.1 [Kef99.MY.3/3]: Base fragment, dish. Preserved h. 0.022, wall th. 0.010, base diam. 0.130. Fig. K.xiv.1

Hard, fine, reddish-orange fabric (M 2.5 YR 6/8); a few fine micaceous and a few mineral particles. Smooth/conchoidal break. Pinkish-whit slip and creamy-white (PMS 155 C) glaze on the inside and traces of it on the outside. Decoration in: blue painted (PMS 295 U) floral decoration and dark brown splashes (PMS 147 C). Blue painted decoration is almost entirely flaked-off. Low ring base with flat-resting surface and flat underside;slightly convex divergent lower wall. *Çanakkale Ware*, first half of the 18th century.

Tobacco Pipe

K.xv.1 [Kef99.NE9.1]: Tobacco pipe. Preserved h. 0.033, pres. width 0.035, wall th. 0.003 (rim) and 0.006 (bowl-base). Fig. K.xv.1

Half of pipe surviving, half of shank/stem-socket missing. Hard, fine, red fabric (M 10 R 5/6); some fine micaceous inclusions. Smooth/conchoidal break. Reddish-brown polished slip (M 2.5 YR 5/6) on the inside and outside. Straight rim and rounded bowl. Decorative band (close to the top of the bowl) with stamped rayed dots; decorative stamped band with bars at the base of rim. Traces of burning on the edge of rim. *Tobacco Pipe*, 18th (- 19th) century.

Glass Fragment

K.xvi.1 [Kef99.SW24.1]: Glass lid fragment, handle. Preserved h. 0.030, pres. width 0.006. Fig. K.xvi.1

Purple-blue glass lid handle. 14th - 16th centuries.

Unglazed Domestic Wares

K.xvii.1 [Kef99.SW7.3]: Rim and body fragment, pithos. Preserved h. 0.098, preserved width 0.160, wall th. 0.013, rim diam. 0.320. Fig. K.xvii.1

Moderately soft, medium fine, pale yellowish-orange fabric (M 5 YR 7/3); some fine micaceous, some lime and some coarse dark quartz inclusions, a few fine pores. Rough/conchoidal break. Incised wavy decoration on shoulder and incised rope-like decorative band on rim on the outside. Large everted flat rim and convex convergent upper body. 13th - 14th centuries.

K.xvii.2 [Kef99.SE1.1]: Rim and body fragment, pithos. Preserved h. 0.068, pres. width 0.126, wall th. 0.015, rim diam. 0.280. Fig. K.xvii.2

Fairly hard, medium fine, reddish-orange fabric (M 2.5 YR 6/6); some medium lime, sand and quartz inclusions, some medium pores. Rough/conchoidal break. Incised decorative lines on body on the outside. Everted flat rim and convex convergent upper body. 13th - 14th centuries.

K.xvii.3 [Kef99.MY.21]: Rim and body fragment, pithos. Preserved h. 0.080, pres. width 0.085, wall th. 0.024, rim diam. 0.300. Fig. K.xvii.3

Hard, medium coarse fabric with reddish-brown surface (M 2.5 YR 6/4) and grayish core (M 2.5 YR 6/1); many medium lime, sand, quartz and micaceous inclusions, some pores. Rough/conchoidal break. Everted flat rim and slightly divergent upper wall. 13th - 14th centuries.

K.xvii.4 [Kef99.SW2.1]: Rim fragment, cooking pot. Preserved h. 0.026, pres. width 0.049, wall th. 0.007, rim diam. 0.260. Fig. K.xvii.4

Hard, medium fine, pale brown fabric (M 10 R 5/3); some lime, sand and many micaceous inclusions, a few pores. Rough/granular break. Everted flat rim and slightly divergent upper wall. 13th - 14th centuries.

K.xvii.5 [Kef99.NW5.1]: Rim, body and handle fragment, jar. Preserved h. 0.045, pres. width 0.045, wall th. 0.007. Fig. K.xvii.5

Moderately soft, medium coarse, pale brown fabric (M 5 YR 5/4); many micaceous, some lime, many sand and quartz inclusions, some pores. Rough/granular break. Slightly thickened rim and convex convergent upper wall. 13th - 15th centuries.

K.xvii.6 [Kef99.NE8.1]: Handle root and body fragment, storage jar. Preserved h. 0.083, pres. width 0.091, handle dimensions 0.032x0.056. Fig. K.xvii.6

Fairly hard, medium coarse fabric with reddish orange surface (M 2.5 YR 6/6) and grayish core (M 2.5 YR 5/1); many medium dark quartz, some lime and fine micaceous inclusions, some pores. Rough/conchoidal break. Stamped decoration on beginning of handle root. 14th - 16th centuries.

K.xvii.7 [Kef99.NW7.3]: Base fragment, jar. Preserved h. 0.028, wall th. 0.008, base diam. 0.110. Fig. K.xvii.7

Fairly hard, medium coarse, reddish-brown fabric (M 2.5 YR 5/6); some lime, sand and micaceous inclusions, some pores. Rough/granular break. Flattened base with nipple on the inside and convex divergent lower wall. 14th - 16th centuries.

K.xvii.8 [Kef99.MY.36]: Base fragment, closed shape (small jar?). Preserved h. 0.026, wall th. 0.009, base diam. 0.086. Fig. K.xvii.8

Hard, medium fine, reddish-brown fabric (M 2.5 YR 5/6); some lime and sand inclusions, a few pores. Smooth/conchoidal break. Flat base with angular transition and straight divergent lower wall. 14th - 16th centuries.

8.10.2 Medieval Sites at Choria Kephalou, Paros Island (Appendix IIB)

Incised Sgraffito and Champlevé Wares

P.i.1 [P02.S30.2]: Body fragment, open shape (bowl/dish). Preserved h. 0.027, pres. width 0.032, wall th. 0.007-0.010. Fig. P.i.1

Hard, fine, pale brown fabric (M 5 YR 6/4); very few fine micaceous and a few sand inclusions, a few pores. Smooth/conchoidal break. White slip and pale yellow-tinted transparent glaze (PMS 1215 C) on the inside. Decoration in: three parallel incised-gouged lines. *Champlevé Ware (?)*, 13th century.

P.i.2 [P02.S32.2]: Body fragment, open shape (dish?). Preserved h. 0.030, pres. width 0.021, wall th. 0.005-0.006. Fig. P.i.2

Fairly hard, fine, pale pinkish-brown fabric (M 2.5 YR 7/4); some sand, a few lime and a few micaceous inclusions, some pores. Smooth/granular break. Creamy slip and reddish-brown glaze (PMS 1535 C) on the inside. Decoration in: a straight incised line. *Incised Sgraffito Ware*, 13th century.

Zeuxippus Ware

P.ii.1 [P02.S44.2]: Base fragment, bowl. Preserved h. 0.018, wall th. 0.004, base diam. 0.050. Fig. P.ii.1

Fairly hard, fine, pale reddish-brown fabric (M 2.5 YR 6/6); a few lime and a few sand inclusions. Smooth/granular break. White slip on body on the outside. Thick white slip and pale lime-tinted clear glaze (PMS 386 C) on the inside. Decoration in: two concentric incised lines becoming greenish-brown (PMS 4485 U) after firing. Low ring base with flat-resting surface and convex divergent lower wall. *Zeuxippus Ware*, first half of the 13th century.

Monochrome Sgraffito Wares

P.iii.1 [P02.S32.1]: Body fragment, open shape (bowl?). Preserved h. 0.020, pres. width 0.021, wall th. 0.003-0.005. Fig. P.iii.1

Hard, fine, pale pinkish-orange fabric (M 2.5 YR 6/6); some fine sand, a few lime and micaceous inclusions, a few pores. Smooth/granular break. Pale creamy-brown slip (M 10 YR 7/4) on the outside. Pale yellowish-lime glaze (PMS 379 C) on the inside. Decoration in: incised wavy lines. *Monochrome Sgraffito Ware*, (late 13th -) 14th century.

Brown and Green Sgraffito Wares

P.iv.1 [P02.S30.3]: Body fragment, open shape (bowl?). Preserved h. 0.022, pres. width 0.032, wall th. 0.004. Fig. P.iv.1

Fairly hard, fine, pale reddish-brown fabric (M 5 YR 6/4); a few sand and many micaceous inclusions, very few pores. Smooth/granular break. White slip and pale yellow-tinted glaze (PMS 1205 C) on the inside. Decoration in: incised lines, highlighted with pale olive-green painted decoration (PMS 392 C). *Brown and Green Sgraffito Ware*, 14th century.

P.iv.2 [P02.S13.2]: Base fragment, bowl. Preserved h. 0.019, wall th. 0.005, base diam. 0.060. Fig. P.iv.2

Fairly hard, fine, reddish-orange fabric (M 10 R 6/6); some lime, sand and micaceous inclusions, a few fine pores. Smooth/granular break. White slip and pale greenish-yellow glaze (PMS 372 C) on the inside. Decoration in: green painted brushstroke (PMS 357 C). Medium-high ring base with flat-resting surface. *Brown and Green Sgraffito Ware (from Lemnos?)*, 14th (- 15th) century.

Polychrome Sgraffito Wares

P.v.1 [P02.S30.1]: Base fragment, bowl. Preserved h. 0.023, wall th. 0.006, base diam. 0.060. Fig. P.v.1

Fairly hard, fine, reddish-yellow fabric (M 5 YR 6/6); a few lime and some micaceous inclusions, a few pores. Smooth/conchoidal break. Pale pinkish-orange wash (M 7.5 YR 7/4) on the outside. White slip

and almost completely flaked-off yellowish-tinted transparent glaze (PMS 460 C) on the inside. Decoration in: floral-like incised decoration, highlighted with pale brown (PMS 730 C) and green (PMS 343 C) brushstrokes. Tripod stilt mark (0.004x0.005). Low ring base with flat-resting surface, slight central nipple and convex divergent lower wall. *Polychrome Sgraffito Ware*, 14th - 15th centuries.

P.v.2 [P02.S10.2]: Base fragment, bowl. Preserved h. 0.025, wall th. 0.007, base diam. 0.080. Fig. P.v.2

Fairly hard, fine, pale pinkish-brown fabric (M 2.5 YR 6/6); some sand and many micaceous inclusions, a few pores. Smooth/conchoidal break. Thin white slip and pale yellowish-tinted transparent glaze (PMS 614 C) on the inside. Decoration in: incised circular designs, highlighted with pale green (PMS 346 C) and mustard-brown (PMS 1255 C) brushstrokes. Medium-high ring base with flat-resting surface. *Polychrome Sgraffito Ware*, 15th - 16th centuries.

P.v.3 [P02.S10.1]: Base fragment, bowl. Preserved h. 0.019, wall th. 0.005, base diam. 0.060. Fig. P.v.3

Hard, fine, reddish-orange fabric (M 2.5 YR 6/6); a few micaceous, some lime and sand inclusions, some pores. Smooth/granular break. Pale pinkish-gray wash (M 7.5 YR 7/3) on the outside. Pinkish slip (M 7.5 YR 8/4) and creamy glaze (PMS 453 C) on the inside. Decoration in: incised wavy lines and squiggles, highlighted with green (PMS 357 C) and mustard-brown (PMS 132 C) brushstrokes, becoming purple (PMS 2622 C) near the centre of base. Ring base with flat-resting surface, slight central nipple and straight divergent lower wall. *Polychrome Sgraffito Ware*, 15th - 16th centuries.

Monochrome Glazed Wares

P.vi.1 [P02.S44.1]: Base fragment, bowl. Preserved h. 0.026, wall th. 0.005, base diam. 0.062. Fig. P.vi.1

Hard, medium fine, brown fabric (M 2.5 YR 5/4); some medium lime, some sand and quartz inclusions, some pores. Smooth/conchoidal break. Pale yellowish slip (M 2.5 Y 8/3) and green glaze (PMS 371 C) on the outside on body, close to base. Creamy slip and pale yellow-lime-tinted (PMS 372 C) transparent glaze on the inside. Three tripod stilt marks. Ring base with flat-resting surface, slight central nipple and convex divergent lower wall. *Monochrome Glazed Ware*, 14th - 15th centuries.

P.vi.2 [P02.S38.1]: Base fragment, open shape (bowl?). Preserved h. 0.033, wall th. 0.006, base diam. 0.120. Fig. P.vi.2

Hard, fine, reddish-brown fabric (M 2.5 YR 6/4); some fine lime, sand and a few micaceous inclusions, a few pores. Smooth/granular break. Traces of pinkish-creamy slip (M 5 YR 8/3) on upper part of body on the outside. Creamy slip and yellowish-lime-tinted (PMS 609 C) transparent glaze on the inside. Ring base with flat bottom and convex divergent lower wall. *Monochrome Glazed Ware*, (14th -) 15th century.

P.vi.3 [P02.S15.1]: Base fragment, bowl. Preserved h. 0.032, wall th. 0.010, base diam. 0.070. Fig. P.vi.3

Hard, fine, reddish-brown fabric (M 2.5 YR 5/6); some lime, sand and a few micaceous inclusions, a few pores. Smooth/conchoidal break. Creamy slip and dark brown glaze (PMS 4625 C) on the inside. High ring base with flat-resting surface, central nipple and convex divergent lower wall. *Monochrome Glazed Ware*, (14th -) 15th century.

Late Slip-Painted Ware

P.vii.1 [P02.S11.2]: Base fragment, shallow bowl/dish. Preserved h. 0.017, wall th. 0.005, base diam. 0.050. Fig. P.vii.1

Hard, fine, pinkish-orange fabric (M 10 R 6/6); a few lime, sand and some fine micaceous inclusions, very few pores. Smooth/granular break. Pale yellow-tinted matt glaze on the inside, becoming brown (PMS 108 C) on clay after firing. Decoration in: slip-painted decoration, yellowish in tone (PMS 154 C). Tripod stilt mark (0.005x0.007). Low ring base with flat-resting surface and straight divergent lower wall. *Late Slip-Painted Ware*, late 13th - 14th centuries.

P.vii.2 [P02.S11.3]: Rim and body fragment, bowl. Preserved h. 0.023, pres. width 0.032, wall th. 0.004, rim diam. 0.200. Fig. P.vii.2

Fairly hard, fine, reddish-brown fabric (M 10 R 5/4); some lime and a few micaceous inclusions, a few pores. Smooth/granular break. Slip-painted tongues (PMS 461 C) and pale green-tinted shiny transparent glaze (PMS 363 C) on the outside. Pale yellow-tinted shiny glaze on the inside, becoming mustard-brown (PMS 140 C) on clay after firing. Decoration in: slip-painted decoration in low relief, pale yellowish in tone (PMS 460 C). Rounded rim and convex wall. *Late Slip-Painted Ware*, 14th - 15th centuries.

Painted Ware

P.viii.1 [P02.S15.2]: Base fragment, bowl. Preserved h. 0.030, wall th. 0.011, base diam. 0.080. Fig. P. viii.1

Fairly hard, fine, reddish-orange fabric (M 10 R 6/6); a few lime and some sand inclusions, some medium and fine pores. Smooth/conchoidal break. Pale pinkish-brown wash (M 5 YR 6/4) and traces of white slip on the outside. Thin pinkish-white slip and pale green-lime glaze (PMS 380 C) on the inside. Decoration in: light green brushstrokes (PMS 370 U). Ring base with flat-resting surface and straight divergent lower wall. *Painted Ware*, 16th century.

8.10.3 Apano Kastro, Naxos Island (Appendix IIC)

Incised Sgraffito Wares

N.i.1 [N99.AK.B76]: Body fragment, shallow bowl/dish. Preserved h. 0.033, pres. width 0.026, wall th. 0.003-0.004. Fig. N.i.1

Medium hard, fine, pale reddish fabric (M 5 YR 6/4); a few lime, some micaceous and a few dark particles. Smooth/conchoidal break. White slip and yellow-ochre glaze (PMS 132 C) on the inside. Decoration in: an incised/gouged line. *Incised Sgraffito Ware*, 13th century.

Zeuxippus Ware Derivatives

N.ii.1 [N99.AK.B38]: Base fragment, bowl. Preserved h. 0.028, wall th. 0.007. Fig. N.ii.1

Moderately soft, fine, pale reddish-brown fabric (M 2.5 YR 6/6); a few lime, some sand and micaceous inclusions, some pores. Smooth/conchoidal break. White slip and yellow-ochre glaze (PMS 1245 C) on the inside. Decoration in: incised circular line at centre of base. Low/medium high ring base. *Zeuxippus Ware Derivative*, late 13th - 14th centuries.

Monochrome Sgraffito Wares

N.iii.1 [N99.AK.B34]: Rim and body fragment, shallow bowl/dish. Preserved h. 0.016, pres. width 0.018, wall th. 0.003, rim diam. 0.180. Fig. N.iii.1

Fairly hard, fine, pale reddish-brown fabric (M 10 R 6/6); a few sand and micaceous inclusions, a few pores. Smooth/granular break. Traces of white slip and pale lime-green glaze (PMS 372 C) just below rim on the outside. Pale yellowish-white slip (M 2.5 Y 8/2) and pale lime-green glaze (PMS 372 C) on the inside. Decoration in: two parallel sgraffito lines just below rim. Everted rim with straight divergent upper wall. *Monochrome Sgraffito Ware*, 13th - 14th centuries.

N.iii.2 [N99.AK.B72]: Body fragment, open shape. Preserved h. 0.022, pres. width 0.018, wall th. 0.003-0.004. Fig. N.iii.2

Moderately soft, fine, pale reddish-orange fabric (M 2.5 YR 6/6); some fine sand and micaceous inclusions, a few pores. Smooth/granular break. Traces of olive-green glaze (PMS 371 C) on the outside. Creamy slip and mat pale green glaze (PMS 377 C) on the inside. Decoration in: sgraffito decorative lines. *Monochrome Sgraffito Ware*, 13th - 14th centuries.

N.iii.3 [N99.AK.B18]: Rim and body fragment, bowl. Preserved h. 0.022, pres. width 0.020, wall th. 0.004, rim diam. 0.180. Fig. N.iii.3

Moderately soft, fine, reddish-yellow fabric (M 5 YR 6/6); a few lime and sand inclusions, a few pores. Smooth break. Traces of pinkish-white slip (M 5 YR

8/2) just below rim on the outside. Creamy slip and yellowish-ochre glaze (PMS 110 C) on the inside. Decoration in: incised straight line just below rim. Straight rim with round lip and convex divergent upper wall. *Monochrome Sgraffito Ware*, late 13th - 14th centuries.

N.iii.4 [N99.AK.B2]: Base fragment, bowl. Preserved h. 0.022, wall th. 0.006, base diam. 0.055. Fig. N.iii.4

Fairly hard, medium fine, pale reddish-brown fabric (M 5 YR 5/6); a few lime, micaceous and many sand inclusions, a few pores. Rough/granular break. Creamy slip and pale lime-green glaze (PMS 616 U) on the inside. Decoration in: abstract incised decoration. Medium-high ring base with flat-resting surface, slight central nipple and straight divergent lower wall. *Monochrome Sgraffito Ware*, (late 13th -) 14th century.

N.iii.5 [N99.AK.B23]: Rim fragment, shallow bowl/dish. Preserved h. 0.024, pres. width 0.018, wall th. 0.003, rim diam. 0.140. Fig. N.iii.5

Fairly hard, fine, reddish-gray fabric (M 10 R 6/4); very few sand and micaceous inclusions. Smooth/conchoidal break. Traces of white slip and pale yellowish glaze (PMS 616 U) just below rim on the outside. White slip and pale yellowish glaze (PMS 615 U) on the inside. Decoration in: four parallel incised lines. Everted rim with round lip and convex divergent upper wall. *Monochrome Sgraffito Ware (from Thessaloniki?)*, (late 13th -) 14th century.

N.iii.6 [N99.AK.B68]: Body fragment, bowl. Preserved h. 0.058, pres. width 0.065, wall th. 0.003-0.007. Fig. N.iii.6

Fairly hard, fine, fabric with grayish-brown (M 2.5 YR 6/2) inner half and dull reddish-orange (M 2.5 YR 6/6) outer half; a few fine lime, sand and some micaceous inclusions, a few pores. Smooth/granular break. Creamy slip and yellow-ochre glaze (PMS 1245 C) on the inside. Decoration in: abstract incised decorative lines. *Monochrome Sgraffito Ware (from Thessaloniki?)*, (late 13th -) 14th century.

Brown and Green Sgraffito Wares

N.iv.1 [N99.AK.B17]: Rim and body fragment, bowl. Preserved h. 0.023, pres. width 0.019, wall th. 0.003, rim diam. 0.150. Fig. N.iv.1

Fairly hard, fine, grayish-brown fabric (M 2.5 YR 5/2); very few fine micaceous inclusions. Smooth/conchoidal break. White slip and pale lime-green glaze (PMS 584 U) on the outside, with a brushstroke in green (PMS 349 C) just below rim. White slip and pale yellow-green glaze (PMS 585 U) on the inside. Decoration in: two parallel incised lines just below rim. Straight rim with rounded lip and straight divergent upper wall. *Brown and Green Sgraffito Ware (from Lemnos?)*, 14th (- 15th) century.

N.iv.2 [N99.AK.B16]: Rim and body fragment, bowl. Preserved h. 0.020, pres. width 0.021, wall th. 0.003, rim diam. 0.180. Fig. N.iv.2

Hard, fine, reddish-brown fabric (M 5 YR 6/4); a few lime and sand inclusions. Smooth/conchoidal break. White slip and light green glaze (PMS 370 C) with dark green brushstroke (PMS 364 C) on the outside. White slip and pale green-brown glaze (PMS 458 C) on the inside. Decoration in: two parallel incised lines and green brushstroke (PMS 377 C) just below rim. Straight rim with round lip and straight divergent upper wall. *Brown and Green Sgraffito Ware*, 14th (- 15th) century.

N.iv.3 [N99.AK.T42]: Rim and body fragment, bowl. Preserved h. 0.030, pres. width0.032, wall th. 0.004, rim diam. 0.160. Fig. N.iv.3

Hard, fine, reddish-orange fabric (M 2.5 YR 6/6); very few fine lime and some fine micaceous inclusions. Smooth/granular break. White slip and pale lime-green glaze (PMS 586 C) on the outside, with brushstroke in green (PMS 356 U) just below rim. White slip and pale lime-green glaze (PMS 386 C) on the inside. Decoration in: two parallel incised lines, highlighted by brushstroke in green (PMS 377 C) just below rim. Straight rim with rounded lip and flaring lower wall. *Brown and Green Sgraffito Ware*, 14th (- 15th) century.

N.iv.4 [N99.AK.B14]: Rim and body fragment, bowl. Preserved h. 0.022, pres. width 0.027, wall th. 0.003, rim diam. 0.150. Fig. N.iv.4

Fairly hard, fine, reddish-brown fabric (M 10 R 5/6); a few lime and many micaceous inclusions, a few pores. Smooth/conchoidal break. White slip and light green-lime glaze (PMS 366 C) and tongue-like green splashes (PMS 363 C) just below rim on the outside. White slip and light green glaze (PMS 373 C) on the inside. Decoration in: two parallel incised lines and abstract incised decoration. Straight rim with rounded lip and convex divergent upper wall. *Brown and Green Sgraffito Ware*, 14th (- 15th) century.

N.iv.5 [N99.AK.B8]: Base fragment, bowl. Preserved h. 0.021, wall th. 0.008, base diam. 0.070. Fig. N.iv.5

Moderately soft, fine, pale creamy-grayish fabric (M 7.5 YR 7/3); a few fine sand and micaceous inclusions. Smooth/granular break. White slip and green glaze (PMS 364 C) on the inside. Decoration in: abstract incised linear decoration and thin splashes of pale brown paint (PMS 140 C). Ring base with flat-resting surface. *Brown and Green Sgraffito Ware*, 14th (- 15th) century.

N.iv.6 [N99.AK.B1]: Base fragment, bowl. Preserved h. 0.019, wall th. 0.003, base diam. 0.070. Fig. N.iv.6

Moderately soft, fine, pale orange-reddish fabric (M 2.5 YR 6/6); a few fine sand and micaceous inclusions, a few fine pores. Smooth/conchoidal break. Pale pinkish-brown wash (M 7.5 YR 7/3) on the outside. White slip and pale yellow-lime glaze (PMS 610 C) on the inside. Decoration in: incised wavy and straight lines, highlighted with green brushstroke (PMS 357 C). Medium-high ring base with flat-resting surface. *Brown and Green Sgraffito Ware*, 14th (- 15th) century.

Italian Maiolica Wares

N.v.1 [N99.AK.B80]: Body fragment, jug. Preserved h. 0.017, pres. width 0.022, wall th. 0.003. Fig. N.v.1

Soft, fine, pale yellowish fabric (M 2.5 Y 8/2); a few fine sand inclusions. Smooth break. Pale yellow lead glaze (PMS 458 C) on the inside. Light creamy-grayish ground (M 5 Y 8/1) and tin under-glaze on the outside. Decoration out: blue-painted decoration (PMS 295 U). *Italian Maiolica Ware*, 15th - 16th centuries.

N.v.2 [N99.AK.B84]: Body fragment, closed shape (jug?). Preserved h. 0.011, pres. width 0.014, wall th. 0.004. Fig. N.v.2

Soft, fine, pale yellow-pinkish fabric (M 2.5 YR 8/3); very few fine micaceous inclusions. Smooth break. Light creamy-grayish ground (M 10 YR 8/2) and tin under-glaze on the inside and outside. Decoration out: blue-painted (PMS 295 U) parallel lines. *Italian Maiolica Ware*, 15th - 16th centuries.

Spanish Lustre Ware

N.vi.1 [N99.AK.B41]: Body fragment, bowl. Preserved h. 0.029, pres. width 0.040, wall th. 0.007-0.008. Fig. N.vi.1

Moderately soft, fine, pale pinkish-orange fabric (M 2.5 YR 8/3); very few fine sand and micaceous inclusion, a few pores. Smooth/conchoidal break. Pale grayish-white ground (M 2.5 Y 8/1) and transparent over-glaze on the outside. Creamy-white ground (M 5 Y 8/1) on the inside. Decoration in: light (lustre) golden-yellow-painted (PMS 458 U) linear decoration under a transparent/clear over-glaze. *Spanish Lustre Ware*, 14th - 15th centuries.

Monochrome Glazed Wares

N.vii.1 [N99.AK.B21]: Rim and body fragment, dish. Preserved h. 0.021, pres. width 0.022, wall th. 0.005, rim diam. 0.193. Fig. N.vii.1

Soft, fine, reddish-orange fabric (M 10 R 6/8); some fine sand and some micaceous inclusions. Smooth/conchoidal break. Traces of white slip on the outside. White slip and pale yellow-grayish glaze (PMS 614 U) with trace of pale ochre-brown brushstroke (PMS 1245 C). Straight rim with rounded and thickened lip and convex divergent upper wall. *Monochrome Glazed Ware (?)*, 13th century.

N.vii.2 [N99.AK.B25]: Rim and body fragment, shallow bowl/dish. Preserved h. 0.020, pres. width 0.023, wall th. 0.004, rim diam. 0.180. Fig. N.vii.2

Moderately soft, fine, reddish-orange fabric (M 10 R 6/8); a few fine lime and some fine micaceous inclusions. Smooth break. Creamy slip and light olive-green glaze (PMS 377 C) on the inside and outside. Straight rim with rounded lip. *Monochrome Glazed Ware*, 13th century.

N.vii.3 [N99.AK.B22]: Rim and body fragment, shallow bowl/dish. Preserved h. 0.020, pres. width 0.019, wall th. 0.004, rim diam. 0.160. Fig. N.vii.3

Fairly hard, fine, reddish-orange fabric (M 10 R 6/6); some fine lime and sand inclusions, a few pores. Smooth/conchoidal break. Thin white slip and mustard-brown glaze (PMS 1265 C) on the outside. White slip and pale yellow-lime glaze (PMS 458 C) on the inside. Flaring rim with rounded lip and convex divergent upper wall. *Monochrome Glazed Ware*, 13th century.

N.vii.4 [N99.AK.B20]: Rim and body fragment, bowl. Preserved h. 0.025, pres. width 0.024, wall th. 0.004, rim diam. 0.140. Fig. N.vii.4

Fairly hard, fine, pale grayish-brown fabric (M 2.5 YR 5/2); a few fine lime inclusions. Smooth/conchoidal break. White slip and green glaze (PMS 370 C) on the outside. White slip and pale lime-green glaze (PMS 397 C) on the inside, with a thin brushstroke in olive-green (PMS 371 C) on and just bellow rim. Straight rim with rounded lip and convex divergent upper wall. *Monochrome Glazed Ware (?)*, (14th -) 15th century.

N.vii.5 [N99.AK.B19]: Rim and body fragment, bowl. Preserved h. 0.019, pres. width 0.024, wall th. 0.004, rim diam. 0.170. Fig. N.vii.5

Fairly hard, fine, pale reddish-orange fabric (M 10 R 5/6); a few lime and some fine sand inclusions. Smooth/granular break. Transparent glaze on the outside, becoming brown (PMS 1615 C) on clay after firing. White slip and pale yellow-brown glaze (PMS 458 U) on the inside. Straight rim with rounded lip and convex divergent upper wall. *Monochrome Glazed Ware*, (14th -) 15th century.

N.vii.6 [N99.AK.B3]: Base fragment, bowl. Preserved h. 0.023, wall th. 0.006, base diam. 0.090. Fig. N.vii.6

Fairly hard, fine, reddish-orange fabric (M 10 R 6/6); some lime, sand and micaceous inclusions, a few pores. Smooth/granular break. White slip and mustard-brown glaze (PMS 154 C) on the inside. Tripod stilt mark (0.009x0.008). Ring base with flat-resting surface and straight divergent lower wall. *Monochrome Glazed Ware*, 15th - 16th centuries.

N.vii.7 [N99.AK.B10]: Base fragment, open shape (?). Preserved h. 0.020, wall th. 0.004, base diam. 0.145. Fig. N.vii.7

Fairly hard, fine, pale reddish-brown fabric (M 2.5 YR 6/4); a few fine sand inclusions, a few pores. Smooth/granular break. White slip and green glaze (PMS 364 C) on the inside and outside. Disc base with flat underside and slightly straight divergent lower wall. *Monochrome Glazed Ware*, 15th - 16th centuries.

N.vii.8 [N99.AK.B6]: Base fragment, jug. Preserved h. 0.016, wall th. 0.005, base diam. 0.100. Fig. N. vii.8

Fairly hard, fine, pale reddish-orange fabric (M 2.5 YR 6/6); a few fine sand and micaceous inclusions, a few fine pores. Smooth/conchoidal break. Creamy slip and green glaze (PMS 364 C) on the outside. Disc base with flat underside and divergent lower wall. *Monochrome Glazed Ware*, 15th - 16th centuries.

Unglazed Domestic Wares

N.viii.1 [N99.AK.T4]: Body fragment, pithos. Preserved h. 0.086, pres. width 0.073, wall th. 0.011. Fig. N.viii.1

Fairly hard, medium fine, reddish-brown fabric (M 2.5 YR 5/6), with slightly grayish-brown core (M 2.5 YR 5/4); some medium lime, some sand and many micaceous inclusions, some fine pores. Rough/gran-

ular break. Decoration out: broad shallow-incised wavy and straight lines. 13th - 14th centuries?

N.viii.2 [N99.AK.T3]: Rim and shoulder fragment, cooking pot (?). Preserved h. 0.048, pres. width 0.086, wall th. 0.006, rim diam. 0.300. Fig. N.viii.2

Fairly hard, medium fine, orange-brown fabric (M 2.5 YR 5/4), with grayish-brown core (M 5 YR 5/3); some lime, sand and many micaceous inclusions, some fine and a few medium pores. Rough/granular break. Decoration out: a continuous wavy line over a straight line of shallow incision on shoulder. Flat thickened straight rim with convergent upper wall. 13th - 14th centuries?

N.viii.3 [N99.AK.B35]: Rim and shoulder fragment, cooking pot (?). Preserved h. 0.032, pres. width 0.048, wall th. 0.005, rim diam. 0.230. Fig. N.viii.3

Fairly hard, medium fine, pale orange-brown fabric (M 2.5 YR 5/4), with grayish-brown core (M 2.5 YR 5/2); some medium lime, some fine sand and many micaceous inclusions, a few pores. Rough/granular break. Flat thickened straight rim with convergent upper wall. 13th - 14th centuries?

N.viii.4 [N99.AK.T12]: Rim and body fragment, small pithos (?). Preserved h. 0.039, pres. width 0.072, wall th. 0.009, rim diam. 0.210. Fig. N.viii.4

Fairly hard, medium fine, pale reddish-brown fabric (M 10 R 5/4), with grayish-brown core (M 10 R 5/2); a few lime, some sand and many micaceous inclusions, a few fine pores. Rough/granular break. Flattened everted rim with convex convergent upper body. 13th - 14th centuries?

N.viii.5 [N99.AK.T15]: Rim and body fragment, cooking pot (?). Preserved h. 0.030, pres. width 0.036, wall th. 0.006, rim diam. 0.170. Fig. N.viii.5

Fairly hard, medium fine, reddish-brown fabric (M 5 YR 5/6), with brownish core (M 5 YR 5/4); some lime, some sand and many micaceous inclusions, a few pores. Rough/granular break. Flat straight rim and only slightly convergent upper body. 13th - 15th centuries?

N.viii.6 [N99.AK.T9]: Rim and body fragment, open shape (bowl? cooking pot?). Preserved h. 0.035, pres. width 0.039, wall th. 0.004, rim diam. 0.140. Fig. N.viii.6

Fairly hard, medium fine, reddish-brown fabric (M 10 R 5/4); a few lime, some sand and many micaceous inclusions, a few pores. Rough/granular break. Flat rim and convex converted upper body. 13th - 15th centuries?

N.viii.7 [N99.AK.B36]: Rim, body and handle fragment, closed shape. Preserved h. 0.026, pres. width 0.074, wall th. 0.007, rim diam. 0.200, handle dimensions 0.015x0.038. Fig. N.viii.7

Hard, medium fine, brown/reddish-brown fabric (M 10 R 5/4); some lime, sand and many micaceous inclusions, a few pores. Rough/conchoidal break. Slightly everted rim with almost straight body and oval handle. 13th - 15th centuries?

N.viii.8 [N99.AK.T26]: Body fragment, closed shape. Preserved h. 0.036, pres. width 0.028, wall th. 0.004-0.005. Fig. N.viii.8

Fairly hard, medium fine, reddish-brown fabric (M 10 R 5/4); a few fine lime, some sand and many micaceous inclusions, a few fine pores. Rough/granular break. Decoration out: a band of wavy incised lines (combed decoration). Medieval.

N.viii.9 [N99.AK.T2]: Base fragment, transport jar (?). Preserved h. 0.040, wall th. 0.011, base diam. 0.080. Fig. N.viii.9

Medium hard, medium fine, reddish-orange fabric (M 10 R 6/8); a few lime, sand, some dark particles and some fine micaceous inclusions, a few pores. Smooth/conchoidal break. Flat base and flaring lower body. Late Roman or Medieval.

N.viii.10 [N99.AK.B27]: Rim and body fragment, cooking pot (?). Preserved h. 0.035, pres. width 0.037, wall th. 0.003, rim diam. 0.165. Fig. N.viii.10

Hard, medium fine, reddish-brown fabric (M 10 R 6/4); some lime, many sand and a lot of micaceous inclusions. Smooth/conchoidal break. Straight rim with

rounded lip and straight convergent shoulder. Late Roman or Medieval.

N.viii.11 [N99.AK.T10]: Rim and neck fragment, jug (?). Preserved h. 0.037, pres. width 0.056, wall th. 0.005, rim diam. 0.090. Fig. N.viii.11

Moderately soft, fine, pinkish-orange fabric (M 2.5 YR 6/6); a few dark particles and some micaceous inclusions, a few fine pores. Smooth break. Everted thickened rim and convex divergent neck. Late Roman or Medieval.

8.10.4 Zephyria, Melos Island (Appendix IID)

Italian Maiolica Wares

M/Z.i.1 [Me99.ZN.3]: Body fragment, jug. Preserved h. 0.020, pres. width 0.028, wall th. 0.005-0.006. Fig. M/Z.i.1

Fairly hard, fine, pale pinkish-yellow fabric (M 2.5 Y 8/3); a few fine lime inclusions and a few fine dark particles. Smooth break. Transparent/clear tin glaze on the inside and outside, over a white ground (M 5 Y 8/1). Decoration out: painted blue (PMS 284 C) and reddish/brown (PMS 1405 C) decoration. *Italian Maiolica Ware (from Faenza?)*, late 15th - 16th centuries.

M/Z.i.2 [Me99.ZN.2]: Base fragment, shallow bowl/plate. Preserved h. 0.011, wall th. 0.005-0.007, base diam. 0.090. Fig. M/Z.i.2

Soft, fine, pale pinkish-orange fabric (M 5 YR 7/3); a few fine sand particles, a few fine pores. Smooth break. Creamy slip and thick light blue glaze (PMS 283 U) on the inside and outside. Decoration in: blue painted (PMS 293 U) concentric lines. Low ring base with flat resting surface and flat underside. *Italian Maiolica Ware*, 15th - 16th centuries.

Iznik Ware

M/Z.ii.1 [Me99.ZN.1]: Base fragment, dish. Preserved h. 0.042, pres. width 0.041, wall th. 0.008. Fig. M/Z.ii.1

Moderately soft, fine, pale creamy-gray fabric (M 5 YR 7/2); very few fine mica and a few fine sand inclusions. Smooth break. White slip and glaze (M 7.5 YR 8/1) on the inside and outside. Decoration in: painted floral decoration (in relief) in reddish/brown (PMS 1605 C), green (PMS 335 C) and purple/blue (PMS 2718/279 C), outlined in cases with black. *Iznik Ware*, early 17th century (Iznik Ware III).

Kütahya Ware

M/Z.iii.1 [Me99.ZS.3]: Body fragment, jug. Preserved h. 0.016, pres. width 0.025, wall th. 0.005-0.006. Fig. M/Z.iii.1

Moderately soft, fine, pale creamy-gray fabric (M 10 YR 8/2); very few mica and a few fine sand particles, a few fine pores. Smooth/granular break. White slip and transparent bluish/gray tinted glaze (PMS 642 U) on the inside and outside. Decoration out: blue leaf-like design (PMS 278-279 C) and black outline. *Kütahya Ware*, 18th century.

Monochrome Glazed Wares

M/Z.iv.1 [Me99.ZS.2]: Handle fragment, jug. Preserved h. 0.038, handle cross-section 0.013x0.018. Fig. M/Z.iv.1

Moderately hard, medium fine, reddish-orange fabric (M 2.5 YR 6/8); very few fine mica and some sand inclusions, a few pores. Smooth break. Thin pinkish slip and light green/lime glaze (PMS 381 U). *Monochrome Glazed Ware*, 15th - 16th centuries.

M/Z.iv.2 [Me99.ZS.1]: Base fragment, bowl. Preserved h. 0.027, wall th. 0.010, base diam. 0.060. Fig. M/Z.iv.2

Hard, coarse, reddish fabric (M 5 YR 5/6); a few fine mica, some lime, many sand and some medium voids, some pores. Conchoidal break. Thin white slip and yellow/mustard speckled glaze (PMS 117 U) on the inside. Ring base with flat resting surface. *Monochrome Glazed Ware*, 15th - 16th centuries.

Painted Ware

M/Z.v.1 [Me99.ZN.7]: Body fragment, bowl. Preserved h. 0.048, pres. width 0.069, wall th. 0.007-0.012. Fig. M/Z.v.1

Moderately hard, fine, reddish fabric (M 2.5 YR 5/6); very few fine mica and lime inclusions. Smooth break. White slip and transparent glaze, pale yellow/lime in tone (PMS 5797 C) on the inside and outside. Decoration in: painted decoration of green splash (PMS 577 C). *Painted Ware*, 16th century.

Late Polychrome Painted Maiolica

M/Z.vi.1 [Me99.ZN.4]: Rim and body fragment, dish. Preserved h. 0.028, pres. width 0.036, wall th. 0.005, rim diam. 0.250. Fig. M/Z.vi.1

Fairly hard, fine, pale pinkish-yellow fabric (M 7.5 YR 7/3); very few lime and sand inclusions. Smooth break. White slip and transparent glaze on the inside and outside. Decoration in: painted decoration of orange/brown (PMS 145 C) and reddish/brown (PMS 168 C) lines. *Late Polychrome Painted Maiolica*, late 16th - 18th centuries.

Unglazed Domestic Wares

M/Z.vii.1 [Me99.ZN.6]: Handle fragment, closed shape. Preserved h. 0.045, handle cross-section 0.010x0.023. Fig. M/Z.vii.1

Fairly hard, coarse, dark gray-black fabric (M 10 YR 3/1); some mica, many lime and sand inclusions, a few pores. Smooth/granular break. Medieval.

8.10.5 Kastro, Melos Island (Appendix IIE)

Brown and Green Sgraffito Wares

M/K.i.1 [Me99.K3.1]: Rim and body fragment, bowl. Preserved h. 0.028, pres. width 0.033, wall th. 0.008, rim diam. 0.220. Fig. M/K.i.1

Fairly hard, fine, pale reddish-brown fabric (M 2.5 YR 5/6); a few fine lime and sand inclusions. Smooth break. White slip and transparent pale yellow/lime glaze (PMS 365 C) on the inside and just below rim on the outside. Decoration in: two parallel sgraffito lines highlighted with light green (PMS 353 C) painted line just below rim on the inside. Flat topped rim. *Brown and Green Sgraffito Ware*, 14th - 15th centuries.

Polychrome Sgraffito Wares

M/K.ii.1 [Me99.K1.1]: Rim and body fragment, bowl. Preserved h. 0.023, pres. width 0.026, wall th. 0.005, rim diam. 0.160. Fig. M/K.ii.1

Fairly hard, medium fine, pale orange-brown fabric (M 5 YR 6/4); some fine sand inclusions, a few fine pores. Smooth/granular break. Creamy slip and light green glaze (PMS 360 U) on the outside becoming dark green (PMS 350 C) on clay after firing (on unslipped part of the body). Creamy slip, pale green/lime glaze (PMS 365 C) and dark green (PMS 350 C) on and just below rim on the inside. Decoration in: a straight incised line just below rim and a wavy incised line below, highlighted with reddish/brown splash (PMS 504 C). Round lip and convex divergent wall. *Polychrome Sgraffito Ware*, 15th - 16th century.

Painted Ware

M/K.iii.1 [Me99.K3.2]: Rim fragment, dish. Preserved h. 0.029, pres. width 0.028, wall th. 0.005-0.008. Fig. M/K.iii.1

Fairly hard, medium fine, reddish-brown fabric (M 10 R 5/6); a few fine lime and some fine sand inclusions, a few pores. Smooth break. White slip and transparent yellowish tinted (M 2.5 Y 8/2) glaze on the inside and just below rim on the outside. Decoration in: reddish-brown (PMS 4625 C) and orange-brown (PMS 139 C) painted lines. Everted rim with straight divergent upper wall. *Painted Ware*, 16th (-17th) century.

Painted Ware from Grottaglie and Corfu

M/K.iv.1 [Me99.K3.7]: Rim fragment, dish. Preserved h. 0.057, pres. width 0.054, wall th. 0.006. Fig. M/K.iv.1

Fairly hard, fine, pale pinkish fabric (M 2.5 YR 7/4); a few very fine mica and a few fine lime inclusions. Smooth break. Creamy slip (M 2.5 Y 8/2) and transparent glaze on the inside and outside. Decoration in: painted line in blue (PMS 2945 U) around rim. Broad everted rim. *Painted Ware (from Grottaglie or Corfu?)*, 19th century.

Slip-Painted Ware from Didymoteicho

M/K.v.1 [Me99.K3.5]: Rim and body fragment, dish. Preserved h. 0.029, pres. width 0.038, wall th. 0.005, rim diam. 0.220. Fig. M/K.v.1

Fairly hard, fine, pale orange-brown fabric (M 5 YR 6/4); a few fine sand inclusions, a few pores. Smooth/conchoidal break. Mustard-brown glaze (PMS 456 U) on the inside and just below rim on the outside. Decoration in: white slip decoration becoming yellow (PMS 610 U) under glaze after firing. Everted rim with straight divergent upper wall. *Slip-Painted Ware from Didymoteicho*, 19th century.

M/K.v.2 [Me99.K4.4]: Base and body fragment, dish/basin. Preserved h. 0.043, wall th. 0.007, base diam. 0.120. Fig. M/K.v.2

Fairly hard, fine, pale reddish-brown fabric (M 2.5 YR 5/6); very few fine mica and a few fine lime inclusions. Smooth break. Shiny transparent glaze becoming brown (PMS 4635 C) on the inside on clay after firing. Decoration in: slip-painted decorative lines. Flat base and straight divergent lower wall. *Slip-Painted Ware (from Crete?)*, 19th century.

M/K.v.3 [Me99.K3.6]: Rim and body fragment, bowl (?). Preserved h. 0.033, pres. width 0.058, wall th. 0.005, rim diam. 0.220. Fig. M/K.v.3

Fairly hard, coarse, pale pinkish-orange fabric (M 2.5 YR 7/4); some medium lime and some fine sand inclusions. Rough/granular break. Shiny transparent glaze becoming pale reddish-brown (PMS 470 C) on the inside on clay after firing. Decoration in: slip-painted line on rim becoming yellowish (PMS 131 C) under glaze. Everted rim. *Slip-Painted Ware (from Crete?)*, 19th century.

Monochrome Glazed Wares

M/K.vi.1 [Me99.K4.5]: Rim and body fragment, dish. Preserved h. 0.066, pres. width 0.058, wall th. 0.006, rim diam. 0.180. Fig. M/K.vi.1

Fairly hard, fine, reddish-yellow fabric (M 5 YR 6/6); some fine micaceous inclusions, a few fine and medium pores. Smooth break. Thin white slip and pale green glaze (PMS 365 C) on the inside. Glaze also running in mustard-brown (PMS 1255 C) loops just below rim on the outside. Everted rim with rounded lip-edge and convex divergent upper wall. *Monochrome Glazed Ware*, 17th - 19th centuries.

M/K.vi.2 [Me99.K3.4]: Rim and body fragment, dish. Preserved h. 0.062, pres. width 0.080, wall th. 0.007, rim diam. 0.300. Fig. M/K.vi.2

Fairly hard, medium fine, reddish-brown fabric (M 2.5 YR 5/6); some lime and many sand inclusions, some pores. Smooth/conchoidal break. White slip and transparent creamy-tinted glaze (PMS 468 U) on the inside and just below rim on the outside. Everted rim and straight divergent upper wall. *Monochrome Glazed Ware*, 19th century.

M/K.vi.3 [Me99.K4.1]: Rim, body and base fragment (half vessel), cup. Preserved h. 0.053, pres. width 0.73, wall th. (near rim) 0.004, wall th. (near base) 0.006, rim diam. 0.076, base diam. 0.040. Fig. M/K.vi.3

Medium hard, medium fine, reddish-brown fabric (M 2.5 YR 4/6); many mica, some lime and sand inclusions, some pores. Rough/conchoidal break. Clear glaze on the inside and outside becoming brown (PMS 470 C) on clay after firing. Straight rim with rounded lip and convex divergent upper wall. Disc base with flat underside and divergent lower wall. *Monochrome Glazed Ware*, (18th -) 19th century.

M/K.vi.4 [Me99.K3.8]: Rim and body fragment, little jar. Preserved h. 0.040, pres. width 0.055, wall th. 0.006, rim diam. 0.160. Fig. M/K.vi.4

Hard, medium coarse, pale pinkish-orange fabric (M 2.5 YR 7/4); a few fine mica, many lime and many sand inclusions, a few pores. Rough/biscuit break.

Wash on the outside. Thick and shiny light brown-orange glaze (PMS 153 C) on the inside and just below rim on the outside. Straight rim with rounded lip and straight divergent upper wall. *Monochrome Glazed Ware*, 19th (- 20th) century.

M/K.vi.5 [Me99.K4.2]: Rim, handle and body fragment, night pot (?). Preserved h. 0.057, pres. width 0.085, wall th. 0.006, rim diam. 0.180. Fig. M/K.vi.5

Fairly hard, fine, yellowish-red fabric (M 5 YR 5/6); a few fine lime inclusions, a few pores. Smooth break. Pinkish slip and pale yellow glaze (PMS 127 C) on the inside and just below rim on the outside. Glaze becoming brown (PMS 154 C) on clay after firing, below rim on the outside. Broad everted rim and straight upper wall. *Monochrome Glazed Ware*, 19th (- 20th) century.

Unglazed Domestic Wares

M/K.vii.1 [Me99.K2.2]: Rim and neck fragment, jar. Preserved h. 0.038, pres. width 0.080, wall th. 0.005, rim diam. 0.100. Fig. M/K.vii.1

Fairly hard, medium fine, fabric of pale reddish-brown (M 7.5 YR 6/4) surface and gray (M 5 YR 5/1) core; a few mica, some lime and many sand inclusions, some pores. Rough/granular break. Thickened straight rim and straight convergent upper neck. 14th - 16th centuries.

M/K.vii.2 [Me99.K2.1]: Rim and body fragment, cooking pot. Preserved h. 0.054, pres. width 0.056, wall th. 0.006, rim diam. 0.160. Fig. M/K.vii.2

Fairly hard, medium fine, fabric of reddish-brown (M 2.5 YR 4/6) surface and dark gray core (M 5 YR 4/1); many fine mica, a few lime and sand inclusions, a few pores. Rough/conchoidal break. Traces of burning on rim. Everted rim and straight divergent upper wall. 17th - 19th centuries.

9. Post-Roman Ceramics in a Social Context: Diet and Dining

9.1 INTRODUCTION

Food and food-ways, cooking, eating, dining fashions and manners at the table constitute an immensely important field in the study of domestic material culture in general. Research into the functional use of pottery in Medieval and Post-Medieval Europe has always focussed on cooking, eating and drinking practices. This is still a new area of research in Greece and the Eastern Mediterranean, with the exception of recent historical and archaeological advances in the study of cooking and serving utensils, recipes and dining habits (Koder 1992, Reindl-Kiel 1995; Dalby 1996; 2003; Joyner 1997; Papanikola-Bakirtzis 1998; 2002; 2005; Vroom 2003; Parani 2010; Vionis *et al.* 2010). The fifth volume of the monumental work of the Greek Byzantinist Phaidon Koukoules (1952, 9-205) remains the most valuable source of textual and historical references on food preferences, cooking and eating practices in the Byzantine Empire.

This chapter focuses on information provided by historical sources and pictorial evidence in order to reconstruct diet and dining through time. Comparisons are made between the Cyclades and other parts of the Aegean (and Europe), while the historical work of Koukoules (1952) on Byzantine sources, Western travellers' accounts of food and diet, and pictorial evidence from travellers' drawings and religious art comprise the basis of the analysis below. The ultimate aim is to view food and food-ways primarily on a *local level*, within the boundaries of the Cyclades and the Aegean. This is very important since there is a satisfactory volume of textual data referring to the Cyclades, as well as a surprising number of church icons from the islands (mainly of the Ottoman period) that were painted by local artists. This pictorial evidence, especially, should provide more direct hints on dining fashions and domestic life in the rural provinces that can afterwards be compared to parallel evidence from large urban centres, where religious art is certainly more plentiful and of higher quality.

9.2 ETHNOGRAPHY, FOOD AVAILABILITY AND CHURCH-RULES

Three of the most important factors that determined diet and food consumption in the case of the Medieval, Post-Medieval and Early Modern Aegean islands have been both internal and external. Local production has been a very important aspect that shaped diet on a daily basis, while trade contacts and relations with neighbouring Mainland regions equally contributed to food availability and choices. It seems, however, that religion and long-lived traditions of the Greek-Orthodox Church played the dominant role in food selection and preference for the indigenous peasant population from the Medieval era to the last century. The same could be argued for the Catholic minority of the *kastra* population, but limited access to data concerning this elite group does not allow us draw more secure conclusions. It would be fair enough to argue, though, that the rich nutritive value of green and pulse vegetables must have been widely known amongst Medieval societies, both in Catholic Western Europe and the Orthodox Aegean, playing an important role in daily diet for both Christian communities, especially during fasting seasons. Indeed, there was always a strong religious identity amongst island populations. More specifically, Greek-Orthodox populations kept church traditions and rules with great devotion, following directions for and prohibitions of food choices, especially during the long meat-fasting periods before Christmas and Easter. Comparative research by Dembinska (1985) on food consumption between some Western and Eastern monasteries in the 4th-12th centuries confirms the above argument, as her study probably echoes diet and food practices

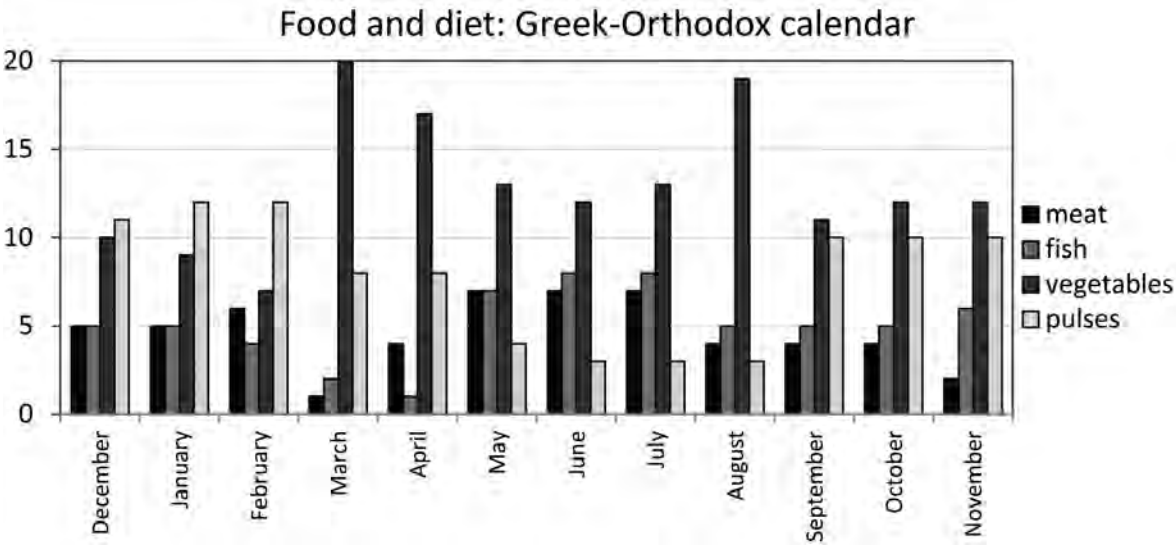
between Catholic and Orthodox civilians in general. Dembinska (1985, 450-4) concludes that although the basic foodstuffs mentioned in the rules of Medieval monasteries were almost identical between Byzantium and the West, the daily ration *per capita* in Western monasteries was higher than in the East, possibly due to more severe and ascetic rules in Byzantine monasteries.

