Cover Page

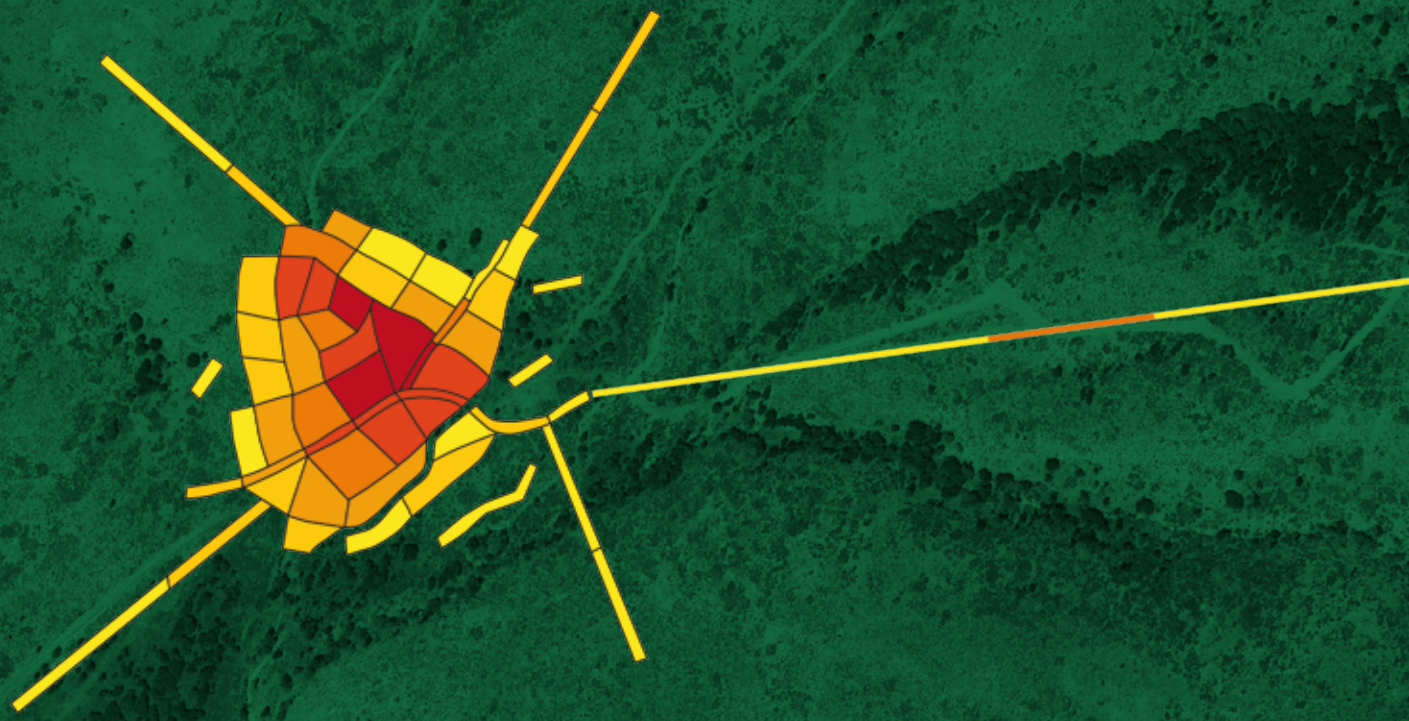
Universiteit Leiden

The handle http://hdl.handle.net/1887/32763 holds various files of this Leiden University dissertation

Author: Karambinis, Michalis
Title: The island of Skyros from Late Roman to Early Modern times : an archaeological survey
Issue Date: 2015-06-24

The island of Skyros from Late Roman to Early Modern times

An archaeological survey



Michalis Karambinis

Archaeological Studies Leiden University 28

Leiden University Press

The Island of Skyros from Late Roman to Early Modern Times

An Archaeological Survey

Leiden University Press

Archaeological Studies Leiden University
is published by Leiden University Press, the Netherlands

Series editors: M.E.R.G.N. Jansen and H. Kamermans

Cover design: Michalis Karambinis, Joanne Porck
Layout: Yiannis Panayiotopoulos
Illustrations: Michalis Karambinis, Aris Vidalis, Yiannis Panayiotopoulos

ISBN 978 90 8728 234 9
e-ISBN 978 94 0060 225 0
NUR 682

© Michalis Karambinis / Leiden University Press, 2015

All rights reserved. Without limiting the rights under copyright reserved above, no part of this book may be reproduced, stored in or introduced into a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means (electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise) without the written permission of both the copyright owner and the author of the book.

This book is distributed in North America by the University of Chicago Press

The Island of Skyros from Late Roman to Early Modern Times

An Archaeological Survey

Proefschrift

ter verkrijging van
de graad van Doctor aan de Universiteit Leiden,
op gezag van Rector Magnificus prof. mr. C.J.J.M. Stolker,
volgens besluit van het College voor Promoties
te verdedigen op woensdag 24 juni 2015
klokke 10.00 uur

door

Michalis Karambinis

geboren te Skyros, Griekenland
in 1977

Promotiecommissie

Promotor:	Prof. J. Bintliff, Universiteit Leiden
Overige leden:	Prof. L. de Ligt, Universiteit Leiden
	Dr. A. Vionis, University of Cyprus
	Prof. P. Attema, Universiteit Groningen
	Prof. V. Stissi, Universiteit Amsterdam
	Dr. T. Stek, Universiteit Leiden
	Dr. H. Kamermans, Universiteit Leiden

Contents

Acknowledgments 9

Introduction 11

PART 1. Background and Historical data 13

1. Natural Environment 15

2. Historical Outline 21

3. Historical Sources for Ottoman Skyros 35
- 3.1 The travellers' accounts 35
- 3.2 The local historical archive 36
- 3.3 The Ottoman tax registers 36
- 3.4 Evidence extracted from the aforementioned sources 37
  - 3.4.1 Administration 37
  - 3.4.2 Population 43
  - 3.4.3 Economy and Production 46

4. Previous Archaeological and Historical Research 49

PART 2. The Archaeological Survey: Methodology & Comparisons 53

5. The Skyros survey: a site-based intensive and extensive survey 55
- 5.1 Regional scope 55
- 5.2 Chronological frame of the survey 55
- 5.3 Survey design 56
- 5.4 Site definition 59
- 5.5 Site density: some comparative data 59

6. Methods for the Intensive survey 63
- 6.1 Field-walking procedure 63
- 6.2 On-site densities: some comparative data 65
- 6.3 Some Notes on the Background densities 67
- 6.4 Sample Fraction 72