Beginning with the local factors, I should stress that subsistence agricultural production of grains, wine and olive oil throughout the periods under examination has been the primary occupation of populations, even though thin soil and dry climatic conditions made life harsher on most of the Cycladic islands. Choice for cultivation of these specific products was in most cases directed by economic and political factors. The loss of the grain- and oil-producing territories once belonging to the Byzantine Empire during the 7th-10th centuries, such as Egypt, Syria and Palestine (but also Crete and Cyprus for some time) must have changed the agricultural landscape of the Aegean (Anagnostakis and Papamastorakis 2003). Meanwhile, continuous warfare and piracy in the Aegean Sea at the same time did not benefit trade and product-exchange and threatened economic activities in the region from the Early Byzantine to the Early Modern periods. The Cretan War (1645-1669) between Venice and the Ottoman Empire, for example, had in some cases disastrous results on local island economies, such as the burning of olive-trees in the Cyclades by Venetian army forces (Tournefort 1718). The Ottoman economic pattern directed grain production for the purposes of tax-collection and the feeding of the Ottoman army, certainly a production beyond subsistence in order to meet tax obligations.

Local climatic conditions from island to island and region to region played an equally important role in economy, agricultural practices and diet. Long-term climate must have not changed dramatically in most Aegean regions for the last 3000 years (Rackham 1990, 29-30; Brumfield 2002, 41), with dry summers characterised by strong Northern winds, *i.e.* the *meltemia*, and mild winters of low rainfall, typical of this part of the Mediterranean. Areas exposed to strong winds, for instance, such as the coastal plains of Paros are disastrous for olive cultivation, in contrast to the olive-rich upland valleys of neighbouring Naxos (Kasdagli 1999, 17). It is noteworthy, however, that rainfall must have been higher in earlier periods and this is partly explained by continuous deforestation at least on the largest Cycladic islands. Bad harvests at cases may be explained also on climatic grounds. The 17th century, a period known as the 'Little Ice Age' must have had negative consequences on agricultural production and living standards. Although the degree of disastrous effects on the Cyclades is not exactly known, it is assumed that it was a colder and wetter period with torrential rains, snow and frost. Snow and cold conditions can prove disastrous among livestock, as reported for 1659 Andros (Kasdagli 1999, 18). Meanwhile, frost can easily kill vegetable gardens, while heavy rainfall can damage trees and vines. In some cases, though, rain might have benefited a few crops, such as the olive-trees of Crete (Rackham and Moody 1996).

On the basis of early foreign travellers' accounts and translated *tahrir defters* referring to the Cyclades, we could assume that agricultural production did not change very much during the period from the 14th to the late 19th century. With the exception of 'foreign' products from the New World that were established in Aegean food-ways during the 19th century (*e.g.* tomatoes and potatoes), diet was more or less confined to the consumption of bread, very little meat, olive oil and many vegetables and pulses (Psilakis and Psilaki 2001).

Peasant cuisine must have differed greatly from the rich and more refined elements of urban aristocratic or middle-class cooking traditions. Comparative research in food and diet in Medieval England and France (Mennell 1985) has also shown that peasant diet was predominantly based on cereals and vegetables, while the secular and ecclesiastical upper classes consumed more meat. Apart from climatic conditions and local productivity, Greek-Orthodox traditions in diet (Graph 9.1) and everyday life in the countryside, played the most vital role in food consumption, which must have been altered little during the periods of Venetian and Ottoman domination in the region. Beginning with December, the period before Christmas was a fasting time (40 days, starting from the 15th November), ending on the 25th with the consumption of pork and many meat proteins during the festive days between Christmas and the



Graph 9.1 Graph showing types of food consumed throughout the year according to the fasting rules of the Greek-Orthodox Church (A. Vionis)

New Year. The stories of many travellers about the filthy conditions in many Aegean island-towns, with pigs and chickens living among humans in the narrow alleys of fortified settlements must have been very realistic, since pigs were traditionally household-bred and slaughtered for this special occasion at Christmas.

Diet during the winter (Graph 9.1) was largely based on the consumption of pulses (*e.g.* chickpeas, fava-beans, kidney-beans and lentils) with raw onion and seasonal salads (*e.g.* cabbage, carrots and boiled *chorta* or green herbs) at least twice a week. Meat was generally consumed (depending on availability and the economic standards of a family) apart from feast days (Christmas, Carnival season in February, and Easter) once a week or even less. The consumption of garden vegetables rose at spring-time, while the consumption of pulses dropped as weather became warmer towards May. The season before Easter, lasting for 50 days, was another period of strict fasting, with the prohibition of meat, fish, eggs and dairy products. The consumption of pulses dropped dramatically during the hot summer months, while there seems to have been a wider consumption of meat (eaten on Sundays and on many other occasions, such as the numerous Saint-Days and local religious festivals), fish, garden vegetables (aubergines, courgettes, cucumbers and peppers) and fruits. Autumn brought more changes along in daily food consumption. Pulses became favourable again, along with seasonal vegetables (*e.g.* cabbage, cauliflower, leek and celery) as the intense and time-consuming agricultural activities kept the majority of the population in the fields (thus cooking evidently tended to be simpler and plain). It is evident that limited food resources and the consumption of more vegetables and pulses (compared to meat) made island diet healthier throughout the ages. Meat was at best circumstances consumed five days in a month, and the use of olive oil instead of animal fat certainly made dishes lighter. Bread remained a staple until today and its consumption was so widespread in the Aegean that even foreign travellers of the Ottoman period refer to it very regularly. The making of bread was a commonplace within the domestic sphere, especially related to the female members of the household.

9.3 DIET AND DINING FASHIONS IN THE BYZANTINE AND FRANKISH AEGEAN

9.3.1 Diet and Cooking Practices: Textual Sources

The best source in which a wealth of information about Byzantine textual evidence is to be found remains the work of Koukoules (1952). Although it has been argued that the sources Koukoules uses to strengthen his arguments for continuity in Greek cul-

ture or for a certain aspect of Byzantine daily life are usually 'far removed from each other in time' (Oikonomides 1990, 205), it is still a valuable work when used with caution. I will attempt to reconstruct what daily diet was like during the era of Byzantine rule in the Aegean, largely based on the textual-historical work of Koukoules (1952), in order to trace continuity and/or change in the period of Venetian domination in the Cyclades. I will first look at available foodstuffs and then turn to the actual Byzantine and Venetian cooking traditions and practices (about which information is still very confined).

After the end of the 7th century and the take-over of Egypt by the Arabs, Thrace became the great grain supplier of the Byzantine Empire. 'Clear' or white bread was reserved for the rich, while bread (with all the nutritious and healthy ingredients) full of bran was a cheaper version for the poor and was indicative of 'extreme poverty' (Koukoules 1952, 14). Although the poor obviously consumed lesser quantities than the rich, they certainly ate healthier. However, they were always complaining and wishing they could eat like the rich. Monks were usually referring to their state of poverty and harsh lifestyle defined by monastic rules by writing that 'rich eat [bread] of fine flour, while we eat [bread] full of bran' (Ptochoprodromos III.317-318, cited in Hesseling and Pernot 1910, 62; Koukoules 1952, 21). Bread could be preserved for a long time, either in the form of dried bread called *apaximadin*, or stored in a cool and dry place, a form of cupboard, which the Byzantines called *arcla* (Koukoules 1952, 29-30).

The Byzantines ate a variety of vegetables, mainly during the long Christmas and Easter fasting seasons. They ate mallow (hollyhock), spinach, asparagus, cabbage, cauliflower, turnips, artichokes, cucumbers, carrots, zucchini, eggplant, and most often, onions and garlic (Zambelios 1857, 548; Koukoules 1952, 88-96). Onions and garlic, in particular, were probably the most popular vegetables for the Byzantines of all social backgrounds. When Bishop Liutprand of Cremona visited Constantinople in 968-969, Emperor Nicephorus II Phocas (963-969) offered him fat kid stuffed with garlic, onion and leeks (Liutprand, *Embassy* 20; Zambelios 1857, 548; Dalby 2010, 67). The poems of the 12th-century Byzantine poet Theodoros Prodromos, also known as *Ptochoprodromos* (Ptochoprodromos I-IV, Hesseling and Pernot eds 1910), many times cited in Koukoules' work (1952), refer to the variety and luxurious dishes of the 12th century, and noted that vegetables should be avoided during the hot months of the year, especially in August, while the poet did not fail to describe vegetable dishes as 'food of the poor' (Koukoules 1952, 88-9). Indeed, many Byzantine dishes combined different vegetables, or vegetables with pulses and crushed wheat, *e.g.* the so-called *chorteri*, meaning 'vegetable dish', made of wild greens, onions and herbs, or another dish made of spinach and crushed wheat, comparable to the modern Greek dish of *spanakorizo*, made of spinach and rice (Motsias 1998, 81; Vionis *et al.* 2010, 454). While vegetables usually served as accompaniments to meat and fish, they moved to the centre of the menu during the frequent and austere fasting seasons (especially before Christmas and Easter). Monastic diet was particularly harsh during these periods; Theodoros Prodromos observes that the principal constituents of this diet were cereals and pulses, and thin meatless soups, or 'holy soups' (Ptochoprodromos III.290–301, cited in Hesseling and Pernot 1910, 61-2; Vionis *et al.* 2010, 454).

Pulses were also amongst the most common dishes of the Byzantines. Beans were eaten raw as well as boiled, especially by monks during fasting periods. Byzantine diet also included lentils, vetch-peas, chick-peas, peas and lupin beans. Legumes were eaten either boiled or in porridge form, like mashed fava beans (or pea-pudding) in the Cyclades nowadays. The Byzantines favoured beans, lentils and chick-peaks especially, which they boiled or grilled and sold in the streets (Dalby 2003, 133), a practice still very common in provincial towns in Egypt and Turkey. The wide variety and availability of pulses as well as cereals, not only in the Eastern Mediterranean but also in other parts of Europe, made them a cheap source of protein. Braudel (1985, 112-3) informs us that the Venetian documents referred to pulses as *minuti* or minor foods, while it is worth noting that numerous textual sources that place these minor foodstuffs on an equal footing with wheat itself prove that they were considered 'cereals'.

The Byzantines showed special preference to dried grains and fruits, such as walnuts and almonds, chestnuts, pistachio-nuts and pine nuts. Apples were

amongst the most well known fruits for the Byzantines; these were sold 12 cents during the 12th century, but bigger apples were sold triple the normal price (Koukoules 1952, 104). The Byzantines were also fond of pears, cherries, plums, quinces, damascenes, apricots and pomegranates. Theodoros Prodromos explains that baked vegetables, meat, and fish were garnished by various special sauces made from pomegranates (a substitute for lemon juice), giving them a sweet-and-sour taste (Ptochoprodromos III.148, cited in Hesseling and Pernot 1910, 54; Koukoules 1952, 45-6; Motsias 1998, 89-90). Archaeological evidence confirms such textual references: a special ceramic form, the *saltsarion* or chafing dish (9th-12th centuries), was used on the table for keeping such dressings or sauces warm (Vionis *et al.* 2010, 455). The Byzantines referred to these sauces by the Latin term *sapor*, which later became *saveur* in French and *savour* in English (Koukoules 1952, 40). These savouries were seasoned with several herbs and plants *(condimenta),* including a spice of the same family as cumin as well as cinnamon and nutmeg (Vionis *et al.* 2010, 455). The use of all these spices and herbs in what seems to have been a daily cuisine certainly testifies to the wide diversity and sophistication of Byzantine cooking. These 'sophisticated' practices must have been common among wealthy as well as poor households, as identical pottery forms are recovered at both urban and rural contexts by excavation and surface survey. The most well known gravy of the Byzantines is the so-called *garum*, a salty sauce made of fish intestines, mixed with water, wine, oil and vinegar (Koukoules 1952, 40-1).

Literary sources indicate that meat stews were a part of Byzantine cooking prior to the 13th century. Byzantine recipes indicate two main methods for cooking meat: roasting or grilling, and stewing. The early-6th-century doctor Anthimos notes that 'beef can be stewed, or boiled in a pot and served with a sauce' and advises that its 'flavour is better if cooked in earthenware' (Anthimos, *Letter on Diet* 3, cited in Dalby 2003, 174-5). Similarly, 'pigs are very good and suitable stewed, or served in sauce after roasting in an oven' (Anthimos, *Letter on Diet* 10, cited in Dalby 2003, 175). Domestic animals as well as game were quite common in the Byzantine diet: roosters, peacocks, pheasants, pigeons, partridges, quails, ducks and geese were usually eaten roasted or cooked in wine (Koukoules 1952, 52, 68-75). Large quantities of meat were preserved by salting; according to Constantine Porphyrogennetos writing in the 10th century, this 'sun-dried salted meat' was known by the Byzantines as *apokti* (Porphyrogennetos, *On Ceremonies* 464.1, cited in Koukoules 1952, 64; Dalby 2003, 175). Another characteristic example is Theodoros Prodromos' reference to his favourite combination of a thick broth and a dish of boiled salted meat or fish, the so-called *pastomageirian* (Ptochoprodromos II.104, cited in Hesseling and Pernot 1910, 47). Bigger animals, such as deer and wild boars were considered delicacies and were mainly hunted in December and January, as warmer conditions would not have allowed their preservation over a longer period of time. It goes without saying that eating fresh food throughout the Medieval and Post-Medieval periods was a mark of status, thus, Europe's elite consumed large quantities of fresh meat, when others, if they had access to meat, would have had preserved forms (Woolgar, 2007, 169). Vegetables (cabbage or courgettes, onions and garlic) and salads (mainly boiled wild greens) accompanied nearly all casserole meat dishes, while grilled and roasted meat (in clay containers in the oven) was seasoned with honey and salt.

Fish was another popular dish in Byzantine diet, especially in the Aegean coastal and island regions. All kinds of fish were eaten either fresh or salted, either casserole-cooked, fried or grilled (Dalby 2003, 52, 66-7). Bigger fish was usually roasted on a grill. It is difficult, however, to distinguish different cooking practices between poor and rich in Byzantium or Medieval Northwest Europe. It is suggested, though, that grilling, frying or boiling would involve the use of other implements, such as a gridiron, a frying pan, a clay cooking pot or cauldron and tripod-stand or lower trivets (Adamson 2004, 60), possibly not available in every household. Obviously, substantial variations between town and country or between different local environments must have determined food choice and availability to a certain extent, but not completely. Aegean island- and littoral-societies, living near the seashore, naturally tended to consume more fish than those inhabiting on the mountainous interior of Asia Minor in the 12th-13th centuries, where faunal remains show the clear predominance of beef followed by pork amongst the meat consumed

from domestic animals (Vionis *et al.* 2010, 456), or even on islands such as Sicily that relegated seafood to a surprisingly minor place (Freedman 2007, 8).

Considering diet and cooking practices in the Venetian-dominated Cyclades, one should not underestimate the cooking traditions that the Latins brought with them from their countries of origin. It is known through historical research on Medieval Venice that fish and meat cooked in their own juice were particularly favoured, especially during the Late Medieval era (Mosto 1983). This cooking tradition must have also reached Aegean areas under Venetian domination between the 13th and 16th centuries, such as Crete and the Cyclades. Although meat was considered an expensive dish, new Western cooking fashions entered Aegean diet. The main Venetian introduction was smoked pork and sausages, known as *salsitsia* and *salsitsounia*, deriving from the Italian *salsicce* for sausage. Salted and smoked meat, especially pork, became quite widespread throughout the Aegean especially after the arrival of the Venetians. Most of these meat dishes were accompanied by a kind of garlic pâté known as *aliada* in the Aegean and *aillade* in Southern France, a garlic sauce made with walnuts (Adamson 2004, 113). Garlic pâté was quite popular during the Byzantine period, even before the arrival of the Venetians, although the Italian recipe found in 14th-century recipe-books (Psilakis and Psilaki 2001, 51) was far more complex, with a wider variety of ingredients. Thus, it is very possible that meat consumption patterns changed after the 13th century in the Eastern Mediterranean. In the Late Medieval period, Northern Europe had a predominance of cattle over other species, with France and Italy being pig-dominated, while sheep and goats were much more common in the Mediterranean, in areas like Greece, Asia Minor, the Near East, as well as in North Africa (Arthur 2007, 15). According to Woolgar (2007, 169), this pattern is reflected in the collections of recipes; *e.g.* there is little beef but abundant pork and poultry in French recipes. Although it is difficult to assess the culinary impact of the Latin society into the Aegean, one would assume that changes did not occur overnight and that preferences over one dish or the other were confined amongst the Western elite circles.

What seems to have been a pure Venetian cooking introduction in the Aegean region, however, is a type of meat-stew or meat-soup. This dish, known as *sofegada* in Venetian Crete (deriving from the Italian *sofocazione*), was made with meat cooked in its own juice in a sealed cooking pot together with vegetables, such as courgettes, beans and aubergines (Psilakis and Psilaki 2001). Pictorial and archaeological evidence further testifies to the Italians' preference for juicy and meaty dishes (*e.g.* tripe), especially in 16th-century Venice (Fig. 9.1). The same could be argued for Northwest Europe; changes in cooking habits in Britain, for example, occurred in the 16th century with the rise of more liquid dishes, such as stews (Coutts 1996; Vionis 2001b, 94). In France, too, soup seems to have been a staple dish at every meal, at least since the 15th century (Mennell 1985, 48). As Braudel (1985, 193-4) and Mennell (1985, 44-5) have previously noted, from 1350 to 1550, after the terrible effects of the Black Death in most European towns and the countryside, a favourable period arose, with better living conditions, also as far as food and the consumption of meat is concerned. The devastation of the plague meant more pastureland, wider availability of animals, and fewer people across Europe, resulting in a major growth in meat consumption with 'carnivorous Europe' becoming a reality (Woolgar 2007, 173). It is true that textual sources and archaeological evidence for the period between the middle 14th and 15th centuries in the Latin-dominated Aegean territories show a relatively better picture in society and economy, than the previous 13th and early 14th centuries. It is obvious that the decline in population after the catastrophic consequences of the Black Death meant a higher *per capita* income and more available land for agriculture (Laiou 2002, 1161). Although there is no direct evidence for the Late Medieval Cyclades, we assume that a combination of factors (Latin introduction in diet, and an agricultural and commercial prosperity in Venetian-dominated parts of the Aegean, especially Crete and the Cyclades) could have meant more meat for the Cycladic peasant majority, too.

Comparative analysis in 12th-13th-century inland Anatolia (Vionis *et al.* 2010, 455), on the basis of ceramics study, along with textual and iconographic evidence, archaeozoological and palynological analyses, and chemical analysis of cooking-pot residues,

Fig. 9.1 Names of dishes engraved on the bottom of bowls (*tripe*, *salata*, *rosto*), 16th century, Venice (Mosto 1983, 112)

has shown that 'Byzantine' peasant cuisine was not unfamiliar with beef-stews before the Fourth Crusade, and that the Byzantines made use of wet heat for the preparation of meat stews earlier (*i.e.* in the 12th century) than what certain archaeological studies have assumed (Vroom 2003, 329-31). Koder (2007, 59) has also noted that *monokythron*, a type of popular festive hot stew, and the favourite luxury food of Theodoros Prodromos (Ptochoprodromos I.235, II.104, IV.118 cited in Hesseling and Pernot 1910, 36, 47, 78), was not prepared every day and was not reserved for the imperial court and the upper classes either. It is true that there was a certain bias towards the Franks from the Byzantine perspective. It has been noted, for example, that the Byzantines considered the Franks to be unclean and their cooking unhealthy, for they 'mixed their suet and lard with oil' (Lock 1995, 194). The large number of pilgrims visiting Jerusalem in the 12th century purchased food cooked by vendors located on one of the central streets; the food was probably greasy and prepared in unsanitary conditions (Boas 1999, 25; Vionis 2001b, 94). This, however, does not mean that the Latins introduced meat-soups and meat-stews or related juicy dishes for the very first time in the Aegean, but rather, that such dishes became even more popular after the arrival of the Westerners in Mainland Greece and the Aegean islands. Frying, too, was not an unknown cooking method in Byzantium; Theodoros Prodromos explicitly refers to fried fish served with *garum* (Ptochoprodromos III.147-163, cited in Hesseling and Pernot 1910, 54-5). Frying must have become even more popular from the 13th century onwards, as frying pans and related utensils become even more common in post-13th-century ceramic assemblages in the Aegean and Cyprus (Fig. 9.2), and looked quite similar throughout Europe at that time (Adamson 2004, 61). Although in Northwest Europe baking, roasting and frying required a greater investment (when compared with boiling), as not all households possessed ovens (restricted to upper-class kitchens), societies in Southern Europe used dry cooking of meat in an oven more often (Woolgar 2007, 184). The distribution of portable bread ovens or *clibani* in Italy (Arthur 2007, 19) and the portable *trapa* in Southern France (Adamson 2004, 113) are sound examples, possibly representing a culturally-specific form of baking.

The contamination of Venetian cooking with native Eastern and Byzantine cooking traditions meant that

Fig. 9.2 A glazed frying pan, early 13th century. Bay of Naoussa, Paros (A. Vionis)

spices and flavourings were widely accepted and used. These spices were used not only to disguise the taste of food, which might have started to go off, but also to preserve it. Venice itself, which was particularly experienced in the production and sale of salt, attempted to gain a European monopoly in the exchange of spices, while 'oriental' flavours consequently crept into the cooking of both Venice and other parts of Italy by this time (Mosto 1983; Psilakis and Psilaki 2001). Among the spices that were sold and used were saffron, cinnamon, nutmeg, cloves, sugar and pepper. Thus, there was a borrowing and changeover between East and West of cooking recipes and ideas, flavourings and ingredients.

There is only very little evidence about food and cooking practices in the accounts of foreign travellers during the Late Medieval period. In the final period of Venetian occupation in Crete and the Cyclades (15th-16th centuries), a few Latin travellers in the Aegean provide information only about 'cosmopolitan' places, such as Chios, Rhodes and Crete. The Italian priest Pietro Casola (Porro 1855; Korre-Zographou 2003, 11), who travelled in the Aegean in the late 15th century, mentions that Crete exported good wine and produced cheese preserved in barrels with salted water (Jacoby 1999, 50-1). The French traveller Pierre Belon (1553) has noted the importance of dried bread, olive oil, flour, honey, onions, garlic and salt (to last for a month on board) amongst island populations engaged in travelling and piracy (Simopoulos 1999a, 391). Finally, Thevet (1575) noted the preference of Cretans for salted fish that was imported from other parts of the Aegean and Asia Minor.

9.3.2 Dining and Byzantine Influences: Pictorial and Textual Evidence

It is not an easy task to attribute a definite term (*i.e.* 'Western' or 'Eastern') to the dining habits of Aegean populations during the Byzantine and Frankish eras. In the paragraphs above, I have tried to sketch what food types were mostly common or available in Byzantium and Latin territories through an overview of related information provided in texts, and what cooking practices might tell us about indigenous continuity or external influences. Dining fashions are more evidently reconstructed through the study of religious icons. This has already been attempted through a review of pictorial evidence available, mainly in Byzantine and Latin urban centres in Mainland Greece (Vroom 2003, 303-34). Pictorial evidence for dining in the Cyclades is indeed very confined. A few published religious icons from the islands, however, are not enough to draw secure conclusions or at least confirm the general view about dining fashions in other parts of Greece. For this reason, an attempt is made here to discuss some of the pictorial evidence available and the scanty written sources about dining fashions in Byzantium and the Latin-dominated areas in the Aegean.

According to textual references, the upper class in Byzantium, and most possibly in the Aegean Latin dukedoms, used to take three meals a day, *i.e.* breakfast or *progevma*, lunch or *gevma* and supper or *deipnon* (Ptochoprodromos III.54, IV.58, cited in Hesseling and Pernot 1910, 50, 75; Eustathiou Thessalonikis, *Parekvolai*, 1432.6, cited in Koukoules 1952, 138). Theodore Prodromos (Ptochoprodromos IV.49-53, cited in Hesseling and Pernot 1910, 75) informs us that breakfast was composed of tripe, cheese, bread and wine, or pieces of bread soaked in wine, the so-called *boukkakraton*, but according to Koder (2005, 17; 2007, 62), the poet clearly exaggerated, since it is unlikely that the average Byzantine ate such a calorie-rich breakfast or any breakfast at all. The midday meal was the main meal of the day, and it included

three courses. Gravies and additional sauces very often accompanied vegetables, fish- and meat-dishes, providing an extra flavour to daily food, especially when a meal consisted of roasted meat or grilled fish and vegetables, *i.e.* non-casserole dry food. The highly appreciated meat and its prestigious consumption was included in elite meals frequently; appetisers were served first, while a second course followed with fish (served with various sauces, especially *garum*), or some baked meat-dish (game, pork or poultry); a third course was to follow with desert or fruits (Talbot Rice 1980, 225). Michael Psellos (*Michaelis Pselli poemata*, 15.1-5, cited in Westerink 1992; Koder 2005, 18; 2007, 67) informs us that dinner should be light and confined to small quantities, especially when it comes to the consumption of vegetables and pulses. Wine was also served at meal times, mainly wine from Chios, Samos, Crete and Ganos, always mixed with warm water (Ptochoprodromos III.156, III.285, cited in Hesseling and Pernot 1910, 55, 60).

There are textual references to the procedures undertaken before every meal in a wealthy household. Theodoros Prodromos (Ptochoprodromos IV.64, cited in Hesseling and Pernot 1910, 76) mentions that the Byzantines always meticulously washed their hands before they dined, 'for they ate using their fingers' (Koukoules 1952, 170; Oikonomides 1990, 212). Archaeological evidence from 13th-century Thessaly (Larissa and Tyrnavos) suggests that washing hands was done by using two ceramic utensils, a bowl or *chernivo* (for holding it under one's hands while washing them), and a necked container/jug or *epichytis* (where water came out of). This hands-washing equipment, already in use in the imperial palace in the 10th century, was called *chernivoxeston* (Koukoules 1952, 184; Gourgiotis 1991, 81; Mundel Mango 2007, 137) or *sitlolekanon* (Porphyrogennetos, *On Ceremonies* 468.1, cited in Koukoules 1952, 184). Licking fingers clean during dinner was certainly not a sign of good manners, so this habit of washing hands before and after the meal, or in-between courses, was also practiced in noble households of contemporary Northwest Europe, with the use of an *ewery* or basin and a water jug (Black 1993, 116; Adamson 2004, 160).

Although formal Byzantine dinners were still referred to as *symposia* (Eustathiou Thessalonikis, *Parekvolai*, 1420.56, cited in Koukoules 1952, 169), the use of couches and reclining by the table had gone out of use since the Middle Byzantine period in most Byzantine territories (Eustathiou Thessalonikis, *Parekvolai*, 598.4, cited in Koukoules 1952, 168; Ptochoprodromos IV.168, cited in Hesseling and Pernot 1910, 80; Vroom 2003, 332). The use of high tables laid with a white tablecloth, napkins, chairs and stools became common in wealthier households (Fig. 9.3). A comparative review of published Middle and Late Byzantine icons seems to suggest that the Byzantine oval-shaped or round high table was replaced at a later stage, possibly during the Frankish period by the long narrow table. Koukoules (1952, 141), on the basis of Eustathios' views on 'equality' in Byzantium (Eustathiou Thessalonikis, *Parekvolai*, 1401.44, cited in Koukoules 1952, 141), has argued that the shape of the rounded table served practical needs, since every diner could be seated at equal distances from each other and from the centre of the table, picking their own share from a centrally placed communal dish where food was served. The use of the long narrow table that appears in Late Byzantine iconography survived (on the basis of pictorial evidence) into the Ottoman and Early Modern periods amongst elite-groups in places with strong Western influences (*e.g.* Crete and the Cyclades), where individual place settings pushed out of use the functionality of the 'Byzantine' round table.

Oikonomides (1990, 212-3) has illustrated through his study of 11th-15th-century wills that movable furniture, such as tables and chairs, were almost absent, even in wealthy households. This was probably related with the life-style of the average civilian during the period throughout Europe. Tables and chairs must have been used in elite households, although average houses were simply using the *triklinos* or 'three-couch room' for sleeping, receiving guests, as well as dining (Oikonomides 1990, 213). Thus, built tables and benches (along the three sides of a room) could have served as a substitute to a wooden table in an average household. Oikonomides (1990, 212) has also suggested that the fact that Theodoros Prodromos (Ptochoprodromos I.241, cited in Hesseling and Pernot 1910, 36) describes how a table had to be set up before a meal, obviously suggests that it had been previously folded and put away. The same has been argued for castles and manor houses in Medieval

Fig. 9.3 The Hospitality of Abraham, icon, late 14th century (J. Makris, Benaki Museum, Athens)

Europe, where interior space was limited and dining tables were rarely permanent (Black 1993, 112-9). Dining tables usually consisted of trestles and boards (put away after the end of the meal) and diners sat on benches (only special guests were provided with an individual chair in the middle of the high table), while all effort was invested on the white linen tablecloth and napkins, as illustrated in Western Medieval manuscripts (Adamson 2004, 156), or as narrated by Prodromos (Ptochoprodromos IV.247, cited in Hesseling and Pernot 1910, 82).

Textual sources refer to, and religious art usually depicts, a variety of vessels on the dinner table of the Middle and Late Byzantine/Frankish periods. The representation of and references to tableware of various types and materials, such as clay, wooden, silver or golden flat open dishes for serving food, small clay or silver deeper bowls for watery dishes, glass and silver jugs for the wine, are intensified during the Late Byzantine/Frankish era (Koukoules 1952, 146-65; Parani 2003, 255). Vroom (2003, 321) has observed that the representation of a greater variety of vessel shapes and forms on the table during the Late Medieval period possibly indicates that different dishes and food types were shared between smaller groups of three or four people at the table. I would argue that this is only partly true, since one has to bear in mind that domestic utensils, especially glazed tableware, became the norm in Late Byzantine domestic contexts. This was the period when production became intensified, technology improved and failed products decreased in numbers, thus, the price of earthenware became substantially cheaper, making it available to all social groups from the 13th century onwards. Therefore, the depiction of a larger number of vessels on the Late Byzantine dining table should be seen more as a reflection of conspicuous consumption, especially within an elite context, and always in relation with contemporary artistic trends, which show a clear tendency towards the depiction of luxury and variety in general, *e.g.* in elaborate furniture, expensive clothing, exaggerated architectural ornamentation, variety of foodstuffs. A more 'realistic' representation of the number and type of tableware should be sought in visual imagery of the succeeding Post-Medieval period, with the rise of capitalism and subsequently the rise of the middle class. A representative visual example of my argumentation is the 'Heavenly Ladder' wall painting (Fig. 9.4) from the Katholikon of Vatopedi Monastery, dated to 1312 (Maguire 2005, 142-3), where the

Fig. 9.4 The Heavenly Ladder, wall painting, 1312. Katholikon of Vatopedi Monastery (Maguire 2005, 143, fig. 13)

luxury of the banquet of Byzantines, Tatars and Varangians is beyond expectation, as indicated by the silver dinnerware (or blue-and-white ceramic wares), where the abundance of food is served, the glass goblets and decanters for the wine, the number of knives at the table, the exaggerated gestures of the diners, the existence of attendants and the three-dimensional architectural background. It is clear that the intention of the artist was not the representation of a new dining habit or a new table setting (*e.g.* the sharing of food between smaller groups or the detailed representation of certain tableware forms), but the depiction of an elevated lifestyle and the use of expensive material goods in a world that lead-glazed tableware was no more a significant sign of wealth and prosperity. Another important point that needs to be born in mind is that the Middle Byzantine iconographic pattern of a large communal dish or bowl in the middle of the table, with two earthenware cups or chalices on either side, is repeated during most of the succeeding Late Byzantine period throughout the Byzantine Empire, when the central large bowl is paired with two smaller bowls on either side. To my view, this clearly illustrates that the representation of three open vessels on Last Supper scenes had become a standard form in the artistic vocabulary of the period rather than a real representation of sharing food between smaller groups of people.

Byzantine sources cited in Koukoules (1952, 146-65) refer to different table vessel-types, some of them made of clay or wood (common amongst peasant populations), and some others made of silver or gold (although common only amongst members of the imperial family and possibly very wealthy landowners). Apart from chafing-dishes or *saltsaria*, other forms such as ceramic cooking pots or *chytrai* and *tsoukai* and copper vessels or *chalkomata* were also amongst the kitchenware and tableware commonly listed in Byzantine will documents (Oikonomides 1990, 211). According to Late Byzantine textual sources (Ptochoprodromos III.156, III.166, III.314, III.412b, IV.70, IV.200-201, cited in Hesseling and Pernot 1910, 55, 62, 69, 76, 81), serving equipment included also big serving plates or *gavathia*, round deep bowls or *skoutellia*, as well as flat plates or *pinakia*, other bowls of various sizes or *missi*, and clay mugs or *mouchroutia* for drinking wine; clay pitchers or jugs for keeping liquids cool, the so-called *misouria* and *koutrouvia* were also commonly found in an average Late Byzantine/Frankish household.

A late-12th-century fresco from the chapel of Panagia at the Monastery of St. John the Theologian on the island of Patmos (Fig. 9.5) is of particular interest, since the whole religious/artistic composition belongs to a transitional phase, a period with strong Byzantine traditions and a touch of Western influences. The wall painting depicts the Hospitality of Abraham, with the Holy Trinity dining on a high round table, eating from a centrally placed pedestal dish on wooden trenchers in front of each figure. According to Acheimastou-Potamianou (1997, 143-5), it is possible that the decoration of the chapel was connected to Holy Leontios, abbot of the Monastery and later Patriarch of Jerusalem during 1176-1183, who, unable to exercise his duties in the Holy Land (which was occupied by the Crusaders) remained in Constantinople. This connection between Crusader Jerusalem, Byzantine Constantinople and the Monastery on Patmos, is certainly reflected on the Hospitality of Abraham, executed in the late 12th century, a few decades before the conquest of Constantinople and most of the Aegean islands by the Latins. This fresco is a fine example of table manners and the use of

Fig. 9.5 The Hospitality of Abraham, wall painting, late 12th century. Chapel of Panagia, Monastery of St. John the Theologian, Patmos (Acheimastou-Potamianou 1997, 185, fig. 99)

table utensils. The 'Byzantine' round table is still in use, the figures are seated on wooden stools or wooden benches. The diners eat out of a central dish, although the vessel-form with a raised base echoes either metal prototypes or possibly a ceramic import from Italy, which became very common in the Aegean a few years later. Wooden trenchers (or even round bread-slices) are used instead of individual plates (a practice quite common at least until the end of the Frankish era), while the lack of forks and the presence of three knives is noteworthy.

Previous studies of illustrations in Medieval manuscripts from Northwest Europe have shown that the table setting for each diner consisted of a napkin, a spoon and a trencher, while knives were not supplied for all diners (except for the host and probably some of his distinguished guests); in some cases (*e.g.* in Medieval Italy), it would appear that the knife was shared by two people (Henisch 1976, 177-8; Adamson 2004, 159). Likewise, in the large corpus of Middle and Late Byzantine/Frankish religious frescoes depicting dining scenes, Christ is usually the only figure (along with other important guests) with a knife in front of him, an indication that the knives were possibly provided by the host and that the guests were expected to share (Parani 2010, 155). As I have mentioned above, food in Byzantium was eaten from a central bowl with the fingers, after they had been washed with water (Koukoules 1952, 170-1; Oikonomides 1990, 212; Gourgiotis 1991, 81). The presence of large pointed knives in the Byzantine visual imagery suggests that they were used to cut, lift and prong food. As in Northwest Europe (Adamson 2004, 169), a knife was used to cut meat, in particular, into bite-sized pieces, and then either picked by hand or lifted to the mouth with the knife, as also narrated by Theodoros Prodromos (Ptochoprodromos IV.186-187, cited in Hesseling and Pernot 1910, 81).

Spoons, provided by the host, were made of wood or silver and must have been confined to eating soups and broths or accompanying sauces or gravies, as also noted in Late Medieval Northwest Europe (Adamson 2004, 158-9, 169). Spoons are the only cutlery listed in Byzantine inventories of the 12th, 14th and 15th centuries, while they seem to have been confined to monasteries and hospitals for hygienic purposes (Oikonomides 1990, 212). Wealthy households in Constantinople and elsewhere, though, were equipped with spoons, along with dishes and glasses, as noted by Theodoros Prodromos (Ptochoprodromos IV.66, cited in Hesseling and Pernot 1910, 76; Koukoules 1952, 149-50). Their presence in the archaeological record, however, is only rare; it is very possible that the average Middle-Late Byzantine household possessed spoons made of wood rather than metal (Davidson 1952, 189; Parani 2010, 151). As Parani (2010, 152-3) has noted, the absence of enough spoons for all the diners in pictorial evidence of the Late Byzantine/Frankish period should indicate that they functioned as serving rather than eating utensils, 'shared by the guests to put a mouthful of the watery food on their bread and then consume it.'

Evidence for the use of forks is very limited in pictorial and textual sources. Oikonomides (1990, 212) notes that no knives and forks are mentioned in the documents that he examined, although they are known to have existed (Koukoules 1952, 148). Excavations at various places in Greece, such as Panakton and Thebes in Boeotia (Gerstel *et al.* 2003, fig. 12; Parani 2010, fig. 11), Corinth (Davidson 1952, Nos. 1377-1383) and Mistra in the Peloponnese (Papanikola-Bakirtzis 2002, Nos. 102a-b and 383) have testified to the existence of knives and forks at least

since the Middle and Late Byzantine/Frankish periods. According to Koukoules (1952, 148), the use of forks was confined amongst the elite households and the Byzantine court. The 11th-century author and Catholic monastic leader Petrus Damianus (Patrologiae Cursus Completus vol. 145, col. 744; Migne 1853) informs us that the Byzantine princess Theodora Doukas, married to the doge of Venice Domenico Selvo, introduced the use of the (two-pronged) fork to Italy, when she refused to eat with her hands like any ordinary mortal, and insisted upon using a golden fork to eat her food, after it had been cut up into little pieces by her eunuchs. It has been suggested that the fork was in general use by the late 14th-century in Italy, due to the great variety of pasta dishes (Redon *et al.* 1998, 13; Adamson 2004, 124-5). In Northwest Europe the individual fork first appears around the 16th century, as the utensil slowly spread from Venice (Braudel 1985, 205-6). A recent reassessment of evidence for the use of cutlery in Byzantium by Parani (2010, 156) has suggested that the earliest pictorial evidence for the use of table forks dates to the 10th century. Textual, pictorial, and archaeological evidence points to the continual use of cutlery on the Byzantine table, especially during the 11th and 12th centuries, but to a much lesser extent in the succeeding Late Byzantine period. Its representation slowly re-emerged the late 14th century (Fig. 9.3), and took off throughout the late 16th-19th centuries (especially in portable icons in the Cyclades), when individual knives and forks became the norm in religious iconography. The apparent decline in the use of cutlery during the 13th-15th centuries may bear some relation to the greater number, wider variety, and different types of ceramic serving vessels in use after the 13th century. Parani (2010, 161) poses the question as to whether this decline in iconographic depictions of cutlery after the 13th century may reflect changes in diet, in particular a rise in the consumption of more liquid foods. I would suggest that it is unlikely that a supposed rise of dishes of liquid or semi-liquid consistency would have had a negative impact on the use of the fork, since the habit of dipping pieces of bread into communal serving dishes to soak up gravies and sauces would require the use of a fork, especially in well-to-do Late Byzantine households.

Explaining the above argument further, it should be noted that as the depiction of forks declined from the 13th century onwards, the depiction of bread, especially in Last Supper scenes, grew further. Individual food potions were moved from the central dish to individual bread rolls (or wooden trenchers) in front of each guest, as was also practised in contemporary Northwest Europe (Mennell 1985, 51). Bread was more than just a foodstuff; older bread was sliced and used as a trencher, a spoon or a towel to wipe the knife clean (Adamson 2004, 168; Woolgar, 2007, 172). The Hospitality of Abraham fresco from the island of Patmos shows individual knives and individual bread rolls (Fig. 9.5), which must have been consumed after they were soaked with the helpings of food transferred (with a knife) from the shared bowl onto them, eliminating the use of forks.

Iconographic evidence suggests that drinking cups or glasses were also communally used at the dining table. Oikonomides (1990, 212) notes that cups are seldom mentioned in Late Byzantine inventories, while drinking glasses appear only in monasteries. It is very possible that wineglasses were an item reserved for the wealthy, although households at the lower end of the social hierarchy must have shared drinking cups of cheaper material (mainly from clay) at the table. It is true that glass was not cheap during the Middle Ages and it was used rarely on dining tables in Northwest Europe, too (Adamson 2004, 161). Lymberopoulou (2007, 225-6) has observed that glass beakers in a variety of shapes and forms are attested in the West (*e.g.* Palermo) as early as the 12th century, while the depiction of glass beakers and glass wine jugs is quite uncommon in Byzantine painting until the late 14th century (Fig. 9.3). The prunted glass beakers depicted on frescoes dated between the late 13th and early 14th century in the church of Panagia Kera (Fig. 9.6) on the Venetian-dominated island of Crete are associated with glass production from contemporary Venice (Lymberopoulou 2007, 226), although their occurrence has also been interpreted as an impact of Western artistic traditions on Aegean works of art (Parani 2005, 169-70).

It is true that much of the textual and pictorial evidence discussed above refers to an elevated life-style, always related to the elite class of Byzantine or Latin

Fig. 9.6 The Last Supper, wall painting, late 13th - early 14th century. Panagia Kera, Kritsa, Crete (Lymberopoulou 2007, 229, fig. 18.1)

landowners and nobles. Certainly, the pictorial evidence mentioned above further confirms Byzantine and other written sources for the use of wooden tables and stools, benches or chairs, embroidered white tablecloths, a variety of tableware in metal or clay, knives, spoons and, in very confined cases, forks. Sometimes, instead of individual plates, diners had round wooden trenchers or bread rolls in front of them, and would share a common drinking cup or glass that goes round the table. This picture shows the luxurious part of the 'dining story'. It would not be obscure to imagine that an average Late Byzantine/Frankish household did not live in the same manner, having only what was necessary, and always made of the cheapest possible materials. As it has been mentioned already, Miller (1908, 687) describes the pleasant experience of an ambassador, who visited Paros and Naxos at the beginning of the 16th century and was received by the local rulers with dances, receptions, and the company of beautiful island princesses. The Cyclades Islands were under the Latin feudal regime until the late 16th century. The feudal lords, being the wealthiest and most powerful men within their communities, found every chance to express their power and luxurious lifestyle with dances and symposia.

9.4 DIET AND DINING FASHIONS IN THE OTTOMAN AND EARLY MODERN CYCLADES

9.4.1 Diet and Cooking Practices: Textual Sources

Textual sources and pictorial evidence concerning food and dining habits during the Post-Medieval period are certainly plentiful. Western travellers' accounts, travellers' drawings and church icons preserve a plethora of evidence about daily life at urban centres and in the Aegean provinces. This has probably led scholars to misinterpretation, putting great emphasis on the meaning of food and dining habits during the Ottoman period. This is true to some extent, although it should be noted that gathering around the table was a family and social practice of special meaning throughout the ages and amongst different cultures and ethnic groups. Apart from the act of eating and 'stomach-satisfaction', dining was always a means of grouping or gathering, where family members talked about their daily problems and feelings. The multi-cultural and multi-ethnic character of Ottoman society, especially during the period of economic growth in the Cyclades in the late 18th and early 19th centuries, shaped local food-ways and cooking traditions accordingly. There were indeed a wide variety of dishes, depending on regional environmental and climatic conditions, agricultural practices and, of course, social standing. Most of the ingredients used for cooking were locally produced, and were consumed while they were still fresh. These ingredients were always cooked in clay, copper, and possibly also pewter vessels, while the use of herbs and spices increased after the firm establishment of the Ottomans in the region.

The 'trilogy' of bread-wine-olive oil continued to form the basic element of daily diet. Foreign travellers have noted several times the simple practice by island populations (working in the fields) of eating a regular 'fast food' consisting of a slice of bread with olives and some onion. The Cycladic islands were producing grains in large quantities, in most cases over the minimum needed for local consumption. Paros, for example, was a grain-producing island according to the 1670-tahrir *defter*, taxed for the production of grains by 30% of its total agricultural produce. The Cyclades (a group of nine well-populated

islands in this case), paid tax equivalent to 23.3% for the production of all types of grains (mainly wheat and barley). Olive oil was possibly used with greater care, as climatic conditions (the 'Little Ice Age') and continuous ravaging in the Aegean in the late 17th century during the Cretan War between the Venetians and the Ottomans must have had negative effects on olive cultivation. According to the 1670-tahrir *defter*, the overall Cycladic amount paid as tax for the production of olive oil was 2%. This possibly shows a rather low olive cultivation in the Ottoman Cyclades, but we need to take into account the fact that the Cretan War, which ended only in 1669 (a year before the Ottoman survey in the provinces for the 1670-tahrir) had many negative effects on the islands. We know through textual evidence (Tournefort 1718) that the Venetian army forces burned all the olive groves of Paros during the later years of the Cretan War. Since animal fat was not particularly known in the Aegean region, the use of olive oil in cooking and as seasoning was a significant source of energy and calories.

Similarly, wine was another important source of calories and it was widely consumed in the Aegean region, along with bread, olives and olive oil. It is worth noting that, according to the 1670-tahrir *defter*, wine constituted 52% of the total Cycladic agricultural production. Santorini, Chios and Crete were amongst the most well known producing places of good wine during the Late Byzantine/Frankish and Ottoman periods. According to the Greek scholars Philippides and Konstantas (1791), vine cultivation was well developed and effective in Thrace, Epirus, Pelion, Adrianople, Lemnos, Thasos, Skiathos, Skopelos, Crete, and the Cycladic islands of Andros, Tinos, Mykonos, Amorgos, Paros, Naxos and Santorini. Wine was amongst the products stored in quantities in the basements of both wealthy and peasant houses, used throughout the year at the table and for healing purposes. In contrast to other Aegean regions, where wine storage-conditions were a little primitive, the quality of Cycladic wine was kept for a rather long time, as it was stored in large clay vessels or *pithoi* that were internally applied with a thick layer of bee-wax (Fig. 9.7). According to the Levantine Catholic priest della Rocca (1790), this method prevented wine from turning bitter or loosing its dark red colour.

Fig. 9.7 Large storage vessels. Folklore Museum of Apeiranthos, Naxos (A. Vionis)

Since wheat and barley constituted 23.3% of the total taxed agricultural production in the Cyclades in the late 17th century, we could easily assume that wheat and bread were the most basic elements of diet. Pure white bread was again consumed by the wealthy classes, while peasants could only afford bread of mixed grains; fine white flour was usually reserved for making the *prosforon* or 'offering'. That was a small round loaf taken to the Sunday mass as a 'holy gift', cut and distributed by the priest amongst all people present in church after the end of the service. The Ottoman Porte's economic policy aimed for total control over the price and trade-activities of merchants for grain. After all, it seems that the main concern of the Ottoman State was the provisioning of its military forces with grain supplies, and as a result grain export was generally forbidden. After all, it was mainly through illegal export of grains (in the 17th century) that the Cyclades did relatively better compared to other Ottoman-dominated regions in Greece; the Ottomans' tolerant administration and granting of privileges to Cycladic island-communities contributed to all this. The Cycladic dried bread or *paximadi* (a type of biscuit or cracker) was the most common form of bread that remained edible over long periods of time. It was particularly widespread on the islands of Santorini and Crete, and was made of wheat and barley. It was also consumed in neighbouring regions; it was called *bashmat* or *baqsimat* in Arabic, *besqemad* in Turkish and *pasimata*

in the Venetian dialect. The existence of a large number of mills on the Cycladic islands (many of them dating back to the Ottoman period) indicates the dominant role of bread and wheat-products in daily diet. Cappadocia was one of the greatest Anatolian grain-producing areas of the Ottoman Empire; bread, crushed wheat, pasta, pitas, and flour-soups were apparently the most popular dishes of that region. Crushed wheat or *bulgur* was also cooked in the Aegean region, mainly as a substitute to rice, accompanying vegetable and fish- or meat-dishes (Korre-Zographou 2003).

Meat was not particularly favoured in the Cyclades, being consumed only on Sundays (in households that could afford it) and local religious festivals. Foreign travellers inform us that game (*e.g.* hares, wild pigeons, partridges and pheasants) was preferred by the islanders, who considered it a delicacy. Tournefort (1718) mentions that the people of Naxos 'ate well', and that hares and partridges were extremely cheap. He even goes further, informing us that they catch their partridges in wooden traps, or by means of an ass, under the belly of which a peasant hides himself and slowly drives the birds into the nets. Pork, beef and lamb were either casserole-cooked or spit-roasted; Ottoman cuisine must have influenced most provinces during the Post-Medieval period, especially with the cooking of lamb and the various spices used with it (*e.g. döner kebab*, *sis kebab* and *köfte*). Fresh fish continued to be a relatively common dish amongst the lower classes living on islands and Aegean coastal regions, as well as all types of salted fish.

Milk and dairy products, poultry and eggs were also very common in the diet of all social classes. The soft white cheeses (or *myzithra*) of the Cycladic islands (especially Naxos) and the hard yellow cheese of Crete were particularly favoured all over the Aegean, and travellers usually praised the taste of Cretan and Cycladic cheeses in their accounts. Bellon (1553) gives a detailed account of the production of cheese on the island of Crete, additionally noting that boats of all nations anchored in Crete in order to get cheese supplies. Vegetables and pulses, on the other hand, kept their special ranking in Post-Medieval peasant diet, being cooked either in the casserole (*i.e.* more like a vegetable soup) or in the oven with olive oil. Spices and herbs were equally important in everyday cooking; their use most likely increased during the Ottoman period, as new and more spicy-hot recipes made their appearance in the Ottoman palace, influencing local cuisine.

Cooking traditions and recipes of the Ottoman provinces are mainly found in the accounts of foreign travellers. Some of them are very detailed, giving emphasis to the different methods of cooking and the rich variety of ingredients that were used mainly in towns and urban centres. It is evident in texts of the period that there was an exchange between local cooking fashions and 'elite' Ottoman cooking novelties, reinforcing a long discussion (especially between modern Greek and Turkish scholars) on the 'ethnic identity' of particular food-types, such as *moussaka*, *pastourma* and *trachana* (Hill and Bryer 1995). The synopsis of nutrition, different dishes and cooking methods that is presented below, relies on information given in the accounts of foreign travellers in the Aegean from the 17th to the early 19th centuries. I will attempt to summarise some primary dietary information related to the Cyclades and the littoral Aegean, mainly on the basis of the travellers' reviews and abstracts, some of which are also cited in Simopoulos (1999a, 1999b) and Korre-Zographou (2003).

The basic elements of a healthy meal amongst island populations were described as early as 1610 by the English Sandys (Williams 1673), who noted that the sponge divers of Lesbos fed themselves with *paximadi* or dried bread, olives, onions and garlic. A similar comment about the diet of the people of Santorini was made by the French Richard (1657), who mentions the common practice of eating dried barley bread by all generations. He adds that some people ate it after it had been soaked in water, and that most of their meals were accompanied by this type of bread. Richard (1657) also refers to meat, saying that only wealthier people ate it more frequently. Large quantities of meat were preserved after it had been cut into small pieces, salted and dried in the sun for eight days; they cooked (boiled or roasted) this kind of dried meat throughout the year. White meat could be another dish as barley production on the islands was enough to breed large quantities of chickens. The French traveller also noted that fishing was very common on the islands and that fish and seafood was a favourable

dish. A lot of travellers make references to game and hunting on the islands; The French Thévenot (1687) informs us that in the woods and hills of Andros there were wild fowls, hares and partridges, but the islanders also preferred goat meat. He argues the same about Santorini, where they ate wild fowl, eggs, salted meats, dried barley bread, though, dishes with beans and peas were more frequent. Tournefort (1718) a few decades later also noted the cheap value of game on Naxos. Even in neighbouring regions outside the Cyclades, dietary habits were not very different in the 17th century. The French Giraud (Collignon 1913), who visited Aegina around 1670, mentions that the islanders ate meat only on Sundays, while they particularly favoured barley bread and vegetables. Giraud (Collignon 1913) also argues that the people of Athens did not eat much meat either. They consumed a lot of *bulgur* (*i.e.* crushed wheat), salted fish, olives and cheese.

The 18th century saw a dramatic increase in travellers visiting parts of the Ottoman Empire and the Aegean. Most of them devoted large parts of their accounts to the description of daily life, island costumes, and food. Sonnini (1801), who visited most of the Cyclades around 1777, mentions that *calamari* or squid stuffed with minced meat was amongst the most delicious dishes of the Aegean, although there were islands, such as Kimolos and Santorini, where the consumption of dried bread was particularly favoured. Della Rocca (1790) noted the homemade food products on the island of Syros, such as bread of the best quality in the Aegean, and dried fruits. The English doctor and traveller Griffiths (1805), who visited the Aegean around 1785, was impressed by the dinner and hospitality offered to him by a local governor on a little island in the Dardanelles. Griffiths (1805) mentions that he was offered sixteen different dishes with rice, chicken, fish, lamb and salads. He also noted that they used wooden forks for eating from a large communal tray (placed upon a low wooden or metal base), as there were no individual plates. This dining fashion, as it will be explored below, echoes 'oriental' or 'Eastern' traditions. The Cyclades were not very familiar with this practice of dining on a low table sitting on the ground, but only occasionally in remote areas and very poor households of the Early Modern Cyclades. Textual evidence from Mainland Greece, however, presents examples of a rather 'oriental' style in dining. The English travellers Clarke (1812/16) and Dodwell (1819), who visited central Greece at the beginning of the 19th century, made similar notes when they were invited to dinner by local distinguished people in their visits to Levadia (Boeotia) and Krissa (Phokis). They both mention that dinner was served on a large copper tray placed on top of a low wooden stool, while diners were sitting on pillows around it. Food consisted of boiled meat (chicken and beef) and rice, while a single communal cup was circulating around diners for drinking. Coffee was always served after dinner.

Simplicity in food selection and preparation in the Cyclades continued well into the early 19th century. The Levantine doctor Zallony (1809) describes baby food in Tinos, while a young person's daily menu was comprised of barley bread with salted cheese or bread with a layer of animal fat and honey for breakfast, baked pork or vegetables for lunch, and salted fish with cheese for dinner. The French ambassador Pouqueville (1821) was amazed by strict Greek-Orthodox rules on fasting during Lent. He notes that peasants consumed onions baked in the oven, or boiled pulses seasoned with some olive oil, while wealthier people prepared more complicated fasting-dishes, such as snails with garlic, or octopus, squid and other seafood. More meat seems to have been consumed in Mainland Greece, mainly lamb and goat. The English traveller Williams (1820) observed the different dishes and table manners of his hosts, the Logothetis family in Levadia, where he was offered a variety of dishes with lamp cooked in different ways, and served with rice, pastries, eggs, cheese and goat's milk. Here again, the 'oriental' fashion of dining on a low round table and the hands-washing procedure before and after the meal were stressed.

Islam strictly prohibited the consumption of carrion, improperly slaughtered animals, blood, pork and intoxicating drinks by Muslim populations (Miller 2007, 135), but this was certainly not the case for the Christians living within the borders of the Ottoman Empire. There was no restriction against the consumption of pork and alcohol for Christian populations; pork in particular was very popular in the Cyclades, eaten in large quantities especially during the Christmas and Carnival seasons in December and

February. *Pastourma* or dried beef with spices, *yahni* or onions and other vegetables cooked in a sealed casserole, and *moussaka* (a dish with aubergines and minced meat), are just some of the dishes that are considered to be of Ottoman origin. This intense blending of cooking elements in both Greek and Turkish traditional cuisine was the result of a long-term co-existence of peoples from different religious and cultural backgrounds throughout the periods in question. Although some of the terms referring to particular dishes originally derive from Greek, Turkish, Arabic, or Italian, this does not always imply a specific 'ethnic' origin for a food type. Research (Wilkins *et al.* 1995; Dalby 1996) on the history and origin of porridge has shown that *trachana* was a dish made in the Balkans and the Eastern Mediterranean since Antiquity. *Trachana* in Greek or *tarhana* in Turkish is an 'instant soup-like' dish, the basic ingredient of which is coarsely ground wheat mixed to a dough with goat's milk or yoghurt, then left in the sun until as dry as powder (Hill and Bryer 1995, 44-5). The Turkish version of *tarhana*, which was also more widespread in the Ottoman period, consisted of dough balls made from emmer flour, oil and cheese that were afterwards dried in the sun; shepherds mixed those dried dough balls with warm water to make an instant meal when they were in pastures. The common culinary milieu in the Ottoman Empire was in most cases (with the exception of recipes including pork and wine) a subconscious part of everyday life, regardless of the origin of a particular dish. In Northwest Europe, however, Mediterranean preferences lost validity in the 16th-17th centuries. This was the beginning of a period when, according to Albala (2002, 230-1), diet was based on class, occupation and nationality, and preference for native foods became the rule.

New 'exotic' products from the New World made their appearance in the Ottoman Empire (beginning with the capital and gradually spreading to the provinces) during the Post-Medieval period, while they do not appear to have a major impact on European diet before 1650 (Albala 2002, 240). Coffee, tea and tobacco gradually entered Ottoman society and everyday life, beginning with Damascus in the second half of the 16th and early 17th centuries, while English, French and Dutch households adopted these new consumer products by the middle 17th century (Cowan 2007, 217). Even sugar, which was initially used in pharmaceuticals, gradually entered urban Ottoman cuisine from the 17th century onwards (Bozi 2003), enabling the articulation of a new distinction in food taste after the Renaissance, the difference between 'savoury' and 'sweet' (Cowan 2007, 219). However, the use of honey and *petimezi* or boiled grape-must as sweetening substances was quite common until the 19th century. Vegetables imported from the New World entered daily Aegean cuisine after their cultivation was established in this region in the 18th century. Potato reached many parts of Europe since very early (*e.g.* in England before 1650), although it was not highly considered for a number of reasons and at first it was found growing only in European botanical gardens amongst other exotic new vegetables and plants (Albala 2002, 231). Boiled potatoes, however, seem to have constituted a poor family's meal in the 19th century in many parts of Europe (Fig. 9.8). Potatoes entered daily cuisine in Greece (officially introduced by Capodistria) immediately after the Greek War of Independence in the early 19th century. Tomatoes and peppers, too, became widely common in local Greek cuisine in the 19th century, adding new flavours to the many-centuries-old Aegean dietary habits.

Fig. 9.8 The 'Potato Eaters' by Vincent Van Gogh, Nuenen, 1885 (Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam)

It seems that major changes in Aegean and Cycladic cuisine took place in the course of the 19th century, especially in towns and island-ports amongst the members of the continuously rising middle class of marine merchants and traders. After the introduction of the tomato, potato and pepper from the New

World, a new form of diet slowly made its appearance, gradually establishing itself also on the peasant majority towards the late 19th and early 20th centuries. It is worth noting that one of the first cookery books in Early Modern Greece was published in the town of Ermoupolis on Syros in 1828, one of the major Aegean ports at that time. A few years later, a lot of Cycladic families sent their sons and daughters to large urban centres such as Izmir, Istanbul and Athens to become servants and cooks. It is interesting that the first professional cook of Greece, Nikos Tselementes (Fig. 9.9), himself from the island of Siphnos, published his book on food and dessert recipes in the early 20th century (Voutsina 1998, 23).

Fig. 9.9 Portrait of the Siphnos cook Nikos Tselementes. Folklore Museum, Siphnos (A. Vionis)

9.4.2 Dining and Western Influences: Pictorial Evidence

The examination of a rich collection of religious icons painted by local artists in the Cyclades during the Ottoman period is probably the best way to visualise dietary habits, dining fashions and feasts. It goes without saying that this pictorial evidence portrayed contemporary elite lifestyles and elevated living standards, that is, the wealthy families of Western noble background or the Cycladic emerging middle class of traders. Even so, one can very easily distinguish a 'Western' element in dining scenes; special dining room, high table and chairs, individual or just more dishes on the table, glass, metal or glazed ceramic wine jugs and wineglasses (Vionis 2001c, 66-73; Vroom 2003, 349-52). Here follows a review of some representative pictorial evidence with dining scenes, supplemented by some textual references to eating manners. The ultimate aim is to explain why and how table manners changed from the Late Medieval to the Post-Medieval and Early Modern times.

Beginning this review on dining scenes, it would be interesting to make a comparison with religious pictorial evidence from other regions, which might also present a strong connection with Italy and a pronounced 'Western' influence, such as Crete and the Ionian Islands. A 16th-century icon from the island of Crete, depicting the Last Supper, and painted by Michael Damascenos (Fig. 9.10), is a fine example of the golden age in Cretan art. Damascenos and

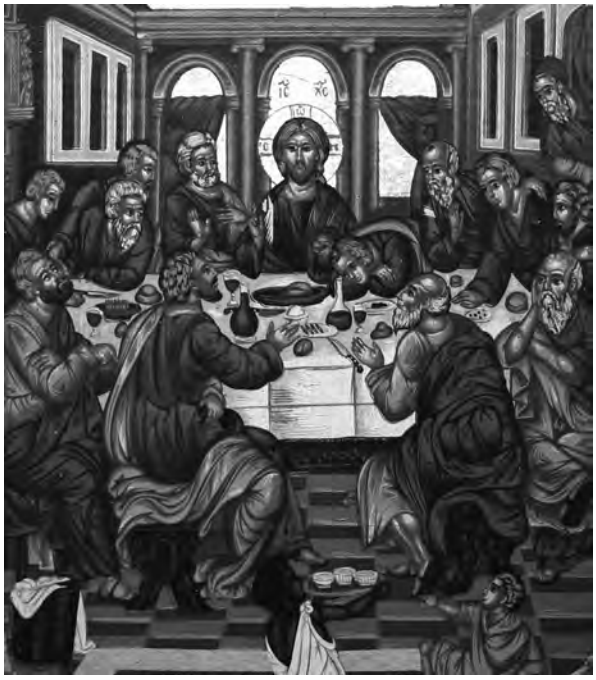


Fig. 9.10 The Last Supper, icon. Copy of the 16th-century original Cretan icon painted by Michael Damascenos (A. Vionis)

Fig. 9.11 The Hospitality of Abraham, icon, 18th century, Zante (Benaki Museum, Athens)

many other painters of his age returned to Crete from Venice in the 16th century and many of them created works of art, which reveal influences from the Italian Renaissance and Mannerism. This icon clearly exhibits many Italian influences, although one cannot exclude the fact that the depicted setting itself could reflect Damascenos' contemporary lifestyles and elite material culture. Christ and His disciples are dining on a long or square high table laid with a white tablecloth, seated on carved Renaissance stools. Two or three servants are attending them, and the table exhibits a number of irregularly placed dishes with food, as it seems it was customary until the late 17th century to serve many different kinds of dishes simultaneously (Cowan 2007, 205). Knives are also present on the dining table. All of the dishes seem to have a glossy appearance, which means that they might be Italian imports (some of them are probably *Maiolica Wares* with painted decoration on a white ground). The presence of two glass wine jugs, as well as wineglasses is noteworthy. Glasses and glass wine jugs began to appear more frequently in icons from the 16th century onwards, leading us to the assumption that the possession of glass material had a special position within wealthy households. It should also be noted that 'jugs from Venice', 'wine jugs from Bohemia', 'silver cups' and 'wineglasses' are amongst the luxurious items listed in Cycladic dowry documents of the 17th and 18th centuries (Chatzidakis 1927; Aliprantis 2003).

An even more elaborate table setting is presented on an icon dated to the 18th century, depicting the Hospitality of Abraham (Fig. 9.11) from the island of Zante in the Ionian Sea. A carved round table laid with a highly embroidered white tablecloth, carved seats, ceramic and fine transparent glass wine jugs, a (metal) bowl, fine transparent drinking glasses, and individual cutlery (long sharp knives and two-pronged forks) compose this dining setting, while the presence of two candlesticks adds more luxury to it. Cutlery became a standard item at elite tables by the 16th and 17th centuries in Northwest Europe and

Fig. 9.12 The Last Supper, icon, late 17th century. Monastery of St. Minas, Paros (A. Vionis)

Fig. 9.13 The Hospitality of Abraham, icon, 17th century. Church of St. Minas, Kythnos (Kitsou 1999, 837, fig. 10)

Italy, along with the introduction of proper tableware, and it gave the dining table a notion of luxury and strict regulation (Cowan 2007, 207). It is evident that both Crete and Zante had a strong Venetian presence until, at least, the late 17th century. It seems that the upper class on both islands preserved a more 'Western' lifestyle and dining model, as is also attested in the Cyclades.

Pictorial evidence from the Post-Medieval Cyclades suggests an identical dining model to that on Crete and Zante, 'influenced' from the West. It should be made clear that nearly all of the icons decorating Orthodox churches in the Cyclades (as well as those presented below) were painted by local artists. There are, however, icons with strong Italian influences, but again it was local artists that made them, following trends and techniques from the 'Cretan School' of icon painting. The Last Supper depicted on a late 17th-century icon from the Monastery of St. Minas on Paros (Fig. 9.12) is a rather 'provincial' version of the icon from Zante (Fig. 9.11). What is mostly worth noting is the depiction of the dining chamber, a special room with dining arrangements, so that guests can eat privately. The elaborate chandelier hanging above a carved round table, the table candlesticks, stools, armchairs and the green tablecloth laid on the dining table more than testify to the separation of rooms and activities within Post-Medieval Cycladic elite housing.

The same is noted on another 17th-century icon with Western influences from the church of St. Minas on the island of Kythnos (Fig. 9.13). This icon depicts the Hospitality of Abraham, but what is striking is the depiction of individual plates and cutlery. Interestingly, there is one glass goblet with a high stem and a square glass bottle on the table. This pattern is repeated on a slightly later icon of the Hospitality of Abraham, dated to the early 18th century, from the

Fig. 9.14 The Hospitality of Abraham, icon, early 18th century. Church of Timios Stavros, Apollonia, Siphnos (A. Vionis)

Fig. 9.15 The Marriage at Cana, icon, early 18th century. Church of Korfiatissa, Plaka, Melos (A. Vionis)

island of Siphnos (Fig. 9.14). In this icon, drinking glasses, glass or metal wine jugs, forks and knives seem to provide a complete table setting, while Sarah herself is about the serve one of the Angels, holding a transparent glass goblet and a square bottle, identical in shape to those on the icon from Kythnos. The use of cutlery and individual plates seem to have been well-established amongst the Cycladic upper classes by the early 18th century, as suggested by the two previous icons.

On another early 18th-century icon from the island of Melos, depicting the Marriage at Cana (Fig. 9.15), dining seems to be taking place in a special room. The most interesting feature of the dining scene, though, is the use of individual plates placed in front of all guests. Although there are no individual knives (as in the previous icons), here we see the use of a (three-pronged) fork and a knife as a set together by one of the central figures at the head of the table.

The early/middle 18th-century icon of the Last Supper (Fig. 9.16) from the Monastery of St. Ioannis on Paros is probably the best example so far, depicting in great detail the use of individual table settings. Three-pronged forks and pointed knives set next to the individual dish of each diner on a long narrow high table, three centrally placed communal (metal) bowls with pedestal feet, and individual bread buns complete the picture of a well-organised table setting.

The early/middle 18th-century icon depicting the Last Supper (Figs 9.17 and 9.18) from the Monastery of St. Antonios on Paros (at the site of Kephalos) is the finest example of its kind, in that it portrays in the best possible way the great socio-economic and material advancement of the Cycladic 17th/18th-century

Fig. 9.16 The Last Supper, icon (detail), early/middle 18th century. Monastery of St. Ioannis, Marmara, Paros (A. Vionis)

elite. Christ and His disciples are dining on a high table laid with a fine tablecloth, and everyone is seated on carved stools, while the elegance of the embroidered tablecloth and the thick red carpet on the floor (Fig. 9.18) attribute a more luxurious touch to the dining room. The presence of silver and gold (or silver and bronze) bowls with lids, cups and candlesticks, a fine glass wine jug, a footed drinking glass and expensive cutlery clearly indicate the social standing and the strong sense for status and display of the upper class of Latin or Greek noble background. It is also evident that there is a strong influence from the West (Italy in particular), in the late Renaissance painting technique and the luxury of the material elements. The 'Byzantine' element is not absent from the dining table either; white vegetables appear next to cutlery and wineglasses (Fig. 9.17). It has been suggested (Koder 1993, 88; Anagnostakis and Papamastorakis 2003, 297-303) that the white roots so commonly found in dining scenes of the Late Byzantine/Frankish and Ottoman eras must be related to the radish-family of vegetables, used against intoxication during excessive wine-drinking. Ethnographic research in the Cyclades suggests that white roots were also used as a substitute to toothpaste and refreshers for the mouth, as it is said that the islanders used them until the middle 20th century after meals in order to clean their teeth and strengthen their gums.

It seems that pictorial evidence of the succeeding Early Modern period, beginning in the early/middle 19th century, carries messages of the emerging middle class of maritime merchants and traders. Church icons of the 19th century do not usually depict an excessive lifestyle similar to the one that was portrayed in icons of the 18th century. It is known that the construction of many churches in the early and middle 19th century in the Cyclades was sponsored by wealthy traders and ship-owners, an emerging middle class that realised its position and social status and was eager to show off. Icons of the Early Modern period were not as skilfully or artfully painted. Most of them, depicting the Last Supper (Figs 9.19 and 9.20), clearly show the use of cutlery, which was by that time a necessity in every middle-class household, as it is also attested in dowry documents of the 18th and 19th centuries. Spoons, three- and four-pronged forks (Fig. 9.21), knives, wine jugs, individual drinking glasses and dishes became a norm in Cycladic middle class societies of the 19th century, in contrast to the poverty and limited material possessions of the peasant majority.

Textual evidence for dining manners is very confined for the Post-Medieval Cyclades or other Aegean islands. Travellers' accounts provide information mainly on local products and food types (presented above); comparative information with other regions, *e.g.* Mainland Greece or Asia Minor is not always helpful, as table fashions in both areas were more 'Eastern' than on the islands. Dining in special occasions, such as when receiving guests, had a particular significance, while special symbolic 'ceremonies' before, during and after dinner took place. Griffiths (1805) informs us that during his visit on an island in the Dardanelles he dined with a local governor and had a series of (sixteen) different dishes. This dining ritual involved drinking a glass of wine or liqueur between different dishes; after the last drink at

Fig. 9.17 The Last Supper, icon (detail), early/middle 18th century. Monastery of St. Antonios, Marpissa, Paros (A. Vionis)

the end, drinking glasses had to be symbolically smashed by every guest behind their backs. The English doctor Holland (1815) who visited central and Southern Greece at the beginning of the 19th century mentions that in much of the Greek Mainland, dining was a special procedure. Soup seasoned with lemon was served for starter, various lamb-dishes and meat-pastries accompanied by rice and vegetables followed as main course, and fruits, liqueur, Turkish coffee and tobacco smoking as desserts. The hands-washing practice before and after meals was emphasised in the accounts of Holland (1815), Williams (1820), and other contemporary travellers. The strong sense of hospitality and treat amongst the islanders was particularly noted by Western travellers in the Aegean. The French poet Lebrun (1828) mentions that no matter how many times a day a guest, a friend or a relative entered a house on the island of Hydra, the owners always immediately offered sweets, water and coffee to drink, and tobacco to smoke.

9.5 ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE: POTTERY AND DINING IN THE CYCLADES

9.5.1 Ceramic Imports in the Cyclades

The late 14th, 15th and early 16th centuries in the Venetian-dominated Aegean islands experienced the emergence of a new era, what could be termed as *Pax Venetiana*, a period of recovery and relative prosperity, also attested in the material culture record. As it has been noted earlier, the defended settlements and the concentration of populations within them, always seen within wider historical consequences in

Fig. 9.18 The Last Supper, icon (detail), early/middle 18th century. Monastery of St. Antonios, Marpissa, Paros (A. Vionis)

Fig. 9.20 The Last Supper, icon (detail), late 19th century. Monastery of St. Georgios at Langada, Paros (A. Vionis)

the Mediterranean and regional shifts in the Aegean, do not seem to reflect a period of greater threat, instability and insecurity. Most of these defended settlements were built in accessible land and close to the

Fig. 9.19 The Last Supper, icon, late 18th - early 19th century. Church of Koimissis Theotokou, Marmara, Paros (A. Vionis)

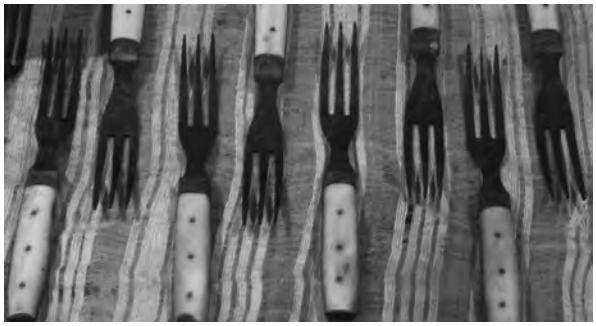


Fig. 9.21 Three-pronged forks, 19th century. Folklore Museum, Siphnos (A. Vionis)

coast. The Venetian fleet, frequently present in the Aegean, and the Venetian merchants' involvement in trade at the same time, promoted the establishment of such posts along island-coasts of the Aegean *Archipelago*.

Although demographic and economic growth in cities and within regions under direct Byzantine control seems to have lasted until the middle 14th century, regions under Venetian control seem to have benefited under foreign rule from the middle 14th to

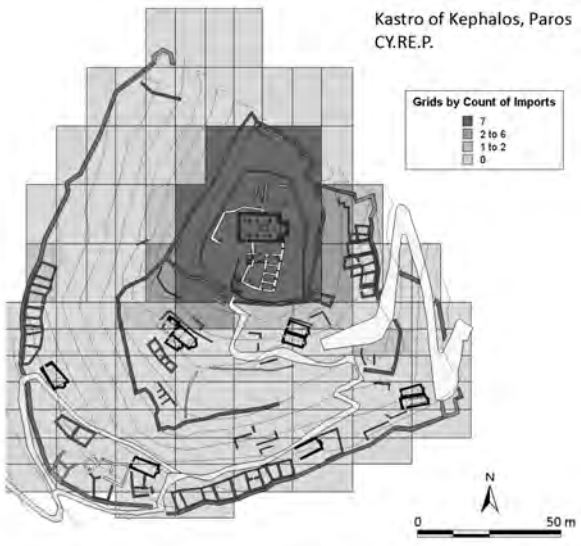


Fig. 9.22 The distribution of imported ceramics (mainly *Italian Maiolica Wares*) at the site of Kephalos, Paros. A large concentration is identified on the hilltop, where the lord's residence was located before the construction of the Monastery of Agios Antonios in 1580

the 16th centuries. Different social groups, however, had different experiences; the period of relative prosperity we argued for above, was certainly a period of affluence for the Late Medieval upper class, the imported-Venetian landlords, a class very small in size, compared to the base of society, the class of *villani*, the peasantry.

Pottery, however, is a good indicator of changing technologies and lifestyles (Blake 1980, 3, 5). The colourful *Sgraffito* lead-glazed wares, a common find in the assemblage from Kephalos on Paros probably indicates the greater availability of decorated ceramics for the lower classes, whose tastes and lifestyles might have changed after the arrival of the Franks. Later, the class of *villani* was given the opportunity to pass from serfdom to people who enjoyed free status, possibly as a result of agricultural prosperity by the end of the 15th century. Consequently, island-peasantry probably found itself better off, and so tried to imitate their 'betters' by acquiring ceramics resembling the high-quality imported wares of the same period (*e.g. Maiolica* and *Polychrome Sgraffito Wares* from Italy). The imported feudal aristocracy, however, seems to have stuck to imports from their homeland. For these reasons we find that considerable numbers of tin-glazed *Maiolica Wares* also appear in the archaeological record and were imported during the late 15th and 16th centuries (Fig. 9.22). Whether these potsherds represent discards of Latin aristocratic households (MacKay 1996) introducing a Western lifestyle to the Aegean lands and influencing the local pottery industry (Vroom 1998a, 526), is a matter of debate between pottery specialists. It is most possible that the annexation of the area by Venetian merchants, acting as middlemen between the Italian pottery-industry and the Aegean customer-communities, made the Aegean a hinterland of Italian-dominated markets. Imported high-quality goods began to appear in the 15th and 16th centuries, changing the material culture record and introducing new lifestyles.

9.5.2 Changing Pottery Shapes and Dining Habits

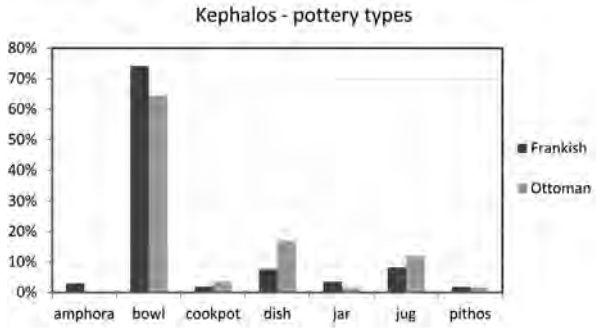
The study of changing pottery shapes might tell us more about changes in food preparation, food preferences and dining habits. It is evident from the presentation of decorative pottery styles and shapes that there was a sharp change or rather shift to a greater variety of vessel shapes and decorative motifs and techniques from the 11th century onwards. Major changes in Medieval and Post-Medieval ceramic forms are to be traced chronologically in the middle 13th and 15th-16th centuries, periods of general political, economic and cultural shifts throughout the Aegean. However, the study of pottery shapes is not an easy task, as it is evident that different pottery styles do not have exclusively standard shapes; what most of ceramic decorative styles do have in common is that they are more easily recognised and more precisely dated.

During the later period of the Middle Byzantine era, in the 11th and 12th centuries, chafing dishes, large open dishes, large hemispherical bowls and jugs are the commonest pottery types. The two last centuries of the Middle Byzantine period in general are characterised by large open pottery-forms. Most of the chafing dishes belong to the category of 'Monochrome' or 'Plain Glazed' Wares and they do not occur outside 11th-12th-century contexts. The large (open) shallow dish with low ring-base, collar and flanged rims possibly reflects an imitation of contemporary

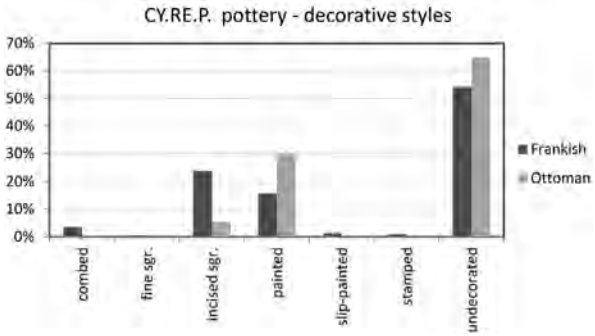
chafing dishes. Plates are more numerous in the archaeological context, while their commonest types are those with flat bottom and upright walls and those with flaring walls and rounded or out-turned rims. Bowls are less common; the commonest form, though, is the deep-bodied bowl with slightly flaring rim, the hemispherical one with flat-topped rim, the carinated, and the rounded bowl with low ring-base. Studies on the history of food and cooking in Medieval Northwest Europe and the British Isles have been related to archaeological finds and contemporary depictions of domestic life and have concluded that large, deep bowls for meat and fish were used communally by all diners sitting around the table. Each diner used a knife and probably a spoon, together with hard bread, instead of individual plates. Similar conclusions have been drawn for the typical strong survival of glazed ring-base fragments discovered during the course of field-walking surface collection at Medieval sites in Greece (Vionis 2001b, 94-5; Vroom 2003, 229-39). Large communal bowls and dishes of open forms on the table probably encouraged the need for interior and highly visible ornament.

Late Byzantine/Frankish ceramic typology of the 13th-14th centuries differs to that of the Middle Byzantine era. Although decorated open forms (bowls far greater in numbers than dishes) remained the commonest pottery types of the period of Frankish/Venetian domination, their shapes changed towards higher ring-bases and deeper forms. The 13th-14th-century bowl (also referred to as 'cup' in archaeological reports) with upright rims, carinated or flaring body and medium-sized or high ring-base became particularly common all over Mainland Greece, the Aegean islands and Cyprus. The hemispherical appearance of bowls of all sizes and forms was one of their most distinctive features. Ring-bases in particular, became higher towards the final years of the Late Byzantine period, with a more stylistic and elegant appearance on their exterior, which leads most scholars to believe this to be a Frankish attempt at copying metal prototypes. The so-called 'pedestal' bowls and dishes might indeed have copied more expensive metal-wares (Papanikola-Bakirtzis 1996). Thus, changes during the 13th-14th (- 15th) centuries are identified in terms of height and depth; Late Medieval tableware became smaller in dimensions, getting at the same time higher and deeper. Dishes continued to exist but in far reduced quantities. Notably, the average diameter of 13th-14th-century vessels is approximately 17-20 cm, while 11th-12th-century dishes reached an average diameter of 24-30 cm (Vroom 2003, 232-3).

It has already been suggested that changes in pottery decorative styles and forms at the beginning of the 13th century could also imply that eating habits must have changed after the arrival of the Latins in the Aegean. As we have noted earlier, the *Monochrome Sgraffito* shallow bowls and dishes of the Middle Byzantine period went out of use in the 13th century, while more colourful fine-wares with new decoration techniques took their place. This is also noted in the case of the Cyclades, where there was a higher percentage of deep bowls and a variety of decorative styles not only in the Frankish, but also during the Ottoman period (Graphs 9.2 and 9.3). It has been argued (Vroom 2003, 329-31) that this fashion of deep bowls and goblets with high foot-ring bases implies that food preparation in Greece during the Frankish period showed a trend towards more watery dishes cooked in their own juices, as in Northwest Europe, but recent research (Vionis *et al.* 2010, 460) has shown that Byzantines made use of wet heat for the preparation of meat stews at least since the 12th century. However, this change of tableware shapes could also be the reflection of increased use of metal utensils, but in either case this is still an unresolved issue that needs more research in both the textual and archaeological records.



Graph 9.2 Graph showing the presence of different pottery types at the site of Kephalos, Paros



Graph 9.3 Graph showing the presence of ceramic decoration techniques from sites in the Cyclades, surveyed by CY.RE.P.

Research on food and eating habits in Medieval Britain (Black 1993) has shown that group eating from a central bowl by diners sitting around the table was a common practice until the 15th-16th century. By the end of the 15th century bowls became deeper, while contemporary depictions suggest a shift towards individual plates. As already noted above, changes in cooking habits (food cooked in its own juice rather than over the fire or on spits etc.) resulted in the creation of deeper bowls and dishes in 16th-century Britain after the rise of more liquid dishes, such as stews (Coutts 1996; Vionis 2001b, 94; Vroom 2003, 329). As it has already been stressed above, it is not necessary that the Latins introduced juicy dishes for the very first time in the Aegean, but rather, that such dishes became even more popular after the arrival of the Westerners in Mainland Greece and the Aegean islands.

It would be obvious that metal (*i.e.* silver and copper) utensils were commonly used in the Byzantine palace and that glazed wares were initially confined to palace consumption (such as the Constantinopolitan *White Wares* of the 8th-10th centuries). It seems, however, that the sumptuous use of gold and silver plates at the Byzantine palace during the final decades of the Middle Byzantine period was substituted for by earthenware. The Byzantine historiographer Nicephoros Gregoras (1290-1360) testifies to the drastic change in appearance of the imperial table after the fall of the Latin Empire in the second half of the 13th century (*Byzantinae historiae*, libri XV, 11, CSHB III, 1830, 788, cited in Piltz 1996, 6). On the other hand, examples from the 13th century onwards show mass production of better quality glazed wares (probably as a substitute for metal vessels), which in their turn could indicate the wider distribution of this new (and by now relatively cheaper) class of pottery to all classes of the social hierarchy. One would assume that the display of Medieval table-settings was an important factor of high-status people, thus, the use of silver and gold vessels would be reserved for the imperial palace and elite groups. It seems, however, that the Byzantine economic crisis of the middle/late 13th to middle 14th century had negative effects on the emperor's table as well. It goes without saying, that as in much of Europe in the Late Middle Ages, dishes containing vegetables, salads, fruits and pulses were seen as a 'lower-class' element, while the Latin feudal lords avoided salads and vegetables and apparently consumed more meat and fried food.

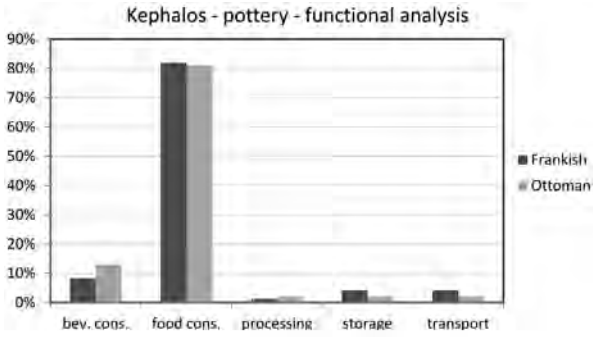
There is not sufficient evidence to support the argument for the rise of 'individualism' in the Aegean provinces during the Late Medieval period. The exception of Crete and the Ionian Islands, spheres of very strong Italian influence, is noteworthy. Both pictorial and archaeological evidence does not imply that small bowls replaced the large communal dish of the preceding periods. This happened in Greece only in the 19th century among wealthier households, although much of Europe and neighbouring Italy saw a steady shift to individual plates in the 15th-16th centuries with the rise of capitalism (Johnson 1996). Pictorial evidence in contemporary Northwest Europe and religious icons in the Aegean nonetheless seem to suggest that even better-off individuals and lords used their fingers at dinner and in some cases knives in order to chop meat if this was needed.

It is also essential to note that new and different trends in material culture of the Ottoman period introduced alterations in eating and drinking habits. The highly expensive Iznik tiles served their function as decorative fittings on walls of palaces and mosques (Carswell 1998). The introduction of the Kütahya coffee cup and its social meaning for the elite on the one hand, and the lower classes trying to imitate the elite's manners on the other, can be considered together with the introduction of the new beverage into the Ottoman Empire (Vroom 1996). The intro-

duction of the Kütahya lemon-squeezer (Carswell 1976) and its association with the Ottoman elite's drinking habits is another example, together with the clay tobacco pipes and the introduction of tobacco in the Ottoman Empire at the beginning of the 17th century.

Past and on-going excavations at urban centres, such as Corinth in the Peloponnese and Saraçhane in Istanbul have confirmed the growing occurrence of glazed ceramics after the wider adoption of glazing in the 11th century throughout the Eastern Mediterranean. It is worth re-citing that glazed pottery in the Corinth assemblage (by weight) accounts for 0.7% in the 10th and 11th centuries, 2% in the early 12th, 6% in the middle 12th, and 20% in the middle 13th century (Sanders 2003, 394). Similarly, the proportion (by sherd count) of unglazed transport-amphorae (which accounted for some 85% until at least the 8th century) in Saraçhane dropped to some 50% of total finds in the latest deposits of the Middle Byzantine period (Hayes 1992). The same growing pattern continues in Late Byzantine levels, reaching its peak during the Ottoman period, when glaze is also commonly found on kitchen and storage vessels, such as the interior of cooking pots and storage jars (Vionis 2006a, 793).

The ceramic assemblages from Kephalos on Paros and Kastro and Zephyria on Melos have produced similar results, with a relatively rich variety of highly decorated glazed wares, including Italian and Anatolian fine-ware imports, such as *Maiolica* and *Polychrome Sgraffito Wares* from Italy, or *Iznik Ware* from Anatolia. As it has been noted already, according to the Ottoman tax registers for most of the Cyclades in the late 17th century, island communities seem to have been well off, producing agricultural commodities beyond subsistence. This probably explains the fact that more than 80% of Post-Medieval potsherds collected from Kephalos is glazed tableware, used for food and beverage consumption (Graph 9.4). The preference for large flanged dishes with flat out-turned rims, usually decorated with notches on the lip, is possibly indicative of cooking habits and eating manners of the period. It has been suggested (Vroom 2003, 349-50) that during the Ottoman period, in areas under strong Ottoman influence, an 'Eastern' dining fashion was adopted, with a large communal dish centrally placed on a low round table, while diners sat around it and ate with their fingers or dipped their spoon in it. The shape of table-wares further stresses the shift towards more watery dishes, containing a lot of liquid like soup or porridge. Pictorial evidence in the form of church frescoes and religious icons, travellers' illustrations and Ottoman miniatures with dining scenes, provide good parallels for the study of food and dining fashions in Mainland Greece and Anatolia (Vroom 1998a; 2003; Vionis 2001b; 2006a).



Graph 9.4 Functional analysis of Late Medieval and Post-Medieval pottery from Kephalos, Paros

Pictorial evidence from the Cyclades or other places in the Aegean and Ionian Seas where Western or Venetian influence was longer-lived and more direct, presents a rather different picture. Icons and frescoes depicting the Last Supper, the Marriage at Cana or the Hospitality of Abraham always show diners around an elaborately laid high table, with an embroidered white tablecloth, cutlery, elegant metal and glass vessels, seated on plain or carved wooden stools. It would not be an exaggeration to suggest that such pictures depict the local aristocracy, which, Latin or Greek in origin, preferred to follow Western dining fashions. Pottery, however, is always a good indicator of changing technologies and lifestyles. The locally produced colourful lead-glazed wares, so common in the Cycladic Post-Medieval assemblages, probably indicate the greater availability of decorated ceramics for the lower classes. Their tastes and lifestyles must have changed after the firm establishment of Ottoman control in Greece and the indirect impact of a proto-capitalist farming regime on their daily lives.

9.6 SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This review of dietary habits and dining fashions has attempted to pull together three strings of data, the textual references, the pictorial evidence and the archaeological record, in order to provide an interpretation on the basis of socio-economic developments, and cultural phenomena and influences from East and West. It seems that the trilogy of bread-wine-olive oil, supplemented by vegetables, and at a lesser extent by fish and meat, provided the dietary basis of populations living in the Aegean coasts and islands throughout the Middle Byzantine, Late Byzantine/Frankish, Ottoman and Early Modern periods.

Religious icons depicting the Last Supper, the Marriage at Cana or the Hospitality of Abraham provide a window into changing household behaviour; people did no longer dine reclining on couches in the 'Late Antique model', but around a high table seated on wooden benches or stools in the 'Byzantine fashion'. Table settings suggest that the Middle Byzantine communal large dish or bowl was placed at the centre and all guests ate from it using their fingers, at least until the 13th century. Pictorial evidence from the final years of the Frankish period in the Cyclades and other Venetian-dominated islands usually show a changeover from the large communal dish to a larger number of vessels of deeper form and smaller proportions. The higher ring bases of these earthenware bowls and dishes possibly indicate an attempt to copy metal prototypes in gold and silver. During the 12th century, pictorial evidence from the islands indicates the wider use of knives on the dining table, possibly in order to chop meat into bite-sized pieces, but also used instead of individual forks. The elite groups of Crete and the Cyclades must have been followed a Western diet, based on meat and watery dishes, such as *salsitsounia*, the *sofegada* and various saucy fish-dishes from Venice.

A larger number of knives, as well as forks, glass wine jugs and drinking glasses started to appear more often on the dining table during the very final years of Venetian domination and throughout the Ottoman period in the Cyclades, as well as in Crete and the Ionian Islands. All of these places had been under strong Italian influence for a long time, while the variety and quantity of icons depicting dining scenes of the 'Western' fashion became more and more common from the late 16th century onwards. Special champers dedicated to dining become more evident in religious iconography through the addition of items of special value; elaborate chandeliers hanging over the dining table, heavy drapery hanging on the background, elegant tablecloths, candlesticks, and a variety of table-settings complete the scenery in dining rooms. Guests in those dining rooms are seated on carved stools or even chairs and armchairs, while individual plates, knives and forks, glass wine jugs and drinking glasses become more than common in icons dated to the early 18th century. It has become clear that the tendency from a communal or semi-communal dining fashion to a more individual one can be traced in Aegean regions with stronger Western influences and contacts since the late 16th century.

The Early Modern period was a time of general economic recovery, as island populations participated in maritime trade and commercial activities outside the Aegean. The result was the emergence of a middle class that re-introduced Western habits in dining to people other than the upper class of noble background. Religious icons of the 19th century show exactly this. Knives, forks, spoons, individual plates and drinking glasses were a commonplace in every middle class household. The so-called *Faience Wares from Syros* display a variety of table-forms, usually decorated with scenes from the Greek past, especially designed to meet the taste and living standards of the Early Modern Cycladic society.

10. Furniture: Archaeological Evidence and Social Meaning

10.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter comprises a review of information about domestic interiors, internal fittings and furniture during the Late Byzantine/Frankish, Ottoman and Early Modern periods. It discusses aspects of internal organisation and the rise of domestic comfort, on the basis of architectural data from the Cyclades and textual information from travellers' accounts and dowry documents. Studies of domestic furniture in the past have been mainly descriptive and folkloristic in character. It was only very recently that archaeologists became more interested in furniture as functional and status symbol artefacts within the domestic sphere, with particular reference to ancient cultures of the Mediterranean and the Middle East (Herrmann 1996). The dividing line, however, between furniture and architecture is by no means clearly marked (Roaf 1996, 21). In the case of the Post-Medieval Cyclades, fixed built structures, such as a hearth, a built-in bed (serving for sleeping as well as for storage beneath it), or a niche (serving as a cupboard instead of a wooden structure), can be considered as furniture. The same practice is also noted in the Islamic world and in traditional Turkish and Persian houses in particular (Braudel 1985; Rogers 1996).

10.2 FURNITURE IN THE MIDDLE AGES

10.2.1 Textual Evidence

Our knowledge of furniture and internal fittings during the Middle Ages in the Aegean, with particular reference to the Byzantine era is very confined. Archaeological evidence is almost non-existent, with the exception of excavated built structures, such as stone benches (used as beds and couches), buried *pithoi* (used for storage), or niches on the walls (used as cupboards). Sometimes Byzantine illuminated manuscripts, religious frescoes and portable icons, depicting tables, chairs, couches, and thrones add to the blurred picture of domestic life. Data-shortage, however, does not allow us have a detailed and realistic picture of daily life in an average Byzantine household. The second volume of the published work of Koukoules (1948) still remains the only textual guide to the domestic furnishings of the imperial palace at Constantinople or other wealthy households in Byzantine urban centres.

As we have seen earlier, the so-called 'courtyard houses' in Middle Byzantine towns were characterised by the arrangement of rooms around an enclosed yard, the focal point of the household with a high degree of privacy. Textual references and pictorial evidence seem to suggest that those were usually (one- or two-storey) houses occupied by a more wealthy class, engaged in commerce and small or large-scale craft specialisation and production. Those houses would have been decorated and furnished with a high degree of luxury, although archaeological evidence does not always confirm this. Household furnishings are often mentioned as *oikoskevi* in Byzantine-dominated areas and *massaria* in Latin-dominated regions (Koukoules 1948, 60-1). Church frescoes, icons and manuscripts of the Middle Byzantine period provide evidence for household furnishings, such as elaborate tile-floors, embroidered pillows and mattresses for sitting or reclining on, colourful curtains, carved tables, stools and chairs. References to the Byzantine imperial palace (Koukoules 1948; Bennett Oates 1981) mention items of even grater value. Gold and ivory tables, other carved furniture, fine tablecloths and embroideries, silver spoons, knives and forks, thrones with painted decoration or applied precious stones, and chests of all sizes are some of them.

Archaeological evidence, however, cannot always confirm the descriptions above. Recent excavations

at urban centres such as Athens, Corinth and Thessaloniki have uncovered built-in benches in some rooms, suggested to have been used for sitting and sleeping purposes (Sigalos 2004, 193-222). On the basis of 11th-15th-century inventories, Oikonomides (1990, 212-4) concludes that apart from wooden chests, very few pieces of furniture are listed (*i.e.* tables, chairs and beds). Instead of beds (only exceptionally mentioned), sleeping equipment is very commonly listed as a household item; rugs, curtains, mattresses, blankets and pillows were associated with bedding and the sleeping area of the house. Moreover, Oikonomides (1990, 210, 213) explains the lack of furniture as a means of lifestyles, where in the so-called *triklinion* or three-benched multifunctional room, the benches built along three of the room's walls were used as couches for sitting, beds for sleeping, tables and chairs for dining. The author also mentions that 11th- and 12th-century texts often refer to high mattresses made of wood or built with stones. Similar built structures are preserved in the Cyclades of the Frankish and Ottoman periods.

10.2.2 Archaeological Evidence

The compact nature of Late Medieval *kastra* and the small dimensions of Post-Medieval single-roomed peasant housing did not allow much choice or enough interior space for investing in large pieces of expensive mobile furniture. The arrangement of domestic space, especially in Late Medieval housing, relied entirely on built, fixed structures that functioned as furniture and defined domestic use. Ground floors (in two-storey houses) were reserved, as we have seen in previous chapters, for stabling and storage in large clay containers (Fig. 10.1) or even in built structures, also used as cisterns. In the living quarters of the upper floor (in two-storey houses) the hearth seems to have been a part of the built domestic space since the beginning of the 15th century, as is evidenced in the case of the fortified settlements on Antiparos, Paros and Kimolos (Fig. 10.2). Always used for cooking, the hearth or fireplace is described by Northwest European and Greek scholars as the sacred place of the household, the place where cooking and eating took place (Charisis 1986). A charcoal brazier was used to heat up houses in the winter months (Braudel 1985; Wace and Dawkins 1915).

Fig. 10.1 The ground floor of a house on Tinos, used for storage (Charitonidou 1988b, 288, fig. 18)

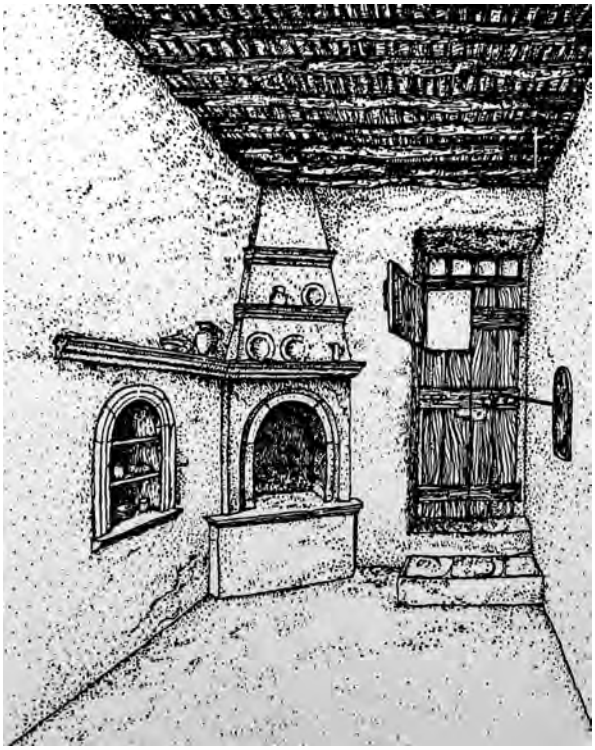


Fig. 10.2 Hearth and niche in an early Post-Medieval house in the *kastro* of Kimolos. Reconstruction of its interior (Hoepfner and Schmidt 1978, 57, fig. 39)

Niches or *ermaria* and *thyrides* found in nearly every Late Medieval house within *kastra* were used as wardrobes and cupboards (Fig. 10.2). A curtain was usual-

ly put in front of these structures in order to hide the space behind it. Niches continued in use throughout the Post-Medieval and Early Modern period in rural houses, although a wooden door replaced the curtain, creating a built-in space for foodstuffs and precious belongings (Fig. 10.3). The existence of built fittings is also confirmed by textual sources cited by Koukoules (1948, 85; 1951, 295) in Middle and Late Byzantine houses, often referred to as *toicharmaria* (wall niches) and *pezoulia* (stone-built benches). Comparative archaeological research (Simatou and Christodoulopoulou 1989/90, 71-4; Sigalos 2004, 202-8) on housing in Medieval and Post-Medieval Greece has pointed out that similar internal fittings were identified in the excavated houses at Geraki (in the Peloponnese), where niches were also possibly used as cupboards, wardrobes, little shrines and hearths. Bedding in Late Medieval housing was in most cases located towards the back narrow wall of the house, formed by a wooden raised platform, about 1.3 m above the level of the floor. It was about 1.4 m deep, and on it was laid the mattresses, sheets and rugs, which compose the bed linen. Evidence for internal fittings in Mainland Greece is likewise lacking. It has been suggested (Stedman 1996, 189; Sigalos 2004, 62) that the so-called 'long-houses' in central Greece, most probably dating back to the Late Medieval period, provided shelter to both humans and animals and had no mobile furniture. A single long room was used for all kinds of everyday activities during daytime, while sleeping equipment must have been laid on the floor every night for the family to sleep.

Ethnographic research carried out by Wace and Dawkins (1915) on Crete, Karpathos and the Cyclades, has provided parallel evidence of domestic interiors and bedding platforms from the Early Modern era. Such structures in Aegean housing of the 19th and early 20th centuries provide hints for the approximate appearance of similar forms in the Late Medieval period. The space beneath the bed-platform would have been used as a low storeroom or *apokrevato*. Part of this space was also occupied by the children's bed. In front of the boarding of the *apokrevato* was placed a long chest with a smaller one upon it, which together served as steps to climb up into the marital bed (Wace and Dawkins 1915). The fact that much more effort was invested in the construction of the complex wooden or stone structure of the marital bed (instead of furnishing the rest of the house) probably reflects the social meaning of marriage and family life, and the need for privacy. There is almost no evidence to suggest that Late Medieval peasant housing had any additional functional or decorative wooden furniture. The house had no furniture other than a few wooden chests ranged along the walls on either side. Tables were uncommon in peasant single-roomed housing until the 19th century, while chairs and couches existed only in mansions.

Fig. 10.3 A built-in kitchen cupboard in a town-house on Ios (A. Vionis)

10.3 FURNITURE IN THE POST-MEDIEVAL AND EARLY MODERN PERIODS

10.3.1 Textual Evidence

Although living standards seem to differ in Post-Medieval and Early Modern times, and textual as

well as pictorial evidence is more plentiful, it should be noted that the study of Early Modern furniture has so far been confined to the descriptions of Museum pieces. My preliminary survey of internal fittings in the Pre-Modern Cyclades comprises an attempt to provide the social, economic and cultural context of furniture and domestic comfort on a *terra incognita*. More general studies of furniture in Post-Medieval and traditional Aegean households, *e.g.* in Crete and the Dodecanese (Imellos 1987/89; Delivorias 1997), have shown that households of all socio-economic backgrounds acquired simple or complex pieces of furniture designed to serve domestic functions, steadily from the 17th to the middle 19th century. The provision, however, of rural houses with furniture was not always uniform in different places and throughout different historical periods, since there were not always the same needs prevailing. In Crete, for instance, there was no need for the use of much furniture in most of the single-roomed single-storey houses, due to the lack of space and the everyday activities of the population outdoors (Imellos 1987/89).

Better economic conditions during the late 17th and 18th centuries, and especially in the 19th, introduced the need for specialised space within households and mobile furniture that would serve both privacy and comfort. Women in middle class or elite houses were in most cases restricted to the home during daytime, taking care of household tasks, such as cooking, making embroideries or weaving. There are three main types of domestic furniture that made their appearance, serving three different human needs: sleeping, eating and storage. All furniture types, however, differed from region to region, due to geographical, social, economic and other conditions. It should be stressed, though, that wills and marriage contracts of the 17th and 18th centuries list only basic furniture, such as chests, beds, icons and less frequently mirrors.

An early reference to personal commodities is to be found in the account of the French traveller Palerne (1606), who noted that on the island of Crete the quantity and excellent quality of cypress wood permitted the manufacture of little jewellery boxes, exported even to Venice (Simopoulos 1999a, 415; Korre-Zographou 2003, 24). Houses with all their furnishings were given as dowry to the first-born daughter of the family on the islands of Naxos, Paros, Mykonos, Santorini and Siphnos, as noted by the English Hawkins (1820) who travelled in the Aegean in the late 18th century (Simopoulos 1999b, 243-4; Korre-Zographou 2003, 56). On the other hand, there are always comments in traveller's accounts about the lack of furniture in Aegean houses in general. The French scholar Galland (1754) who visited the island of Chios in the first quarter of the 18th century mentions that most peasant houses had very little furniture of primitive manufacture; wooden beams supported by two long tripods usually comprised the bed (Korre-Zographou 2003, 71-2). According to Gallant (1754), some wealthy houses on Chios were equipped with a *sperveri* (embroidered curtains hanging from the 'roof' of the marital bed to the floor), while five-six wooden chairs and armchairs with leather seats, a long walnut-wood table, and three-four carved chests comprised the furnishings of a living-room. Similarly, the French de Forbin (de Forbin 1819), who visited Kimolos in the early 18th century, observed that the houses were equipped only with benches and badly preserved tables.