7. Methods for the Extensive survey 75

PART 3. The Archaeological Survey: The Sites 77

8. Analysis of the Intensively Surveyed Sites 79
Site 22 (S22) – Kareflou 80
Site 23 (S23) – Chora 86
Site 24 (S24) – Polichri 90
Site 33 (S33) – Markesi 95
Site 36 (S36) – Dianemos 100
Site 44 (S44) – Aliko 106
Site 48 (S48) – Ayios Fokas 112
Site 55 (S55) – Lino 116
Site 64 (S64) – Ayia Anna 123
Site 65 (S65) – Kalamitsa 128
Site 67 (S67) – Sklouka 134
Site 68 (S68) – Soteras 140
Site 70 (S70) – Dhounia 146
Site 75 (S75) – Kolimbada - Mouchala 153
Site 80 (S80) – Mesadi 157
Site 87 (S87) – Ari 163

9. The long-term urban centre of Skyros – Chora (S01) 169
9.1 Prehistoric and early Iron Age data 171
9.2 Classical – Hellenistic data 172
9.3 Roman – Late Roman data 176
9.4 Post-Roman data 176
9.4.1 The castle 177
9.4.2 Description of the architectural remains of the castle 180
9.4.3 The ceramic finds of the castle 192
9.4.4 The extramural settlement 192

PART 4. Interpretational Synthesis 197

10. Greco – Roman Skyros 199
10.1 Settlement Pattern and Territorial Behaviour 199
10.2 The Towers of Skyros 204
10.3 The Roman Marble Quarries 208

11. Skyros in the Late Antique and Early Middle Ages (4th – mid 9th c. AD) 213
11.1 Introduction 213
11.2 Settlement pattern 215
11.3 Per century speculation 218
11.4 Domestic material culture: Pottery 220
11.4.1 Aegean imports 220
11.4.2 Black Sea/Aegean imports 225
11.4.3 Eastern Mediterranean imports 226
11.4.4 African imports 226
11.4.5 Intra-regional distribution of ceramic patterns 228
11.5 Other material evidence: the Early Christian architectural sculptures 228
11.6 Summary - concluding remarks 229

12. Mid to Late Byzantine/Frankish-Venetian Skyros (mid 9th c. – 1538 AD) 245
12.1 Settlement pattern 245
12.2 Ecclesiastical architecture 249
12.2.1 Typology 249
12.2.2 Constructional elements 251
12.2.3 The architectural sculptures 253
12.3 Domestic material culture: pottery 254
12.3.1 Identified Fine Table wares 254
12.3.2 Unidentified Fine Table Wares 259
12.3.3 Unidentified Plain Table Wares 259
12.3.4 Kitchen Wares 260
12.3.5 Identified Transport/Storage Vessels 260
12.3.6 Transport/Storage Vessels of unidentified type/origin 261
12.3.7 Intra-regional distribution of ceramic types 262
12.4 Summary - concluding remarks 262

13. Ottoman and Early Modern Skyros (1538 - 1950 AD) 275
13.1 Settlement pattern 275
13.2 Vernacular architecture 278
13.2.1 The Ottoman type house 278
13.2.2 The Early Modern mansions (*archontika*) 283
13.2.3 The semi-permanent shelters of the countryside (*konakia*) 284
13.3 Ecclesiastical architecture 287
13.3.1 Typology 287
13.3.2 Constructional elements 292
13.4 Domestic material culture: introduction 293
13.5 Domestic material culture: the pottery 295
13.5.1 Western imports 295
13.5.2 Eastern imports 298
13.5.3 Greek imports 299
13.5.4 Local pottery production 301
13.5.5 Ceramics of unidentified origin 312
13.6 Domestic material culture: glass 314
13.7 Domestic material culture: metallic objects 314
13.7.1 Table wares 314
13.7.2 Cooking wares and food containers 315
13.7.3 Other domestic vessels 315
13.8 Domestic material culture: furniture 316
13.9 Domestic material culture: costumes 317
13.9.1 Male costumes 318
13.9.2 The Female costumes 320
13.9.3 How Skyrian are the Skyrian costumes? Local craft and Mediterranean imports 321
13.9.4 Chronology of the Skyrian costume 322
13.10 Summary - concluding remarks 323

14. General Conclusions 345
14.1 Settlement system 345
14.2 Connections – Skyros in a broad context 347

Appendix A. Gazetteer of Archaeological Sites 353

Appendix B. Catalogue of Pottery 385

Appendix C. Catalogue of Churches (Chora & suburbs) 395

Appendix D. The synoptic Ottoman tax register (*icmal*) of the year 1670/1 for Skyros (TK 180, p. 37) 453

References 459

Nederlandse samenvatting 473

About the author 475

Acknowledgments

A large number of people have significantly contributed in order that this study be accomplished. Here I have the joy to gratefully thank them.

My sincere thanks go first of all to my PhD thesis supervisor, Prof. John Bintliff. He has been the most critical person in my present formation as an archaeologist. Apart from urging me to choose Skyros as topic of my dissertation, Prof. Bintliff defined the methodology applied in this research. Moreover, he has inspired me and radically influenced my approaches concerning archaeology in general; he has broadened my horizons and almost transformed my personality as an archaeologist.

Athanasios Vionis, my external examiner, is the second person whom I would like to particularly thank. He supported me from the very beginning of this effort until the end. He helped me enormously with the study of the Post-Roman ceramics and with the numerous (scientific or even psychological) stalemates during this adventure. He has been always there, each and every time a new crisis exploded. I honestly thank him.

My sincere thanks go also to Philip Bes, without him I could hardly have been able to process accurately the Late Roman ceramics. I have had the privilege to study with Philip (and learn from him) the Late Roman pottery assemblage of Skyros in three campaigns. Apart from the pottery process I have also to remember the beautiful moments I shared with him on the island.

Back to the early stages of this PhD adventure, it would be an omission not to acknowledge Father Thomas Synodinos (ex-Chancellor of the Archdiocese of Athens), an islander himself, who has passionately encouraged me to occupy myself with my birthplace, Skyros. “If we, the islanders, do not study these places neglected by the scientists, who is going to do it?” he used to repeatedly tell me. Through this book I hope I accomplished his expectations.

Platon Petridis and Giorgos Pallis (University of Athens), Andreas Vlachopoulos (University of Ioannina) and Alexandra Konstantinidou were also among the people encouraging me to work on Skyros. Alexandra Konstantinidou and Giorgos Pallis deserve my gratitude also for their assistance concerning the Late Roman ceramics and the ecclesiastical architectural sculptures respectively.

Special thanks go also to my colleagues in the 23rd Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities. First of all to my directors, Eugenia Gerousi (today director of the Byzantine & Post-Byzantine Antiquities in the Hellenic Ministry of Culture) and Pari Kalamara; they both provided me total support. The conversations with Nikos Kontogiannis, Maria Skordara and Stefi Skartsi were also very fruitful. Maria Skordara helped me also with the drawing of the vessels from the Achili shipwreck, while Kalypso Fotiou took over their conservation. The architects of the Ephorate, Stavros Papazoglou and Yiorgos Kourmadas, deserve particular gratitude for the planning of churches and other architectural structures on the island. Their willingness has resulted in approximately thirty monuments being documented. With them, and with Yiorgos Orfanos, always eager in exploring the island’s countryside, I have shared many hours of fieldwork, which will remain indelible in my memory.

Two Ottomanists, Machiel Kiel (Netherlands Institute in Turkey) and Fokion Kotzageorgis (University of Thessaloniki), deserve my gratefulness too. The first has had the kindness to search for me in the Ottoman archives of Turkey for unpublished material concerning Skyros and to send me the entire defter of the island for the year 1670/1. The second has kindly transcribed and translated for me the synoptic register found by Kiel; they both showed great generosity.

A number of Professors and/or excellent colleagues with whom I have shared my thoughts, or helped me in various aspects of this effort, merit also my gratitude: Kriton Chrysochoides, Emeri Farinetti, Sophia Germanidou, Sophia Kalopissi, Lorenzo Lazzarini, Jeroen Poblome, Paul Reynolds and Joanita Vroom. I am also indebted to Liana Parlama, Cornelia Zarkia and Andronikos Theocharidis, for letting me consult their unpublished PhD dissertations.

Kostas Georgakopoulos and Michalis Alexandreskos, at that time commanders of the military bases on Skyros, helped me to gain access to the archaeological sites located in their territory.

Warm thanks are also expressed to my friends and graphic designers Aris Vidalis and Yiannis Panayiotopoulos for the elaboration of the maps, figures and the final layout of this book, as well as to Dr. Hans Kamermans and Ms. Joanne Porck from Archaeological Studies Leiden University, for their help in order for this book to be finally published.

To the people of Skyros who opened their doors showing me willingly their family/museum collections, or more importantly, sharing with me their thoughts about the Skyrian past I owe special credit. I would like to particularly thank Aliki Lamprou (a scholar of the Skyrian traditions), Anastasia Faltaits (director of the Faltaits Museum), Dimitris Ftoulis and Amerissa Ftouli (attendants of the Archaeological Museum of Skyros), Nikos Anagnostou, Eleni Skouloudaki, Stefania Maniati, Yiorgos Lamprou, Anna Ftouli, Alexis, Takos and Nikos Papastathis. The last merits a further word: he was the last (early modern) potter of Skyros and the interviews I took from him I enjoyed most of all. Unfortunately he is not among us anymore to see this book printed.

Before closing, I owe a word of acknowledgement to yet another person who is not among us anymore. This is Manos Faltaits, who although he was not involved (in the strict sense) with my research, I believe that my long apprenticeship with him since my childhood left its marks in this study. He taught me, among others, that the best way for understanding the far past is to look to yesterday.

Last but not least, I want to thank from the deep of my heart Marianna, my companion, who better than anyone knows the endeavors applied in this research. She felt first hand my agony in the course of these years and never stopped supporting and believing in me. This book is dedicated to her.

Introduction

Aegean archaeology has mainly concentrated on Prehistoric and Greco-Roman times, and has provided relatively little information on human activity and material culture in the medieval period. Historical research concerning the medieval era is sufficiently developed, but archaeological research on the medieval Aegean has mainly focused on matters of art and architecture. The small amount of available information about settlement patterns, land use and material culture is mainly derived from long-term archaeological projects using systematic surface survey as their basic tool, in combination with research into the historical sources and archives. Our information is supplemented by the rescue excavations undertaken by the Archaeological Service and the systematic excavations conducted by foreign and (mainly) Greek universities. In fact, we have an overall picture of the medieval and post-medieval periods for only a few islands of the Aegean, namely Kea, Antikythera, and Kythera (the latter study is in progress), and a more fragmentary one for Crete, Melos and the Cyclades.

This study attempts to fill this gap; it uses the ancient past as background for examining the continuity and change that the island of Skyros experienced from the Late Roman period onwards. In chronological terms, this study is thus clearly inspired by the tradition of Byzantine studies. It brings together two different archaeological 'schools', that of long-term survey research (based mainly on material culture), and that of 'traditional' Byzantine and Post-Byzantine archaeology (focused on art and architecture), offering new perspectives on settlement patterns, art and architecture, and the material culture of Skyros from Late Roman to Early Modern times. The combination of archaeological data and information from historical sources reconstructs the regional history of Skyros during that time span, which is ultimately the main purpose of this study.

More specifically, this is primarily a surface survey, functioning as an archaeological guide. It focuses on the change between dispersed and nucleated settlement systems which the island underwent from ancient to post-medieval times, and examines the reasons for this phenomenon. An additional feature of this research is the cataloguing of medieval and post-medieval churches in the island's capital of Chora and its suburbs, and in general an examination of trends in ecclesiastical architecture on the island. The discussion on architecture extends to residential buildings (in the Late Ottoman and Early Modern periods) and even fortifications (the Post-Roman fortifications of the castle of Chora).

Apart from the focus on topographical and architectural matters, an essential component of this study is the examination of the material culture on the island in Late Roman and Post Roman times. Concerning the later centuries especially, there is a focus on the ceramics, but also an attempt to investigate other material categories, such as furniture or costumes. This treatment might appear unconventional initially, since the norm in archaeological studies is to investigate 'purely archaeological' materials, ceramics first and foremost; other items are seen as belonging more properly to the realm of folkloric studies. However, this attitude does not withstand a more thorough examination. Firstly, it must be understood that the focus of post-medieval archaeology on pottery is a legacy of older archaeological research, which focused only on the ancient past. Given that organic materials are rarely found preserved till modern times (at least in the Mediterranean climate), ceramics became *de facto* the principal archaeological evidence of the material culture of ancient societies. If ancient organic materials had been preserved they would of course receive the attention of archaeologists (and they do indeed receive it in the rare instances of such materials surviving). Bearing in mind the principle that archaeology examines the material evidence of the past, and the developments that have encompassed post-medieval archaeology (extending its scope further than art and architecture), this unconscious attitude of post-medieval archaeologists to consider materials like furniture and costumes as being out of context, can be considered erroneous. Thankfully, the last centuries have yielded plenty of materials other than ceramics, which in combination with written sources provide ample information that can enable us to reconstruct daily life in post-medieval societies.

Additionally, such data provide significant evidence for older periods as well; at least they represent the closest testimonies. It is time that post-medieval archaeology overcomes artificial limitations and expands its context horizons.

It would be an exaggeration to say that the investigation of post-medieval material culture categories other than ceramics in this study sufficiently covers this subject. Limited background knowledge did not permit thorough analysis. Nevertheless, apart from the admittedly small step made here, this attempt indicates the direction which relevant future studies could follow, in the opinion of this writer.

The extent of the topics covered by this study corresponds accordingly to a wide span of methodological tools used to address them. Apart from archaeological fieldwork (intensive/extensive surface survey, documentation of architectural structures/monuments etc.), the research was supplemented by visits to households and museums (concerning especially post-medieval material culture), oral interviews, historical archives (mainly published), and of course by previous archaeological and historical research.