A comparative lack of furniture has also been noted in houses of Mainland Greece during this period. The English consul Drummond (1754, 103), for instance, described rural houses in Argolis, as 'having only a mattress on the floor, one or two stools and a hand-mill' (Simopoulos 1999b, 260-1). The same is reported by the English traveller Williams (1820, 232-3) describing the houses as 'conical huts made of timber and reeds' within which it would be difficult for one to identify elaborate furniture; the only furnishings were 'some rugs on the floor and some cooking utensils' (Simopoulos 1999c, 449).

In the Cyclades, on the other hand, lack of timber made most beds stone-built, *i.e.* fixed structures of the domestic interior. On Crete (in Malia and Herakleion) stone-built benches or *pezoules* were very common inside houses, as well as outside (built against the exterior walls of the house). On Naxos and Paros there were usually built beds in one of the house-corners, with the space underneath used for storage. Some Aegean islands, especially those in the Sporades, showed particular emphasis to imported decorated ceramics (instead of furniture), with

Fig. 10.4 Bourgeois women on the island of Tinos. Furnished domestic interior with *sofas*, rich curtains and colourful textiles, shelf with serving utensils. Coloured engraving by Choiseul-Gouffier, 1782 (Tselikas 1990, 95, fig. 88)

which they always decorated every little space of their houses' interior walls, as noted by Choiseul-Gouffier (1782, 139-41) for the island of Skyros (Simopoulos 1999b, 377; Korre-Zographou 2003, 82). The Levantine doctor Zallony (1809) provides very detailed information about the furniture and interior arrangement in an average early 19th-century household in the town of Tinos. He describes housing in the town as two-storey, with the ground floor used for storage and as a pigsty. The upper floor (Fig. 10.4) was comprised of a large *sala* or living-room, furnished with a *sofas* (wooden or stone-built bench), walnut-wood table, many chairs, chests (for storing cloths), and religious icons (decorating the walls), while he testified to the presence of 'European-style' beds (Korre-Zographou 2003, 175). Imported household items and furniture were either bought from

Fig. 10.5 Reconstruction of a rural house-interior. Folklore Museum of Apeiranthos, Naxos. Note the small round table or *arodella* and wooden stools (A. Vionis)

Europe or acquired through piracy and illegal trade, as Lebrun (1828) argues for the island of Hydra.

The term for table (*trapeza* or *tavla*) was known even since the Byzantine period (Koukoules 1948, 77). There were also rural regions in later periods, where the use of tables remained unknown. In the village of Apeiranthos, in the interior of Naxos, as well as on other Aegean islands (*e.g.* Samos) during the Post-Medieval and Early Modern periods, people of lesser status also used the *arodela*, a small low round table used for dining (Fig. 10.5). It has been suggested that this type of table served practical needs, since people living in rural areas used to dine on those, placing a big communal bowl at the centre of the table, used by all diners around it (Koukoules 1952, 141; Imellos 1987/89, 115; Vionis 2005, 179). As it has been noted above, one would argue that this habit echoes 'Eastern' fashions, which spread after the Ottoman conquest of the Balkans. It is noteworthy, though, that slouching, sprawling and crossing legs are generally well-regarded in Islam; the Orthodox Church, however, regards them as disrespectful. Small wooden stools must have probably served as seats while dining on those low round tables (Fig. 10.5). Small round tables for dining were common on other islands as well, outside the Cycladic group. In Agia Anna in Euboea, a low round table or *sofras* was also used for eating, while the family sat either on

kareklia (low straw seats) or on woven pillows, made as part of the bride's dowry. This habit of family members dining on the floor imposed the use of the low round table, while its widespread use is apparent throughout regions under strong Ottoman-Muslim influence.

As has been suggested earlier, pictorial evidence, such as church icons or travellers' drawings from areas under direct Venetian influence present a different and rather more 'Western' picture of furniture and dining. People are usually depicted dining around an elaborately laid high table, with an embroidered white tablecloth, cutlery, elegant metal and glass vessels, and seated on carved wooden stools. It would not be an exaggeration to add that pictorial evidence of this kind depicts the local aristocracy, which preferred to stick to Western dining fashions. The abandonment of 'Ottoman' habits and the 'modernisation' of everyday life in island towns and among members of the middle class from the 18th century onwards is signified when individual plates replaced the common bowl at the table, and when the low round table went out of use. Gradually more information on domestic utensils and household furnishings in the Cyclades becomes available not only in travellers' accounts and drawings, but also through the study of dowry documents of the late 17th, 18th and 19th centuries. Dowry documents refer to furniture and domestic utensils by several terms, like *masaria* (from the Italian *massaria*) and *mobilia* (mobile properly) in contrast to *stabile* (immobile, landed property).

The earliest dowry documents from the Cyclades date to the late 16th century and gradually increase in number down to the middle 19th century. Marriage contracts of the 16th- and 17th-century from neighbouring Venetian Crete provide ample opportunities for the examination of household socio-economic aspects, material culture and consumer behaviour in relation to influences from the West (Markaki 1998). Dowry documents very often mention the place of origin for most of the items listed; the male population of the Cyclades got involved in maritime trade and very often travelled to Venice, where most of them acquired domestic items and furniture for their houses. A personal diary of 1670 mentions that a merchant from Andros travelled to Venice in order to sell his silk and bought many household furnishings

Fig. 10.6 Post-Medieval wooden chest with painted decoration from the island of Tinos (A. Vionis)

in return, mainly Venetian gilded mirrors and beds, listed as *letiera* from the French for *let* (Darzenta-Gorgia 2000, 60). Beds (mainly iron beds) are also very often listed as *kariola* from the Italian for *carriola* (Aliprantis 2001).

The most common furniture item to be listed in dowries of the local aristocracy and the rising middle class of merchants was a cypress or walnut chest for storing clothes and valuable items (Fig. 10.6), together with gilded mirrors, Venetian picture frames and small cabinets (Chatzidakis 1927; Aliprantis 2001; 2003; Psarras and Campagnolo 2010; Imellos and Psarras 2011). A dowry document dated August 21st 1609 from Santorini (Darzenta-Gorgia 2000, 86) lists many Venetian table-wares, and *talpadenia* chests for storing cloths (from the Venetian for *talpon* meaning thick wood). There are several terms used to indicate a wooden chest, while most of the terminology derives from Italian or the Venetian dialect. *Kasela* is the commonest term for a chest, deriving from the Venetian *cassella*. *Fortseri* is another term, deriving from the Italian *forziere*, and finally *kanaveta*. All these terms are commonly found in 18th-century documents, which furthermore stress commercial links between the Cyclades, Italy, and Venetian items of luxury. Quantitative analysis of 57 dowry documents from Crete, dating from 1597 to 1613 (Markaki 2000, 90), listing a variety of household items, shows that the majority of those, as well as their value belongs to garments, although household utensils are amongst the most common listed items. Furniture is not very frequently listed in those dowry documents but this is probably an indication of their high

monetary value as most of those were directly imported from Venice. The same is noted for the case of the Cyclades, where I have compared a selection of 30 published dowry documents of the 18th century (mainly from Paros and Melos) that shows a similar pattern; household furniture is rarely mentioned, but always luxurious and imported when listed.

Wooden mobile furniture appears more often in travellers' drawings showing house interiors and scenes of everyday life in the final years of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th century, and it seems that these images depict the trends and fashions of the emerging middle class of the islands. Up until then, peasant housing possessed very little, almost nothing of mobile furnishings, with the exception of probably a few urban households of low socio-economic status from the 16th century onwards, when chests and small imported items and commodities of special value began to appear in marriage contracts. It should be stressed that upper class households must have been equipped with mobile furniture, mainly imported from their countries of origin at least since the 15th century. Most houses in town and the countryside did not get provided with Western mobile furniture before the later part of the 19th century, with a delay of about two hundred years in comparison to the Post-Medieval West. In Europe the 'permanent' physical division between different areas of the house, with the specialised standing furnishing of individual rooms, provided 'dedicated space' for dining or sleeping (Herrmann 1996; Johnson 1996). Thus, the 19th century in the Cyclades was a transitional period from a traditional to a more modern way of life, a period of social and economic changes within the newly founded Greek State. The Greek *bourgeoisie* was then beginning to form its identity and was showing off its acquired items that would testify to its status and social position (Vionis 2005, 180). That was a period of intense trading activities between Aegean communities and Western Europe, when the islanders could afford foreign products that looked expensive but in reality were quite affordable generally. Fast communications (*e.g.* steam-boats, trains), the active involvement of the Cycladic majority to international commerce, and the growth of the port-town of Ermoupolis on Syros as a major trading centre contributed to the fast access of the middle class to Western-style housing and imported household items.

10.3.2 Pictorial Evidence

Pictorial evidence provides further information about Post-Medieval and Early Modern Cycladic household interiors. Frescoes and religious icons, especially those related to the dining room, provide an important volume of data on furniture. Some representative examples of church art and furniture used for dining have already been examined earlier. It would be necessary to examine some examples of travellers' drawings depicting domestic interiors, so as to get an idea of the general appearance of a house interior, other than the dining room itself. I should also emphasise that most travellers' drawings are depicting domestic interiors of a more elevated social status and lifestyle. Foreign travellers were always received by the upper classes of the places they visited, so their information of contemporary life on the islands derived from what they heard by the nobility or what they saw in wealthy households.

A rare depiction of a mansion interior, and a unique piece of furniture at the same time, has been presented by Delivorias (1997). However, it is worth discussing its importance here since it provides special evidence for Cycladic painted wooden furniture, which is argued to have been a quite rare practice in comparison to other Aegean islands. This piece must have been the leaf of a closet door, probably of a large niche or wooden cupboard from a mansion of the late 18th century on the island of Siphnos (Fig. 10.7). This piece of furniture depicts a seated couple (probably a portrait of the owners) 'in an ideal environment full of flowers and with the prospect of a happy home' (Delivorias 1997, 303). The figures are seated on elaborate armchairs, while their dress-code and detailed domestic features (*e.g.* tile-floor, colonnaded arcade in the living room) certainly stress the distinct combination of an elevated 'Western' lifestyle (*i.e.* household furniture and interior architectural design) with 'Ottoman' elements (*i.e.* male costume and tobacco-pipe). Similar painted pieces of furniture have been identified in the Cyclades only occasionally, reflecting the special aesthetics of decoration in island mansions of the 18th-century elite. A painted architrave of the 19th century has been

Fig. 10.7 Painted panel of a cupboard depicting a couple, probably the owners, 1804. Collection of Olga Karatza, Siphnos (Delivorias 1997, 347, fig. 116)

identified on the island of Syros (Delivorias 1997, 118). This one bears many similarities to 'popular' or 'folk' paintings from other Aegean islands, decorated with themes related to the 're-birth of Greece' and national heroes, demonstrating once more widespread currents of the period for the creation of an ethnic and cultural identity throughout the Aegean. Painting house interiors in the Cyclades should be related to internal fittings, interior decoration and household aesthetics, a practice possibly more common than initially thought. A painted wall decorated in the 17th century with scenes of daily activities in the countryside was identified in the living room of a Siphnos house (Acheimastou-Potamianou 1981).

The late 18th and early 19th centuries saw a tremendous amount of 'romantic' engravings of Aegean island-landscapes and household interiors, published by Western travellers. Most of those travellers present their pictorial themes in great detail, 'photographing the moment', people and their activities in a very realistic manner. The French Sonnini (1801) travelled amongst the Aegean islands between 1777 and 1780, leaving one of the most descriptive textual accounts. Some of his engravings, such as the one

Fig. 10.8 A woman giving birth in a Cycladic domestic interior. Engraving by Sonnini de Mononcourt, 1801 (Topos kai Eikona 1979, 297)

depicting a Cycladic woman giving birth (Fig. 10.8), are excellent testimonies of both material culture and daily life on the islands. A young woman has just given birth, while the domestic setting suggests she comes from a wealthy or middle class background. An elaborate chair of 'Western' style, a wooden table with similar legs and embroidered tablecloth, a high bed at the back and bedcover with thick lace-work, and a mirror with an elegant frame hanging on the wall comprise the scenery of the living room or bedroom of a well-off household.

Similar drawings of household interiors were published by the French Choiseul-Gouffier (1782), who also travelled in the Aegean in the late 18th century. His favourite theme is 'women of rank' from the islands of Tinos, Siphnos and Santorini in their domestic environment. An engraving depicting middle class women from Tinos in their living room is an example (Fig. 10.9), where the illustration of a rather Western lifestyle is particularly obvious. The fact that two women enjoy reading a book (a practice reserved for the idle middle class rather than the peasantry), reclining on a bench or couch, with a hot drink of some kind on a little table are characteristic of the social context they refer to. The rich textiles covering the couch and the table are noteworthy. A similar illustration is reserved for a family on Siphnos (Fig. 10.10), although it is not quite clear whether the 'untidy' appearance of the house and the use of a single room for all kinds of activities could refer to a household of the lower social strata. The emphasis on over

Fig. 10.9 Women of the upper class of Tinos in their living room. Coloured engraving by Choiseul-Gouffier, 1782 (Tselikas 1990, 96, fig. 89)

hanging bedcovers and other textiles is still a matter of interest. Considering this particular emphasis on cloths and textiles evidenced in engravings and contemporary dowry documents, it is assumed that anything to do with household textiles (*i.e.* curtains, tablecloths, bedcovers) and personal appearance (*i.e.* costumes) played a major role in a family's domestic life during the Post-Medieval and Early Modern era.

10.4 SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This chapter has attempted to bring together a forgotten aspect of domestic material culture and briefly examine its development through time and between different social groups on the basis of relatively limited textual and pictorial evidence. The picture we get about furniture and domestic comfort (through the study of internal fittings) is of particular interest, for there is clear evidence for a slowly transforming society. Although changes in the domestic sphere from the Late Medieval to the Early Modern period seem very slow, the gradual introduction of new trends and the development of already existing fashions show a tendency towards individualism, personal comfort and domestic privacy.

Peasants possessed very few household commodities and almost no furniture during the Late Medieval period, although low class houses in towns and ports might have been an exception, as they must have seen a better fortune (than farmers living in the Cycladic countryside) through their involvement in craft specialisation. From the late 16th century onwards, chests and some household commodities of low value made their appearance also in dowries of social groups other than the nobility. It is assumed that upper class families of noble background must have been equipped with mobile furniture, mainly imported from their countries of origin at least since the 15th century. In the early/middle 19th century most households started to get provided with mobile furniture of the 'Western style'. Thus, the 19th

Fig. 10.10 Family from Siphnos in its apartment. Coloured engraving by Choiseul-Gouffier, 1782 (Tselikas 1990, 97, fig. 90)

century in the Cyclades was a transitional period from a traditional to a more modern way of life, a period of social and economic changes within the newly founded Greek State. That was a time when the Greek *bourgeoisie* began showing off its acquired items that would testify to its status and social position, while a new trend appeared in domestic interiors, that of 'dedicated space' and privacy.

11. Costumes: Archaeological Evidence and Social Meaning

11.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter comprises a contribution to the study of island costumes, their continuity and change through time. There is very little textual and pictorial information for the period prior to the 16th century in the Cyclades, though. Comparisons, however, between other Latin-dominated parts of the Aegean, such as Rhodes and Crete, are possible, although almost none of the Cyclades (with the exception of Naxos) ever reached the status of Rhodes town or Rethymnon. The aim is to contribute to the study of material life 'articulations' within the Venetian-, Ottoman-dominated and traditional society in the Cyclades, which seem to have been 'moving' in the direction of the 'conquering elite' (whether Latin or Ottoman) as far as clothing fashions are concerned. The degree of 'cultural syncretism' and 'cultural interaction' between Catholics and Orthodox, and Ottoman-Muslim and Christians will be attempted through this review of male and female Cycladic costumes (which is by no means exhaustive). All in all, the 'feudal' character of the Latin Duchy and the Ottoman provincial *eyalet* shaped clear distinctions between social, cultural and religious groups.

11.2 CYCLADIC COSTUMES IN THE VENETIAN PERIOD

The island costume is probably the only aspect of material culture that preserved the greatest regional as well as social diversity. Local variations in clothing and fashion were more pronounced, however, between the middle 18th and middle 19th centuries, like many other contemporary aspects of material culture in the Aegean. Textual and pictorial evidence about the island costume gradually became widely available with the accounts and engravings by foreign travellers since the late 16th century. More than any other material cultural aspect, island costumes maintained a distinctive emphasis on local identity, even within closely related neighbouring regions (Delivorias 1997). There is only scanty textual and pictorial information for the male and female attire of the Cyclades during the period of Venetian domination, while surviving evidence only refers to the upper social strata of noble background. My contribution is an attempt to compare information about dress between the Cyclades and other Venetian-dominated regions (about which there is more data) in the Late Byzantine/Frankish period, in order to identify different fashions between different social groups, and how clothing trends evolved from the Late Middle Ages to the Post-Medieval era.

One of the first representations of secular costume in a religious context in the Venetian Cyclades is a fresco from an anonymous church at Protoria on Paros (Fig. 11.1), which has been dated to the first half of the 13th century (Mitsani 1999, 7-9; 2000, 115). The fresco depicts the donor of the church (or probably the sponsor of its decorative programme), wearing a 'Western-style' trapezoidal cap and a red garb with a wide raised collar. Interestingly, the figure is portrayed praying in a tradition that can be identified both as Orthodox (his hands raised in supplication - not clasped) and Catholic (kneeling instead of standing). A worth-noting contrast to the male figure from Paros is the representation of a female donor from the village-church of St. Georgios Marathou in the interior of Naxos (Fig. 11.2), also dated to the 13th century. Here, the female figure is dressed in a rather 'Byzantine' style. She stands behind her husband with her hands in supplication and her eyes modestly downcast. Her attire agrees with her 'Byzantine' posture, wearing a long white tunic with wide sleeves and a broad elaborately decorated belt at her waist, while a white cloak is draped over her dress and secured at the centre of the chest with a (circular) pendant; her cloak is ornamented with a repeat of dark-

Fig. 11.1 Portrait of a male donor, wall painting, first half of the 13th century. Anonymous church, Protoria, Paros (Mitsani 1999, 7)

blue leaf-motifs (with diamonds?). The female figure is also wearing a tall fan-shaped hat with flaring sides and curved top, decorated with three narrow vertical bands at its centre. The woman's garment and head-dress are typically 'Byzantine', appearing in iconography (illuminated manuscripts and church frescoes), already in the middle 11th and 12th centuries (Parani 2003, 73-4, 77-8). Thus, what is of particular notice, is the mingling of artistic modes of expression in the case of the male figure from a coastal settlement on Paros, and the insistence on a more 'Byzantine' attire and religious expression, distant from foreign influences, in the case of the female figure from an inland village of Naxos.

Fig. 11.2 Portrait of a female donor, wall painting, early/middle 13th century. Church of St. Georgios Marathou, Naxos (A. Vionis)

Considering Kalopissi-Verti's (1992, 23-46) view that Late Byzantine donor portraits and inscriptions recording their names (either Greek or Latin) were not an exclusive expression of the elite classes, then

any donor whose portrait would remain to eternity would choose very carefully the way he/she wished to be represented, and the social or cultural identity he/she would project. The portrait of Kale dated to the middle 14th century, in the church of Panagia Kera Kardiotissa in the Cretan countryside, represents the woman dressed in the 'Byzantine' fashion and comprises an interesting parallel to the female donor from Naxos. Stancioiu (2009, 187) has suggested that Kale may have been part of one of the local noble families that were forced to retire to the countryside, leaving the town to the Venetian rulers. As we have noted earlier, in the Cyclades, as in much of the Latin-dominated Aegean, the Latin minority was living in towns and ports, while the countryside was left to the Greco-Byzantine population (Luttrell 1989, 153; Jacoby 1989b, 10; Lock 2006, 436). Thus, the story of Kale from Crete may also explain the 'Byzantine' attire of the female portrait from Naxos, echoing the Byzantine aristocratic fashion trends passed down for generations, and representing at the same time the identity of the bearer.

The quality of garments or the textiles they were made of, rendered them as luxury items, passed down from mother to daughter, signifying the owner's status and wealth. Although documentary evidence (*e.g.* dowry documents) from the Cyclades prior to the late 16th century are not available, it must be said that people of the higher echelons of Cycladic society ordered textiles or ready-made garments from Venice itself. Thus, it should not come as a surprise when some post-13th-century pictorial evidence from other Latin-dominated regions (*e.g.* Crete, Rhodes or Cyprus) represents the adoption of Western-looking dress-fashions, at least by certain families and individuals. A reference to garments imported from Venice, published by Maltezou (1986, 139), is of particular importance. It is the case of the Cretan lady Quirina Calergi (of noble Greek descent) who authorised her uncle to buy her clothes from Venice in 1444 'in order to be dressed according to her social status' (Georgopoulou 2001, 259; Bitha 2002, 50).

As noted above, despite the Venetian acquisition of Crete, the clothing attire of the population remained attached to 'Byzantine' fashions in certain inland regions, especially during the first two-three centuries. Iconographic evidence from Rhodes, on the other hand, shows a more conservative character of male and female garments, with an overall 'Byzantine' dress fashion prevailing down to the 15th century in Rhodes town and in the countryside (Bitha 2000, 429-47; 2002, 44-50). It remains questionable whether we could argue that 'Byzantine' clothing traditions survived amongst members of the Greco-Byzantine aristocracy in the Cyclades throughout the period of Latin domination. As Stancioiu (2009, 235) has correctly observed in the case of Late Medieval donor representations in Crete, Rhodes and Cyprus, 'dress was more clearly a signifier of social status and group identity, as well as a clear sign of one's individual taste,' due to the co-existence of both 'Byzantine' and 'Venetian' fashions.

When it comes to aspects of male attire of the period, a similar pattern is observed, although it has to be noted that male dress fashions remained to a great extent unchanged over long periods (Ball 2005, 30-5). The male donor from Paros suggests that part of the islands' Orthodox population adopted 'Western' trends more easily, probably as a personal choice of appropriating the image of Venetian 'nobles' and merchants. A characteristic representation of the early 14th century depicting a young donor from the church of Christ in Kritsa Marabellou on Crete (Fig. 11.3) is an example of male costume of the 'Byzantine' style (Mylopotamitaki 2002, 24; 2005). A long tight chemise (*ypokamisio*) with narrow sleeves and an equally long or slightly shorter overcoat (*kamisio*) with a vertical opening at the front comprised the basic male dress of the period, while the quality of the material the attire was made of always signified the socio-economic standing of the person wearing it (Koukoules 1948, 22-7). There is generally no indication of what the male or female dress of the less affluent groups looked like or what it was made of. According to Byzantine writers, such as Theodoros Prodromos (Ptochoprodromos III.90, IV.12a-b, cited in Hesseling and Pernot 1910, 52, 74), particular emphasis is given to the differences between social groups and their dress codes, as it seems that clothing was always an indicator of one's social and economic standing; the poor were dressed with the same worn-out garments throughout the year. As this is the case with impoverished social groups of any culture in time, peasant garments would have remained

Fig. 11.3 Portrait of a male donor, wall painting, early 14th century. Church of Christ, Kritsa Merabellou, Crete (Gerola 1993, pl. 16.1)

unchanged for a long time, determined by economic, social and functional factors. The male or female

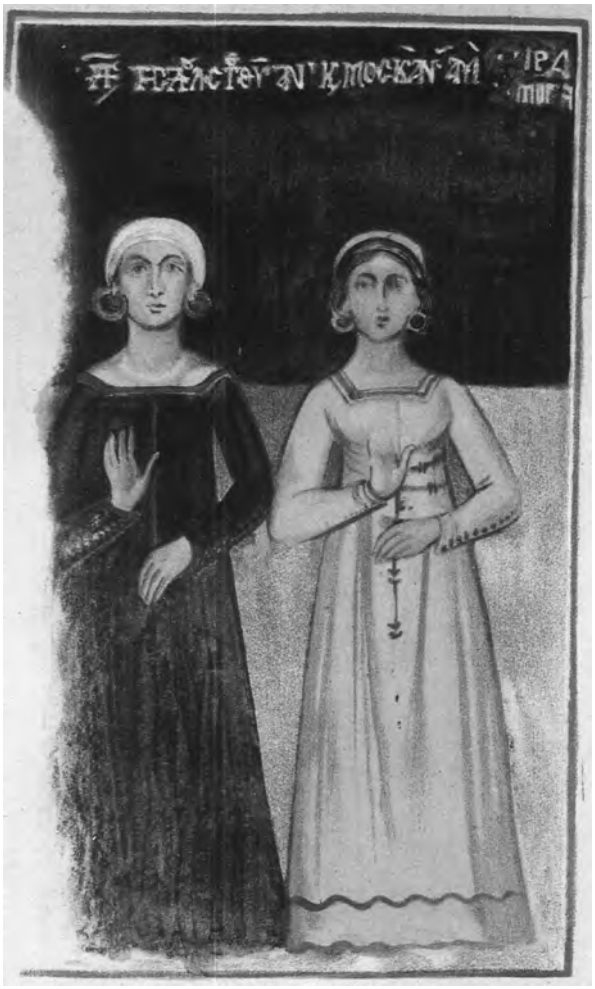


Fig. 11.4 Portrait of female donors, wall painting, 1393. Church of Agios Athanasios at Kefali, Chania, Crete (Gerola 1993, pl. 8.1)

attire of the less affluent Cycladic populations must have resembled those of other contemporary Venetian-dominated areas, made of cheap local materials.

Pictorial evidence indicates that from the late 14th century onwards male and female costumes in Latin-dominated regions slowly began to adopt more elements of Western fashion. Donor representations of the period from Rhodes and Crete suggest that it was mainly the group of merchants and traders (established in the harbour-towns of Candia and Rhodes) that followed Western fashions to a greater degree. One of the new trends that made its appearance in Latin-dominated areas was the form of the female attire, comprised of a single long dress with narrow

Fig. 11.5 Portrait of a family, wall painting, 1518. Church of Agios Georgios at Voila, Lasithi, Crete (Gerola 1993, pl. 17.2)

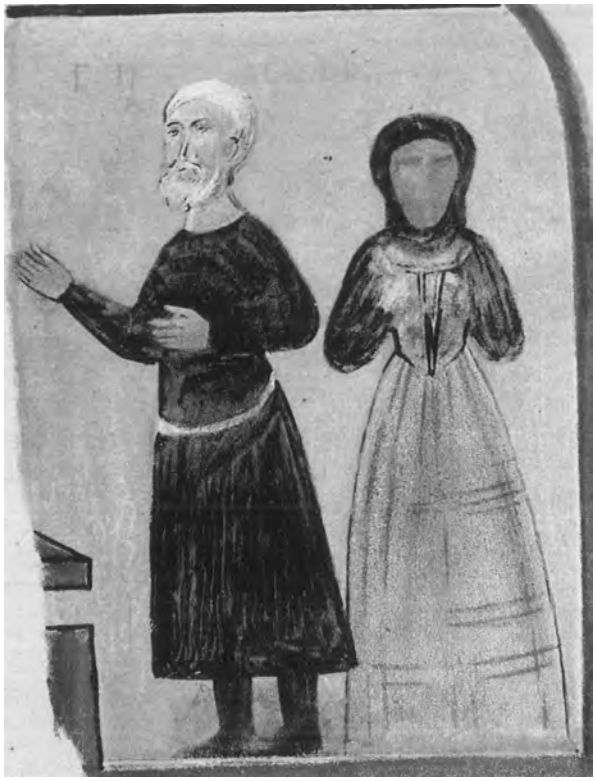


Fig. 11.6 Portrait of donors, wall painting, 1518. Church of Agios Georgios at Voila, Lasithi, Crete (Gerola 1993, pl. 17.2)

sleeves and a rectangular opening on the neck (Fig. 11.4). The emphasis on the outline of the breasts and the tight appearance of the waist and arms, particularly in Venetian fashion since the 14th century (Stuard 2006, 11), gave this dress-type a more feminine character, in sharp contrast to the Byzantine loose forms of female costume. Moreover, the male attire of the 14th century in Crete and Rhodes borrowed many Gothic costume fashions (very popular in Northern Europe since the 13th century), such as the so-called *mi parti* or *partie coloured*, an overcoat decorated with different colours (mainly red and white) in geometric arrangements (Spatharakis 2001, 75). According to Bitha (2002, 50), the basic characteristic of the Late Medieval costume was a series of dresses, worn one over the other, with finely cut openings, through which the variety, quality, decoration and social status of their bearer could be revealed. Thus, pictorial evidence suggests that there were four distinctive and standard garment-types during the period of Latin rule in the Aegean: the undershirt and the cloak (for the women), and the undershirt and a variety of coats (for the men).

A final reference to the Late Medieval attire will be made through a comparison of male and female costumes from the islands of Crete and Paros in the Cyclades. As pictorial evidence also testifies to, Western trends in clothing became even more intensely felt within Aegean societies from the 16th century onwards. The female attire of Crete, as depicted in church frescoes dated to the early 16th century (Figs 11.5 and 11.6), is comprised of a long dress (either of a single or two combined colours) with very narrow high waist and narrow sleeves.

Similarly, the male costume of Venetian Crete followed Western fashions from the late 15th century onwards, when the overcoat was shortened to above knee height, and thick red stockings and boots replaced the 13th-century overcoat. One of the earliest surviving engravings of Cycladic costumes is that

Fig. 11.7 Female dress from the island of Paros. Engraving by Nicolas de Nicolay, 1568 (Rangoussi-Kontogiorgou 2000, 101, fig. 56)

made by the French Nicolas de Nicolay in the middle 16th century, depicting the female costume of the island of Paros (Fig. 11.7). The Paros costume bears great resemblance to 15th-century dresses of the 'Western style' from Crete, being comprised of a short chemise with narrow sleeves, a long chemise with voluminous sleeves, a small bodice, and an apron worn over a pleated white skirt (Delivorias 1997, 285). Very similar dresses are encountered on other Cycladic islands, such as Mykonos, Santorini, Melos, Kimolos, Kythnos, Keos and Ios, and they should be regarded as surviving examples of the Cycladic Late Medieval costumes; after all, the Cyclades officially entered the Ottoman Empire in 1579, well after Nicolay's drawing. Different versions of the Paros dress-style are identified all over the Cyclades throughout the Post-Medieval period, in some cases with more Western elements being added to it or a few Ottoman-looking trends being incorporated to the female attire, especially during the 18th and 19th centuries. An early representation of the male costume on a portable icon from Paros is of particular interest in that it dates to the late 15th or early 16th century (Fig. 11.8). It depicts the donor in a *vraka* or baggy trousers, a white shirt and a *yileko* or waistcoat. This representation of 15th/16th-century male attire is of particular importance in that the so-called *vraka* was widely worn by many Mediterranean seafarers but it is argued to have been of Muslim influence. The evidence presented here dates from well before the Ottoman domination on the Aegean islands, stressing the functional meaning of the *vraka* amongst island-populations, rather than a dress-fashion introduced by the Ottomans to Aegean island communities.

Fig. 11.8 A young male donor, icon (detail), late 15th - early 16th century. Church of Agios Panteleimon, Marpissa, Paros (A. Vionis)

11.3 CYCLADIC COSTUMES IN THE OTTOMAN AND EARLY MODERN PERIODS

When the French botanist and traveller Pitton de Tournefort (1718) visited the island of Naxos at the beginning of the 18th century, he noticed the difference between the Catholic Latins and the Orthodox Greeks. He noted their distinctive velvet caps (of the Venetians' descendants) and the red *fez* (of the Greek Christian population). The Latins of the island of Naxos retained their property and were used by the Ottomans as a means of controlling the Greek peasants and collecting taxes. It seems that around the beginning of the 18th century, the first hints of ethnic identity are to be traced. The red *fez* (Fig. 11.9) signified the conquered indigenous population, the Aegean island-communities, and subjects of the Ottoman Sultan. The old velvet cap, however, signified the Medieval 'glory' of both Greek and Latin aristocrats, all proud of their origins and social background. Moreover, outward appearance became the main indicator of one's self-identity. There is not much pictorial evidence of the elite's dress fashions in the Post-Medieval period, though; most of travellers' drawings depict the local Sunday-best clothing of island communities living in towns and ports. Tournefort (1718) mentions that the local aristocracy on the islands of Naxos and Tinos was dressed after the 'Venetian manner'. Most of the information travellers provide is about Greek female dress, which they found particularly ridiculous and ugly since it combined unsuccessfully 'old' Western fashions with 'new' Ottoman elements. It has been suggested that the costumes depicted were only worn on special social occasions, while everyday clothes might have been similar to 'Sunday-best', but made from the least expensive of local materials: wool or cotton. The aim is to provide an overview of some characteristic textual and visual evidence for the Cycladic male and female costume in order to trace its development since the Late Medieval era and distinguish possible fashions from East and West throughout the Post-Medieval and Early Modern times.

Fig. 11.9 Male attire from the island of Naxos. Coloured engraving by Grasset de St. Sauveur, 1784-1787 (Tselikas 1990, 86, fig. 79)

The basic elements of the 17th-18th-century female attire have already been sketched by Papandoniou (1983/85) and Delivorias (1997), and are generally related to the characteristics of the 16th-century Paros costume outlined above. Late 18th- and 19th-century female dresses began to change, following more closely either Western trends or Ottoman elite fashions. The costumes of Tinos, Ios, Amorgos, Siphnos and Andros, for example, changed very little from their original 16th-century form, with the addition of a brocade coat towards the late 18th century. The male costume, comprised of baggy trousers, a chemise and a waistcoat, remained unchanged throughout the Post-Medieval and Early Modern times. In contrast to women who tended to combine their local island costume (based on Western clothing trends) with some Ottoman elements, members of the male island elite followed more faithfully either Ottoman or Western fashions.

The French Nicolas de Nicolay (1568) had already noted that the elaborate aristocratic female costumes of Chios and the Cyclades (made with the finest velvet and silk textiles from abroad) were very much influenced by contemporary Western fashion (Korre-Zographou 2003, 22). The same is noted for the male and female attires of Chios and Crete by travellers of the 17th century, who specifically noted that the Chiotes followed the Genoese fashion, while the Cretans followed the Venetian. Thévenot (1687) refers to the complexity and volume of the Cycladic dress, while Randolph (1687), referring to the island of Kythnos, he describes the female dress as the most kitsch garment he ever encountered. Choiseul-Gouffier (1782), on the other hand, very often notes that Cycladic women use a lot of make-up and wear jewellery, but Sonnini (1801) found the Cycladic female short skirt even more interesting. The plethora of 19th-century travellers' accounts very often describe both male and female costumes in the Cyclades in an ironic manner, for they found island attires particularly strange in that even purely European clothes were combined with Ottoman accessories. The Levantine doctor Zallony (1809) describes the male costume of the island of Tinos in great detail, mentioning that most men on the island showed preference to the *vraka*, while a lot of merchants wore European clothes (*i.e.* hat, tight trousers and tie) with an Ottoman-looking overcoat (Vrelli-Zachou 1989, 185). The Dane archaeologist and traveller Bronsted (1826) interestingly noted that the traditional costume of the island of Keos tended to disappear, as most young girls were migrating to Istanbul and Izmir in order to work and make their fortunes, but when they went back home they returned wearing a 'Franco-Levantine' costume with many Western elements.

The 17th-century icon of 'Our Lady of the Rosary' from the Catholic Cathedral of Naxos depicts Lucretia Coronello, a descendent of one of the Venetian noble families ruling in the Cyclades, kneeling before the altar (Fig. 11.10). She is dressed in an elegant costume that resembles the contemporary 'local' dress of the island, which itself was initially influenced by Western fashion. Tournefort (1718), who visited Naxos in the early years of the 18th century, provides an example of the female attire, depicting it in one of his engravings (Fig. 11.11). It is the typical

Fig. 11.10 Lucretia Coronello, wife of Crusino Sommaripa, kneels before the altar, icon of 'Our Lady of the Rosary' (detail), 17th century. Roman Catholic Cathedral, Naxos (D. Karystinaios)

Fig. 11.11 Women of the island of Naxos, early 18th century. Engraving by Pitton de Tournefort (1718)

Cycladic female costume, the main elements of which have been presented above. The characteristic feature of the costume of Naxos, though, is the long sleeves of the cloak worn over the shirt and the other items of the attire. This similarity between the dress of Lucretia Coronello (a member of the Latin nobility) and the 'local' dress of Naxos is noteworthy. It represents the general trends of the period in two ways; it seems that the Latin nobility was more or

less assimilated to indigenous Greek culture by the 17th century, while, on the other hand, influences from Western fashion were very easily absorbed by Cycladic communities long before. More intense contacts of the islands' trading population with Venice or urban centres of the Ottoman Empire, introduced new elements into the Cycladic attire, in some cases from the European West, while in other cases from the Ottoman East (Figs 11.12 and 11.13). The male costume, for example, remained unchanged until the 19th century, being comprised of a *vraka* and *yileko*, while sometimes an Ottoman overcoat lined with fair completed men's attire. The *vraka*, as noted above, was widely adopted and worn by merchants and seafarers throughout the Mediterranean world, from Anatolia and the Aegean islands, to Italy, Sicily, Malta and Spain at least since the late 15th century.

Fig. 11.12 Female dress from the island of Mykonos. Coloured engraving by Baron von Stackelberg, 1825 (Korre-Zographou 2003, fig. 98)

Fig. 11.13 Male and female attire from the island of Naxos. Coloured engraving by Choiseul-Gouffier, 1782 (Tselikas 1990, 85, fig. 78)

It is evident through the study of dowry documents and marriage contracts of island communities in the Aegean, that the male and, much more often, the female dress and its accessories comprised a very important part of the property of a new household. As it has been mentioned above, quantitative analysis of 57 dowry documents from Crete (1597-1613), listing a variety of household items, has shown that the majority of those refer to garments (Markaki 2000, 90). The result of this study has revealed that most members of a family gave costumes as dowry to younger members of the household (94%-100% of the population of all social groups). Similarly, comparative analysis of 30 published dowry documents from the Cyclades has led to the same conclusions, where it is noteworthy that items connected to the female and male attires account for some 60% of the average to-

tal of listed property in every document. This relatively large amount of listed costumes signified the importance of personal attire, probably a form of investment passed down from generation to generation. Wealthy members of the Cycladic society very often list precious jewellery as well. The most common dress items listed are shirts, socks, garters, kerchiefs, bodices, as well as complete sets of costumes or even wooden chests full of garments. Jewellery included golden and diamond rings, golden earrings, golden chains and golden or pearl necklaces, golden crosses and buttons. All these expensive items were a compulsory component of the female attire, while their quantity and quality signified the socio-economic status of the person wearing them, the possession of which acquired a symbolic meaning amongst the affluent classes of the 18th century. It has been suggested (Cassar 1998) that clothes or clothing items were carefully handed down from parent to children and formed an important part of the dowry.

11.4 SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

A person's attire has always been the main indicator of one's self-identity. Comparative examples (pictorial and textual evidence) from other parts of the Venetian-dominated Aegean show that the elite's dress fashions during the later years of the Frankish and throughout most of the Ottoman period generally followed Western trends in clothing fashion. The exception came through during the late 18th and 19th centuries, when Ottoman elements started to penetrate the attire of the Cycladic rising middle class of traders. This primary survey on island costumes has attempted to illustrate that fashion always followed contemporary political and economic sources of power and influence. Venice was the prime source of influence during the Late Medieval era, while Istanbul became inspiring during the Ottoman period.

Interestingly, before and after the period of the Greek Revolution changes in attire indicate clear intentions for the building up of a national identity. The final result was the *foustanella* or short kilt for the male, and the female dress of Queen Amalia, which influenced to a great extent the dress fashions of traditional societies in Greece. This dress fashion, nearly traditional but very much influenced by Western culture, was later declared as the national Greek costume and functioned as a sign of national identity, omitting all previous Ottoman-looking elements in everyday costume fashions (Vionis 2003, 204).

12. A Test-Case of 18th-Century Paros

12.1 INTRODUCTION

Having examined and reviewed different aspects of material culture and their meaning in the Cyclades and the Aegean from the 13th to the 19th century, this chapter presents a short case study of Paros in the 18th century, in order to test the validity of the research approach undertaken throughout this study. More specifically, the aim is to illustrate how different aspects of material culture (*e.g.* settlements, architecture and internal fittings, ceramics and costumes) can be combined in order to approach changing domestic behaviour and the formation of socio-cultural and ethnic identities. This chapter focuses on the 18th century and only on a specific place, in order to provide a 'window' through which different threads of the same story will be interwoven. The 18th and early 19th centuries in the Aegean was a period of changes that can be easily identified in the material record, providing important information about the reaction of local societies to rapidly changing economic, social and cultural patterns.

Aspects of built environment are examined first, focussing on the history of existing settlements on the island of Paros during the 18th century, as well as on contemporary domestic architectural trends. An example of domestic architecture will be examined in order to test how theories about the rise of individualism, comfort and privacy relate to specific housing examples. The ceramic record is also examined with particular reference to imported pottery from Italy and Anatolia, and the development of dining fashions on Paros in relation to contemporary pictorial evidence. Following, other activities on the island that might reflect socio-economic standing are discussed, primarily by referring to examples of religious art and church construction. All the aforementioned aspects are placed in their historical context, as the second half of the 18th century was marked by the Russian campaigns in the Aegean, during which the Cyclades, Paros in particular, played a major role. Aspects related to the Russo-Turkish War are also discussed in terms of ethnic-identity formation and how that is reflected on the material culture record, as well as whether changing mentalities can be identified in pictorial and textual testimonies of the period.

12.2 THE BUILT ENVIRONMENT

12.2.1 Settlements

Until the middle/late 16th century, the settlement pattern of Paros was marked by the existence of the nucleated defended settlements of Paroikia, Naoussa and Kephalos. The villages of Marpissa, Marmara and Prodromos, as well as the upland settlements of Kostos and Lefkes were already established by 1670, according to the Ottoman tax registers (Fig. 12.1). The defended centres of Paroikia and Naoussa, on the other hand, became large and substantial settlements numbering 568 and 281 households respectively in the late 17th century. Kephalos, the Late Medieval *kastro* and administrative seat of Paros was abandoned by the middle 16th century.

Dated examples of domestic architecture in the towns of Paroikia and Naoussa show that building extensions beyond the Late Medieval walls started already during the late 16th century, although development reached its peak in the first half of the 18th century. This is testified to by dated inscriptions on the walls of mansions and churches within the newly formed neighbourhoods; Paroikia started to develop during the 16th century towards the East, West and South of the Late Medieval defensive walls, followed by the construction of defensive rings encircling the original core. More lines of houses were added to the existing ones at all directions during the second half of the 18th century. This is evidenced by

Fig. 12.1 Existing villages on the island of Paros according to the 1670 *tahrir defter*

the erection of the first *archontika* or mansions with neoclassical features, and the construction of the elaborate marble springs in 1777, funded by Nicolaos Mavrogenis, *dragoman* of the Ottoman Fleet. Although settlements developing immediately outside the nucleated defended centres were marked by a greater degree of space, the system of construction remained more or less the same. The neoclassical houses as well as those with 'neoclassicising' features of the late 18th century in Paroikia, however, present an exceptional case, where the number of rooms, spacious courtyards and enclosed gardens created a sense of urban space, as in large centres of the contemporary Mainland.

A similar pattern of urban development has also been noted on other Cycladic islands, such as the port-towns of Syros and Mykonos (Kartas 1988; Romanos 1988). There were two important factors that contributed to the radical development of the town of Paroikia in the 18th century: population increase, and the rise of commercial shipping and maritime economy. A parallel development can be identified in the rural settlements of Paros, where Marpissa, as Philippa-Apostolou (1988) has argued, although densely built on a hill in a 'Late Medieval' fashion, there is not enough evidence to suggest that it once was a defended site. On the contrary, it is a settlement that was established in the late 16th century because of expansion outside the defended settlements and as a result of intensified agricultural activities. Dated examples of housing and churches within Marpissa also suggest that it developed further during the 18th century. What is noteworthy in the case of Marpissa (and other rural settlements that developed during the 18th century) is the enclosed character of the courtyard on the front side of the house. A high wall or an enclosed staircase leading from the ground floor to the first storey defined the boundaries between public space (the street) and private property (the house). This is not an uncommon feature in other parts of present-day Greece. It has been quite common since the 17th and 18th centuries throughout the littoral and mainland Aegean, especially in places where mansions and more elevated architectural styles made their appearance.

12.2.2 Housing

As it has been already discussed earlier, the most common Late Medieval and Post-Medieval house-type within the defended settlements was single-roomed and two-storey. The ground floor was reserved for animals and storage while the upper floor was reserved for the family. This was the basic house-type provided for the peasant community working the land of the feudal lord. The physical division between humans and animals or humans and storage areas was marked since the beginning of the Late Medieval period, and it is kept as such in traditional Cycladic housing to the present. In a sense, notions such as humans and animals, living and storage, clean and dirty are reflected in aspects of housing and household organisation of the period. Access to the ground floor was made via a door opening up in front of the street. Access to the upper floor was provided through an external wooden or stone staircase. Only in rare occasions was there access between upper and ground level by means of an internal wooden staircase leading to the ground floor. This tradition of separating living and storage/stabling areas is distinct in the Cyclades in sharp contrast to building traditions in other areas in Greece and in other parts of

Medieval Europe (Stedman 1996; Grenville 1997; Sigalos 2004).

This idea of single-cell domestic structures stresses the linear arrangement of household activities and probably some degree of privacy. The front of the room was occupied by the entrance and a hearth and was reserved for daily use, such as cooking and food consumption. The back end was occupied by a stone or wooden raised bed-platform and was reserved for sleeping, resting and storing valuable goods. The back end of the room was the private area, secluded in a way by the bedding-structure itself and a curtain in front of it. In the case of the Post-Medieval peasant and middle class households, extra rooms were being added to the original single-unit houses (mainly in the countryside, outside the Late Medieval defended centres) while fixed furniture no longer existed. Built benches, beds and storage places were replaced by mobile furniture, embroideries and imported prestige household items such as ceramics, metal-ware and mirrors.

This tendency for space dedicated to household activities became more intense during the later 18th and early 19th centuries. Many examples of dated domestic architecture on Paros testify to the evolution of the house with multiple rooms being added to the original cell through time. The example presented here is a house built in the middle 18th century in the settlement of Marpissa (Fig. 12.2). It is a two-storey building, the ground floor of which was used for storage and as a shop, while the upper storey was reserved for the family. An enclosed staircase leads to the first floor, while the main entrance is approached through an arched roofed veranda. The house consists of a central living room on either side of which are located bedrooms of approximately the same size. Internal architectural features, such as marble door frames and decorative lintels, provide direct evidence for a specialised workmanship and special meaning given to the domestic interior (Fig. 12.3). Moreover, the arrangement of bedrooms around the central living room enables domestic life to be centred around the larger room of the house, a practice that echoes similar domestic arrangements in the mansions of the Latin nobility in Late Medieval Naxos. This is possibly a very good indication of 18th-century middle-class initiatives towards emulation with a long-established elite, and display of social status. A fourth room on the upper floor was used as a kitchen; it occupies one of the corners of the arched veranda, attributing an L-shape to the layout of the structure.

Fig. 12.2 The upper storey of an 18th-century house in Marpissa, Paros

Fig. 12.3 View of the entrance into the bedroom of the house in Marpissa, Paros

Fig. 12.4 An Italian Faience basin (late 16th - 18th centuries) found on Paros (A. Vionis)

As was the case with other Post-Medieval domestic examples from the Cyclades, the construction of multi-roomed structures in 18th-century Paros seems to have been an inevitable 'repetition' of the single-unit space (the *monochoro*), which still occurred within Post-Medieval settlements and towns, and countryside dwellings. The fact that our example from Marpissa stands on the side of one of the main pedestrian streets of the settlement and that the ground floor was used as a shop and storage area indicates that the owner must have been a middle-class merchant or an artisan of the bourgeoisie. Although this house does not present any direct relations to Western architecture, it certainly reflects a 'pretentious' tendency for comfort and display of wealth, even on its exterior through a colourful plate imported from Italy, incorporated on the facade wall (Fig. 12.8).

12.3 DOMESTIC AND RELIGIOUS CULTURE

12.3.1 Ceramics Imported from Italy and Anatolia

Paros and the Cyclades preserve a fair amount of 18th-century ceramics imported from Italy and Anatolia, while local pottery production and trade was confined between Siphnos and other Cycladic islands

Fig. 12.5 Kütahya coffee cups (18th century) found in the bay of Dryos, Paros (A. Vionis)

for meeting daily needs for cooking and storage earthenware. Flourishing trade activities in the Aegean between Northwest Europe and the Eastern Mediterranean are attested in the material culture of the Post-Medieval period. Italian faience (Fig. 12.4) on the one hand, 'peasant porcelain' from Kütahya (Fig. 12.5) and glazed Çanakkale red earthenware

(Fig. 12.6) from Anatolia on the other, is to be found not only on Paros, but also on other Cycladic islands. Iznik and Kütahya pottery has been found in an 18th-century shipwreck in the bay of Dryos in Southern Paros, where the Ottoman navy forces anchored for the collection of taxes from the islands of the Archipelago. An assemblage of pottery imported from 18th-century Italy has been identified in the gulf of Naoussa in Northern Paros. Published dowry documents often list ceramics as items of value handed over from parents to children. Some of these lists usually mention vessel types and their place of manufacture, when imported from abroad.

Fig. 12.6 Çanakkale spouted jar 'with spots' (late 18th century). Historical-Folklore Museum, Othon Kaparis Collection, Naoussa, Paros (A. Vionis)

There are 260 items recovered from the shipwreck (not archaeologically explored) off the Southern coast of Paros (now stored in the Archaeological Museum of the island), and three main questions that need to be answered. What the actual destination of the ship was, what similarities or differences one can distinguish between this and other ceramic assemblages of roughly the same period, and what the meaning of this imported pottery for the society and economy of the island was. A systematic underwater survey in the area of Dryos would answer most of our questions. Although an underwater investigation of the harbours of Paroikia and Naoussa took place in 1979 (Papathanasopoulos and Schilardi 1981), the report does not provide enough information on the underwater finds of the Byzantine and Ottoman periods.

It has been noted (Papathanasopoulos and Schilardi 1981, 137) that during the 1979 underwater survey at Paroikia, large amounts of pottery dating to the Roman, Byzantine and Ottoman periods were recorded throughout the port area. At Naoussa, too, fragments of Byzantine and Ottoman pottery were recovered although no catalogue or description of the finds is included in the report. This information proves that both harbours were functioning throughout the Medieval and Post-Medieval periods, as also suggested by the settlement history of the towns of Paroikia and Naoussa. Imported ceramics were highly appreciated by island communities; they were usually exhibited at specific places in order to been seen, *e.g.* on the exterior walls of churches and mansions. The 16th-century Iznik tiles that decorate the external walls of the churches of Agios Konstantinos (Fig. 12.7) and Agios Artemios in Paroikia, as well as the late-18th-century Italian plate (Fig. 12.8) on the aforementioned house in Marpissa are such examples.

The fact that nearly all the pottery from the Dryos shipwreck is imported (mainly from Kütahya) would suggest that the material was intended for some wealthy class or individual from a place nearby, very possibly Paros. The bay of Dryos was used by the Ottoman admiral in chief in order to collect the taxes of all the Cyclades Islands. Tournefort (1718), who visited the Cyclades in the early 18th century, mentions that the Ottoman fleet anchored at Dryos

Fig. 12.7 Iznik tiles, 16th century. Church of Agios Konstantinos (late 17th century), exterior wall

annually, and goes on describing how the ships were provided with water from there, and that the place also provided cisterns for the Turks to bathe. *Kütahya Wares* in the shipwreck assemblage comprise of coffee cups (Fig. 12.5), shallow dishes and saucers. Kütahya ceramic products were widely distributed throughout the Ottoman Empire. Whether Kütahya pottery represents an expensive production or a cheaper alternative for the lower classes that wished to imitate their 'betters', is an issue that remains to be answered by studying price lists and pottery orders in the Ottoman Empire. The Kütahya coffee cups, however, should be regarded as signifiers of a new introduction in the Aegean and the Ottoman Empire in general, *i.e.* the consumption of coffee, which was in most cases followed by the consumption of tobacco smoking after meals. There are a lot of references in 18th- and 19th-century travellers' accounts that refer to dining fashions and the consumption of coffee throughout the Ottoman Empire amongst Greek- and Turkish-speaking populations. The distinctively thinly-potted Kütahya cups of the 18th century were

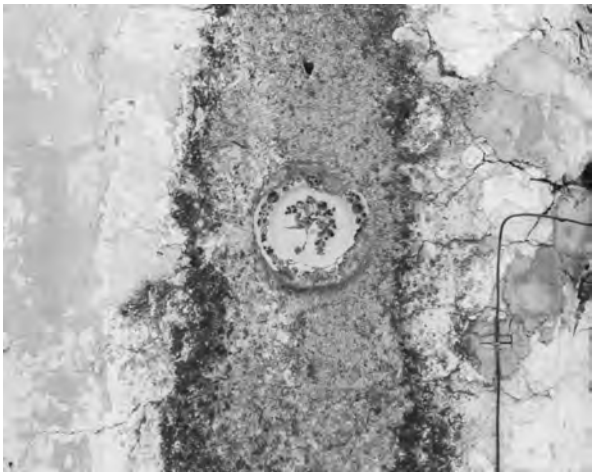


Fig. 12.8 Italian Faience plate (late 18th century) incorporated on the exterior wall of the house in Marpissa

probably initially affordable only by members of the Ottoman elite, but their distribution increased by the late 18th and early 19th centuries.