In terms of structure, the study is divided into four parts and is supplemented by four appendices. Part 1 provides background archaeological and historical information about the island. It is more or less the starting point for the present study. Part 2 is dedicated to the methodology of the archaeological survey. It is a guide with detailed information on the archaeological methods applied, to support the reliability of the data presented in the following pages, and permit the evaluation of the Skyros survey in the context of the rest of the Aegean. Part 3 presents the results of the survey concerning the more thoroughly investigated sites of the island, namely the sixteen rural settlement sites selected for the application of intensive survey, and the most prominent among the extensively surveyed sites of the island, namely the long-term urban centre of the island, Chora (see Part 2). Part 4 synthesises the data retrieved by the present and older archaeological research with the data of the historical sources (presented in Part 1). The combined data offers an overall picture of the island in four broad chronological periods: Greco-Roman, Late Roman to early Middle Ages, Mid- to Late Byzantine/Frankish-Venetian, and finally Ottoman to Early Modern. The last chapter of Part 4 offers conclusions regarding two issues on which this study has focused, namely the settlement system and the connections that Skyros maintained with the Aegean and its broader geographical context; both are approached with a long-term perspective.

Appendix A is a list of the archaeological sites (including summaries of the sixteen intensively surveyed sites presented in detail in Part 3). Appendix B is a detailed catalogue of the pottery collected from the fields, and appendix C is a catalogue of the 57 churches of Chora and its suburbs examined in this study. Lastly, appendix D is the synoptic Ottoman tax register (*icmal*) for the year 1670/1 concerning Skyros, which is published here for the first time. It includes a photograph of the original document, transliteration into the Turkish alphabet, and English and Greek translation. Small introductions at the beginning of every Part (and in some cases of chapters), help the reader to navigate.

PART 1

Background and Historical data

This part attempts to introduce the reader to two subjects: the place in question and its history according to the present data. Thus, after the necessary geographical description of the island presented in Chapter 1, the next two chapters put in order the historical data of Skyros. The last chapter summarizes the previous archaeological and historical research. It indicates in this way, more or less the point from which the present study began.

Furthermore, Chapter 2 attempts a historical outline from ancient until modern times, in the 'classical' form of relevant accounts. However, this historical narrative is not made exclusively on the grounds of previous, locally focused studies, and I believe it is not a sterile copy of them. On the contrary, a re-elaboration of the historical data is attempted, enriched by the broader Aegean context. Old data and their corrections, as well as new evidence synthesise this up-to-date historical outline.

For post-medieval times, where the historical data are much more plentiful in comparison to the earlier periods, a zoom-in is undertaken in Chapter 3. This chapter examines the historical data for Ottoman Skyros through three basic sources: the travellers' accounts, the local historical archive and the Ottoman registers (*defters*). With these tools in hand windows are opened concerning three particular matters: administration, population and economy/production. These 'windows' are opened separately from the chapter of the historical outline, as their detailed discussion there would disturb the general form of Chapter 2 and consequently would cause difficulty for the reader.

Finally, the summary of the previous archaeological and historical research of Chapter 4 starts from the first 'notes' in the foreign archaeological journals of the late 19th – early 20th centuries and finishes in the rescue excavations and restoration programmes of the Archaeological Service of Greece over the last few decades. Moreover, insights are provided on recent international interests on particular matters (e.g. Roman marble quarries), or in studies not strictly archaeological or historical, but which in any case contribute significantly to the regional history and the material culture of the island (e.g. folkloric or anthropological studies).

Chapter 1
Natural Environment

The island of Skyros is located approximately in the middle of the Aegean Sea, between the islands of Euboea and Lesvos, and the Sporades and Cyclades island groups (Fig. 1.1). The closest port connecting it with the Greek mainland is Kymi in Euboea, 22 nautical miles away. It belongs to the medium sized islands of the Archipelago, being the fifteenth largest Aegean island, 215 square kilometres in size. It has an elongated shape with a maximum length of 29 km from north-northwest to south-southeast and a maxi-

Fig. 1.1: Skyros in the Aegean context

mum of width 14 km (Melentis 1973, 298; Philippson 1959, 53). Two sea arcs penetrating from the west and east sides of the island and ending at the gulfs of Kalamitsa and Achili respectively, create the shortest part of Skyros, an isthmus 3 km long, giving the impression of a bipartition of the island (Fig. 1.2). In fact, we shall see that Skyros is divided in three parts, the north-west, south-east and the middle, with sharp morphological differences among them, especially between the north-west and south-east parts, probably the result of Skyros being three different islands originally, which merged at some point (Melentis 1973, 299).

The coastline of the island is very diverse as well. The west coast meets the sea smoothly, forming numerous bigger and smaller inlets. Several islets are located alongside the west coast, which have been cut off from the main island. On the other hand, the east coast is more linear with very few inlets and steep cliffs at its southern extremity, exposed to the open sea. Especially southwards of Achili and until Tris Boukes bay, as many have noticed, the coast is "...of a most forbidding aspect, presenting to the eye a succession of stupendous cliffs, broken only by deep ravines..." (Graves 1849, 157) (Fig. 1.7). It seems that the west coast of the island is relatively easier to approach and to have retained its original form (Philippson 1959, 54). This notable difference between the two coastlines is encountered on other islands as well, such as the rest of the Northern Sporades and the Cyclades (Philippson 1959, 54). This has been the result of geological and climatological phenomena which have taken place in the Aegean Sea overall. Tectonic and glacial-related effects have created a relative and continuing sea level rise and landmass sinking in the Aegean during the recent millennia (Bintliff 2012, 15; Lambeck 1996). A typical example of this phenomenon regarding Skyros is the submergence which has taken place on the north-northeast coast of the island, at least from Palamari Bay to the Bay of Magazia (Pavlopoulos *et al.* 2004, 1051-2; Perisoratis & Vidakis 2003).

The middle part of the island

The middle part of the island, the isthmus which joins the other two larger parts, the north-west and the south-east, covers an area of no more than 8 square kilometres and consists of two narrow, fertile zones of land, no higher than 2 metres above sea level, separated by the steep hills of Profitis Ilias and Klari. Each of these two zones ends in two inlets, one extending from Aspous to Acherounes for a distance of 4 km, the other extending 3 km from Achili to Kalamitsa (Fig. 1.3). The ground of these two longitudinal plains consists mainly of sea sand and alluvial deposits. This, in addition to the numerous marine shells found at a depth of 6 metres, confirms the theory that this part of present-day island was once submerged and then reclaimed, joining in this way the previously two separate islands (Philippson 1959, 55; Melentis 1973, 299). This fact has resulted in a considerable gain of land with a strong agricultural potential, especially for the south plain (Achili to Kalamitsa), taking into account the abundant water supply, coming from a series of springs situated alongside the north edge of the south part of Skyros.[1] By contrast, the north plain of land from Aspous to Acherounes, due to the less flat perspective and the lack of water, coming mainly from the spring of Andoniou at the south edge of the north-west part of the island, was always dedicated to arboriculture.