Apart from the Kütahya finds from the Dryos shipwreck, Çanakkale imports of the late 18th and early 19th centuries have been recovered from the bay of Naoussa. Jugs, jars and dishes of the early period of Çanakkale production are the commonest shapes on the Aegean islands, and Paros in particular. Dishes have a quite large diameter and have been associated with communal eating, which seems to have been a daily practice throughout the Ottoman Empire during the Post-Medieval era. There is not sufficient evidence from Paros itself to suggest that communal eating from a central bowl was practised during the 18th century. As indicated by pictorial evidence earlier, individual dinnerware had become a commonplace by the 18th century, at least amongst the elite.

Evidence for Italian ceramic imports on Paros is not confined to *Maiolica Wares* of the late 15th and 16th centuries. Archaeological evidence from the island (Fig. 12.4) suggests that *Later Maiolica*, too, was equally popular in the region during the 17th and early 18th centuries. The main shapes include large deep bowls decorated with coats-of-arms, crowns and family initials, and are usually associated with communal eating. A large number of portable icons of this period from Paros, however, shows a tendency towards individual settings at the table and provides

sufficient evidence for the rise of individualism at least amongst elite groups. The 18th-century icon depicting the Last Supper from the monastic church of Agios Antonios on Paros (Fig. 9.17) is a fine example of domestic wealth in Parian elite households of the time. It is by no means entirely clear whether these *Late Maiolica* and *Polychrome Painted Maiolica Wares* from Italy, characteristic of their polychrome painted decoration and fine white fabric was an expensive or cheap commodity. Their manufacture and wide distribution from the 17th to the late 18th and early 19th centuries, however, possibly indicate that this mass-produced pottery was made available in most households at a relatively low cost. It is noteworthy that the occurrence of Italian ceramics of the 18th century in contemporary dowry documents from Paros is exceptionally common. A quantitative analysis of household items listed in 18th-century dowry documents from the island and the terms used to refer to each one of them clearly shows a wide preference for ceramics imported from Italy. A commonly listed ceramic form imported from Italy was the so-called *apladena* from Ancona (from the Venetian *piadena*), *i.e.* a large dish or bowl.

Fig. 12.9 Virgin 'Madre della Consolazione', icon, late 17th - early 18th century. Collection of Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Works of Art, Naoussa, Paros (Mitsani 1999, 18, No. 17)

12.3.2 Churches and Religious Art

As mentioned in previous chapters, the late 16th, 17th and 18th centuries saw an increase in the number of churches built on the islands. In Paros the period between about 1650 and 1750 is the period that church and monastery building reached its peak. The majority of monasteries were established during the first half of the 18th century, most possibly as a result of better economic conditions and the relative independence of the Orthodox Church in the Cyclades, long secured by relevant decrees issued by successive Ottoman Sultans. Religious icon painting flourished as well. It seems that Cretan as well Cycladic icon painters produced religious icons for churches around the island during the 16th and 17th centuries, following the trends and techniques of the Cretan School of icon painting, famed throughout the Aegean since the 1500s. What is particularly interesting is that during the 18th century a series of painters from Paros (who smartly signed the products of their artistic merit) became particularly active on the island. They established organised workshops of icon painting and supplied churches with fine examples of religious art, representative of the local output, and evident reproductions of Cretan models.

All this church building activity and icon painting, primarily based on 'Western' artistic trends through Renaissance models adopted and developed in Crete, primarily reflects the economic power and the social prosperity of the Orthodox population of the 17th and 18th centuries. Greek populations of the Orthodox rite, as well as members of the wealthy class of *Hellenised* Venetians felt the need for showing off their socio-economic standing through religious expression. This is finely illustrated through the dedicatory inscriptions and donor portraits on portable icons of the period (Mitsani 1999, 11, 17). The portrayed donors are wearing the island costume comprised of the characteristic baggy trousers, or the distinctively Western attire. Artistic influences from the West were still quite intense during the 17th and 18th centuries. For example, the icon depicting Mary and Christ, dated to the late 17th or early 18th century,

was most probably painted in a Paros workshop (Fig. 12.9). The icon comprises a version of the iconographic type of *Madre della Consolazione*, which clearly reproduced Italo-Cretan artistic models (Mitsani 1999, 15, 18). Religious expression through church-building and icon-painting in 18th-century Paros must have been the result of a combination of factors; the creation of a cultural and ethnic identity is certainly one of them. All this activity during the first half of the 18th century created excellent ground for the revolt against the Ottoman Empire, aided by the establishment of the Russians in the Cyclades, who used Paros as a centre of their enterprises in the Aegean during the early 1770s.

12.4 POLITICS, MATERIAL CULTURE AND IDENTITIES

12.4.1 The Russian Presence and Its Aftermath

Textual information very often refers to the Russian-Orthodox 'fair-haired race', whose aim and expectation was to restore the Greeks' 'ancient liberty' (Sonnini 1801). Indeed, the Russian naval forces of Catherine the Great were initially welcomed in the Aegean, having promoted hopes of freedom amongst the islanders. After the unsuccessful campaigns of the Russians in the Peloponnese between 1768 and 1770, however, and the general disappointment of the Greek populations, a following victory of the Russian forces against the Ottoman navy in Çeşme in Asia Minor in 1770 changed the scenery once again. After their victory in Çeşme, the bay of Naoussa in Northern Paros was chosen by the Russians as their naval base in the Aegean. It was becoming obvious that one of the purposes of Catherine was to secure some of the islands in the Archipelago for the protection of Russian trading activities in the area. It is characteristic that the Russians unravelled their plans straight after they arrived at the port of Naoussa in September 1770, and they set up a whole network of facilities for their forces, such as defensive works, storehouses, a hospital and other public buildings.

The Russians' plan for an organised Greek revolt was to stress the religious character of their activities. The ultimate aim was the liberation of the Christian populations in the Balkans, with Catherine acting according to the 'will of God'. It seems that the Russians did everything they could in order to stress the religious aspect of their goal; the gold-painted decoration of a number of wooden 18th-century *epitaphs* in Paros was sponsored by the Russians (Fig. 12.10).

Fig. 12.10 Painted *epitaph*, 18th century. Church of Agios Panteleimon, Kostos, Paros

Cycladic communities gradually realised that the establishment of the Russians in the Aegean was simply a replacement of the Ottoman regime, since not much had changed after the arrival of the 'fair-haired' nation. Moreover, piracy and illegal activities were increased during the early 1770s, harming Venetian as well as local trade in the region, with long-term negative effects on local economy. This was certainly something that the people of Paros as well as other islanders did not wish to happen, especially when they realised that the Russian enterprises would not eventually bring along their desired 'ancient liberty'. Thus, it seems that socio-economic factors

Fig. 12.11 Portrait of Laneta Chepri in her Paros attire. Painting by Liotard, May 1738 (Rangoussi-Kontogiorgou 2000, 110, fig. 64)

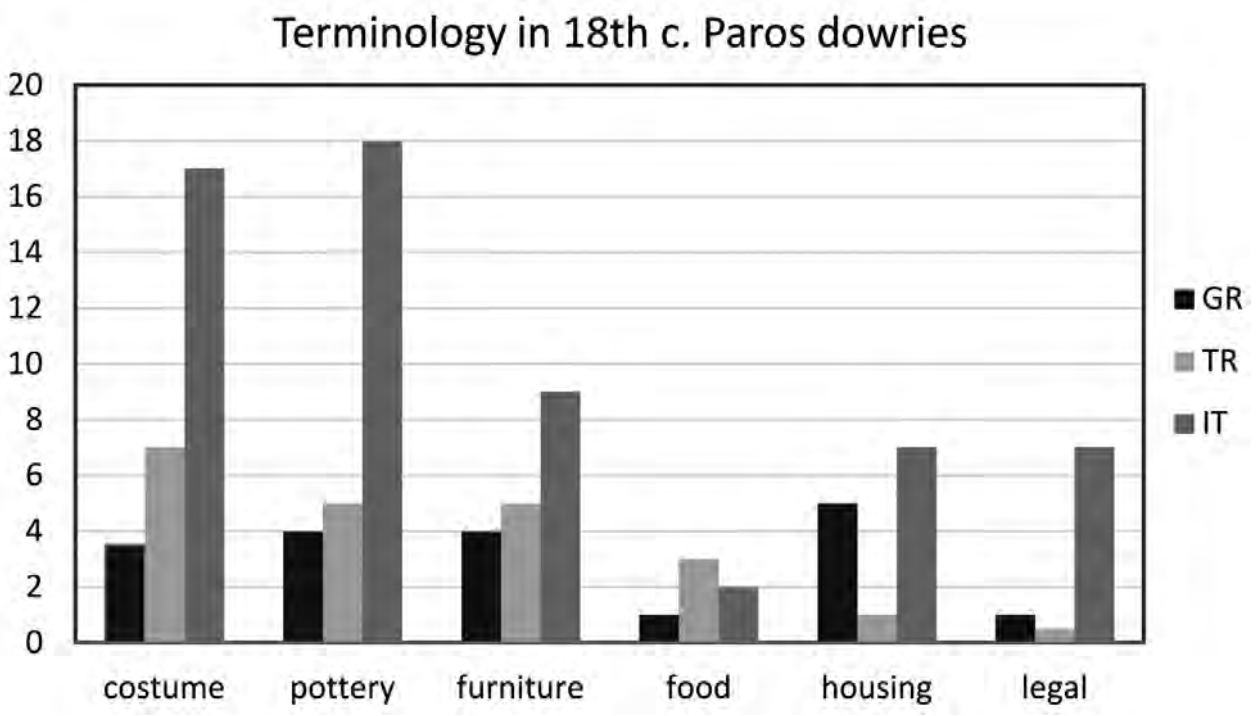
were given priority, while nation-inspired ideals were put aside for a little while. A similar case is noted on the island of Samos. The people of Samos would not risk or give up all those privileges of economic and social nature granted to them by the Sultans for an ethnic independence, especially when they realised that the Russian plan was another power's desire to secure commercial rights in the Aegean.

12.4.2 Island Costumes and Identities

Surviving evidence for the male and female attire of 18th-century Paros agrees with the general trends that have been discussed already. Although pictorial evidence and travellers' descriptions of the female dress of Paros are more numerous when compared with references to the male attire, it is evident that connections with Western fashion were kept throughout the 18th century. The 18th-century portrait of Laneta Chepri (Rangoussi-Kontogiorgou 2000, 110), of Venetian descent, provides a good example of 'Venetian' clothing fashions on Paros at that time (Fig. 12.11). Parallel case studies of the female costume on other islands in the 18th and early 19th centuries, however, show a tendency for the wider adoption of Ottoman elements. This does not seem to have been the case in Paros, as it is evidenced from a number of travellers' drawings and engravings, as well as from the quantitative analysis of the terminology used to describe costumes in 18th-century dowry documents of the island.

Dresses and accessories related to the male and female attire are to be found very often in inventories, reaching more than 27% of the specialised terminology used for listing artefacts; more than half of the terminology used to describe costume items is actually directly borrowed or derived from Italian or the Venetian dialect (Graph 12.1). This should not come as a surprise since is it known that a lot of expensive textiles of good quality were imported from Italy. On the basis of the evidence available, the male costume of Paros in the 18th and early 19th centuries was identical to that of the other Cyclades, comprising of a *vraka*, a shirt, a *yileko* and a *fez* (Fig. 12.12). This was not the only male attire on the island. The attire described above was worn by people of the lower social strata, such as peasants and sailors, while the upper classes followed with greater devotion fashions from the Ottoman East or Western Europe, according to profession and social standing.

In general, more than any other element of material culture, costumes and outward appearance played a major role as a characteristic of one's status and social standing, religious direction and ethnic indication within traditional societies. A child's drawing (Fig. 12.13) dated to the second half of the 18th century, found on the inner page of an ecclesiastical book from Paros, depicts scenes of everyday life on the island (Alifieris 2001). People from different social and religious backgrounds are distinguished through their costumes and caps. Two men dressed in island baggy trousers and red caps stand outside



Graph 12.1 Graph showing the percentage of Greek, Turkish, and Italian words encountered in 18th-century dowry documents from Paros, listing household items (data source: Aliprantis 2001)

two churches. Another is riding his horse wearing the distinguishable *vraka* and a peasant's cap (probably a peasant from the interior of Paros). Two other horse-riders are wearing Russian-looking caps (Russians?). A third horse-rider without a cap is wearing the so-called *foustanella* (probably a refugee from the Morea after the unsuccessful Russian operations there). The heads of other figures also appear, amongst them one wearing a Western European cap and another wearing a Russian cap. The drawing was probably made during the presence of the Russian fleet in the gulf of Naoussa in Paros (1770-1774). Personal attire functioned as an identity indicator in a community with people from different lands, ethnic and social backgrounds.

12.5 SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

During the final decades of the 18th century the Aegean became a sea of intense commerce and an arena of social display and status. The rising middle class of traders invested large amount of its income on more complex house forms and imported items of luxury. Domestic architectural forms generally point to a tendency for more privacy and separation of household activities, possibly following paradigms from contemporary Northwest Europe. Settlements evolved providing space for even more elaborate housing forms, especially during the 19th century, with the construction of neoclassical and neoclassicising houses, forms that clearly illustrate the formation of a national identity and link to Greece's ancient past. Domestic interiors, daily life and personal attire show a slow but gradual adoption of Western models, and the rise of the individual. The general rule, however, had always been the 'imitation' of elite tastes and lifestyles, especially amongst members of the middle class. The period between the 18th and early 19th century shows a slow transition from Western to Ottoman dress fashions only amongst specific groups. Moreover, textual and pictorial evidence indicates a strong sense of identity (religious, social and ethnic) at all levels of Aegean society.

Fig. 12.12 A merchant from Paros in his attire. Painting by Wilson, 20th October 1834 (Rangoussi-Kontogiorgou 2000, 119, fig. 73)

Fig. 12.13 Child's drawing from an ecclesiastical book, late 18th century, Naoussa, Paros (Alifieris 2001, 182)

13. Concluding Remarks

The study of Post-Roman material culture in the Aegean remains *terra incognita*. This study has attempted to view the built environment and the material cultural record as a unity in order to trace long-term changes in daily life and society. The geographical region of the Cyclades has been considered as a goldmine for Prehistoric and Classical archaeology, while the Medieval and Post-Medieval ages have been overlooked until recently. Aspects of material culture on the islands were usually not examined under the microscope of the archaeologist, and it should be stressed that the aim of this study was to establish a *Crusader*, *Ottoman*, and *Early Modern* Archaeology in the region, so that more exhaustive studies will be initiated in the future.

This study has attempted to interpret primary archaeological data, as well as information provided in secondary sources and published literature through reference to historical, socio-economic, cultural and identity factors. The Cyclades were 'fortunate' in having preserved pre-Modern material evidence to a satisfactory level, as well as textual sources (travellers' accounts, dowry documents and Ottoman fiscal records), pictorial evidence (religious icons, travellers' drawings and old photographs) and ethnographic information.

13.1 SOCIO-ECONOMIC CYCLES AND MATERIAL CULTURE

This study has noted in many instances that different political powers and different trends and fashions from the Ottoman East and the feudal or capitalist West, in combination to regional cultural currents and economic systems within the Frankish, Ottoman and Early Modern Aegean, have very much influenced human behaviour and domestic life. The study of settlement patterning and settlement layout, for instance, can show the shift in administrative systems and general economic trends. The provision of more elaborate and exotic material culture items was the result of trade and communication between this island-province and the world beyond.

General conclusions can be drawn from the relevant chapters about the Frankish and Ottoman economic trends, and population cycles in the Cyclades and the Aegean. The island principalities of the Archipelago during the period of Venetian rule formed a separate state within a complicated network of Latin and Byzantine territories. It is noteworthy that the socio-economic well-being of Cycladic communities, however, remained largely on the personal interest of successive Dukes and feudal lords. Competition between elite members of the indigenous Greek aristocracy and the Latin nobility, especially during the 13th century, was a general phenomenon throughout the Venetian-dominated Aegean regions. More than anything else, though, controversy between the two communities was not so much based on ethnic differentiation, as on religious affiliation and class/economic interests. Better living conditions and a relative political tranquillity noted during the final decades of the 13th and the last years of the 14th century must have been the result of an intensified land exploitation and the development of an agrarian economy, as in many parts of Latin Greece. Whether daily life of the peasant majority on the islands changed dramatically after the arrival of the Latins is still a matter of debate and further research. It is very possible that the exploitation of peasant power continued, if not intensified under Venetian regime, as suggested by textual testimonies and the general practice in feudal territories.

The establishment of the Ottomans in the Aegean provinces proved very beneficial for island communities in social, economic, and cultural terms. The administrative and economic system set by the

highly centralised Ottoman State, as well as economic and administrative privileges issued by successive Sultans towards Cycladic communities provided ample opportunities for development and stability. It should not come as a surprise, though, that -once again- personal initiative played a major role in socio-economic developments, as well as on international and local politics of the time. The first *ahdname* granted to the Cyclades was issued in 1580 by Sultan Murat III, son of Sultan Selim II and the Venetian Princess Cecilia Bafo (later known as Nur Banu), herself a Hellenised Venetian from the island of Paros.

Even when during the 17th century most of Europe and the Ottoman Empire entered a period of general crisis, the Cyclades showed considerable signs of benefit and adjustment to the needs and conditions set by contemporary circumstances. Thus, large investment was made to the production of grains, in most cases beyond subsistence level, with emphasis to products intended for export and the accumulation of cash. A new era emerged for the Aegean island-communities from the middle 18th century onwards with the involvement of Greek island-populations in commerce and trade, with the transhipment of raw materials from certain parts of the Ottoman Empire to the Balkans and the Black Sea. This led to the slow growth of an island commercial bourgeoisie that introduced Eastern as well as Western models of daily life and material expression, together with notions of national pride and class identity. Inspired by Western ideas and the teachings of Enlightenment, Aegean communities started shaping their ethnic identity that by the beginning of the 19th century led to the Revolution of 1821 against the Ottoman Empire.

13.2 TYPO-CHRONOLOGY OF SETTLEMENTS AND HOUSING

One of the aims of this study was to observe changes and continuities in the built space, in terms of settlement patterning, settlement layout and housing. For this reason, original data were collected by means of surface survey from a number of deserted and still inhabited villages and settlement-sites in the Cyclades. These are sites different in date and character, ranging from Early Byzantine fortresses and Frankish rural sites to Late Medieval defended settlements or *kastra* and Post-Medieval towns and villages.

As I have noted above, the incorporation of the islands in different political regimes and local economic cycles have shaped the built environment accordingly. The strongly agricultural nature of the defended settlements of 'lower status' of the Frankish period, and the commercial and administrative character of larger fortified settlements of 'higher status' have determined the general layout and survival of each one of them. The typical Cycladic *kastro* of the Late Medieval period, either of the orthogonal or the irregular plan, echoes principles of an organised move for the establishment of such sites, in accordance with the prevailing feudal practices. The position of a central tower and a church at the centre of such settlements was a very common practice. Lack of space within fortified settlements permitted, however, group activities, such as religious festivities and commercial activities to take place within their walls, along streets and footpaths or in churchyards. The Late Medieval fortified settlements developed and continued in use throughout the Post-Medieval and Early Modern periods. They developed into 'evolved fortified' settlements, with a degree of repetition of the basic structural elements outside the original defensive rings of the site.

A new settlement type made its appearance at the end of the 16th or early 17th century, when political and socio-economic conditions changed after the final incorporation of the Cyclades into the Ottoman Empire. This new settlement type was formed and developed in the countryside by clusters of peasant houses, rapidly evolving into lines (of a relatively more elaborate form) set in parallel axes to each other. Those were the settlements of 'linear' form, where the basic structural element was the one- or two-storey house with more than one room, and the linear pattern of the street network, sometimes connecting villages between themselves. A final settlement form that started to develop in the late 18th and early 19th century, reaching its apogee in the middle and late 19th century, was the so-called farmstead, or groups of countryside farmhouses that evolved into a dispersed settlement pattern. Those were purely agricultural establishments, while the economic and commercial

enterprises were obviously still focussed in coastal towns and ports.

The typological presentation of the Cycladic house and the establishment of its preliminary or potential dating, on the other hand, have been attempted for the first time in order to examine the formation of the domestic interior and the organisation of household activities. Although the basic domestic form in the Cyclades is the two-storey narrow- or broad-fronted house, usually single-roomed, aspects of more elaborate and complex forms started to appear from the late 16th and early 17th century onwards in well-off agricultural settlements and commercially active port-towns. The division of internal space was not a common occurrence amongst peasant housing of the Late Medieval period within *kastra*; it was mainly confined to countryside mansions and urban residences of the Latin noble families. A first attempt to separate space within single-roomed houses appeared in Late Medieval towns, with the construction of a false wall, providing extra and private space for sleeping at the rear. In the early Post-Medieval period, one or two rooms were usually added in pre-existing single-roomed houses or in newly constructed ones, according to available space in *kastra* or the economic standing of the owner in rural settlements.

A variety of house-forms, such as the one with 'sala and twin rooms' or the urban house with 'neoclassicising' features seem to have been the result of commercial activities and contacts with the rest of Europe and the Western Mediterranean. A certain degree of specialisation is noted in housing of this type, with carefully constructed openings, finely-cut stones, marble lintels and decorated or painted facades. The interior articulation was certainly more complex, while interior space took a more private character, reflecting the socio-economic standing of the owners and a more bourgeois appearance, common throughout Europe of the time. Single-roomed housing remained a common type from the Late Medieval to the Early Modern period, especially in the countryside or in farmstead complexes. This clearly indicates a continuous 'peasant' *modes de vie* in rural areas of the Cyclades, and a uniformity in domestic space use in areas that did not take part in commercial and trade activities, retaining a degree of self-sufficiency and a more humble lifestyle.

13.3 SETTLEMENT FORMATION AND DOMESTIC PRIVACY

Having examined settlement formation and domestic architecture in the Cyclades during the Late Medieval, Post-Medieval and Early Modern periods, some more specific conclusions have been drawn on the basis of parallel socio-economic and cultural meanings.

The built environment in the Cyclades during the Late Medieval period was characterised by a high degree of concentration within *kastra*. This has been seen as a 'local' or Cycladic adoption of the Italian *incastellamento* process in South Etruria. It is certain that this settlement formation and layout echoes feudal traditions, not completely unknown in the Aegean before the arrival of the Latins, but certainly strengthened after the establishment of Venetian control in the region.

Settlement layout in the Late Medieval Cyclades reflects social organisation and differentiation between different groups, the indigenous Greek-Orthodox peasants and the minority of Latin feudatories. The feudal lord's central tower dominated within most *kastra* of the period, while rows of almost identical houses formed the defensive wall of towns and provided housing to both noble and peasant inhabitants. The Late Medieval countryside in the Cyclades was filled with Greek-Orthodox churches, some old ones renovated and redecorated and some new ones bearing inscriptions and representations of their donors. The Late Medieval era was a period when religious and socio-cultural identity played the most important role in the Aegean island-societies. The Latins did not impose Catholicism for they needed indigenous *archons* for better control over the peasant majority.

The built environment began to change in the early Post-Medieval period, after the firm establishment of Ottoman domination in the Cyclades, when certain privileges granted to local Christian communities by Ottoman Sultans and the general economic framework allowed a general political stability and economic prosperity. The Late Medieval *kastra* developed further with the addition of extra rows of houses, while new settlements started to be founded in the Cycladic countryside, as a result of a more in-

tensive agricultural exploitation and better living standards. This was a period when the formation of collective identities became more pronounced. In towns and ports with a good or lesser degree of commercial activities, different peoples, social or ethnic groups, started to settle different zones of the town.

The familiarity of the islanders with the long tradition of piracy and privateering in the Aegean led to the gradual growth of a mercantile marine and the emergence of a Greek-island bourgeoisie, especially during the late 18th and early 19th centuries. This 'nouveau' middle class of merchants who dominated the trade of the Aegean and much of the Mediterranean rapidly adopted Western mentalities that found expression in the construction of their mansions with neoclassical architectural influences. This architectural move, influenced by Renaissance and Western Enlightenment ideas, became the symbol of a revived *Hellenic ethnos* and a growing nationalist expression that resulted in the Greek Revolt against the Ottoman Empire in 1821. The appearance of most Cycladic towns and ports was greatly changed with the construction of more elaborate housing forms influenced from Western neoclassicism.

Domestic privacy and the use of domestic space deserve equal attention when examining changing domestic behaviour. The division of domestic space was not completely unknown to the occupants of the Late Medieval single-roomed house. There was a notional division between household activities, between the 'front/semi-public/dirty' portion of the house reserved for cooking, consumption and receiving guests and the 'back/private/clean' portion reserved for sleeping. The linear arrangement of household activities remained very prominent. Changing economic conditions gradually provided an impetus for a better household organisation and a more fixed separation of space with the construction of additional rooms reserved for different uses. Meanwhile, the continuous need for social, economic, and symbolic display of household valuables led to the decoration of the central room of the house, the *sala* or living room, with various items of status and wealth. Fixed structures, such as built beds and niches used as cupboards, started to disappear towards the 18th century, giving priority to mobile furniture, either imported or locally produced.

13.4 THE ECONOMIC AND CULTURAL ASPECTS OF CERAMICS

Excavations and surface surveys in many parts of Greece and beyond have shown the remarkable increase in earthen glazed table-wares throughout the Post-Roman period, especially from the 11th century onwards. This was possibly the result of better economic conditions and social stability in towns and the countryside. Meanwhile, it should also be born in mind that lead glaze became gradually cheaper, so that peasant populations could also afford to acquire glazed vessels for their household needs. The upper classes must have satisfied their need for consumption and display in metal-wares (mainly silver and copper) although the provision of more luxurious imported ceramic wares from the Middle East and Italy was more widespread amongst them. The 15th-century fluorescence in Italy saw an impressive increase in the production and export of tin-glazed *Maiolica Wares*, such as trefoil-mouth jugs, which gradually influenced local Greek production centres. The constant need for more luxurious wares and new pottery forms and styles resulted in local imitations of *Maiolica* with blue-painted designs on an opaque white ground. The 16th century in Greece, in connection to the general economic prosperity of the Early Ottoman period, showed a widespread use of imported and local *Maiolica Wares*, as well as other imported ceramics, such as *Iznik Ware*, even in village assemblages. This was the result of the presence of Latin feudal traditions in most of the previously Byzantine lands until the middle and late 15th century, and special links with important centres such as Italian towns and the Ottoman capital through Italian maritime commerce. The 17th and early 18th centuries in Greece experienced a relative decline in population and economy (as in much of Europe during the 17th century), as well as in the quality of ceramic production. A real socio-economic takeoff during the late 18th and 19th centuries in commerce, economy and population rise brought back a wide range of colourful glazed ceramics in every Aegean household, both imported and locally produced, possibly as a result of cheaper ceramic mass-production from the West. Thus, cheaper glazed pottery forms and styles (of lesser quality than their Early Ottoman predecessors) started slowly

making their appearance during the 18th century, from production centres such as Kütahya and Çanakkale in Anatolia, and Didymoteicho in Thrace a little later, in almost every Aegean household.

Since textual evidence about the Late Medieval Cyclades is almost non-existent, it is lain almost entirely upon archaeologists to reconstruct daily life and living standards amongst island communities. The presence of a relatively good number of imported wares from Spain and Italy in Late Medieval and early Post-Medieval assemblages in port-towns such as Andros and Naxos, or even in Kephalos on Paros, testifies to the intensive trade and exchange activities in the region. Andros was one of the major silk industries of the early Frankish period, while Naxos produced and exported a good deal of cheese and olive oil. Thus, island ports were very important for the distribution of exotic ceramic wares in most of the Cyclades at that time. Meanwhile, local production was an equally important business in places such as Siphnos, where good quality lead and clay provided a good impetus for the production and wide distribution of fireproof cookware at least since the late 17th century.

The involvement of Cycladic populations in maritime trade and the effect of the Ottoman economic system, very favourable for the Cyclades since the late 16th century, transformed daily life and elevated living standards, gradually but steadily, until the middle 19th century. The so-called *Syriana* or *Faience Wares from Syros*, produced in England on behalf of merchants from the island of Syros, satisfied the need for consumption and display of most middle class households of the period with a wide set of tableware. Plates, soup tureens and a whole range of dinner settings made their appearance, introducing a new trend in eating manners and a tendency for individualism and private eating utensils. The majority of these 'faience' wares were decorated with the method of transfer-printing (already known in England since the middle 18th century). Decorative themes included scenes from the classical past of Greece, heroes of the Greek revolution against the Ottoman Empire and contemporary events from the country's political life. These 'decorative motifs' were the material expression of a nation-conscious people who still fought to trace their glorious historical past and their identities, either social or ethnic.

The cautious examination of pictorial evidence (in the form of religious icons) provides a window into changing dietary habits and dining fashions. People in the Medieval and Post-Medieval Aegean did no longer dine reclining on couches in the 'Late Antique model', but around a high table seated on wooden benches or stools in the 'Byzantine fashion'. Table settings suggest that the Middle Byzantine communal large dish or bowl was placed at the centre and all guests ate from it using their fingers, at least until the 13th century. Pictorial evidence from the final phase of the Late Medieval era in the Cyclades and other Venetian-dominated islands usually show a changeover from the large communal dish to a larger number of vessels of deeper form and smaller proportions. The higher ring bases of these earthenware bowls and dishes possibly indicate an attempt to copy metal prototypes in gold and silver. During the 12th century pictorial evidence from the islands introduces the wider use of knives on the dining table, possibly in order to chop meat into smaller manageable pieces, but also used instead of individual forks. Meanwhile, the Cyclades and Crete (the upper classes at least) must have been influenced from Western cooking and saucy or watery dishes, such as *salsitsounia*, *sofegada* and various saucy fish-dishes from Venice.

A larger number of knives, as well as forks, glass wine-jugs and drinking glasses started to appear more frequently on the dining table during the very final years of Venetian domination and throughout the Ottoman period in the Cyclades, as well as on Crete and the Ionian Islands. All of these places had been under strong Italian influence for a long time, while the variety and quantity of icons depicting dining scenes of the 'Western' fashion became more and more common from the late 16th century onwards. Dedication of space and separation of household activities such as dining became more evident through the addition of items of special value; elaborate chandeliers hanging over the dining table, heavy drapery hanging on the background, elegant tablecloths, candlesticks, and a variety of table-settings complete the scenery in special dining rooms. Guests in those dining rooms were seated on carved stools or even chairs and armchairs, while individual plates, knives and forks, glass wine-jugs and drinking glasses became more than common in icons dated to the early

18th century and later. It has become clear that the tendency from a communal or semi-communal dining fashion to a more individual one can be traced in Aegean regions with stronger Western influences and contacts since the late 16th century.

The Early Modern period was a time of general economic recovery and participation of island populations in maritime trade and commercial activities outside the Aegean. The result was the emergence of a middle class that introduced or rather re-introduced to people other than the elite, Western dining habits. Religious icons of the 19th century show exactly this: knives, forks, spoons, individual plates and drinking glasses were a commonplace in every middle class household.

13.5 THE ECONOMIC AND CULTURAL ASPECTS OF FURNITURE AND COSTUMES

Peasants possessed very few household commodities and almost no furniture during the Late Medieval period, although low class houses in towns and ports might have been an exception, as they must have seen a better fortune (than farmers living in the Cycladic countryside) through their involvement in craft specialisation. From the late 16th century onwards, chests and some household commodities of low value made their appearance also in dowries of social groups other than the elite. It is assumed that the households of the Venetians' descendants were equipped with mobile furniture, mainly imported from their countries of origin at least since the 15th century. From the early/middle 19th century most households got provided with mobile furniture of the 'Western style'. Thus, the 19th century in the Cyclades was a transitional period from a traditional to a more modern way of life, a period of social and economic changes within the newly founded Greek State. That was a time when the Greek bourgeoisie began showing off its acquired items that would testify to its status and social position, while a new trend appeared in domestic interiors, that of 'dedicated space' and privacy.

An individual's attire, on the other hand, has always been the main indicator of one's self-identity. Comparative examples (pictorial and textual evidence) from other parts of the Venetian-dominated Aegean usually show that the Latin elite's dress fashions during the Late Medieval and Post-Medieval periods followed Western trends. The exception came through during the late 18th and 19th centuries, when Ottoman elements started to penetrate the attire of the Greek rising middle class of traders. This primary survey on island costumes has attempted to illustrate that fashion always followed contemporary political and economic sources of power and influence. Venice was the source of influence during the Late Medieval era, while Istanbul and the Ottoman Empire became inspiring during the Post-Medieval period.

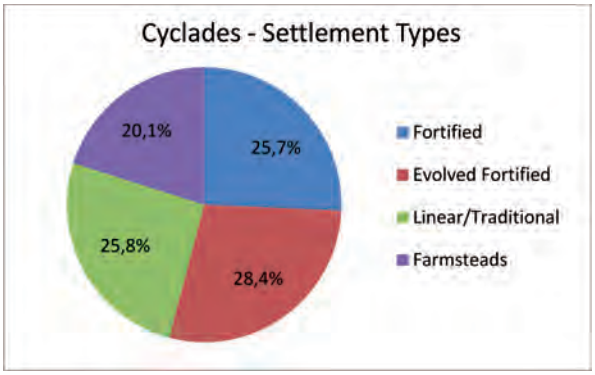
13.6 TOWARDS A CRUSADER, OTTOMAN, AND EARLY MODERN AEGEAN ARCHAEOLOGY

The main goal of this study has been the presentation and interpretation of the built space and domestic material culture of the Post-Roman Aegean, with greater emphasis on the Late Medieval, Post-Medieval and Early Modern Cyclades. Developing settlement- and housing-forms, changing trends in ceramic styles, and fashions of domestic interiors and personal appearance, have been considered as reflections and material expressions of culture, socio-cultural identity, privacy, functional needs, domestic behaviour and nation-building.

The rich variety and quality of the archaeological evidence of all periods from the Greek islands, comprise a unique opportunity for studying the remains of the 'days' which prepared the following capitalist practices and the rise of the individual, just before and a little after the Industrial Revolution in Northwest Europe. This is a period of particular interest as notions of identity and privacy, as well as fashions and influences from East and West found ground for a bending of cultural and social elements.

The ultimate result is the creation of a *Crusader*, *Ottoman*, and *Early Modern* Archaeology of the Aegean islands which have mainly attracted the attention of prehistorians and Classical archaeologists. It is hoped that this work will set the foundations upon which more complex questions will be posed and more exhaustive studies will be initiated in the future.

Appendix I (to chapter 7)



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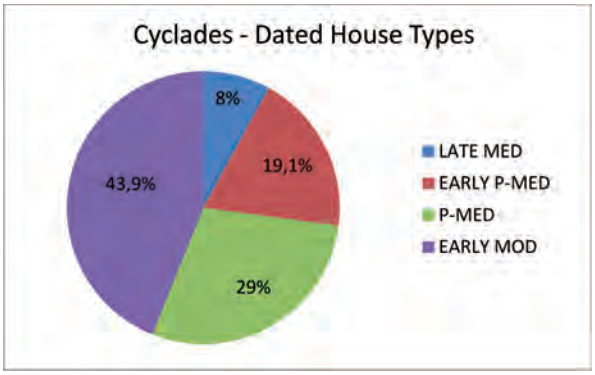

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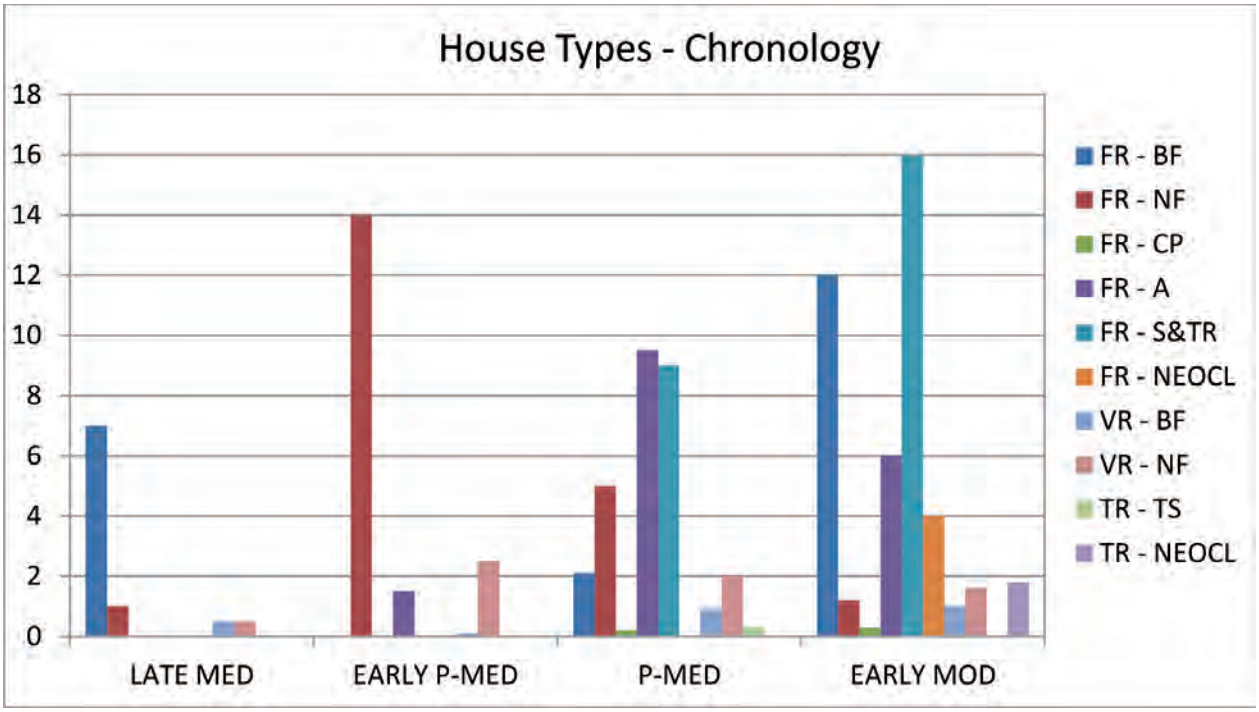

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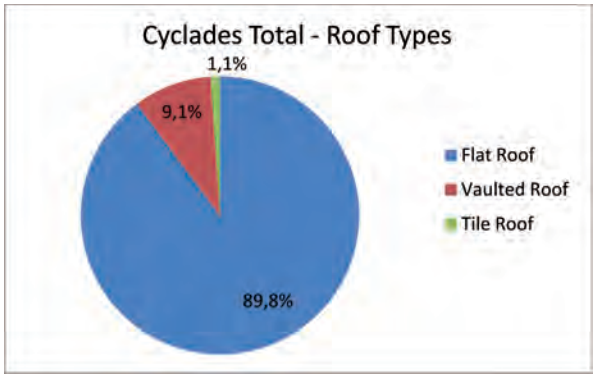

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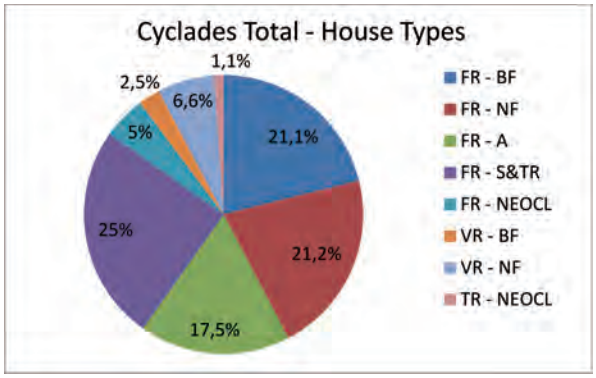

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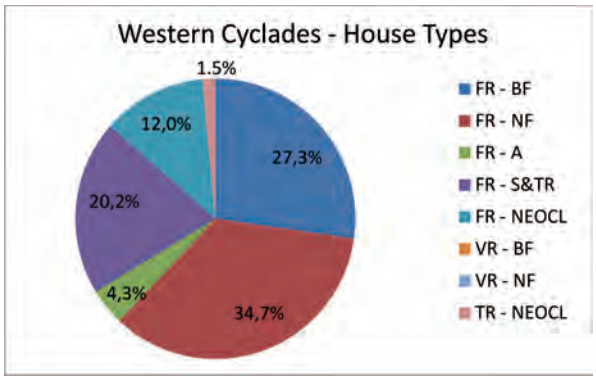

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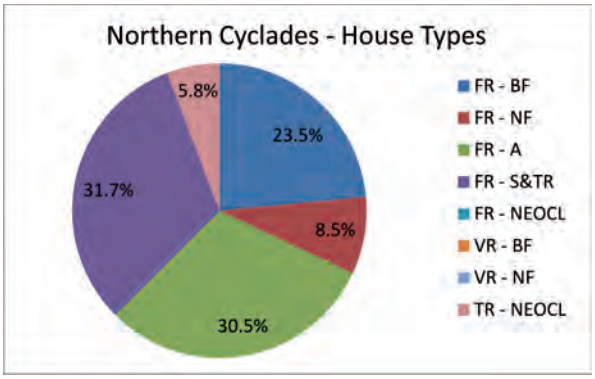

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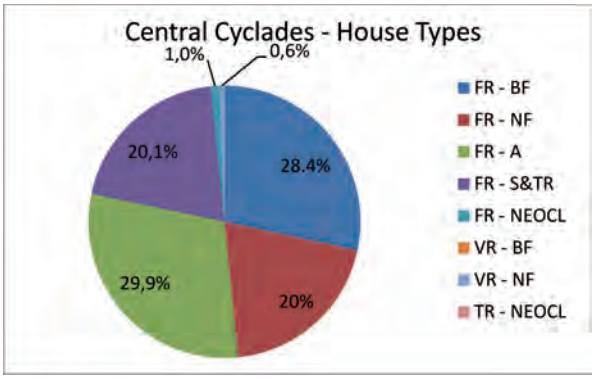

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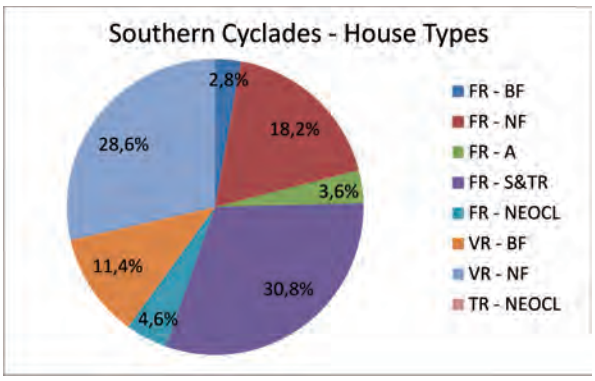

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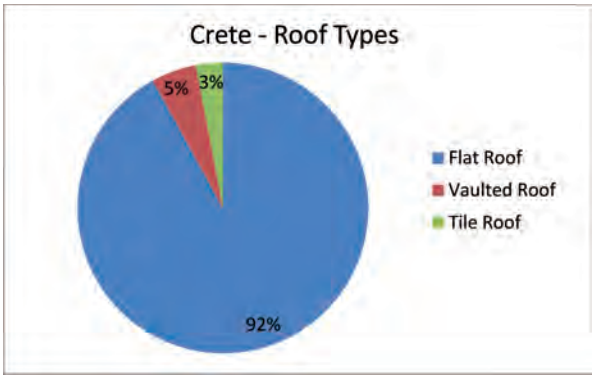

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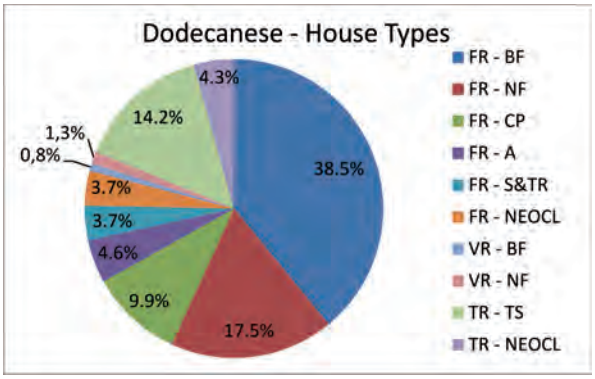

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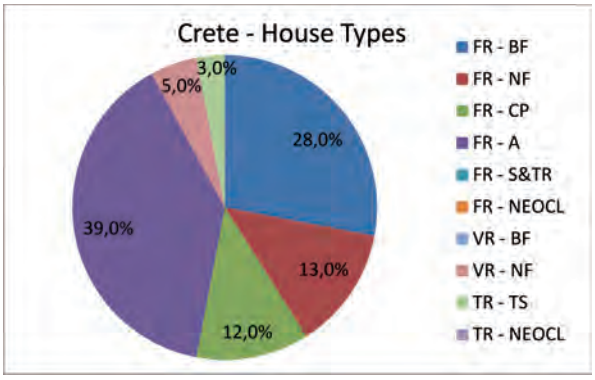

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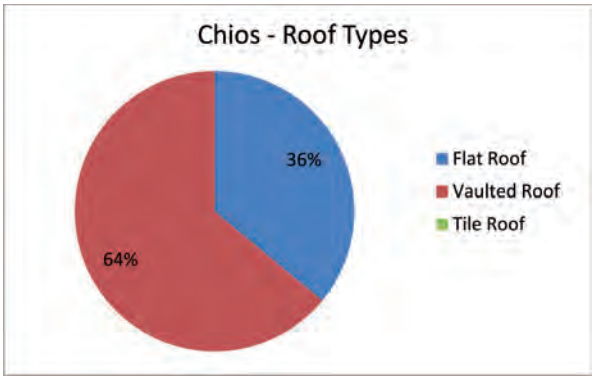

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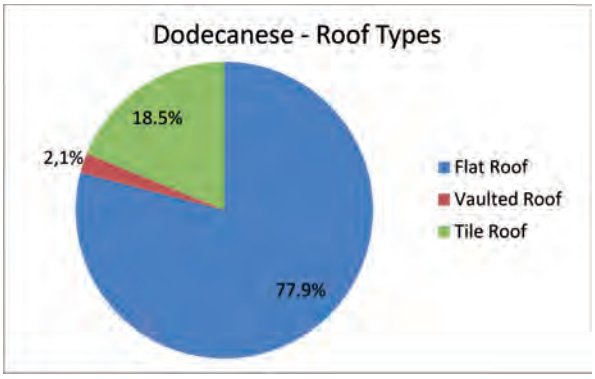

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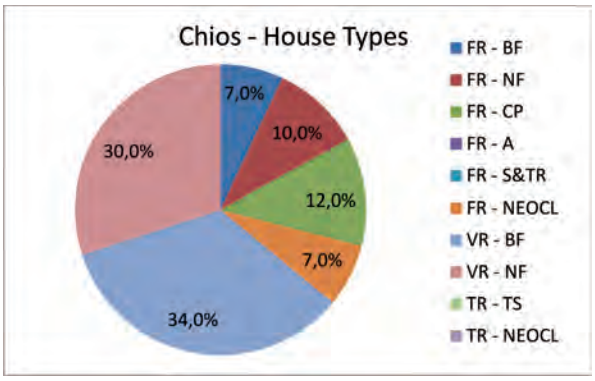

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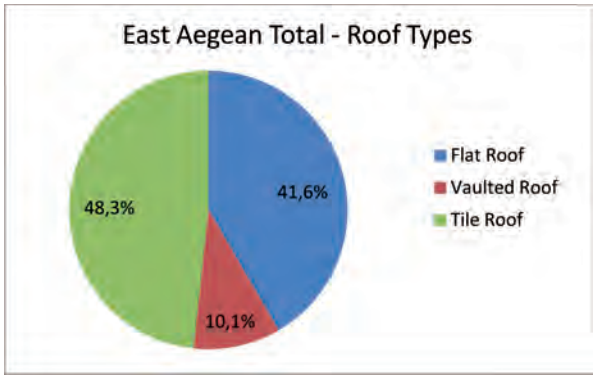

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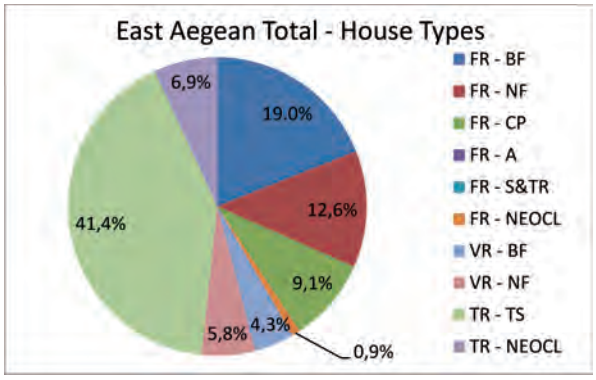

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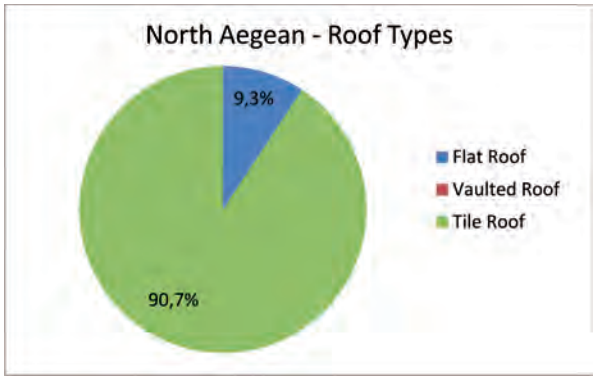
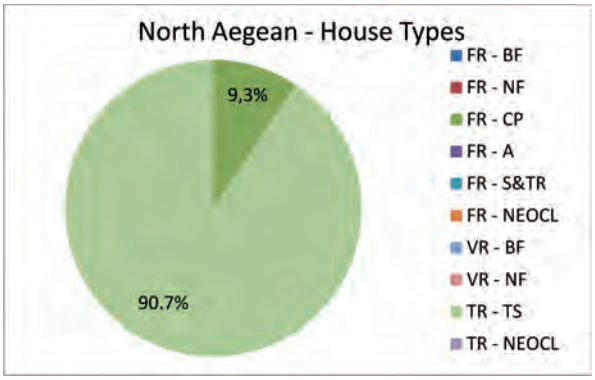
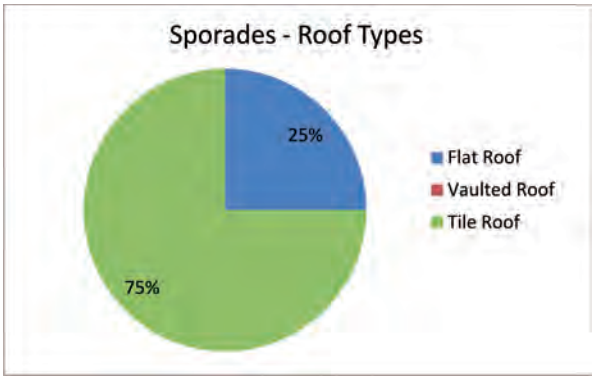


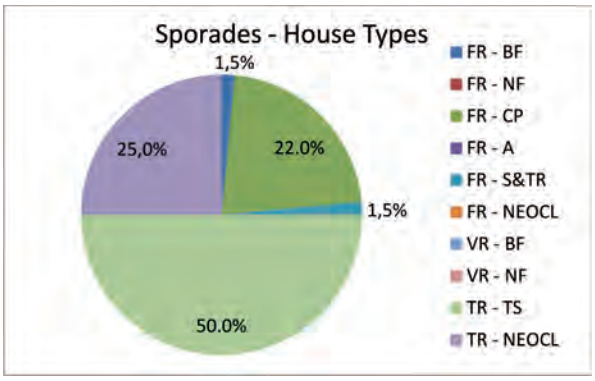
Graph C9



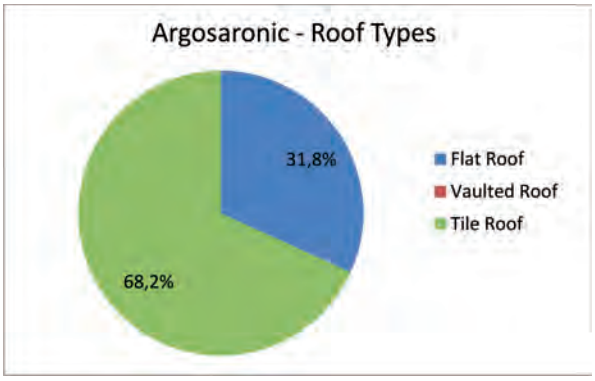
Graph C10



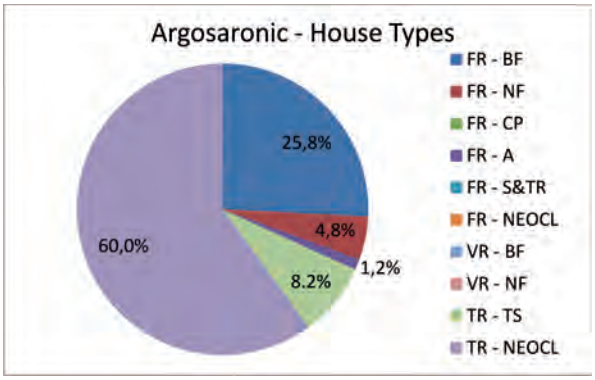
Graph C11



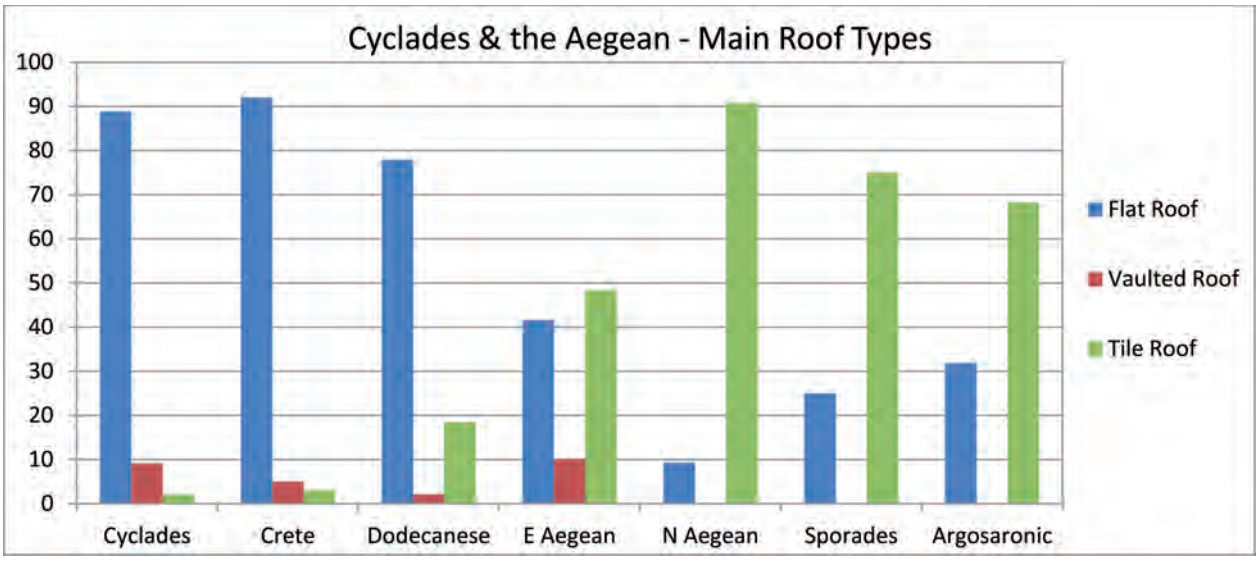
Graph C12



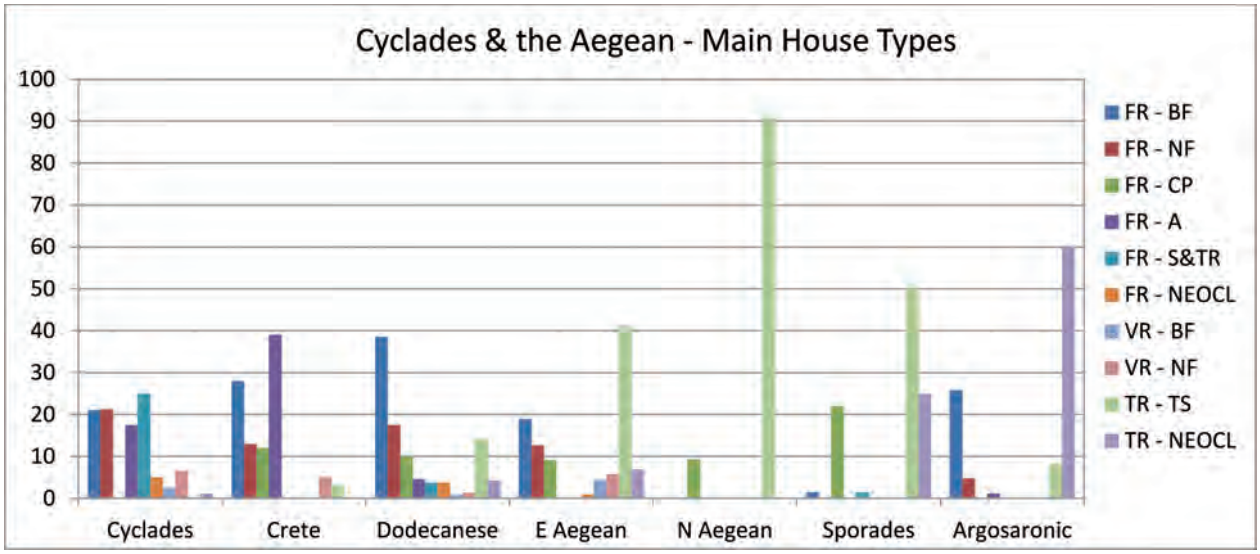
Graph C13



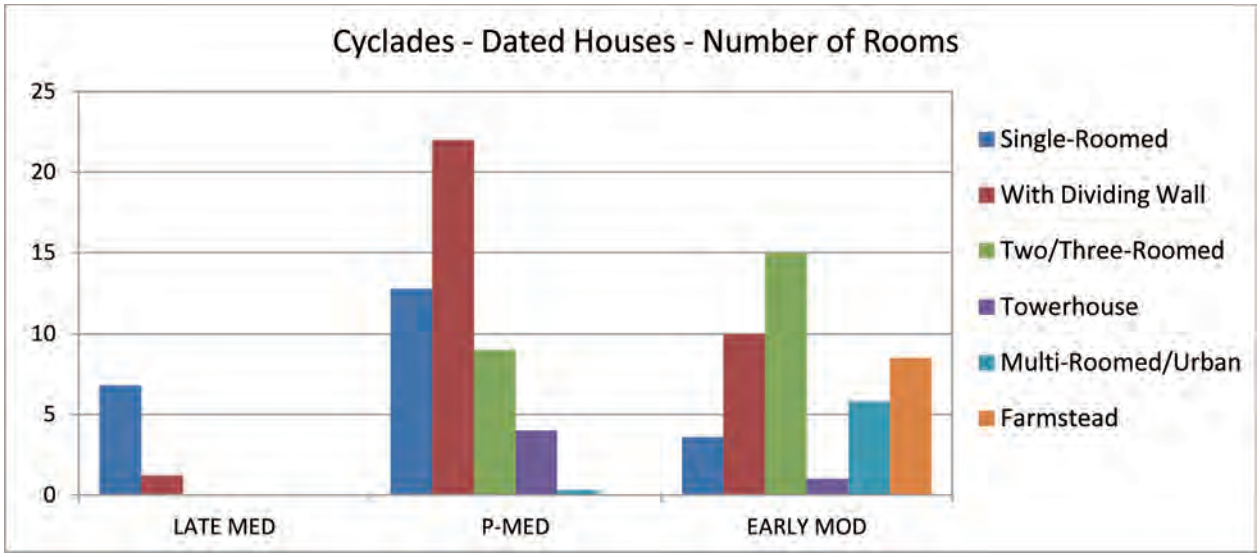
Graph C14



Graph D1



Graph D2



Graph E1

Appendix II (to chapter 8 - Catalogue)

APPENDIX IIA: POTTERY FROM KEPHALOS, PAROS ISLAND

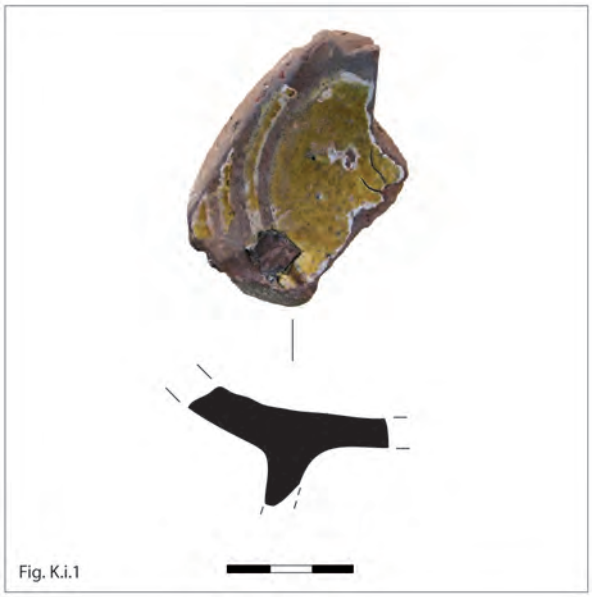


Fig. K.i.1

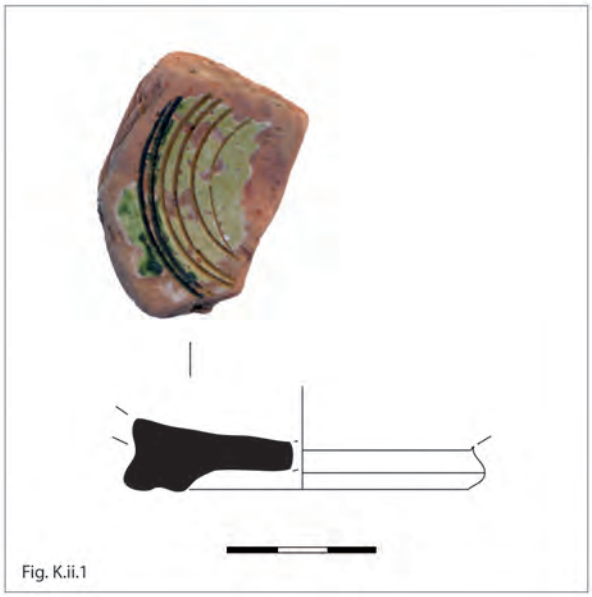


Fig. K.ii.1

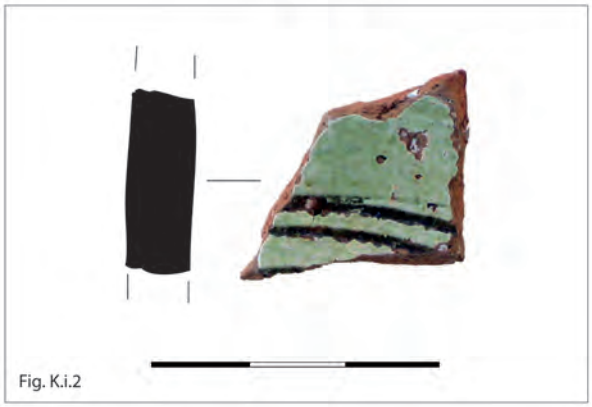


Fig. K.i.2

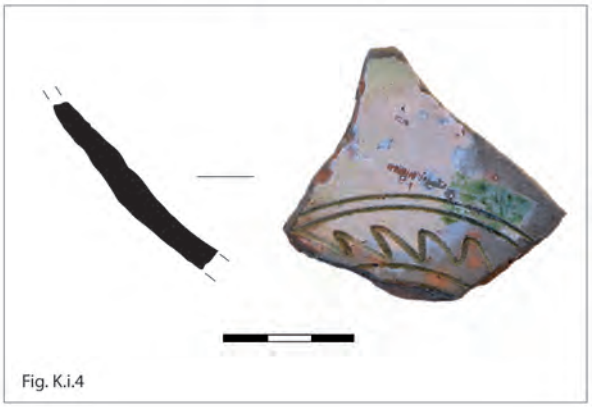


Fig. K.i.4

Fig. K.i.3

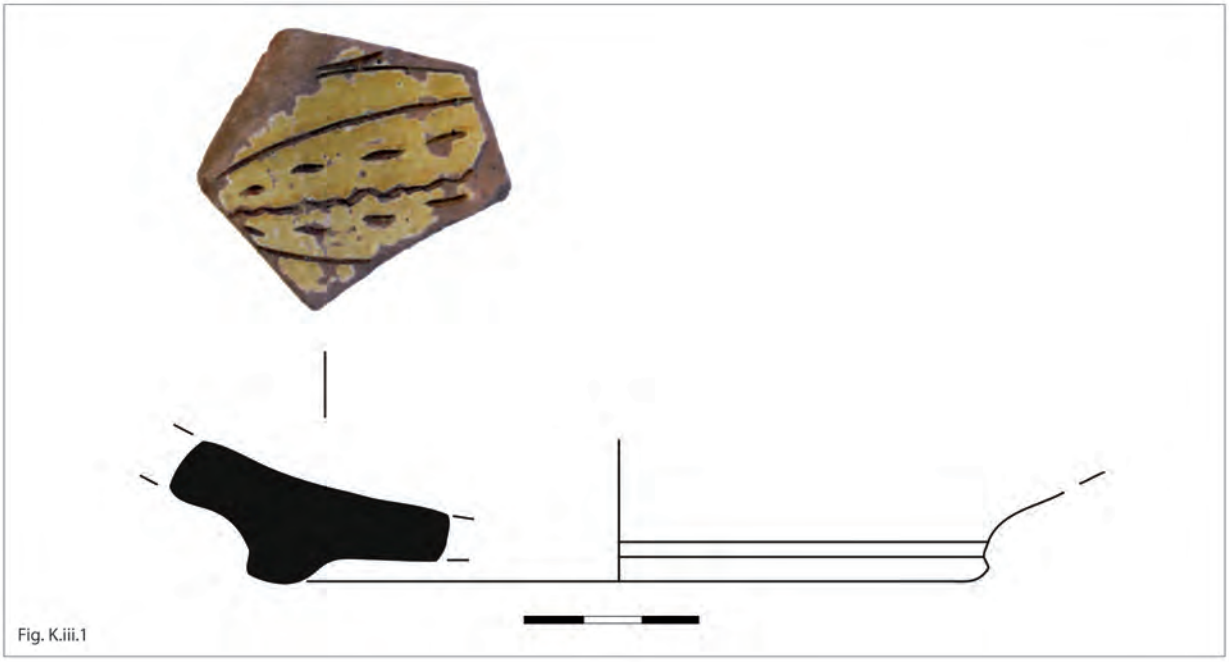


Fig. K.iii.1

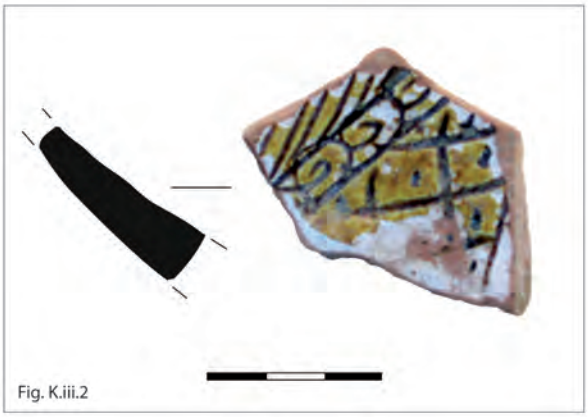


Fig. K.iii.2

Fig. K.iii.4

Fig. K.iii.3

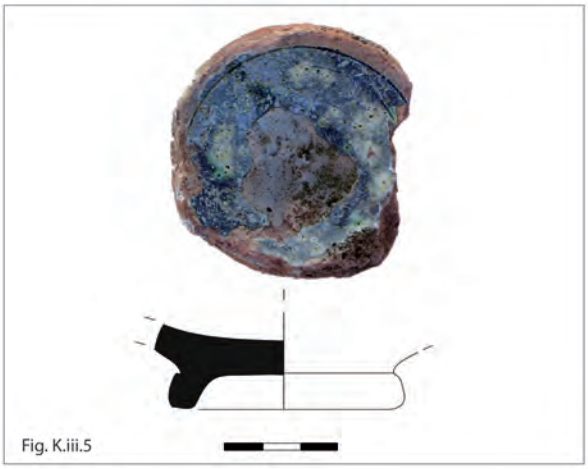


Fig. K.iii.5

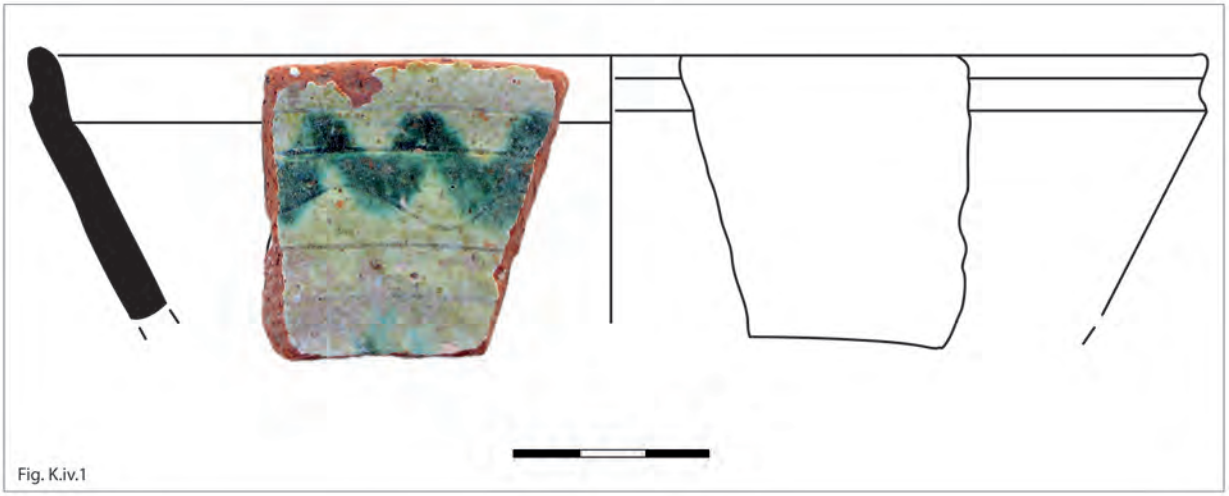
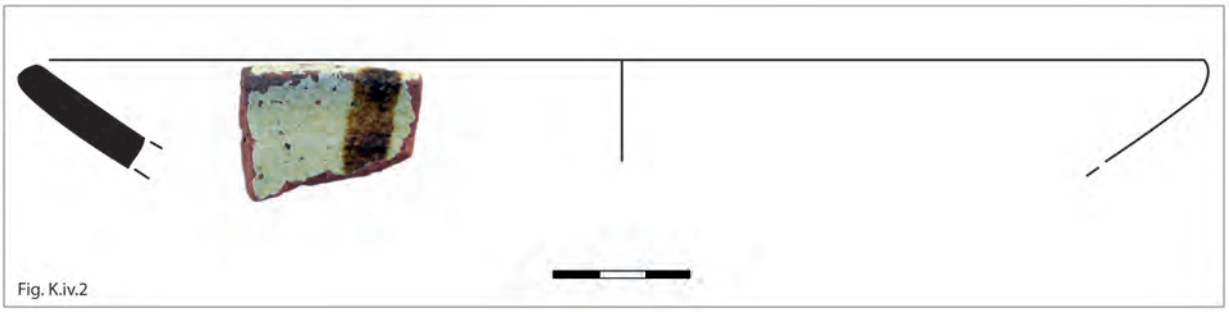


Fig. K.iv.1



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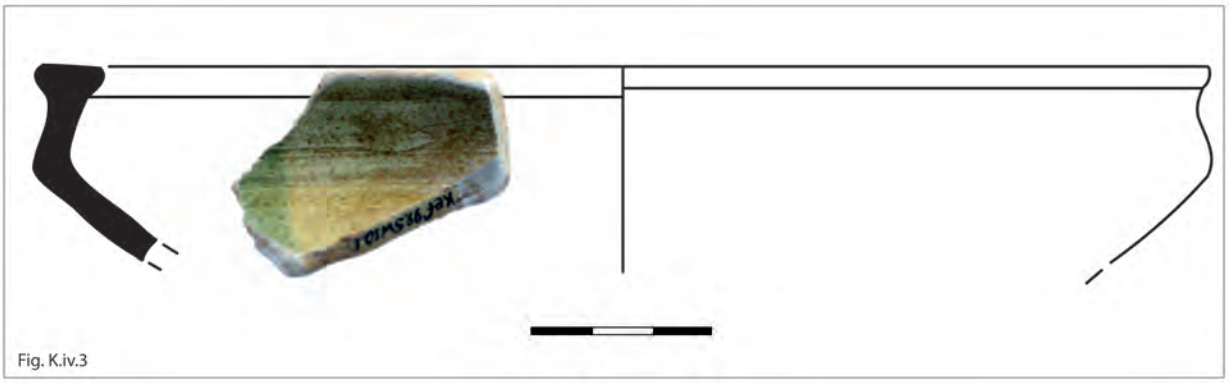

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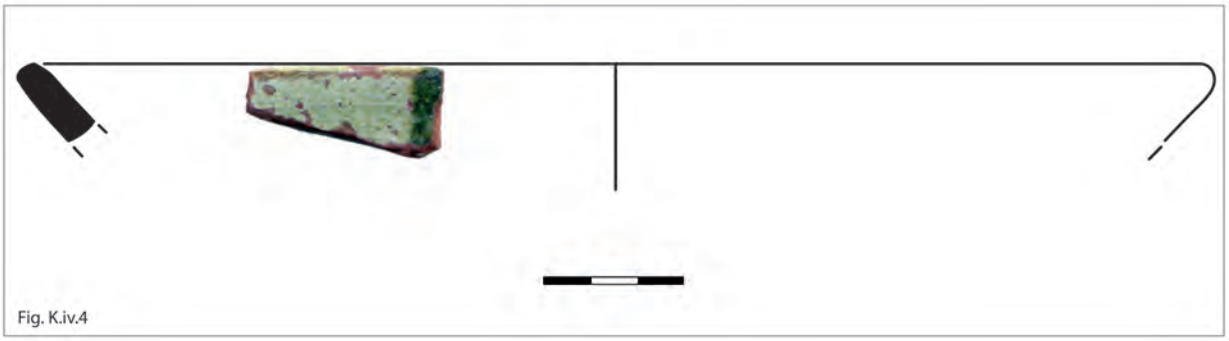

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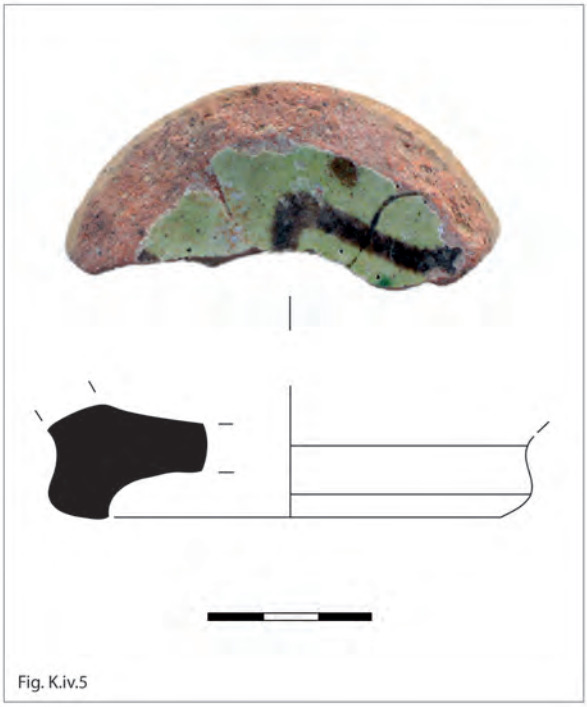

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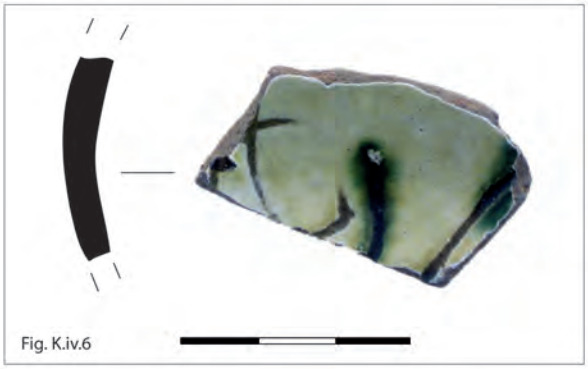


Fig. K.iv.6

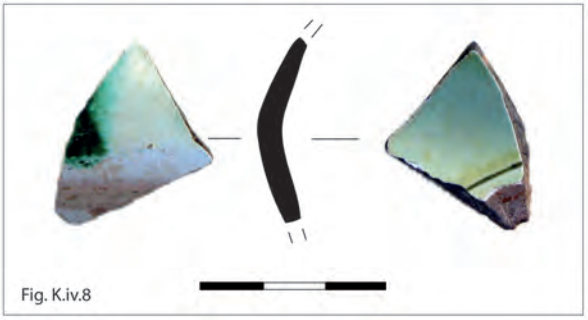


Fig. K.iv.8

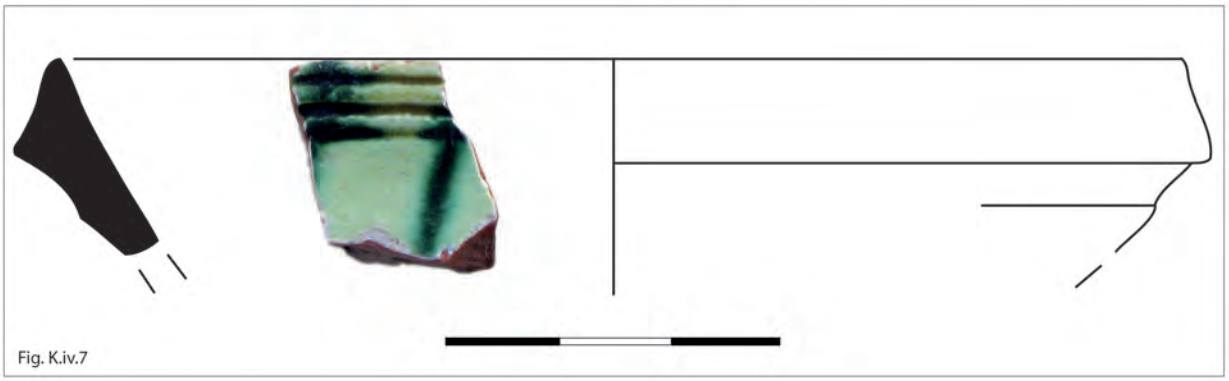
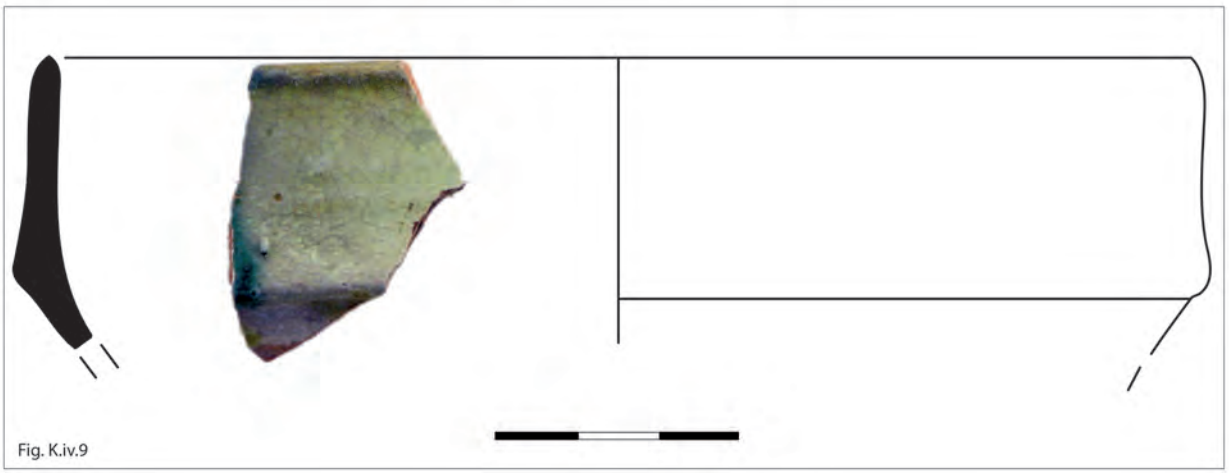


Fig. K.iv.7



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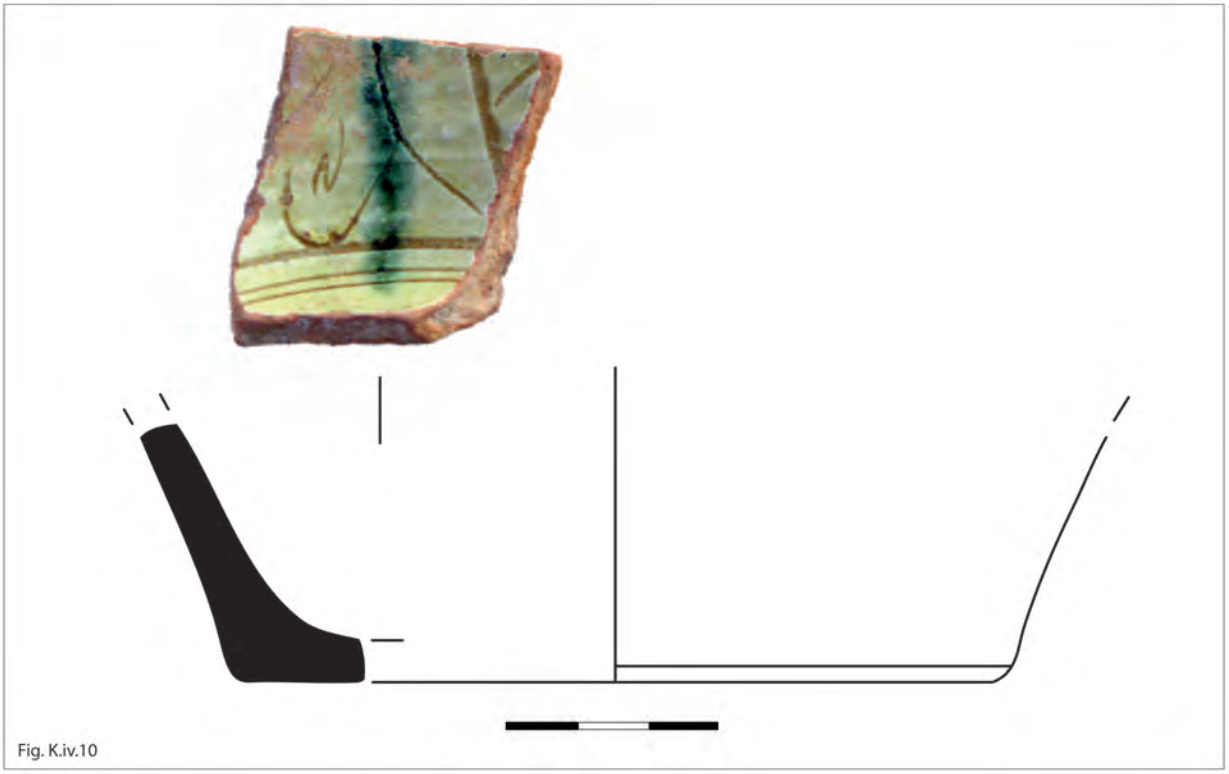

Fig. K.iv.10

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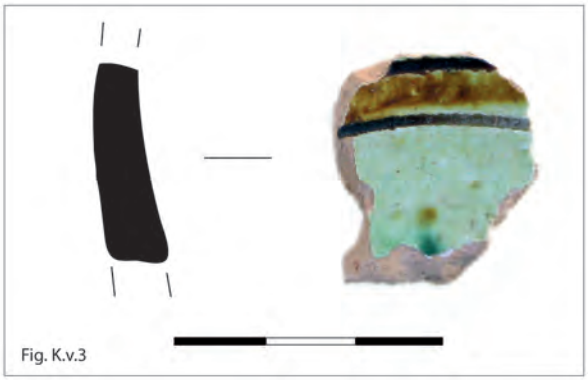
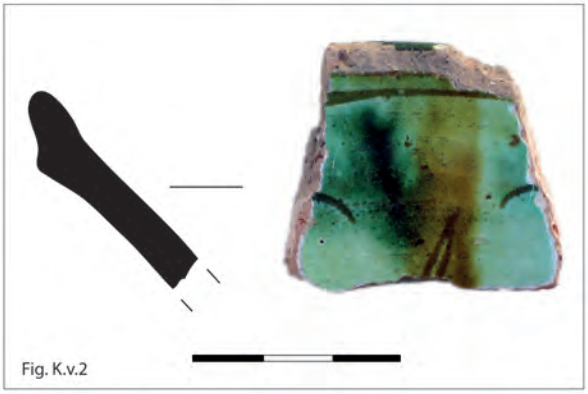


Fig. K.v.3



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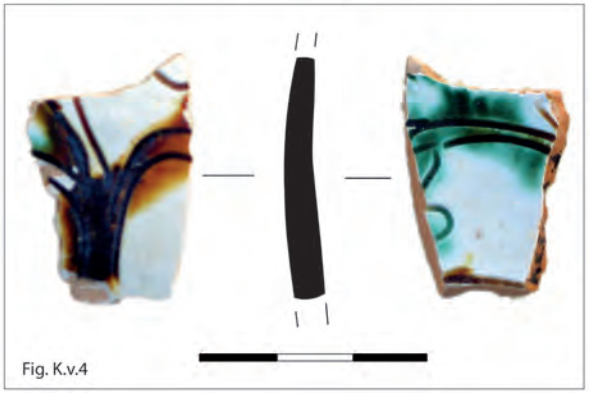

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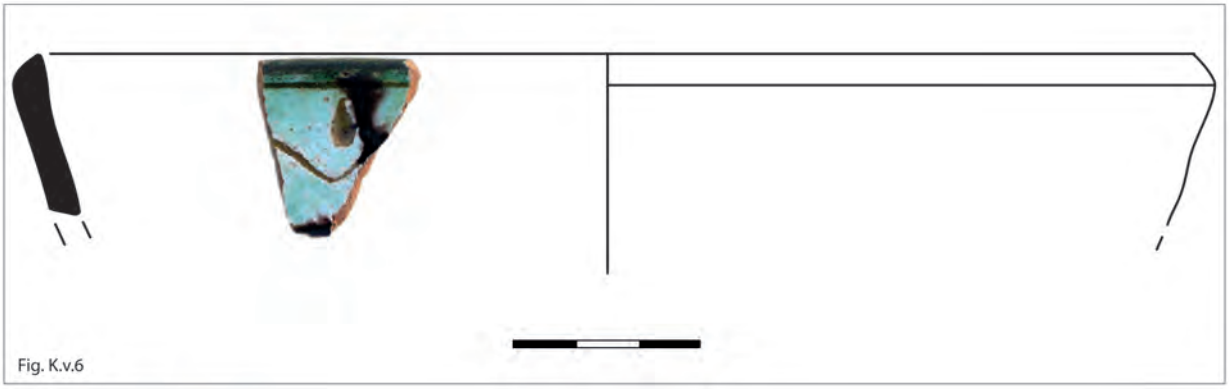
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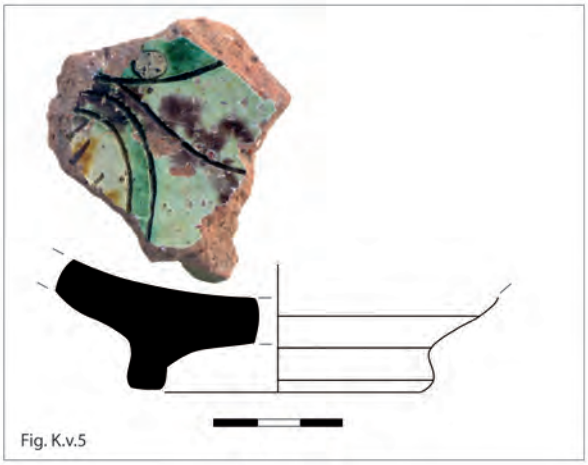
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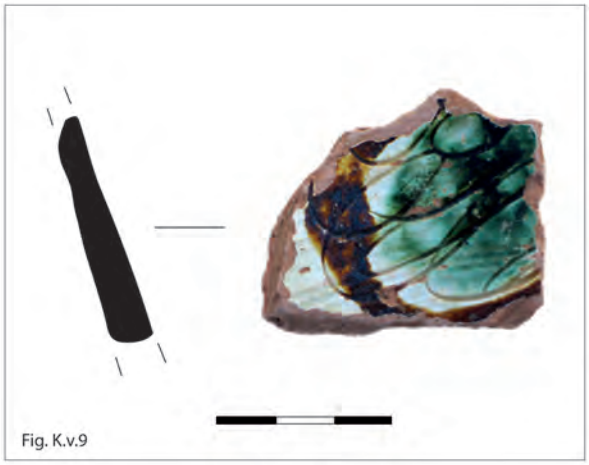
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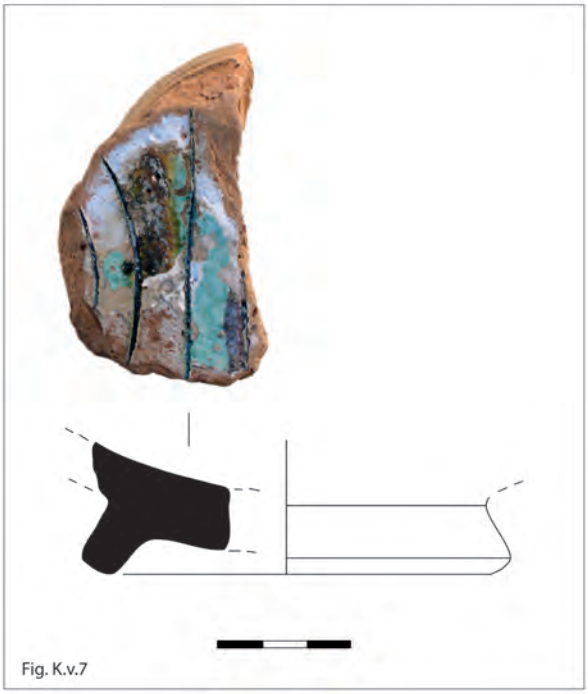
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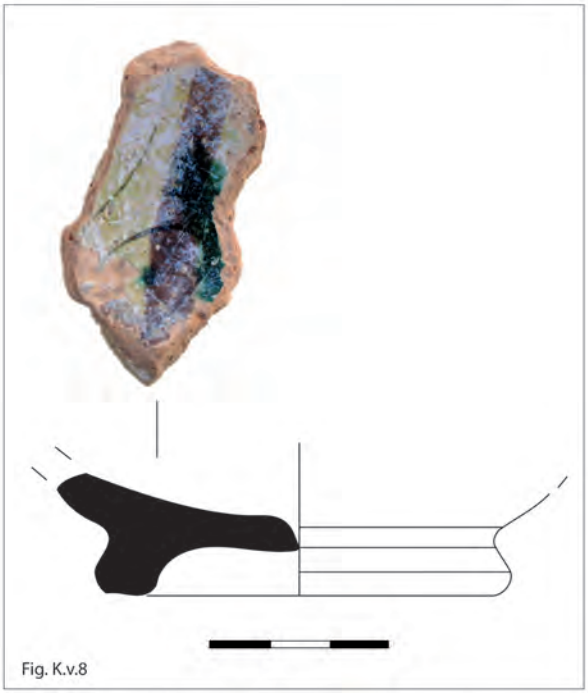
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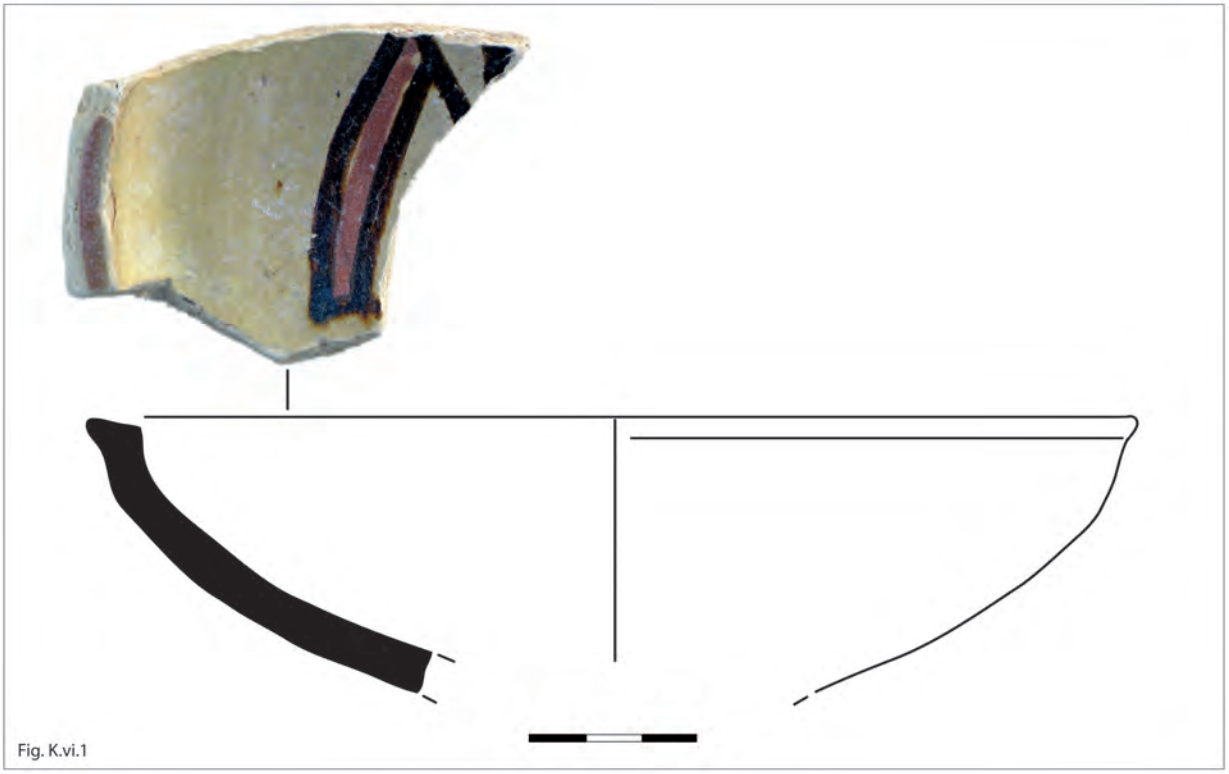

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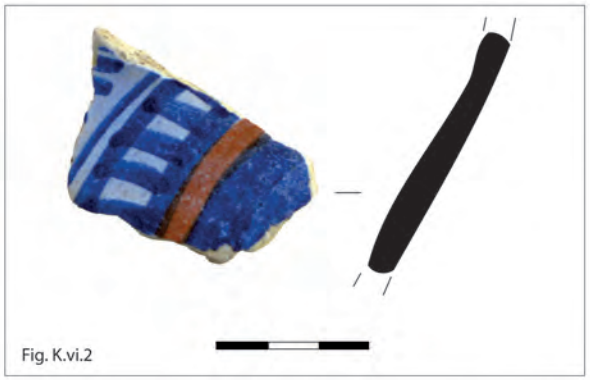

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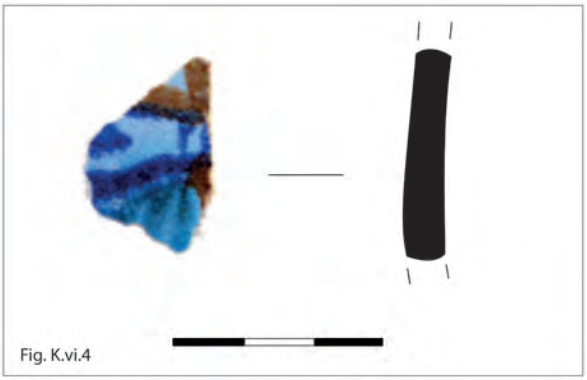

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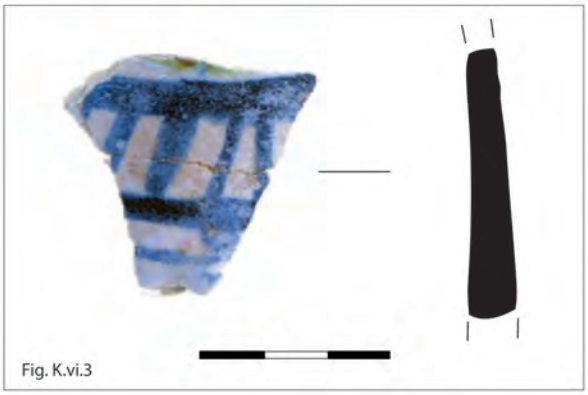
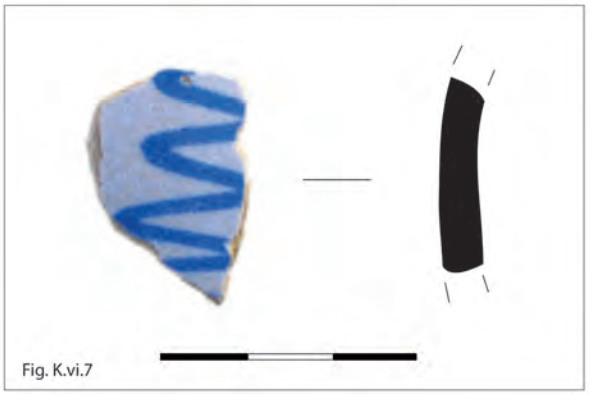


Fig. K.vi.3



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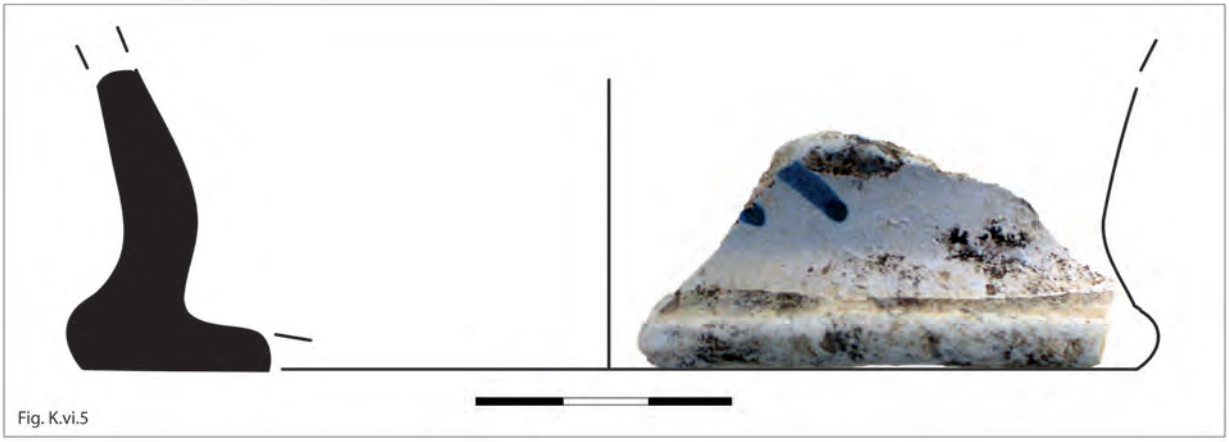


Fig. K.vi.5

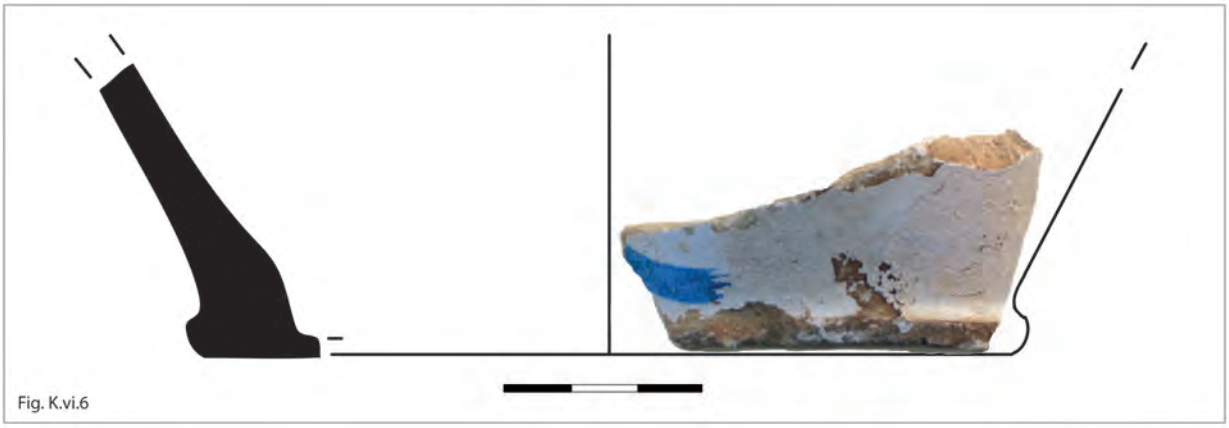


Fig. K.vi.6

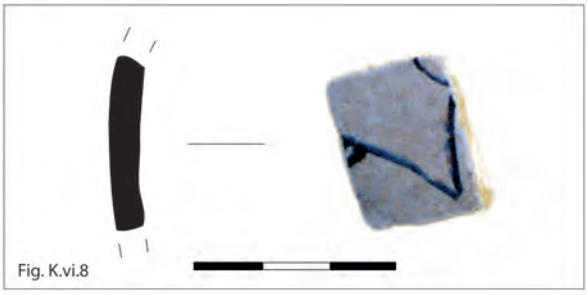


Fig. K.vi.8

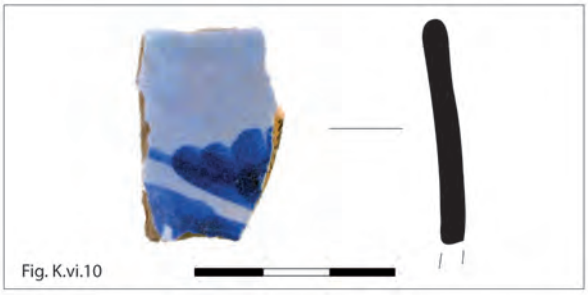


Fig. K.vi.10

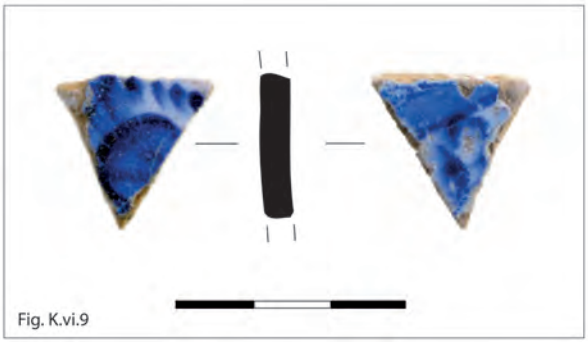


Fig. K.vi.9

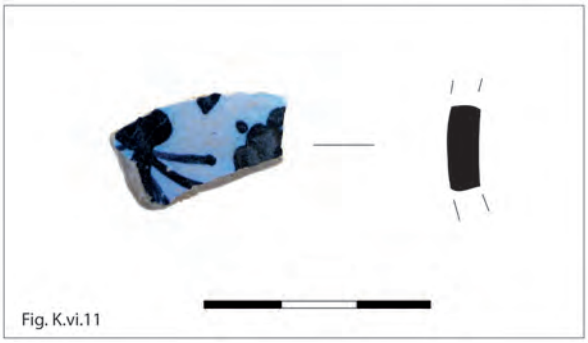


Fig. K.vi.11

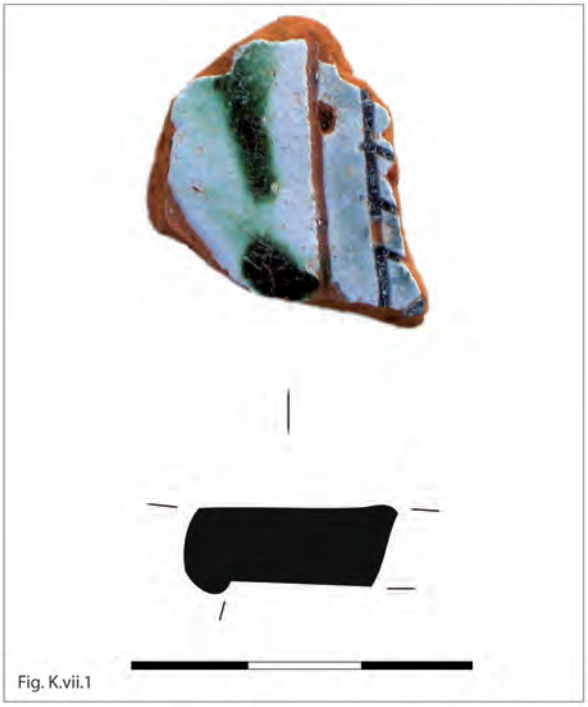


Fig. K.vii.1

Fig. K.ix.2

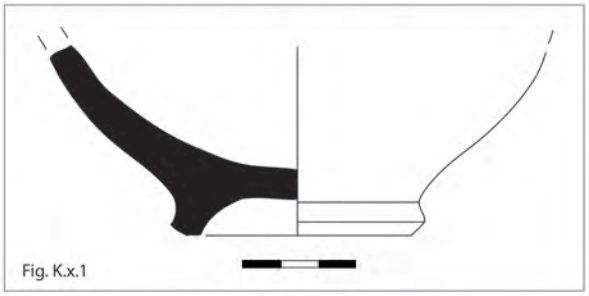


Fig. K.x.1

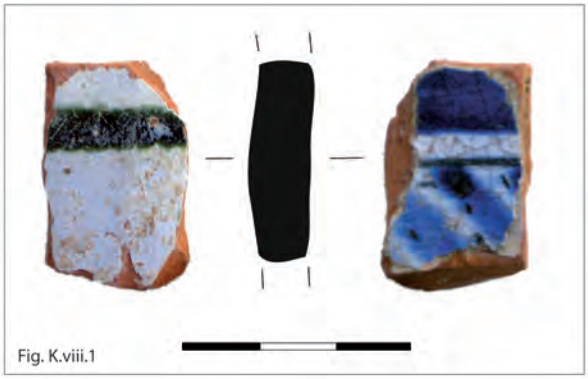


Fig. K.viii.1

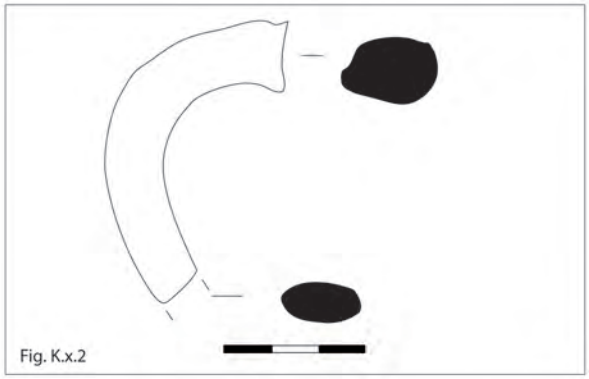
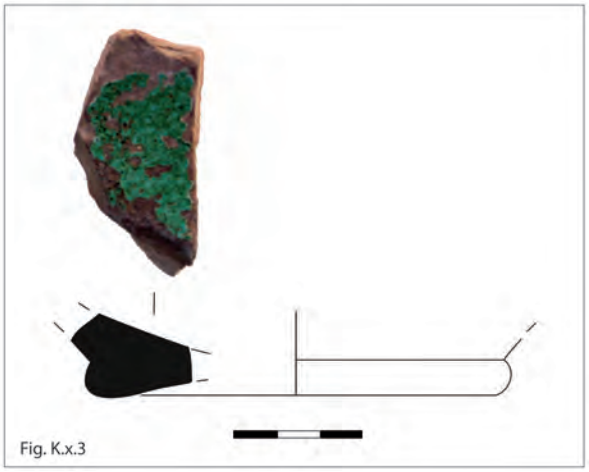