The North part of the island

To the north of the isthmus plain, there lies the north-west part of the island, locally known as *Meroi,* (anagram of the Greek word *iremo* for peaceful; Xanthoulis 1984, 11). As its name implies, it is smooth, with lowland plains alternating with hills covered with forests of pines and cedars. Together with the middle, this is the best cultivated part of the island and the most populated (Fig. 1.4).

The central and west part of it extends in a mountainous area consisting of low and medium height hills, with Afanes of Olimbos (399 m) being the highest. The mountainous area is interrupted by several plateaux with the largest being Chartsa, Aliko, Koumari, Trifadi and Keramotes, and by the small plain of Ferekambos. The area is covered by a dense pine and cedar forest, covering the last agricultural 'windows' of the north part of the island, because of the abandonment of the land by the locals after the

1 Setting off southwards from Achili Bay to the gulf of Kalamitsa we encounter the springs of Nifatsi, Agnes, Slinas, Flea, Loutro, Soteras, Platania, Dhounia, Ayios Mamas reaching Nifi at the southern spot. On the opposite side of these springs, on the hill of Klari, one more small spring, Ayios Pavlos is located.

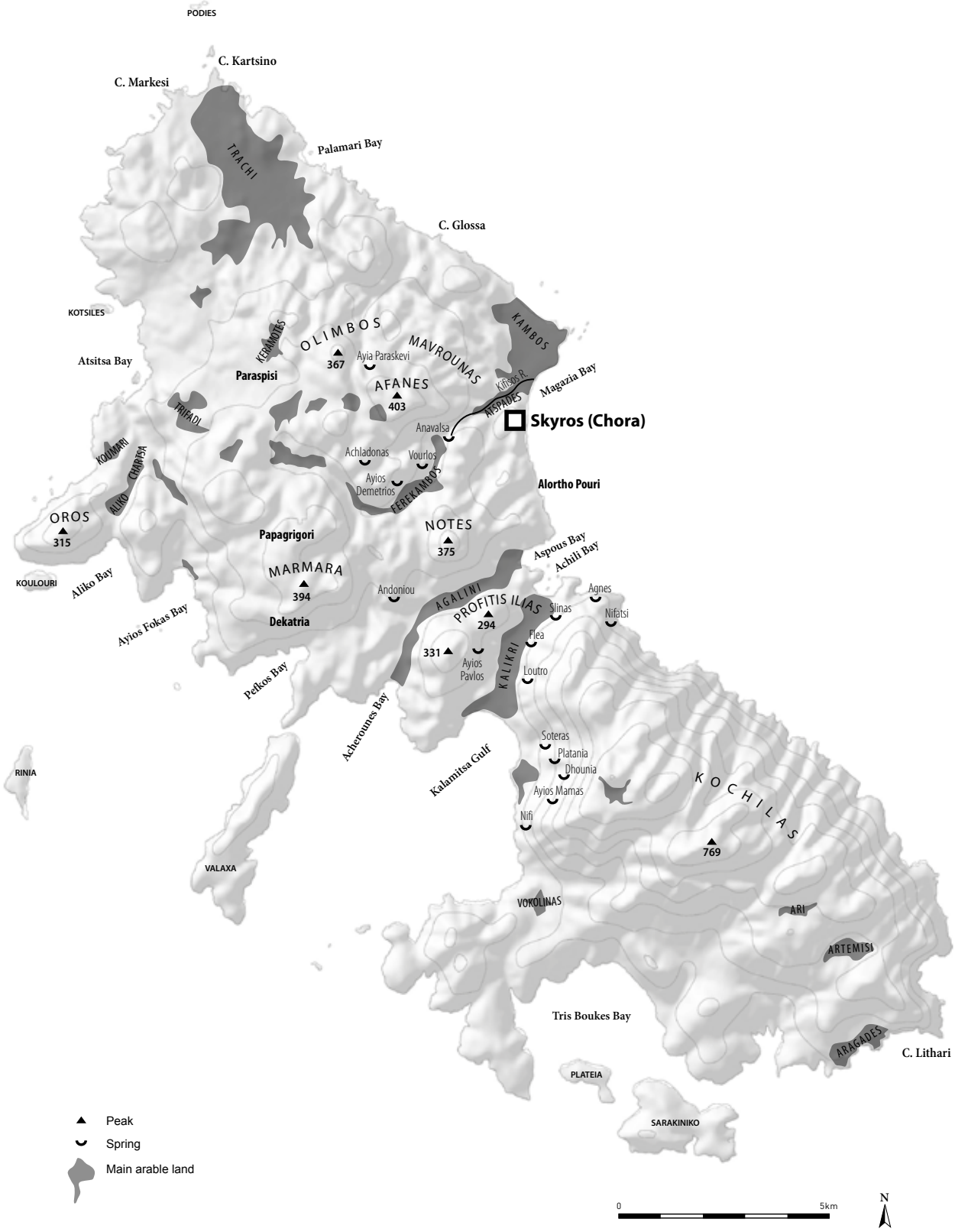


Fig. 1.2: Map of Skyros

Fig. 1.3: The isthmus of Kalikri from Profitis Ilias. At the background the mountainous southern part of the island.

1960s – 70s[2]. Beyond the central mountainous forested area, at the north edge of the island, lies the largest plain of Skyros, Trachi, today the biggest part of it is occupied by a large military base, found in 1976. Alongside the north-east coastline of the island, the area is covered by arid low hills, partially eroded, exposed to the strong north-east winds.

Fig. 1.4: View of the north-west coastline of the island covered with pine and cedar forest.

The north-east extremity of the island has a horn shape and is covered by a flat area, dominated by the Chora of Skyros and its acropolis/Kastro on an extremely steep cliff, 179 metres above sea level that opens eastwards to the Aegean Sea. West of Chora, in a hinterland ravine on the old route leading from the main port of the island, Kalamitsa, to Chora, lies the main spring of the north part of Skyros, Anavalsa, which supplies the inhabitants of the town with water. This spring is the source of the only river of the island, Kifisos, which falls into the bay of Magazia, watering in its path the gardens of Atspades at the hollow between the feet of the west hills and the Chora. North of Chora lies the plain of Kambos, with strong agricultural potential, cultivated until recently, today the site of intensive building activity (Fig. 1.5).

Fig. 1.5: Kambos, the plain of Skyros closest to Chora; today under hectic building activity. The Chora just discernible at the right of the figure, climbed on its rocky acropolis. At the background the mountainous southern part of the island.

2 The lack of cultivated land because of the big forest, has in the past obliged the inhabitants of Skyros to proceed to deforestation, a phenomenon widely common in the Mediterranean (Bintliff 1977, 35). This phenomenon persisted on the island up to the 1960s-70s, until the time the consequences of the international industrial explosion arrived on Skyros and the tourist development of the island began, resulting in the degradation of the, previously, original domains, agriculture being the first. Thus, after the decades mentioned above, the contrary phenomenon took place, thus, the reforestation of land which previously have been deforest. It is very characteristic that present-day oral information by locals refers to previously cultivated land by their grandfathers, which is completely reforested today. This phenomenon explains, as we shall see below, why several sites which present indications of human settlements, are found today in areas completely forested.

The South part of the island

The south-east part of the island (called by the locals Vouno for mountain), is dominated by the mountain of Kochilas. It is an arid and completely mountainous area, presenting a more intense relief, with karstic formations such as caves and depressions, divided by deep ravines covered with low vegetation resistant to drought, such as maple and prickly oak (Fig. 1.6). There is where the highest peak of the island is found, Panoftis (769 m). This extensive mountainous area, more or less half of the island in size and used almost exclusively as pasture, is interrupted only by the plateaux of Tsorous, Vokolinas, Ari, Artemisi, and the largest, Aragades, at the southern extremity of the island, the cultivation of which was ongoing until quite recently (Fig. 1.7). The south-east part of Skyros today is uninhabited, except for small hamlets close to the central part. The complete lack of human activity (in the form of settlements), in combination with the particularity of the landscape, has resulted in the declaration of part of this side of the island as a protected area by *Natura 2000.*

Fig. 1.6: Landscape of the southern part of the island (Y. Karambinis).

Fig. 1.7: Cape Lithari; the southern extremity of the island. At the left the largest plateau of Skyros, Aragades, cultivated until recently (Y. Karambinis).

Geology

The geology of Skyros is well known from several publications (Philippson 1901, 113-23; Philippson 1959, 53-60; Papastamatiou 1959, 219-37; Melentis 1973, 298-322; Perissoratis & Vidakis 2003, 1-25). The island consists largely of limestones, schist, alluvial deposits and products of their corrosion, such as red soils (terra rossa). Moreover, a thick layer of phylite slates, beginning from the north extremity of the island (Ayios Petros), extends to the central mountainous area of the north-west part, ending at the gulf of Kalamitsa (Melentis 1973, 299-300). Eroded phillets called *melagi* by the locals, were used widely for sealing house roofs, as well as for mortar in wall and pavement constructions, until the arrival of cement on the island some decades ago (Melentis 1973, 302; Arnaoutoglou 1982, 26). On the north-east coastline of the island sand, bluestone, conglomerate, beach rocks and tufa are dominant (Melentis 1973, 305; Perissoratis & Vidakis 2003:4). In more detail, tufa is identified from cape Kartsino to Achili bay, with an interruption at the site of Magazia. Due to the great quantity of the deposit and the relatively easy access by the sea, tufa was used widely as construction material, perpetually, from Antiquity to modern times. Tufa quarries are identified at the sites of Markesi, at the coast between the sites of Palamari and Polichri, at the site of Pouria while a fourth quarry is located at the site of Alortho pouri. All of them were in use in ancient times, while this at Pouria was the only one which continued to be used till early modern times, because of its vicinity to the town (Defner 1923, 109).

Apart from that, a great deposit of marble is identified on the west coast of Skyros, beginning from the foreland of Oros, passing from the mountainous area of Dekatria and Papagrigori to Pefkos bay. The marble deposit continues on the south-west part of the island, from the foreland of Marmara, covering the area of Tris Boukes bay, while marble deposits

are identified on the islands alongside the west coast (Valaxa, Rinia, Koulouri and Skyropoula) (Lazos *et al.* 1989, 15-20). There are three types of Skyrian marble: a) polychrome carbonate breccia (*breccia di Settebasi*), b) a variety of the polychrome carbonate breccia consisting mainly of the bigger granulation (*semesanto*), and c) a white, white-grey or white-yellow marble (Lazzarini 2007, 161; Lazos *et al.* 1989, 10). Albeit white marble was used locally since Archaic and Classical times (Lazzarini & Cancelliere 2000, 57), their excessive exploitation has taken place during the Roman-Late Roman period, with reuse of some of the ancient quarries, from the late 19th century until WWI, in the period between 1960 and 1976 and finally today, with two marble quarries still active (Lazzarini 2007, 162, 164; Lazos *et al.* 1989, 3). Numerous marble quarries are identified on the west coast of the island, at the sites of Ayios Panteleimon, Dekatria, Papagrigori, Aliko, Tris Boukes, Koprisies, and on the islets of Rinia, Koulouri, and Valaxa, most of them having been used throughout the Roman-Late Roman period (Lazzarini 2007, 166-8; see more in Chapter 10.3).

The central mountainous area of the north-west part of the island contains a great iron deposit, mainly concentrated towards the western part. Thus, beginning from the west, iron deposits have been identified at the plateau of Chartsa and Koumari, at the sites of Atsitsa, Paraspisi and Katasarasi and at the east border of the mountainous area, on the plain of Ferekambos and under the peak of Mavrounas (Papastamatiou 1959). Despite the great deposits of iron, only a few small ancient mines have been identified, for example at Koumari or at Koprisies, a confirmation of Pliny's reference to *metallus scyreticum* (*NH, XX, 106; XIII* and *XXXI,* 29; Lazzarini 2007, 161). However, their systematic exploitation began only in 1897, when the Skender brothers established a mine at the sites of Atsitsa and Paraspisi. In 1907, the company of Lavrio continued the exploitation of the deposit until 1913 and it was never exploited since (Papastamatiou 1959, 1,4; Konstantinidis 1901, 37-8).

Climate

The climate of Skyros is the same as for the rest of the eastern Mediterranean and more specifically of the Aegean sea: mild, humid winters, characterised by few to medium rains and strong north-northeast winds; dry, hot summers, with cold north air (*melt-emi*), from mid July onwards until the end of August; rare brief, very heavy rains, usually occur in August, modifying the summer climate of the island.

Chapter 2
Historical Outline

Before the Athenian occupation

The non-archaeological evidence for the prehistoric and early historic centuries on Skyros is hazy, due to the confusing data that the later historical/philological sources provide on the 'first' inhabitants of the island, people of which the origin, time and place of activity are still only roughly known.

However, it has been written that Skyros was initially inhabited by Pelasgians, Carians, Dolopians and Magnets (Stephen of Byzantium *Skyros*; *IG* XII.8, 175; Schol. Od. Λ 509;). The first tow groups are associated with the 'Sea Peoples' or viewed as related to the Minoans, and connected with early Cretan settlement-colonies in the Aegean, during the period of their prevalence of the 18th - 16th c. BC (Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997a, 11-12; Parlama 1984, 359, n. 3). According to Diodorus, after the conquest of the island, the Cretan king Rhadamanthus assigned Enyeus as its king, son of Dionysus and Ariadne (Diod. V, 79, 2). In the Iliad Skyros is referred to as *Ἐννῆος πτολίεθρον* (Σ, 668), while the known king of Skyros Lycomedes is referred to as being Cretan (*Κρὴς ὁ Λυκομήδης φησὶν*; Hesiod frr. 202; Schol. T, 240). Some scholars connect the unidentified settlement of *Κρήσιον* mentioned by Plutarch (*Cim.* 8.3) with the Cretan occupation (Fredrich 1906, 273-4).