Fig. K.x.2

Fig. K.ix.1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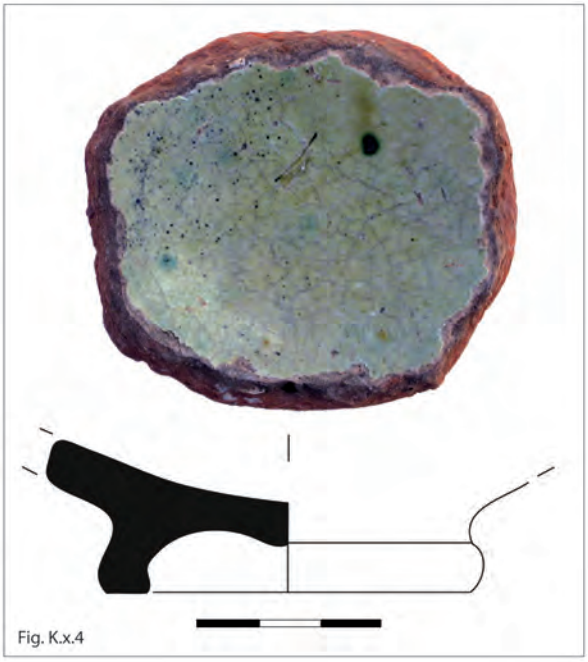
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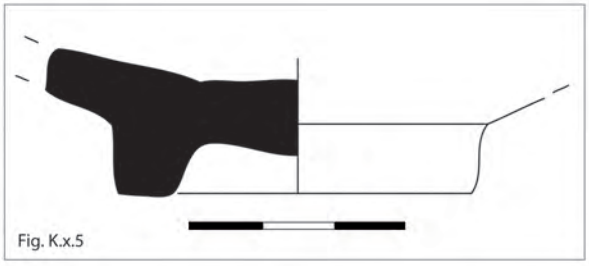
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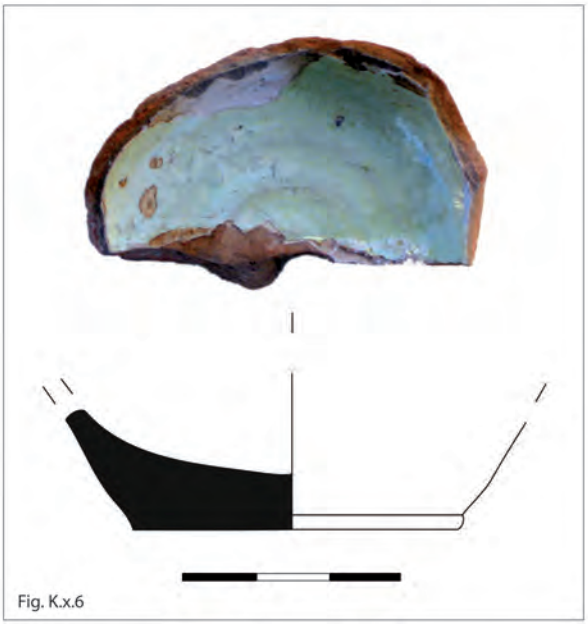
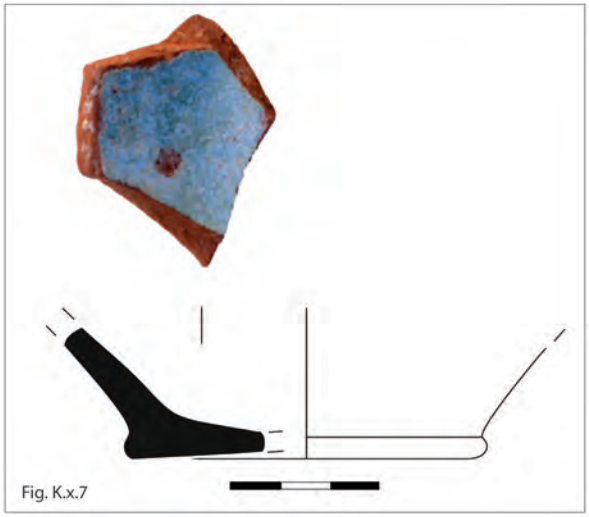


Fig. K.x.6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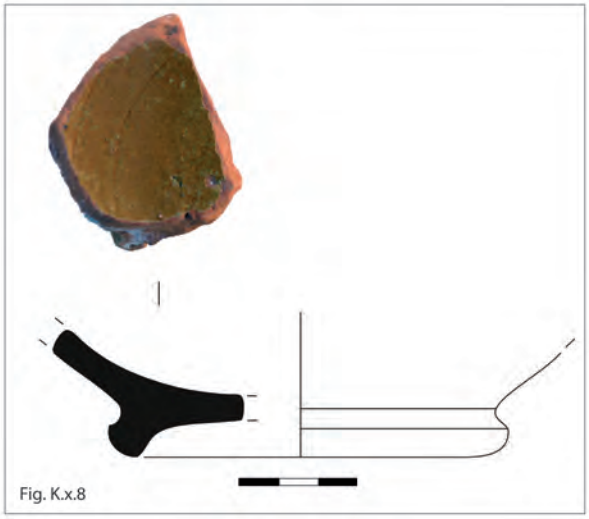
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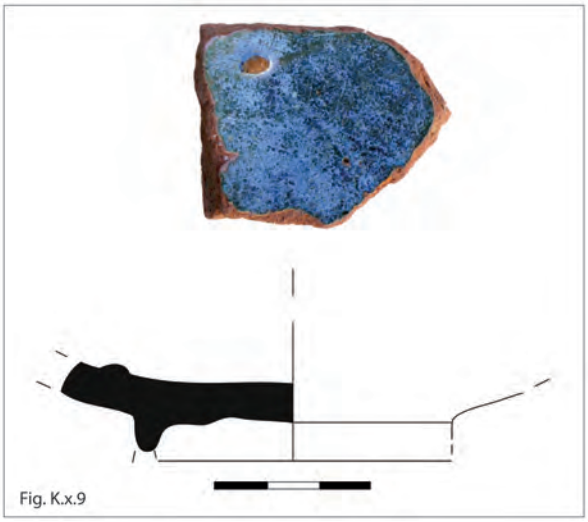
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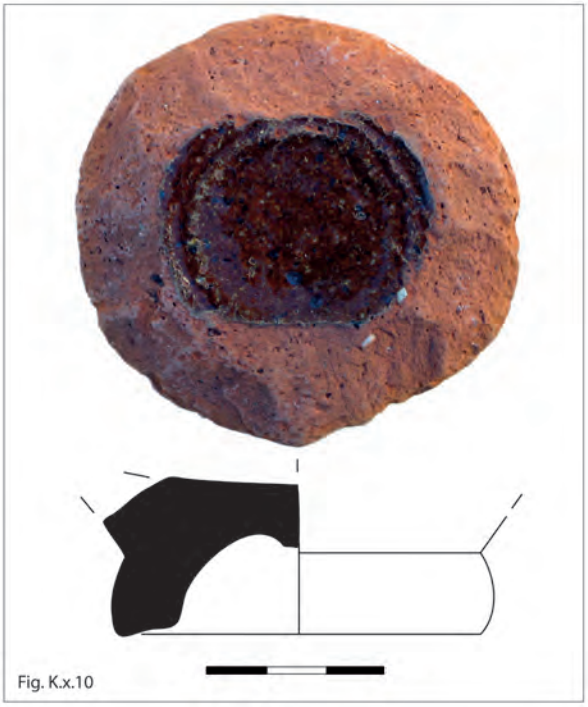
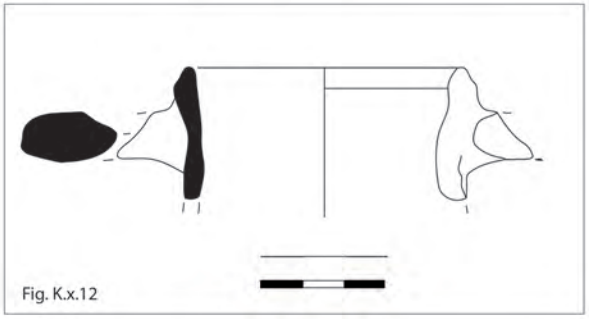


Fig. K.x.10

Fig. K.x.11



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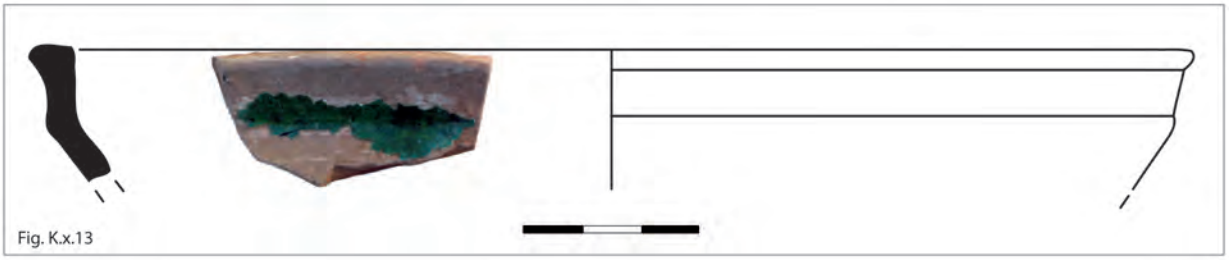
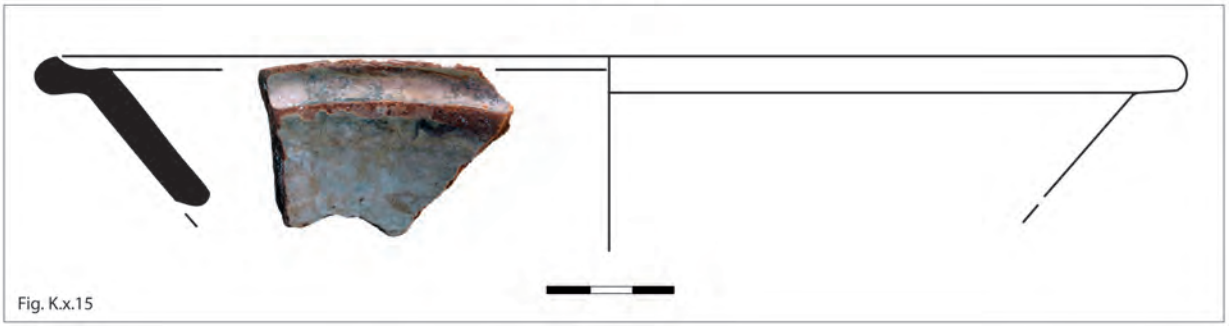


Fig. K.x.13

Fig. K.x.14



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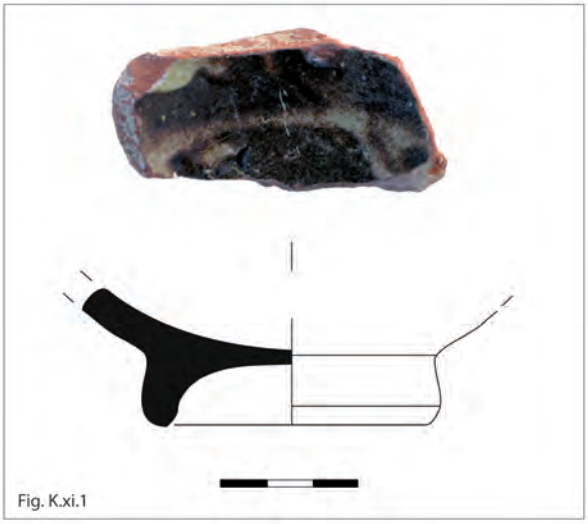
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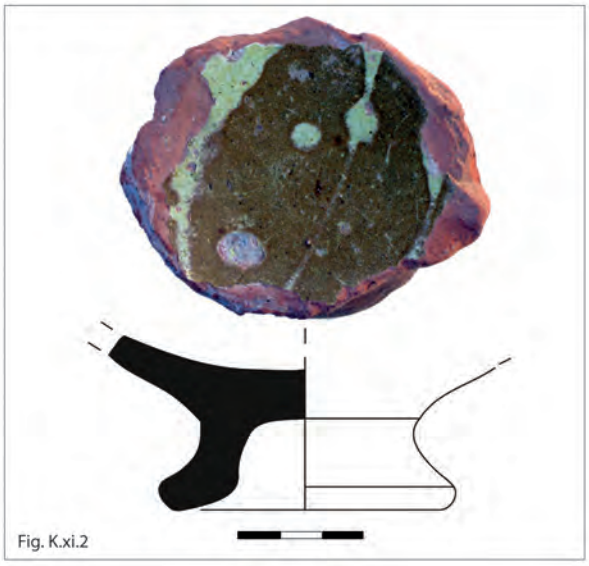
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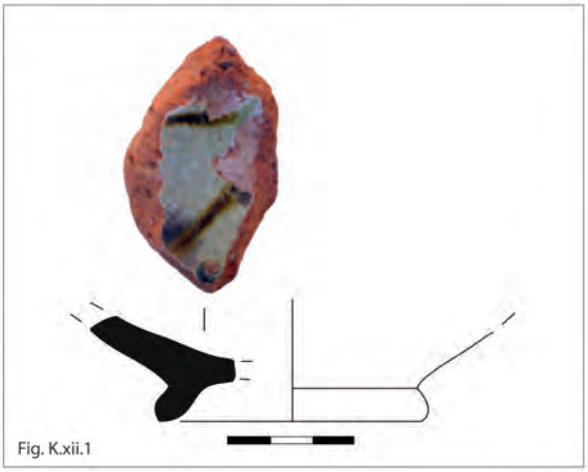
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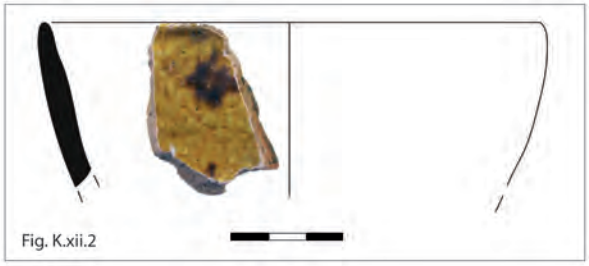
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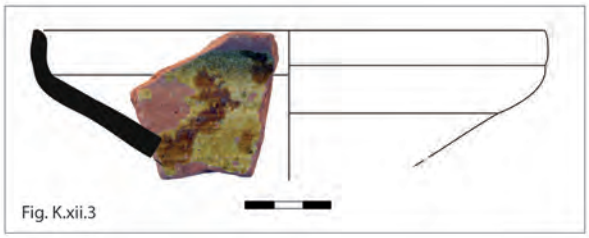
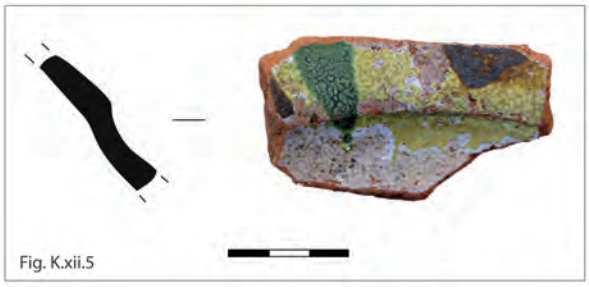


Fig. K.xii.3

Fig. K.xii.4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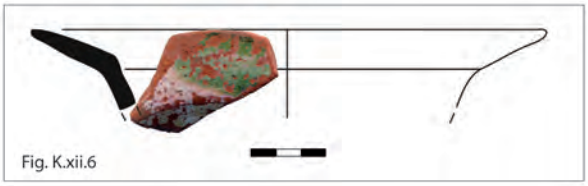
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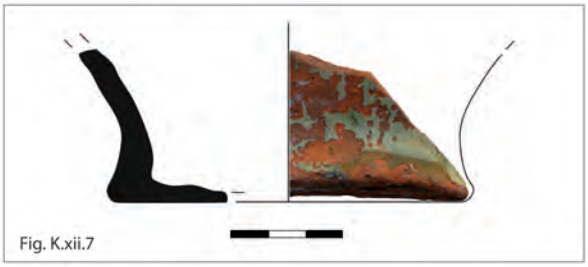
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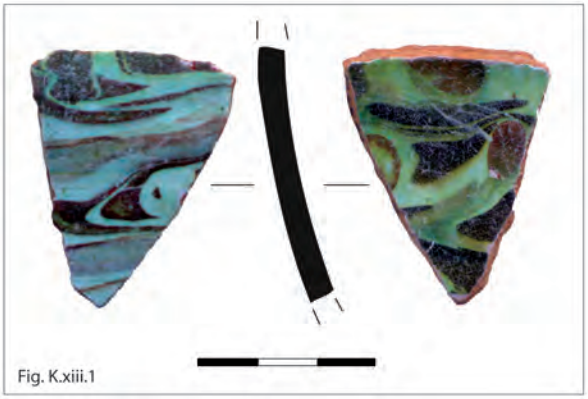

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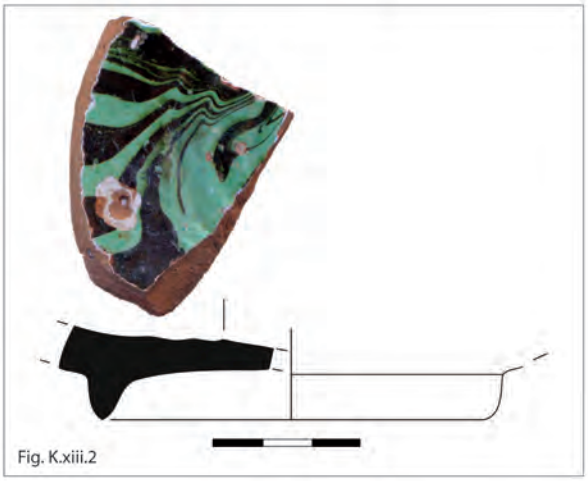

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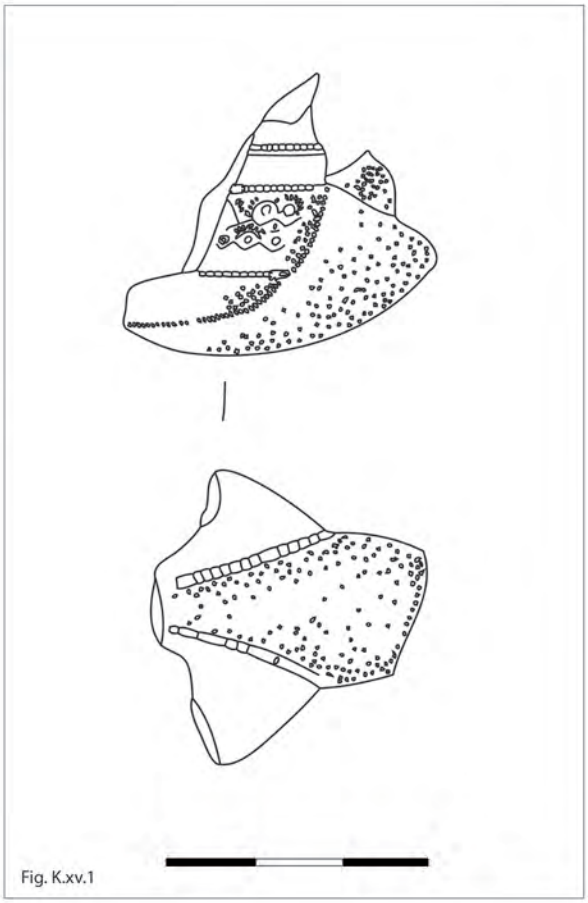

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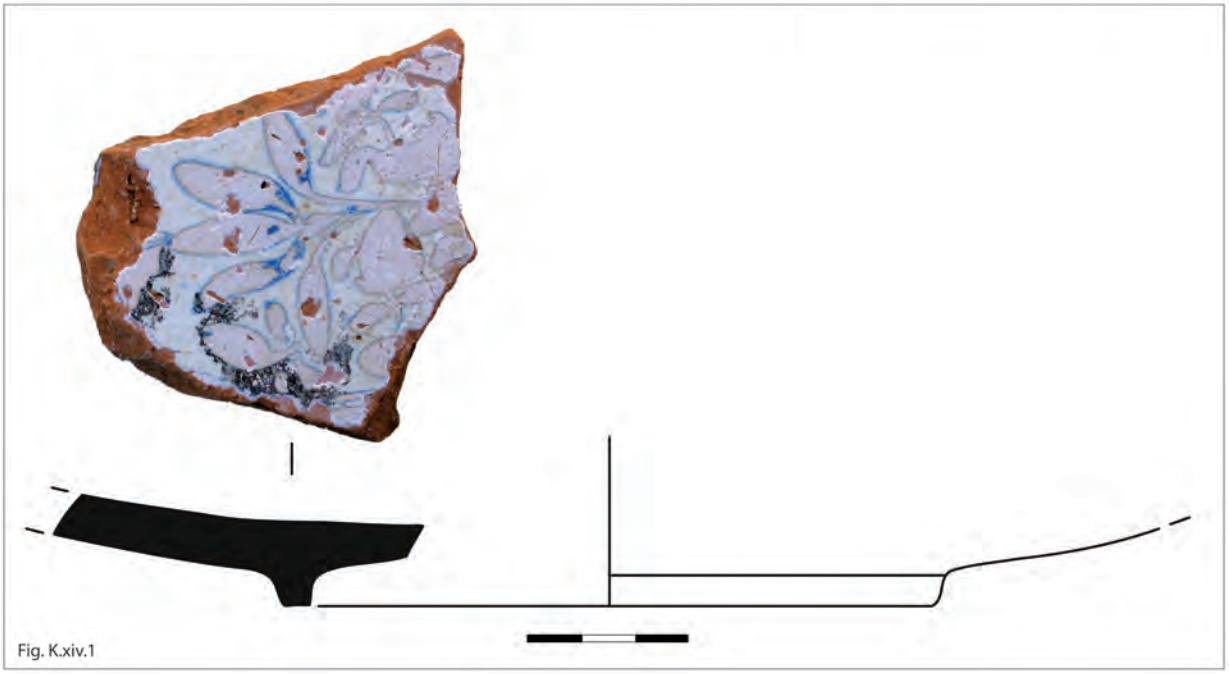
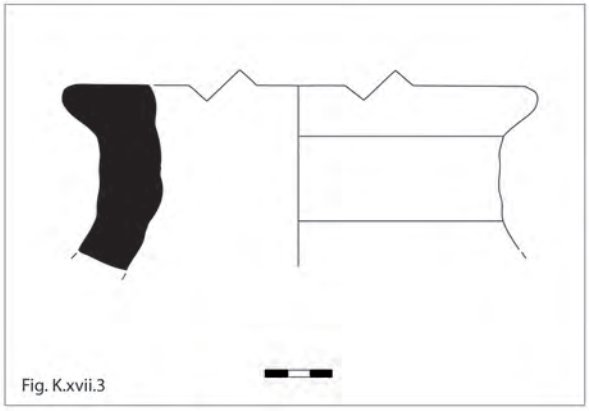


Fig. K.xiv.1

Fig. K.xvi.1



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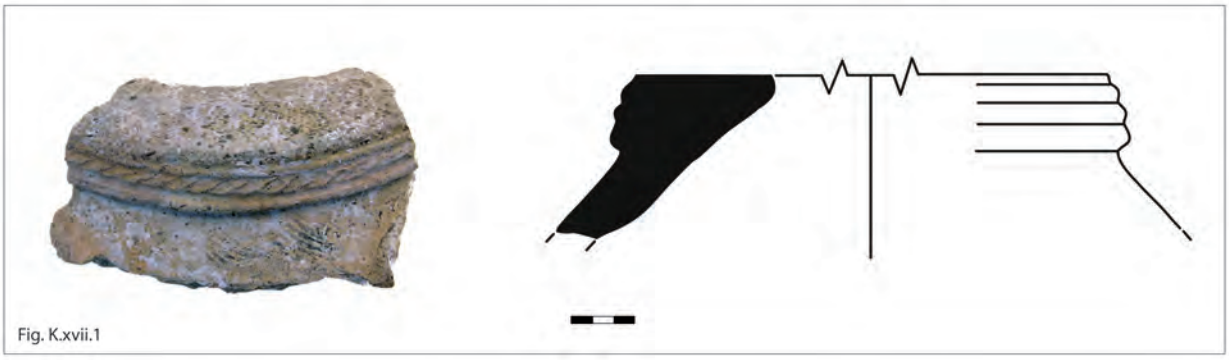
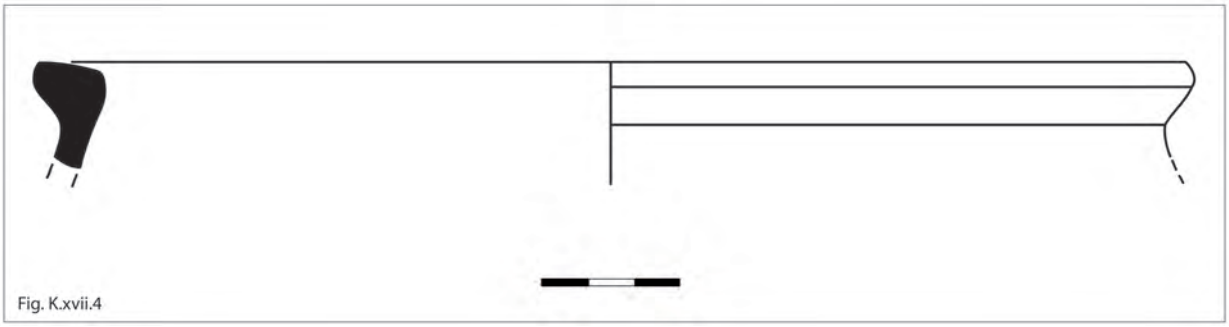


Fig. K.xvii.1

Fig. K.xvii.2



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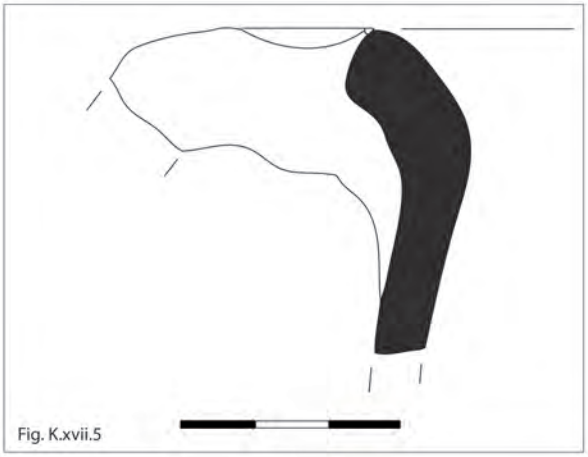

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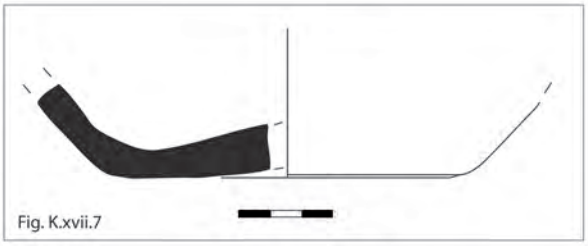

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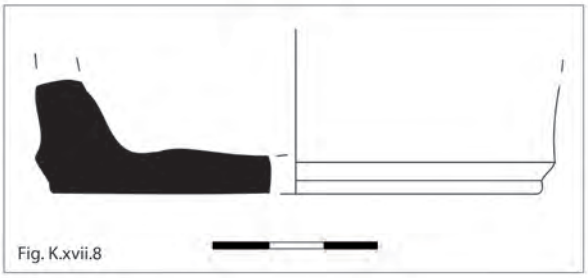


Fig. K.xvii.8

Fig. K.xvii.6

APPENDIX IIB: POTTERY FROM MEDIEVAL SITES AT CHORIA KEPHALOU, PAROS ISLAND

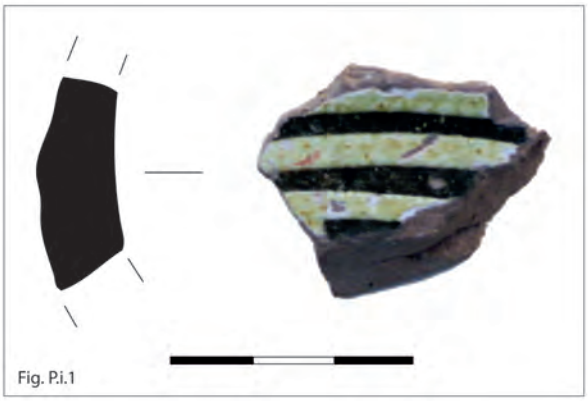


Fig. P.i.1

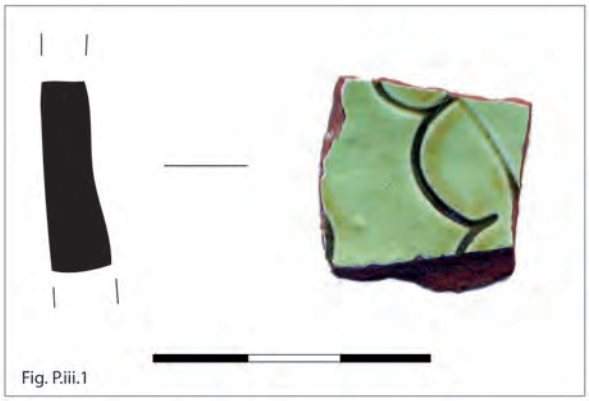
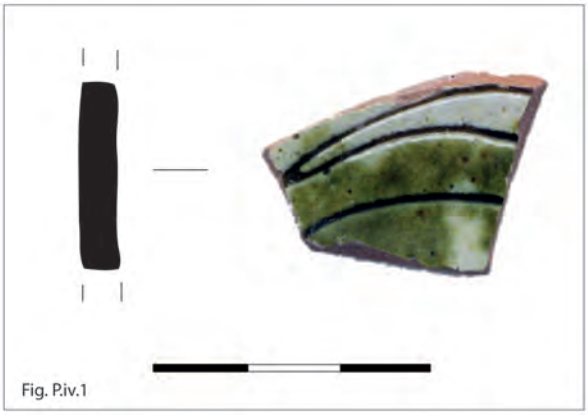


Fig. P.iii.1

Fig. P.i.2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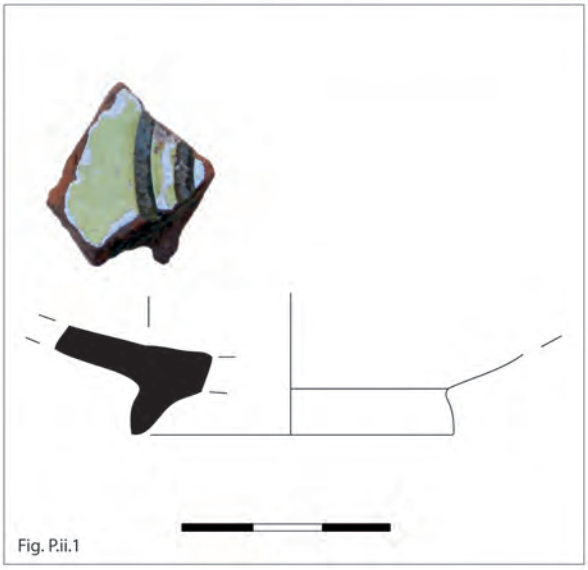
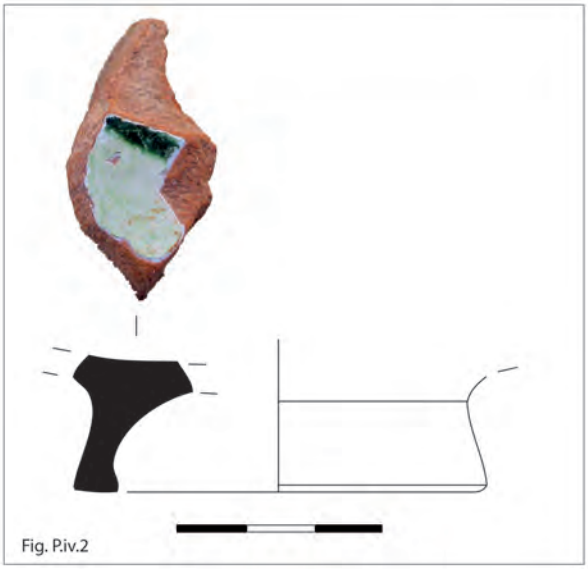


Fig. P.ii.1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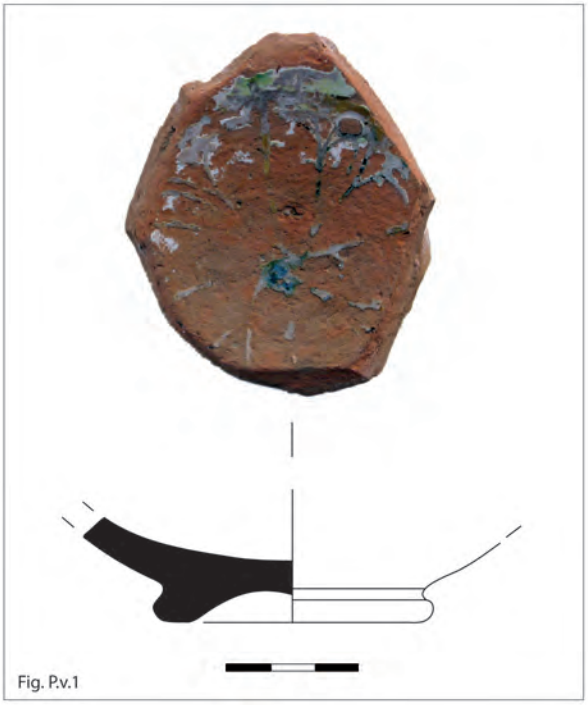


Fig. P.v.1

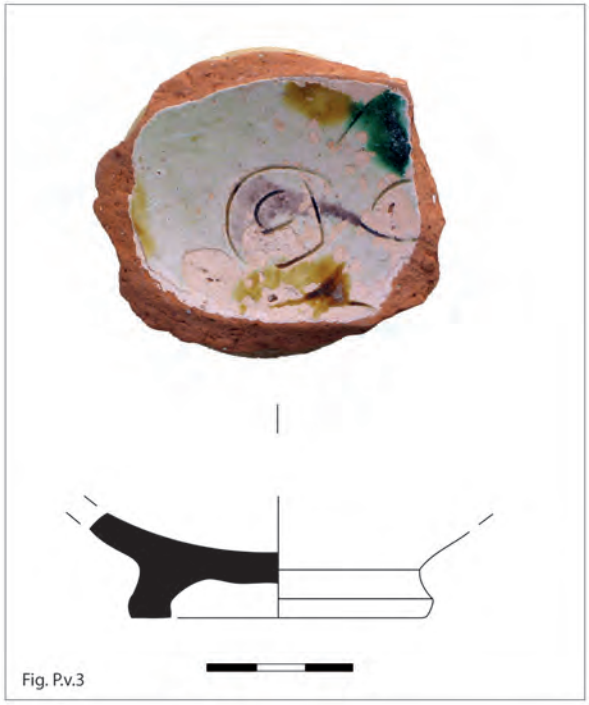
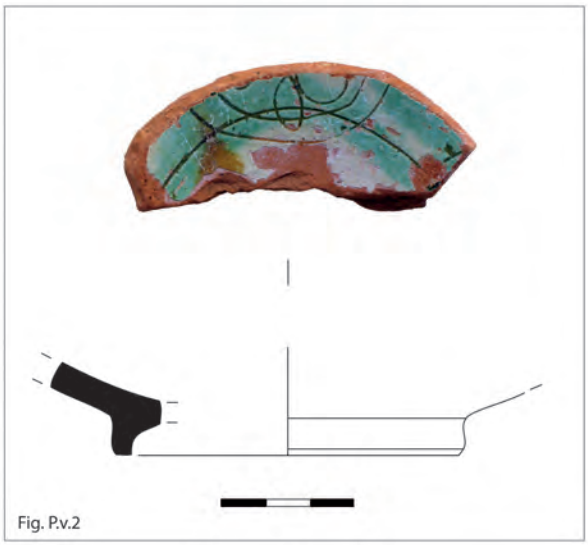


Fig. P.v.3



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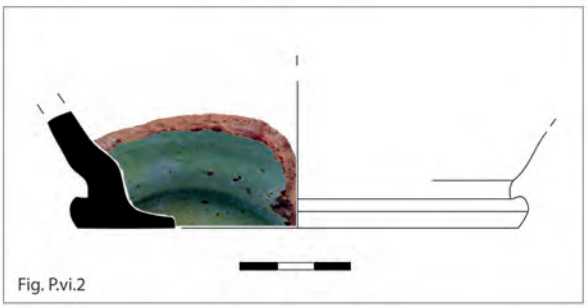

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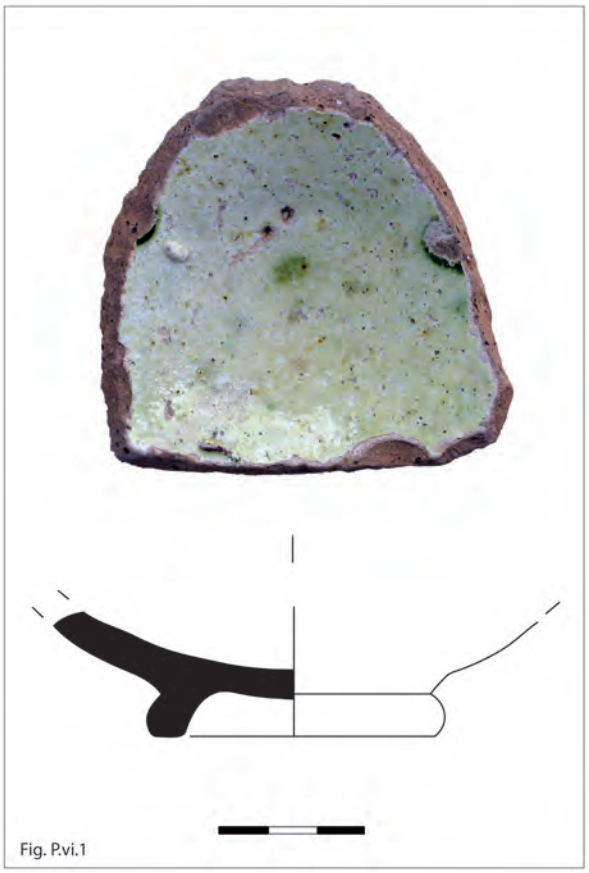

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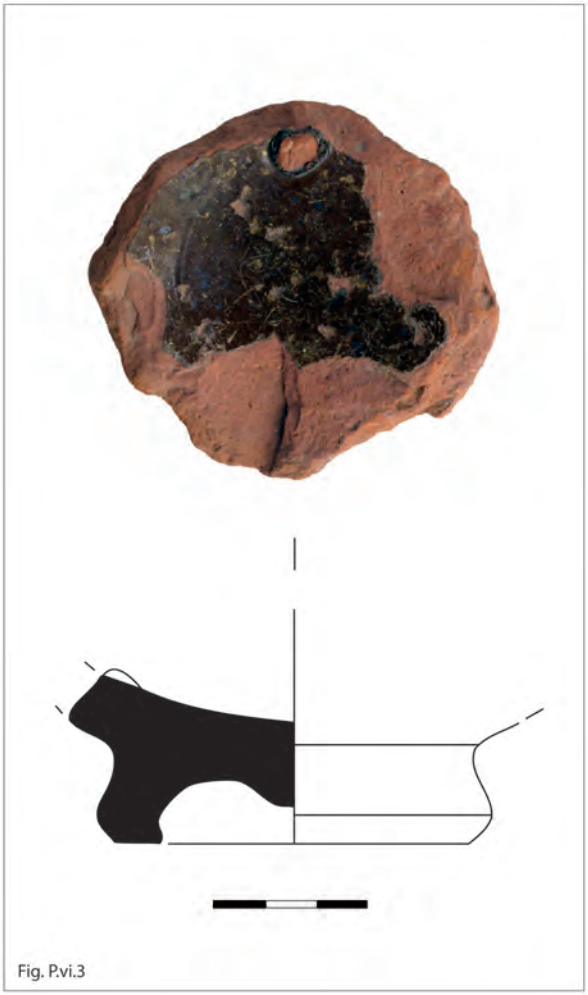
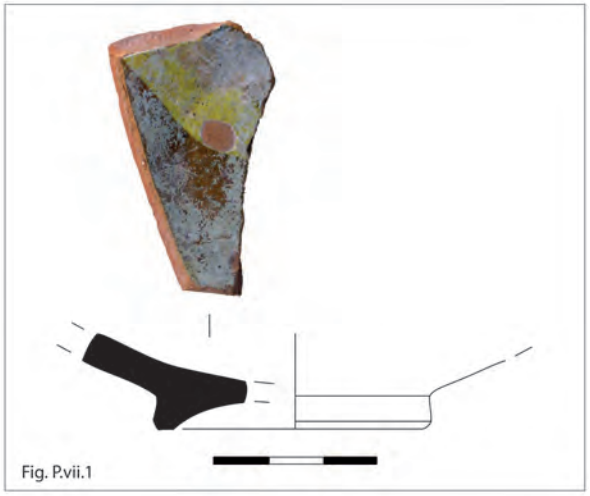


Fig. P.vi.3



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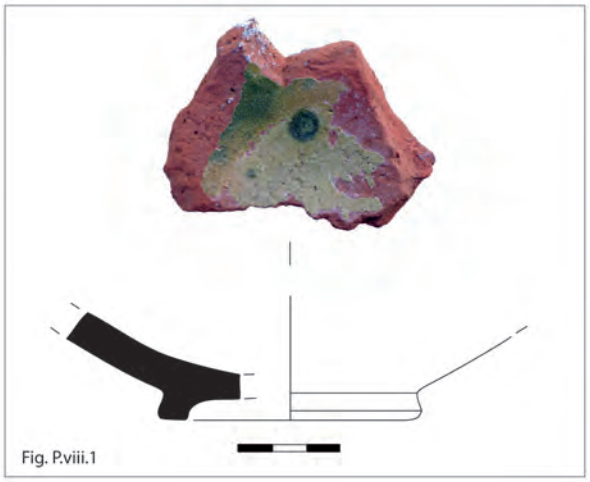


Fig. P.viii.1

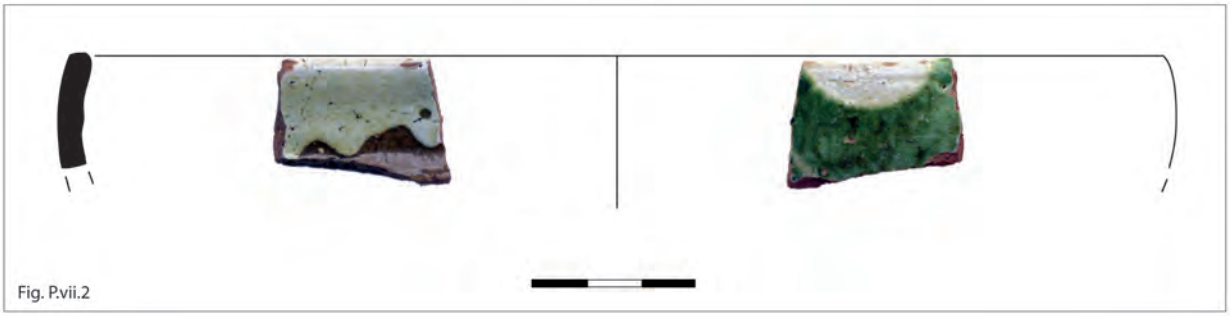
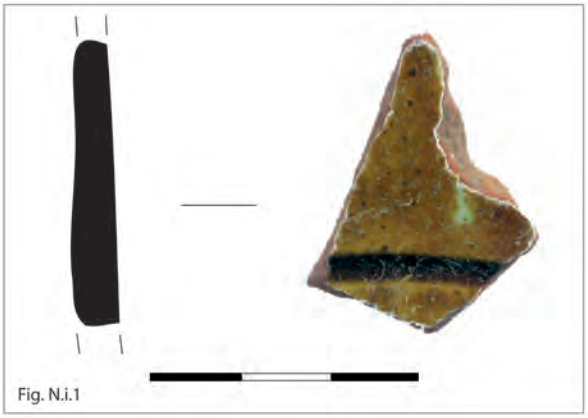


Fig. P.vii.2

APPENDIX IIC: POTTERY FROM APANO KASTRO, NAXOS ISLAND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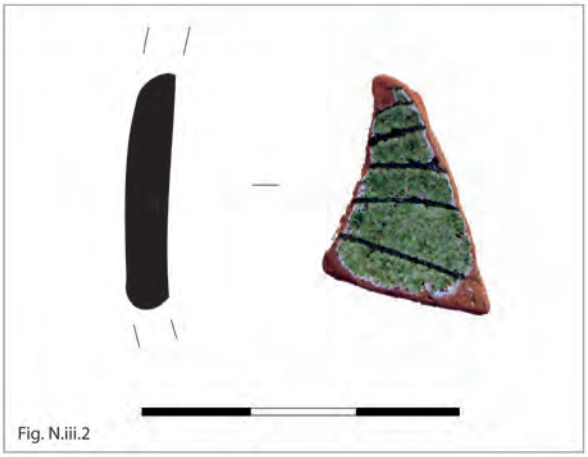
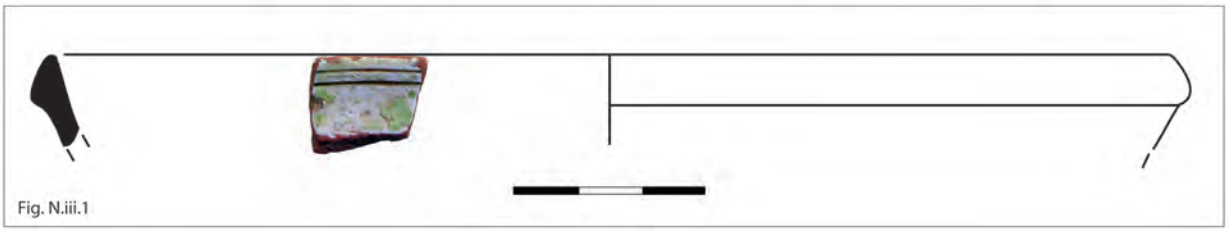


Fig. N.iii.2

Fig. N.ii.1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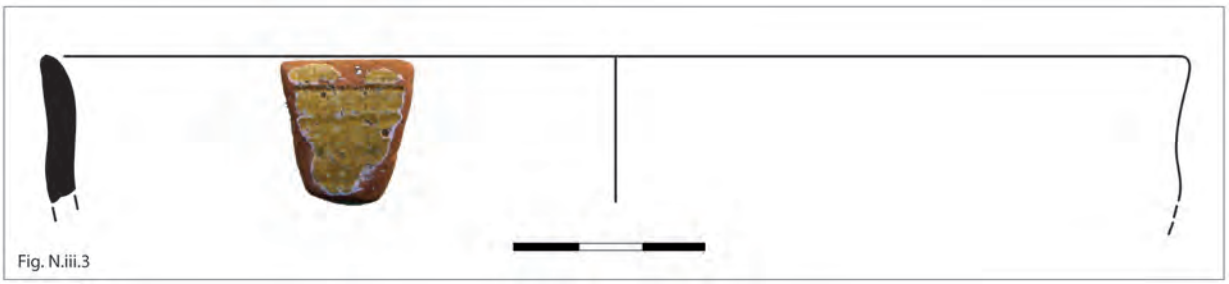
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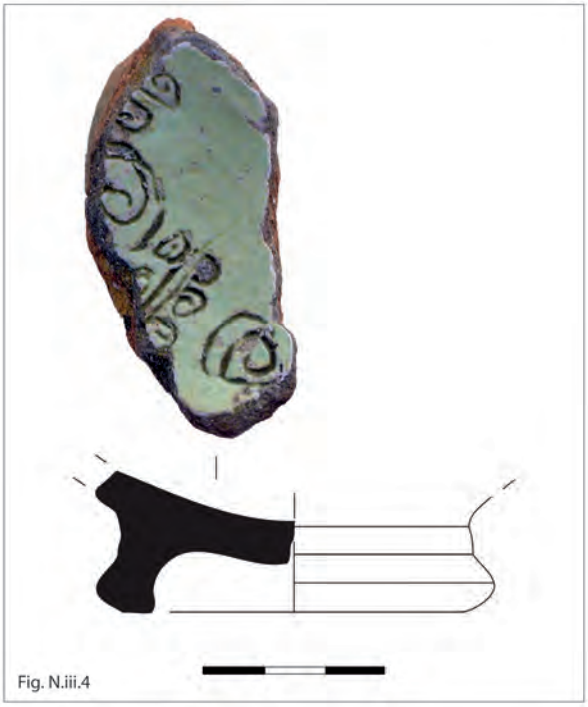
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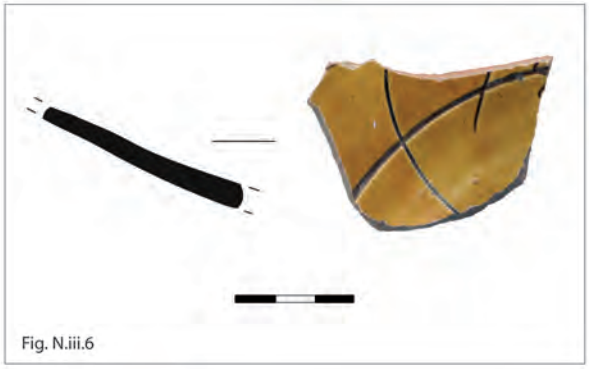


Fig. N.iii.6

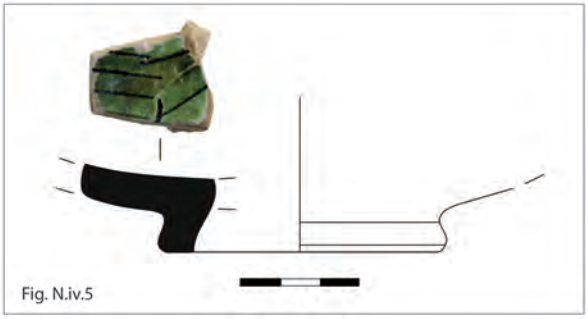


Fig. N.iv.5

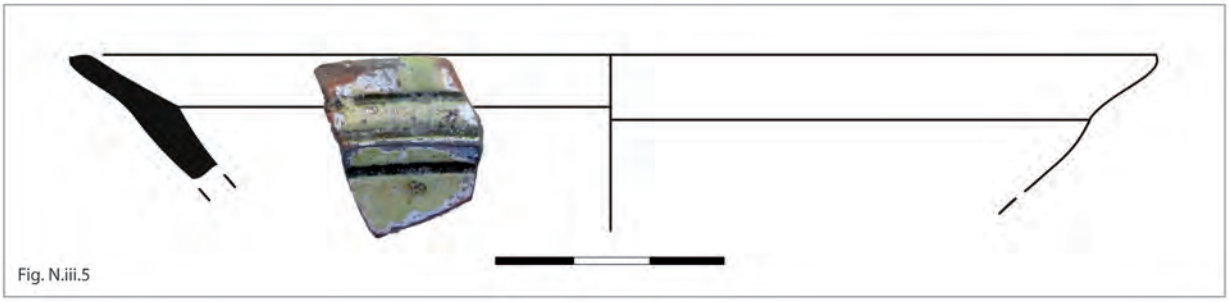
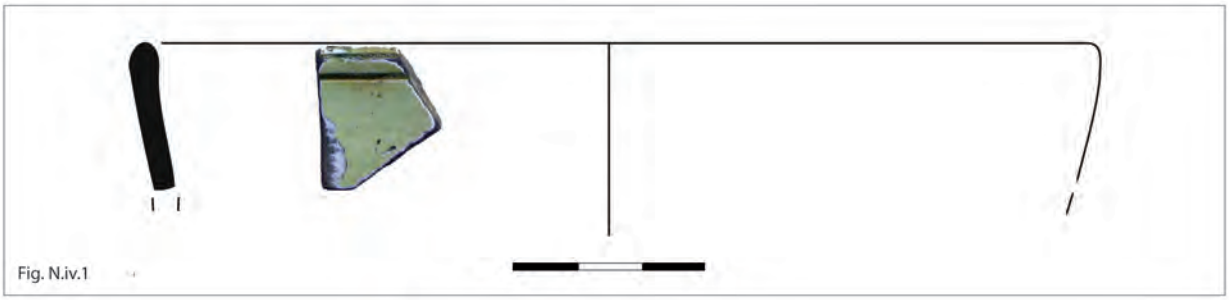