In any case, these Pelasgians – Carians (Cretan-related?) people were displaced during the Mycenaean era by the Achaeans and/or Dolopians, with which are probably linked the myths of the residence of Achilles on Skyros (Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997a, 12; Graindor 1906, 25).[1] Furthermore, the second great hero associated with the island, Theseus, and the story about his death on Skyros, is interpreted as a failed Ionian colonial movement on the island, against the settled Cretan people represented by King Lycomedes, the assassin of the hero (Graindor 1906, 52-3). Moreover, this myth is also interpreted as partially a created historical connection of the Athenians for their intervention on Skyros. As Parlama notes, "the assignment to Kimon to find and returne to Athens the bones of the hero, was actually [an] order for the conquest of the island" (1984, 265). However, before the Athenian occupation in the 5th c., Skyros, together with Skopelos and Alonissos were colonised by Euboeans (Chalkis?) probably in the 8th c. BC (Scymnus 580; Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997a, 13; Graindor 1906, 23).

The archaeological evidence from the island cannot be brought into any sensible relation with the narratives briefly mentioned above suggested by the historical sources: apart from the various settlements identified through surface finds, the only excavated Bronze Age settlement of Palamari (S27) indicates signs of an early urbanisation occurring there already since the Early Bronze Age. During this period Skyros seems to have had connections with the islands of the north-east Aegean and Troy, as well as the Cyclades and mainland Greece, in particular Euboea (Parlama 1984, 115-20; Parlama 2007).

During the Mycenaean period, in the location of present day Chora and apparently on its acropolis castle, the Kastro, a settlement developed, as attested from the cemeteries north and south of the acropolis. The evidence indicates connections between the island and the rest of the Mycenaean world (Parlama 1984, 264-68). From the 10th c. onwards the island was prosperous in keeping with the fruitful image that Euboea, and particularly Lefkandi presents, with which Skyros maintained intense relations. Finally, during the Archaic period the island continues to be prosperous and seems to be connected with Boeotia, Attica and Corinth (Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997a, 13; Sapouna-Sakellaraki 2001/02).

From the Athenian to the Roman occupation

In 476/5 BC the Athenians seized the island under Kimon, with the excuse of protecting their interests from the Thessalian pirates settled on Skyros, the latter ap-

1 For a detailed interpretation of the myths related to Achilles and Neoptolemus and the island see Graindor 1906.

parently linked with the Dolopians (Diod. 11.60.2; Ephor. Fr. 191; Plut. *Cim.* 8.3-7; Plut. *Thes.* 36.1; Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997a, 14; Graidor 1906, 48). According to Plutarch, Kimon found the bones of the glorious Athenian king Theseus; a mission addressed to him after a prophecy from Delphi, and transferred them to Athens, to a temple which took the name of the hero (*Theseion*) (Plut. *Thes.* 36.1). Enslavement (*andrapodismos*) took place and Athenians settled on the island (*clerouchs*)[2] (Diod. 11.60.2). However, this must not be conceived as a total extinction of the local population. There is evidence from the 4th c., concerning the division of the island's people into Athenians and the local inhabitants (Hansen & Nielsen 2004, 774). In contrast to the Lemnians and Imbrians, the Skyrians were not members of the Delian League, but remained Athenian citizens. The inscriptions attest to the persistence of the *clerouchs* through the names of the various *Demoi* (*Kidathinaion, Dekeleias, Ramnountos* etc.), with as a characteristic example being the offering to the temple of Eleusis of 3000 kg of barley and 500 kg of wheat, by the Athenian general (*strategos*) Mnesistratos, referred to in an inscription of 329-328 BC (Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997a, 14-5). The Athenian *clerouchs* brought to the island Attic customs and way of life. They probably introduced the worship of Athena and the feasts of Dionysius. The only important river on Skyros was (and still is) named Kifisos, a direct connection with Athens.

From the time of the Athenian conquest in 475 BC to the final Roman conquest in 86 BC by Sulla, the island remained under Athenian occupation, with small hiatuses. In 404 the Athenians had to surrender Skyros to the Spartans, together with Lemnos and Imbros (Andoc. 3.12; Aeschin. 2.76-77). However, they regained control of the island in 392, after receiving the confirmation by the King's Peace in 386 BC (Xen. *Hell.* 5.1.31; Hansen & Nielsen 2004, 774). During the Macedonian expansion, Skyros remained an Athenian possession until the Peace of 322 (Diod. 18.18.4). This is attested by the aforementioned inscription of the Athenian general of 329-328 as well, appointed for the administration of the island. Apparently Philip II had recognised Skyros as an Athenian possession after the battle of Cheroneia in 338 (Hansen & Nielsen 2004, 774). However, after the Lamian war in 322 the island came under the control of the Macedonians. It was probably reconnected with Athens in 281 but from the second half of the 3rd c. until 196 BC the island belonged to the Macedonians (Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997a, 15; Graindor 106, 70-2). After the end of the Second Macedonian War (200-197 BC), Rome replaced Macedonia as the principal power in the Balkans. In 196 BC T. Quinctius Flamininus declared the Greeks free and subject to no tribute. Macedonia gradually lost influence in the Aegean, but it seems that even after 196 BC Skyros remained its possession. It was only after the Third Macedonian War (172-168) that Skyros returned to the Athenians, after the latter were rewarded by the Romans with Imbros, Lemnos, Skyros, Delos and the Boeotian city of Haliartos, for siding with Rome during the war (Alcock 1993, 8-9; Graindor 1906, 72). The situation changed after the revolt against Rome in Greece and its suppression in 86 BC by Sulla.

The Roman period (1st c. BC – 7th c. AD)

After the First Mithridatic War and the suppression of the Greek revolt by Sulla in 86 BC, Rome consolidated its dominion over Greece. After the battle of Actium, a separate province of Achaia was demarcated, formally created in 27 BC. As Alcock notes "The magnitude of the transformation resulting in the creation of Achaia should not be underestimated: for the first time, all of the autonomous, or largely autonomous, Greek political units were formally and forcibly brought together under an external power. This transformation into a satellite territory, initiated by the Romans and maintained by their successors the Byzantines, Franks, Venetians and Turks, was not reversed until the nineteenth-century War of Independence" (Alcock 1993, 15-6).