Fig. N.iii.5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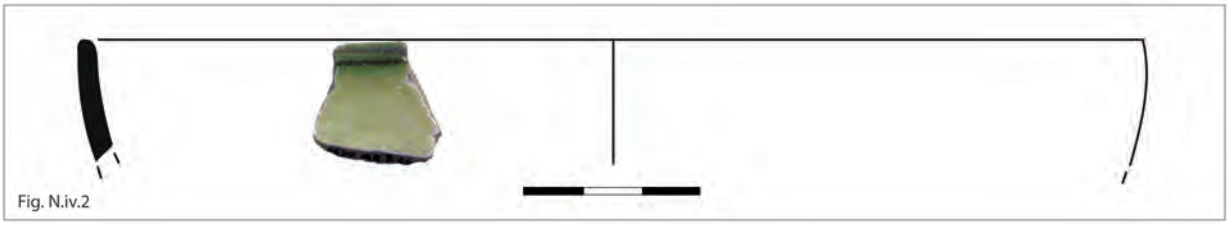
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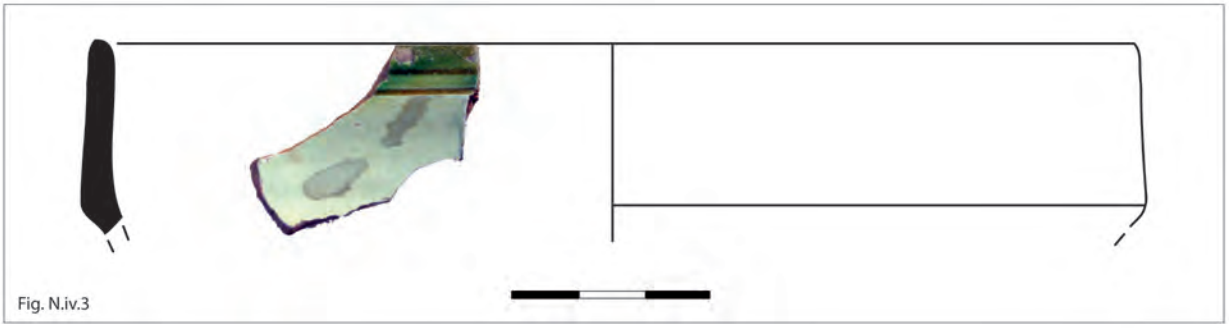

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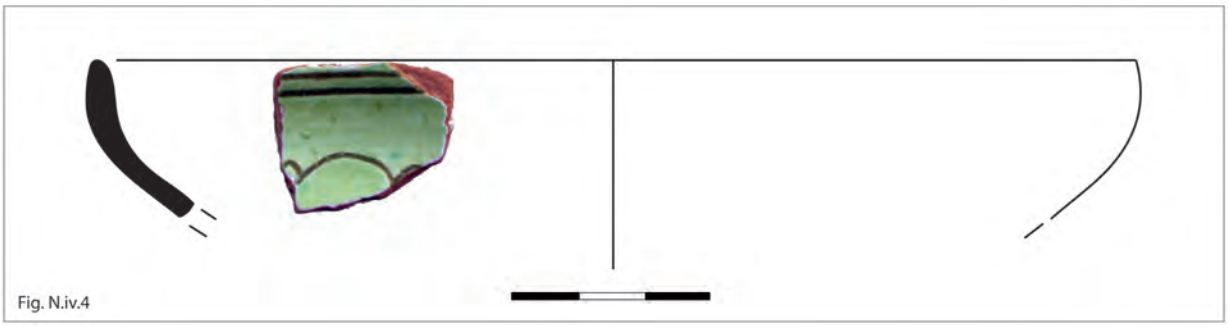
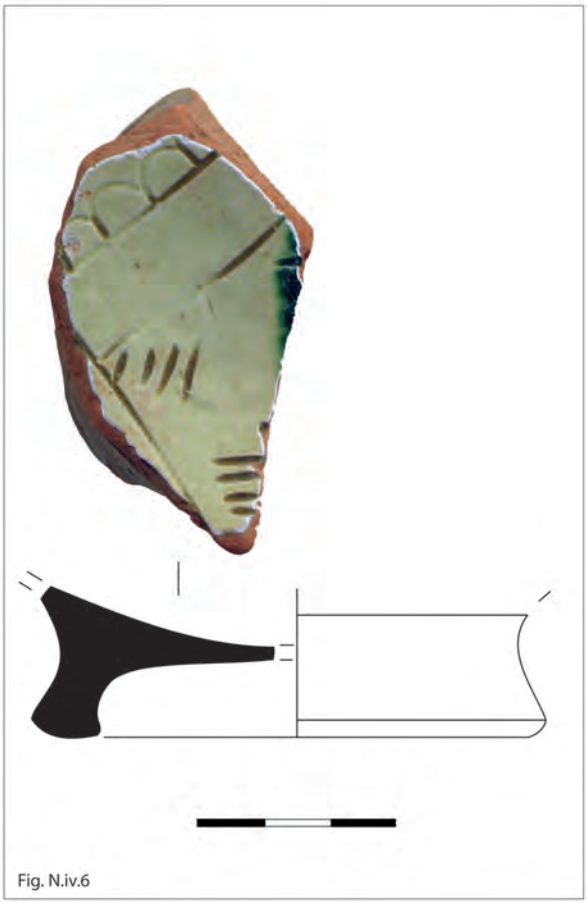


Fig. N.iv.4



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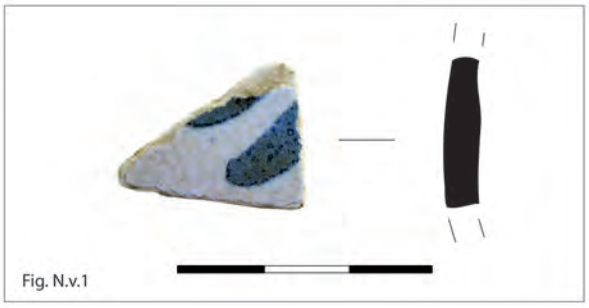

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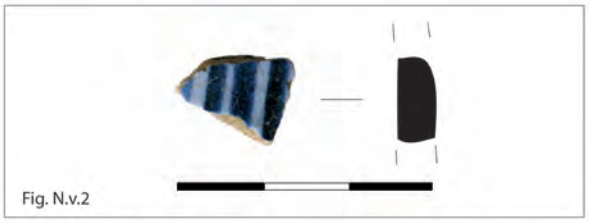

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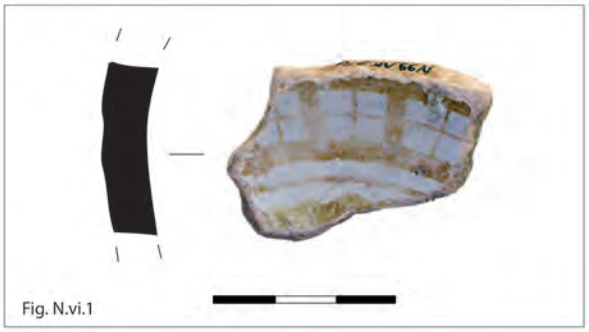

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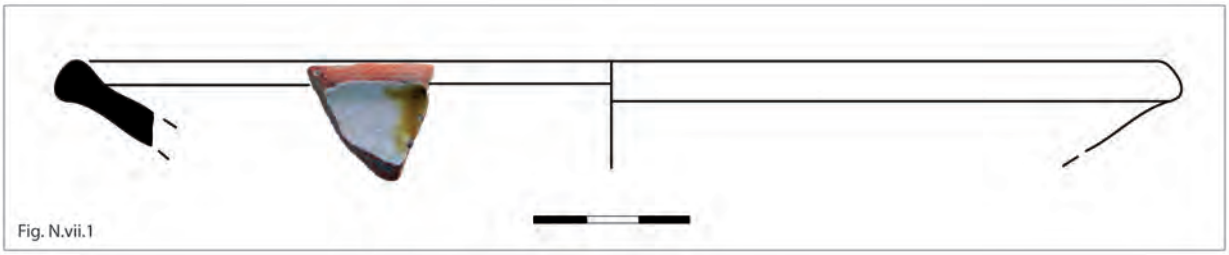

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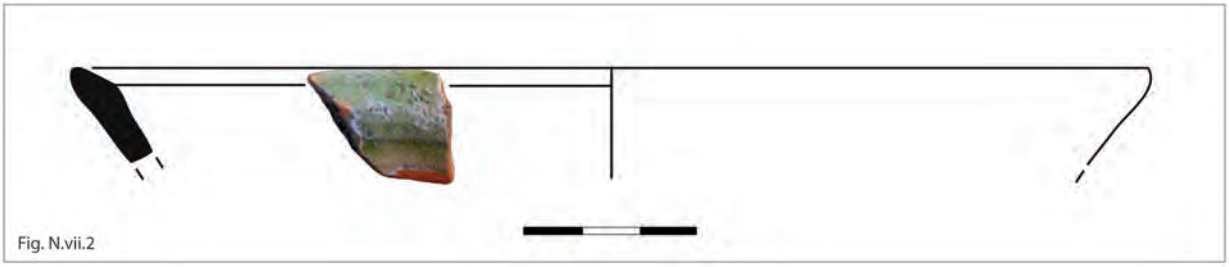

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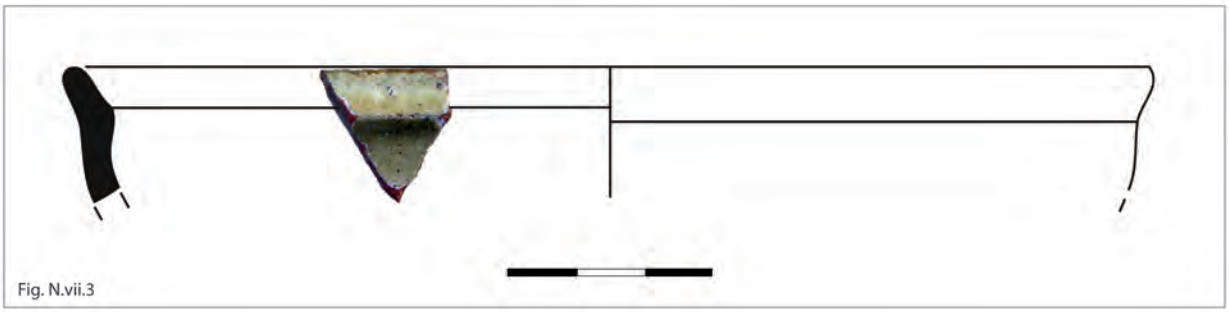

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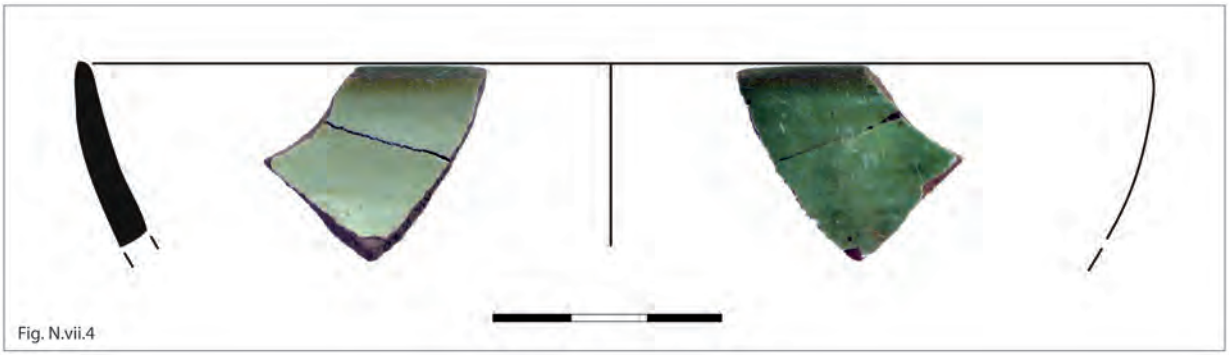

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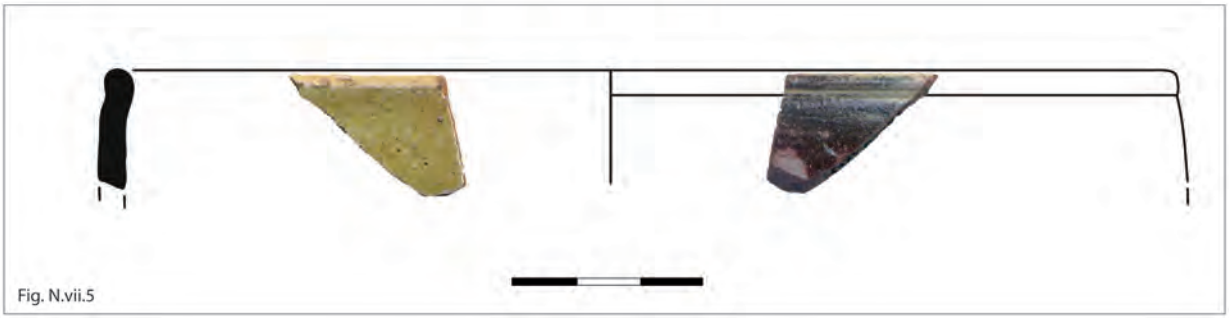

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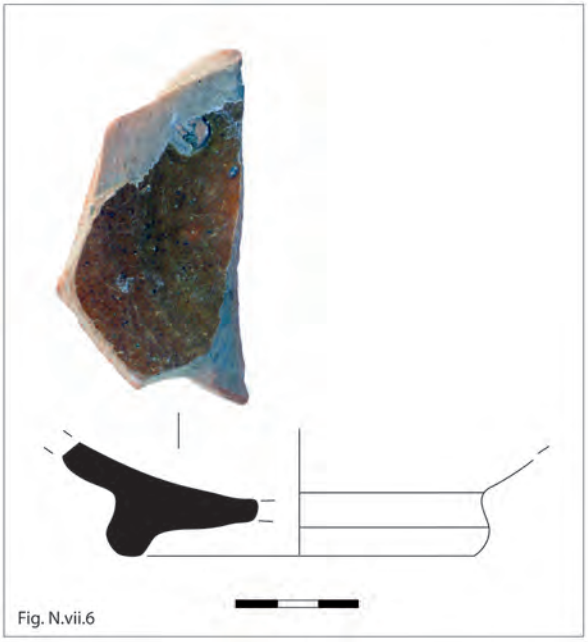
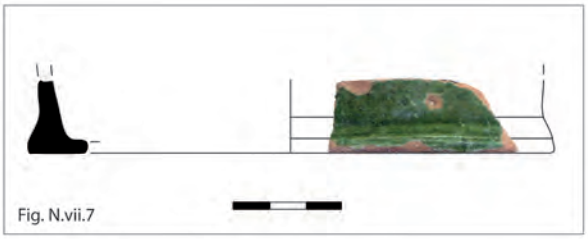


Fig. N.vii.6

Fig. N.viii.1



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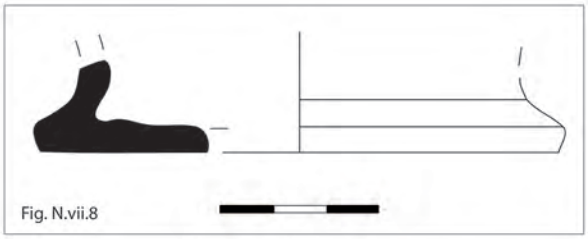
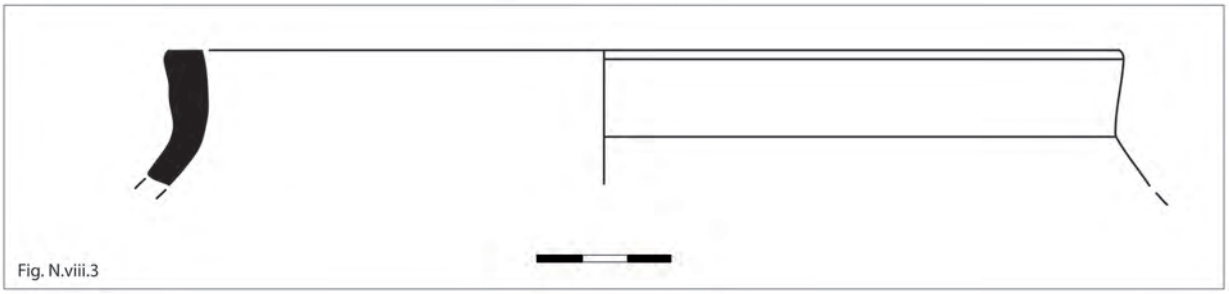


Fig. N.vii.8

Fig. N.viii.2



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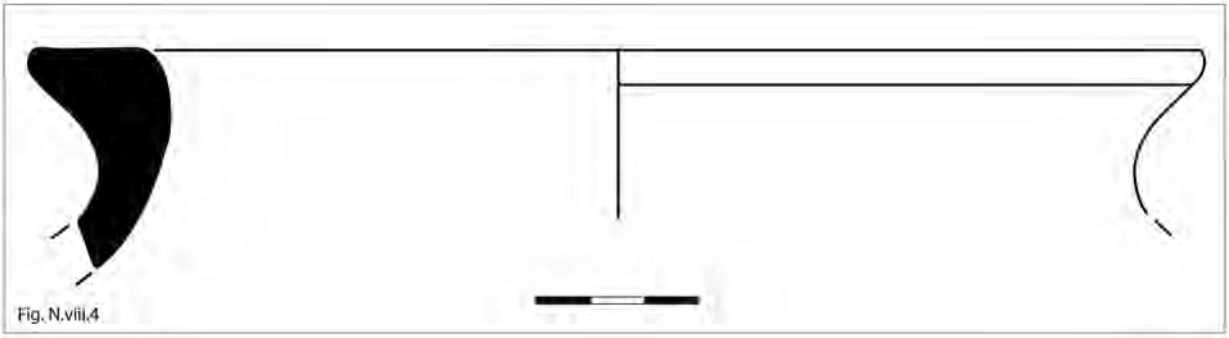

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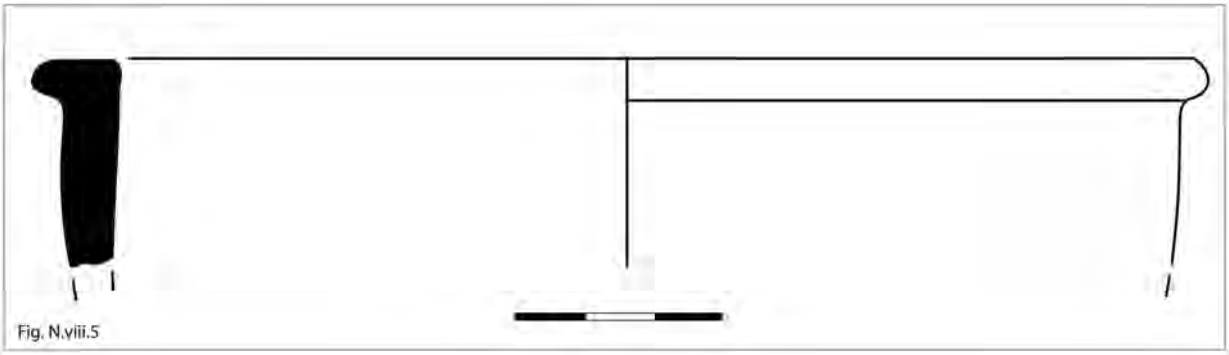

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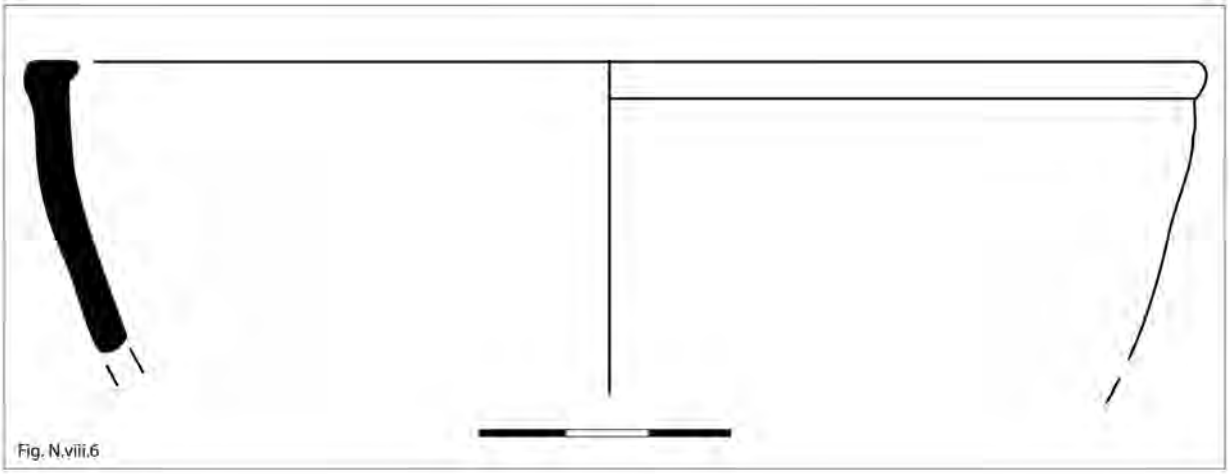

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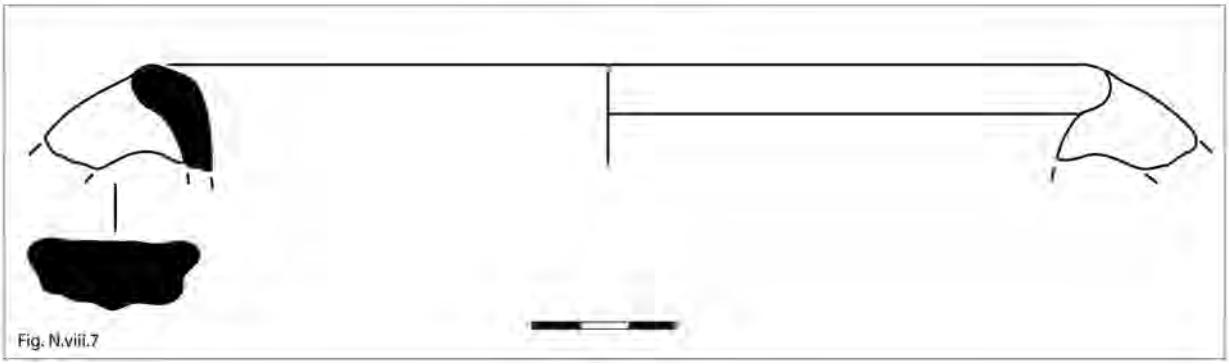


Fig. N.viii.7

Fig. N.viii.8

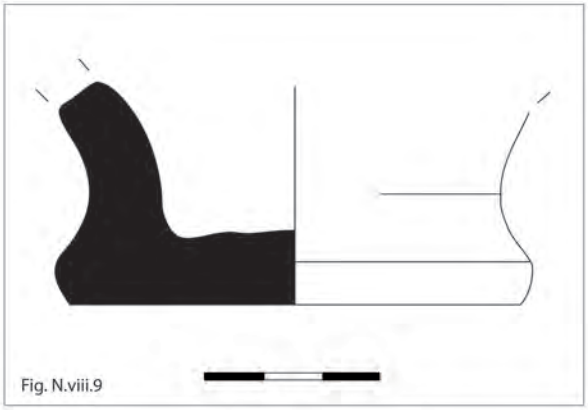


Fig. N.viii.9

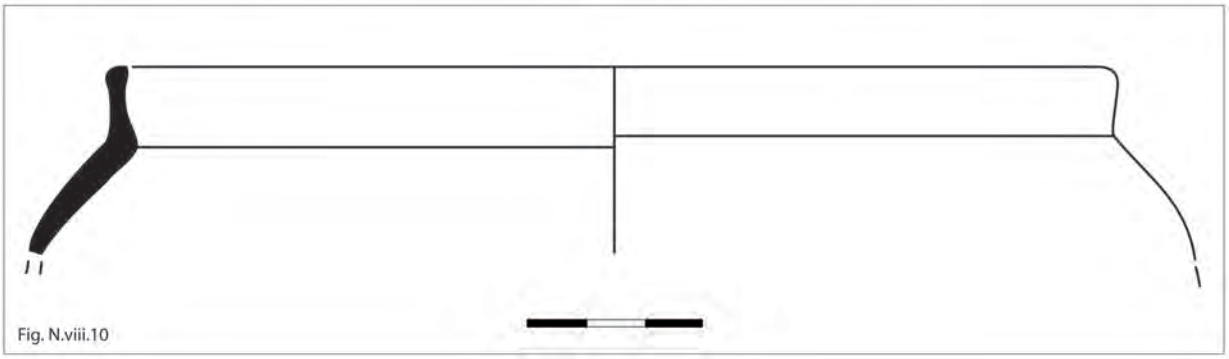


Fig. N.viii.10

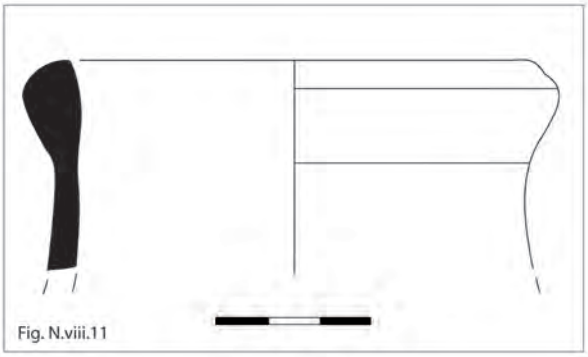


Fig. N.viii.11

APPENDIX IID: POTTERY FROM ZEPHYRIA, MELOS ISLAND

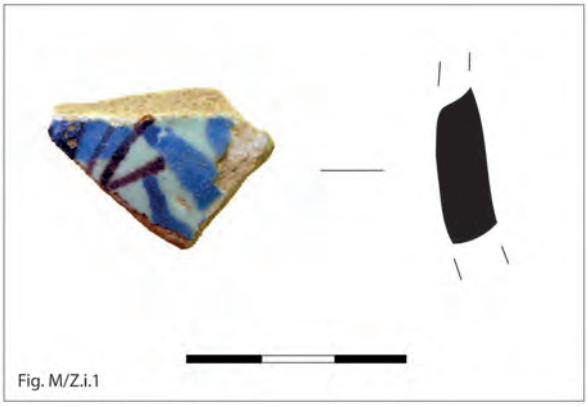


Fig. M/Z.i.1

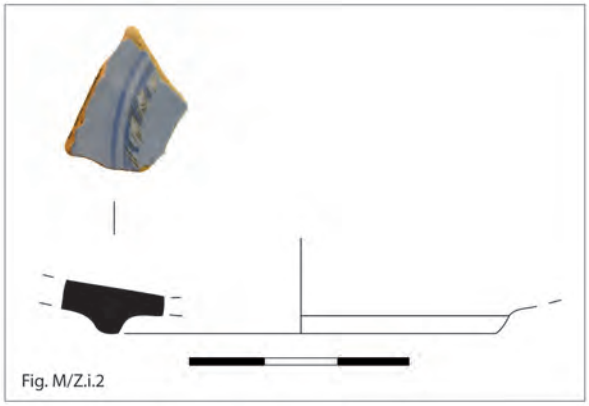


Fig. M/Z.i.2

Fig. M/Z.ii.1

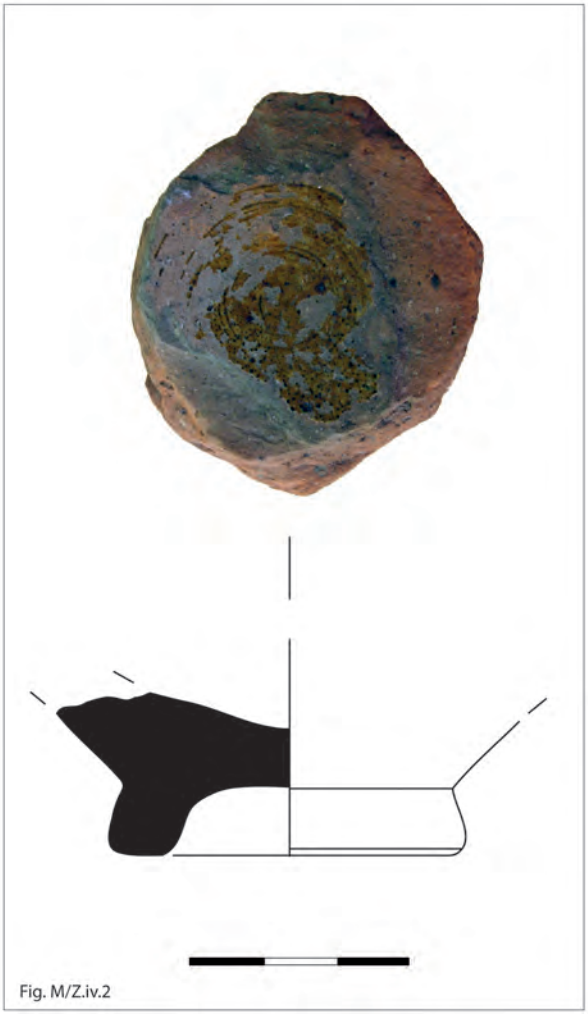


Fig. M/Z.iv.2

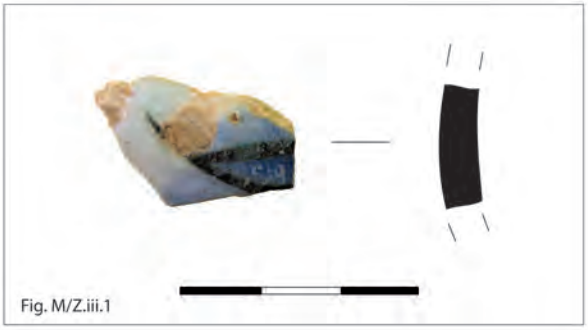


Fig. M/Z.iii.1

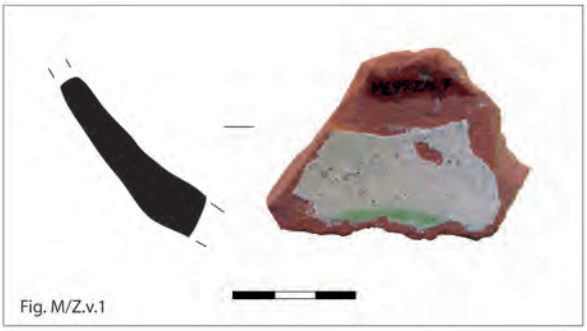
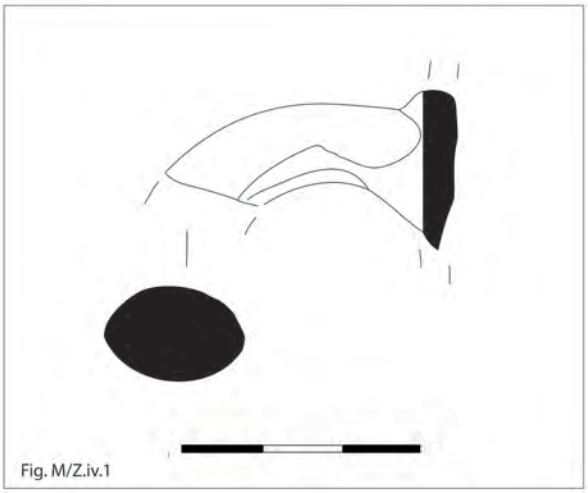


Fig. M/Z.v.1



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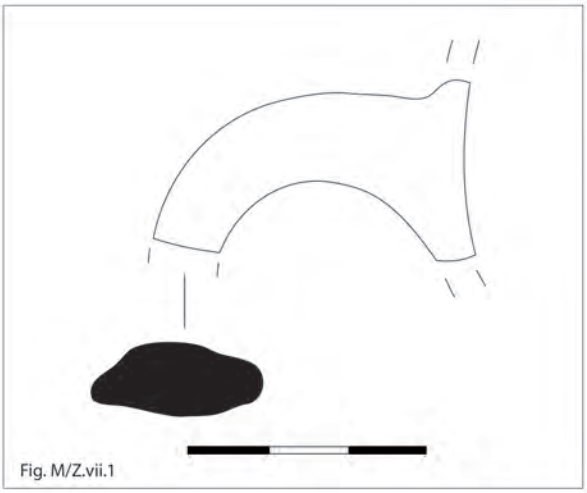


Fig. M/Z.vii.1

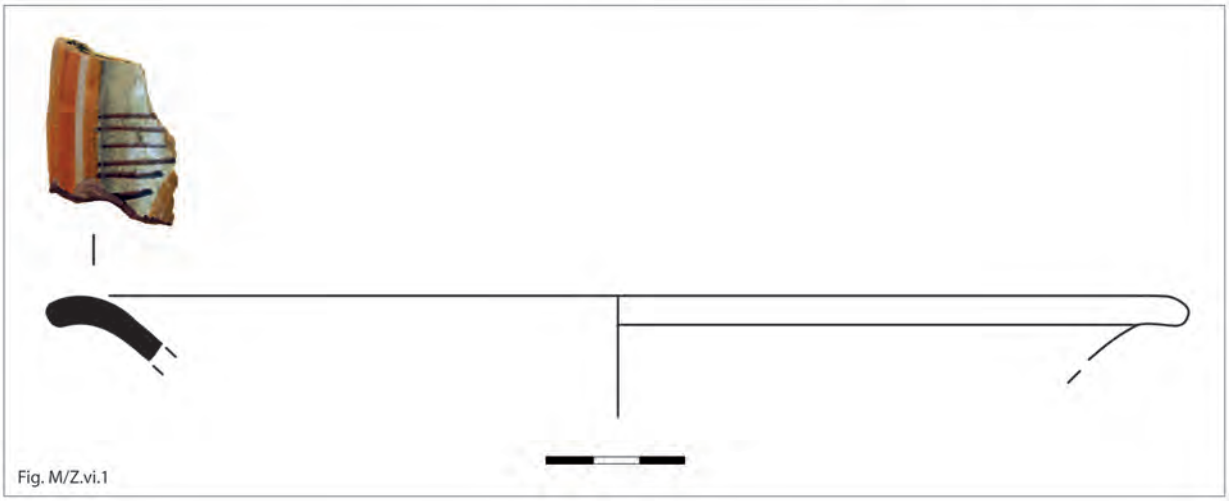


Fig. M/Z.vi.1

APPENDIX IIE: POTTERY FROM KASTRO, MELOS ISLAND

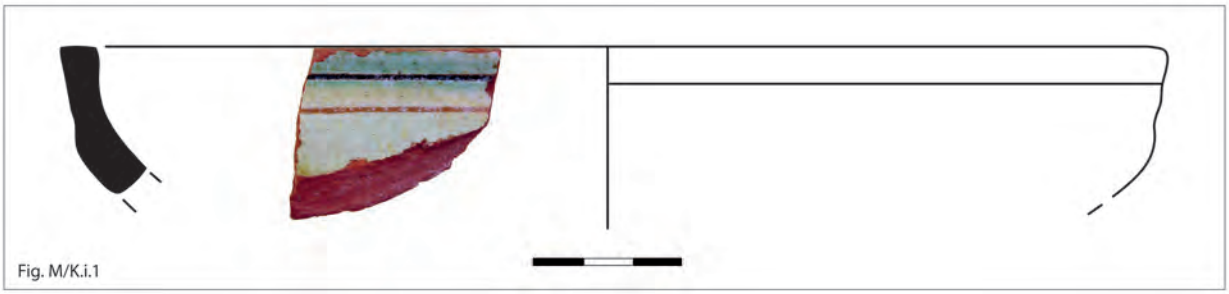


Fig. M/K.i.1

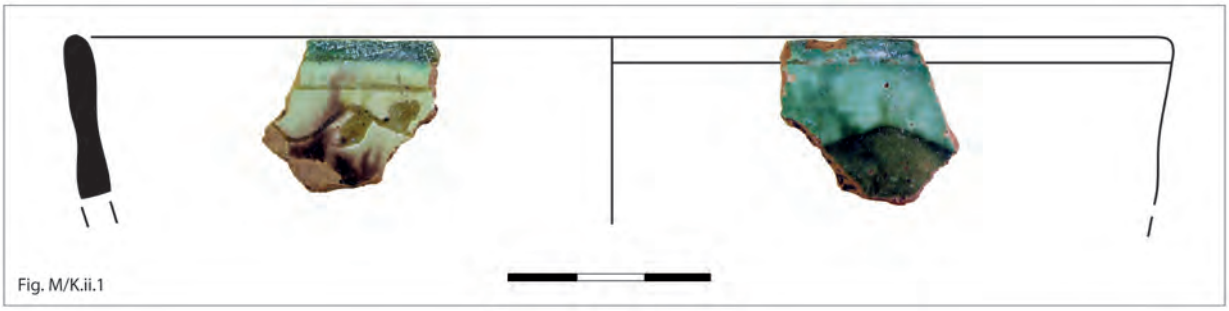


Fig. M/K.ii.1

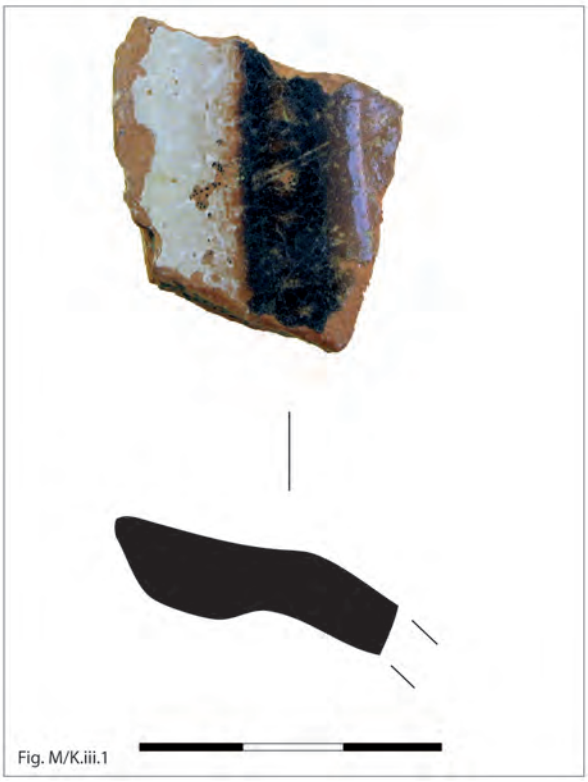


Fig. M/K.iii.1

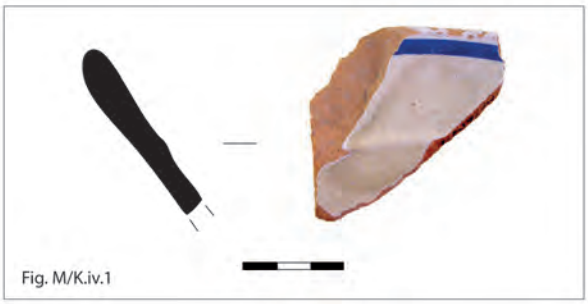


Fig. M/K.iv.1

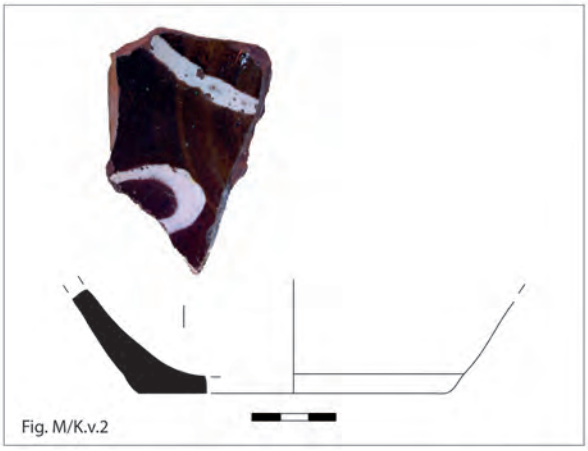


Fig. M/K.v.2

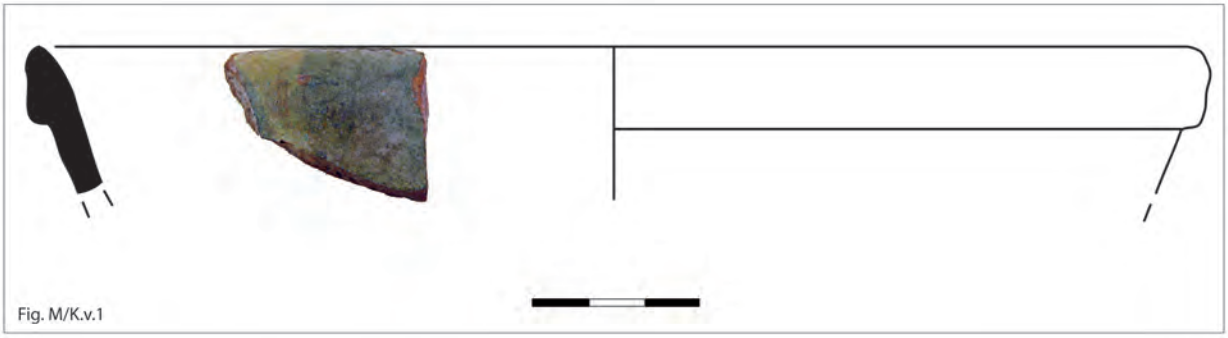


Fig. M/K.v.1

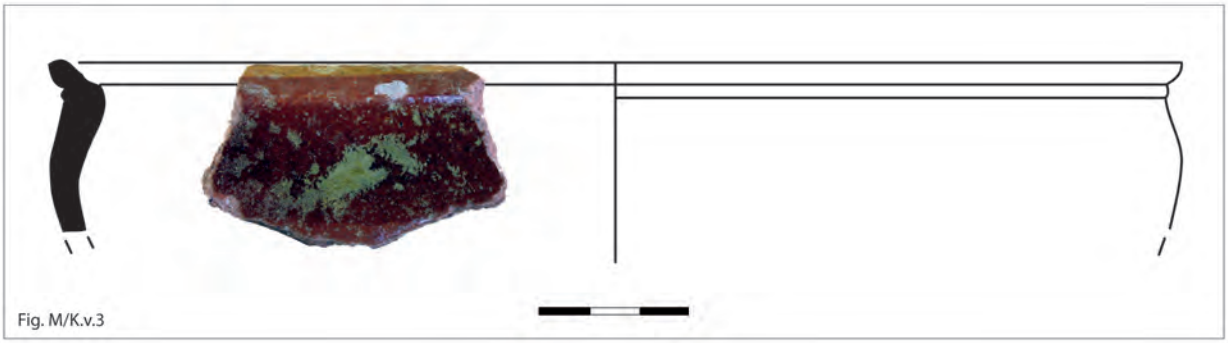


Fig. M/K.v.3

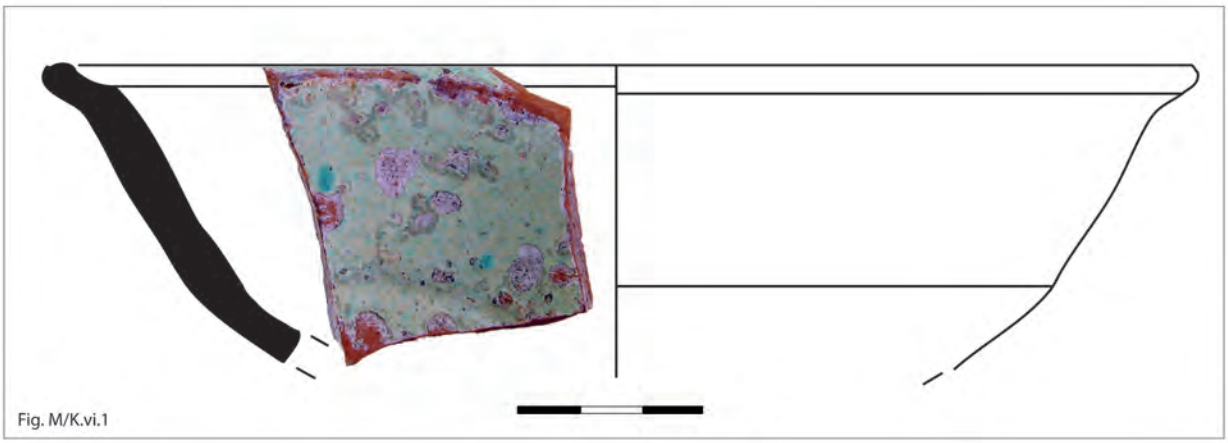


Fig. M/K.vi.1

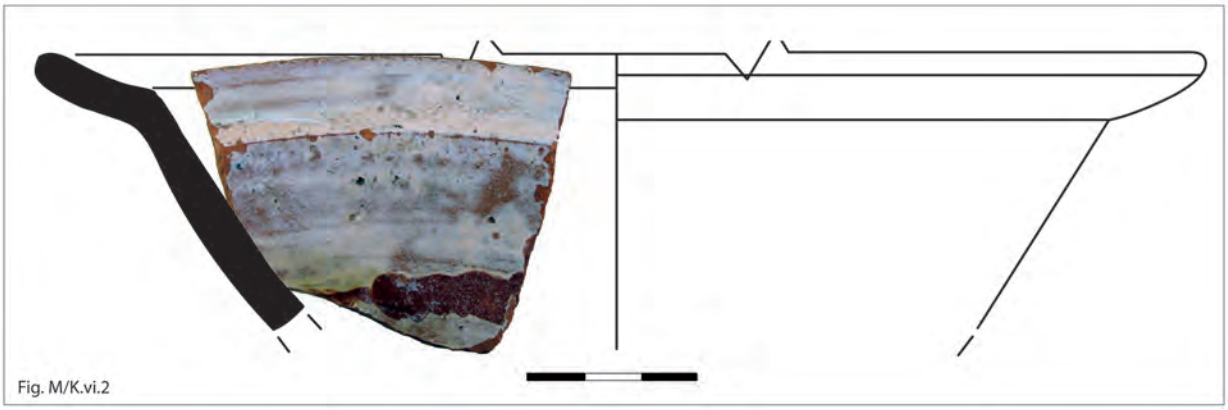
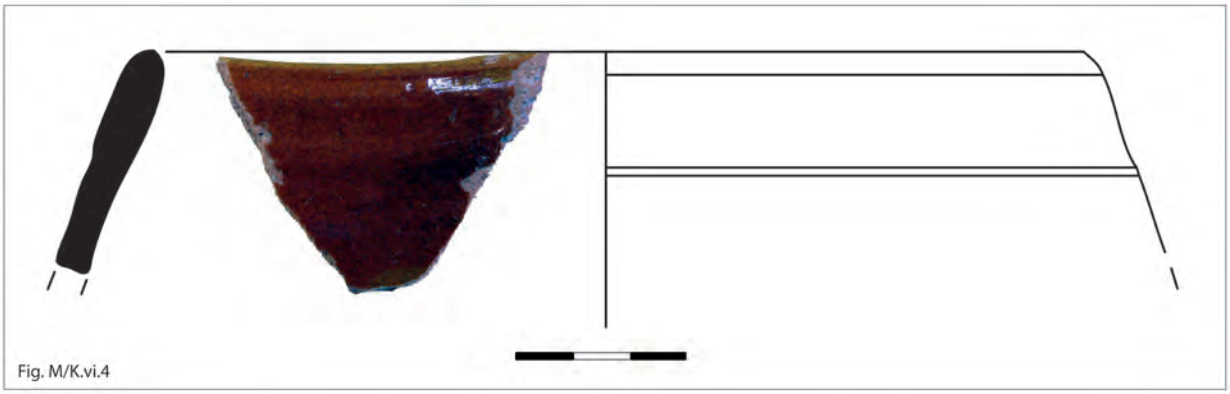


Fig. M/K.vi.2



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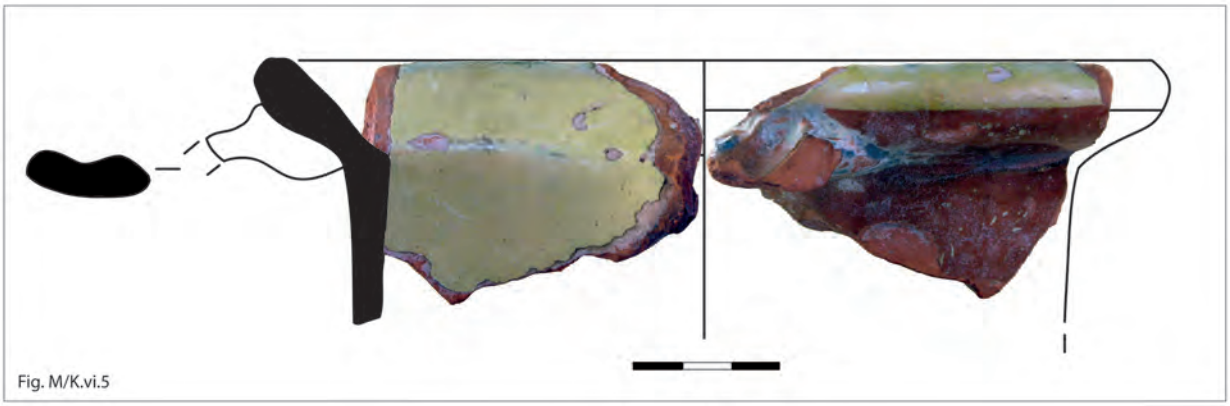
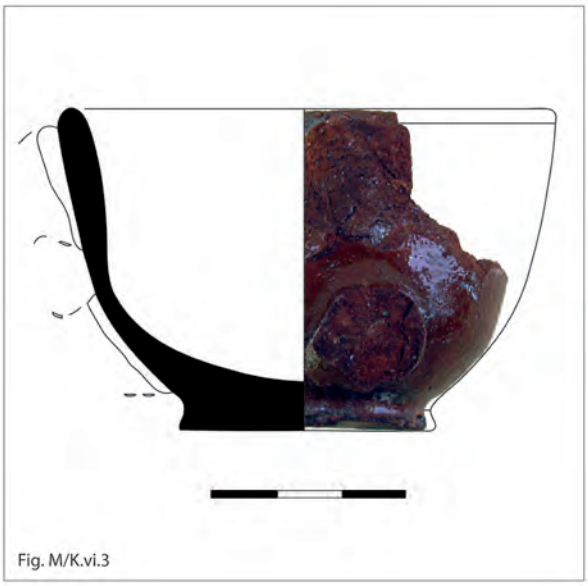


Fig. M/K.vi.5



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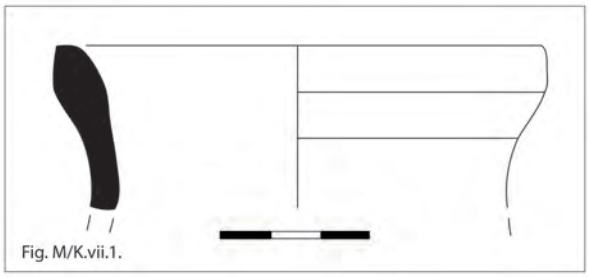

Fig. M/K.vii.1.

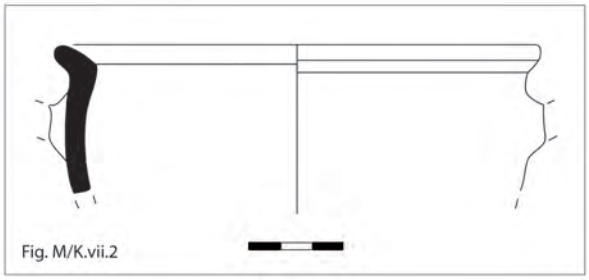

Fig. M/K.vii.2

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About the author

Athanasios Vionis was born on January 1st 1975 on the island of Paros, Greece. After graduating from the Lyceum of Naoussa Paros, he studied journalism at the Athenian Centre of Journalism and Communication in Greece (1993-1994). He completed his undergraduate studies in archaeology at the University of Durham, England (BA Honours in History and Archaeology, 1997). He undertook his doctoral research at the Faculty of Archaeology of Universiteit van Leiden in the Netherlands (Doctor of Archaeology, 2005). Part of his Ph.D. research was carried out at Ankara Universitesi and the American Research Institute at Ankara and Istanbul, with fellowships granted by the University of Leiden (LUSTRA Research Fellowship, 2000-2001) and the American School of Classical Studies at Athens (Aegean Fellowship, 2004). He undertook post-doctoral research at the Faculty of Archaeology of Katholieke Universiteit Leuven in Belgium, within the framework of the Sagalassos Archaeological Research Project, having been allocated a fellowship from the Flemish government (Post-Doctoral Fellowship in International Mobility, 2007-2008)

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Athanasios has been assistant director of the 'Leiden-Ljubljana Ancient Cities of Boeotia Project' (directed by J.L. Bintliff and B. Slapsak) since 2007, and he has been teaching Byzantine and Medieval archaeology to archaeology students of Leiden University since 2000, during the summer-school seasons of the Project in central Greece. He is also currently supervising doctoral theses (as an external supervisor) undertaken at the Faculty of Archaeology of Universiteit van Leiden.

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