The exact geographical boundaries of the province of Achaia are only roughly known, but should include the Peloponnese, Attica, Boeotia, Lokris, Aetolia, Euboea, the islands of Skyros, Lemnos and Imbros, and probably some of the Cyclades (Alcock 1993, 14). Corinth was declared capital of the province. Skyros remained in the administration of the province of Achaia (*Diocesis Macedoniae*) until the 7th c. AD (*Synekdemos*), when the new Byzantine ad-

2 A *cleruchy* was a specialized type of colony established by Athens. The settlers or *cleruchs* would retain their Athenian citizenship and the community remained a political dependency of Athens. Under the *cleruchy* arrangement, the participating citizen received a plot (or *kleros*) of agricultural land, hence a means to earn his livelihood. See generally in Wikipedia, *Cleruchy*.

ministration system of the *Themes* took place. During this period, Skyros was incorporated into the large-scale economic system of the Roman Empire, and its main role in that system was as an exploitable pool of materials, namely its white and polychrome marble (*breccia di settebasi*), widely distributed throughout the Mediterranean (Lazzarini 2007).

The 'crisis of the third century' has probably left its traces on Skyros as well: in 267 AD the Heruli broke into the Balkans from the Black Sea and apart from sacking Athens, they attacked the cities of the western coast of Asia Minor as well as Lemnos and Skyros (Gregory 2005, 27; Koder 1998, 280; Graindor 1906, 78).

Ecclesiastically, Skyros was a bishopric since the 4th c., under the jurisdiction of the Metropolis of Corinth. Bishop Eirenaios (*Ireneus ab Acaia de Sciro*) was in the Synod of Serdica in 343 AD (Hilarius, *Syn. Serd*., 138; Koder 1998, 279).

From the 7th c. to the Frankish Occupation in 1204 AD

The 7th c. is marked by the gradual Arab invasions of the empire's territory and the Mediterranean. In this century Byzantium lost Syria, Palestine, Egypt, Cyprus, while receiving attacks on Crete, Kos and Constantinople itself (Treadgold 2002; Gregory 2005, 164 ff.). The response of the empire to this military collapse in the face of the Arab successes was an administrative reorganisation. This was done through the replacement of the system of the small provinces, with a number of larger units, the themes (*themata*); essentially military zones governed by a general (*strategos*), who had both military and civilian power (Gregory 2005, 179-80). The date of the introduction of the themes is a matter of debate. Some argue that the oldest themes were established before the Persian campaign of Heraclius, while others support a more gradual process. In any case, there is agreement that by the end of the 7th c. the majority of the Byzantine territory was divided into a few, large, military provinces, the prime themes (Kazhdan *et al* 1991, 2034-5; Haldon 1997, 212-4; Treadgold 2002, 132). The earliest mentioned are *Armeniakon, Opsikion, Anatolikon, Thrakesion* and of *Hellas,* the last probably founded during the first reign of Justinian II (685-695 AD) (Kazhdan *et al* 1991, 2035; Haldon 1997, 212; Christophilopoulou 1998, 287; Treadgold 2002, 136)[3].

The theme of Hellas apparently included in its territory a major part of the old Roman province of Achaia. Actually, the term *Hellas* is also used in the 6th c. source of *Synekdemos* as an alternative name for the aforementioned Roman province (*eparchia Hellados egun Achaias*). Since the time of its foundation, the seat of the theme remained the capital of the old province, Corinth, and remained as such until the early 9th c., when the subdivision of the theme into a separate theme of Peloponnese made Corinth the capital of the new theme, and Thebes the capital of the theme of Hellas (Kazhdan *et al.* 1991, 532).

Among the early themes some include one more, that of the *Karabisianoi.* This unit should incorporate part of the south-west coast of Asia Minor and the islands of the Aegean (Haldon 1997, 212). However, it is doubtful whether the theme of *Karabisianoi* has ever existed. The references to a *strategos* of *Karabisianon* is probably related to the general of the fleet and the nautical administration of the empire, apparently without any connection to a particular geographical region (Ahrweiler 1966, 22; Christophilopoulou 1998, 290). The fleet of the *Karabisianoi* is related to the nautical theme of *Kibyrrhaiotai*, which actually replaced a previous nautical administrative unit, within the programme of military administrative restructuration of the empire. The theme of *Kibyrrhaiotai* was definitely in existence by the late 7th or early 8th c., and had its base in Antalya. Among its subdivisions was the droungariate of the Aegean Sea (Christofilopoulou 1998, 291; Kazhdan *et al.* 1991, 2034-5). During the gradual fragmentation of the large themes into smaller territorial units, the droungariate of the Aegean Sea was raised to an independent theme probably in the 9th c., covering the central and north Aegean (Christofilopoulou 1998, 291).

Skyros, in the centre of the Aegean Sea, during the first two centuries of the administrative reform (7th - 9th), probably was part of the nautical theme of *Kibyrrhaiotai*. Nevertheless, it is not improbable that it may have belonged to the theme of Hellas as well, bearing in mind its Late Roman administrative status, in which the island was part of the province of

3 Initially, the word *thema* was a term referring merely to armies and later (late 7th - early 8th c.) applied to the districts where these forces were based (Haldon 1997, 214-5).

Achaia/Hellas instead of Islands or the *Nesoi.* In any case, from the 10th c. onwards Skyros belongs with certainty to the theme of the Aegean Sea, together with the rest of the Sporades, Cyclades, and the islands of Chios, Lesvos and Lemnos (*De Thematibus*, 82-3, after Ahrweiler 1966, 122, n.5; Koder 1998, 279).[4] Moreover, the island was governed by a commander (*archon*) (Ahrweiler 1966, 57-9). There has survived the seal of the *archon Niketas,* dated in the 9th-10th c. (Nesbitt & Oikonomides 1994, 148, nr 56). An ex-*archon* of Skyros, a certain Ioannis Pselakis, is mentioned in 1016 in a document of the monastery of Lavra, confirming that being an *archon* was not an honorific title but a real office (Nesbitt & Oikonomides 1994, 149; *Actes de Lavra* I, no. 20, line 81).

These *archontes,* attested in several other coastal regions-cities, are connected with the marine policy of the empire and are interpreted as being the generals of the nautical bases of the imperial fleet (*ploimon*). These *archontes* were apparently appointed by the capital of the empire and were active during all the Middle Byzantine period. The seats of such *archontes,* apart from nautical bases, are also viewed as the sites where the international trade of the time took place (Ahrweiler 1966, 101). It is thus certain that during the Middle Byzantine period the island achieved an important role, being a nautical base of the imperial fleet, created within the terms of the empire's reorganisation triggered by the Arab expansion.

Besides the information for its administrative status, the importance which the island obtained during this period is found in other historical evidence as well. In 821 AD the general (*strategos*) Gregorios Pterotos, nephew of Leo V, was exiled to Skyros, by the emperor Michael II (Koder 1998, 280). Moreover, at the beginning of the 11th c. (1012 - 1016 AD), the local(?) noble Ioannis Kouvouklesios and his wife Glykeria converted their house into a monastery dedicated to *Christos Soter* (founded in 992 AD), and Glykeria, after her husband's death, donated both the monastery and 'extensive' lands on the island to the abbot of Megisti Lavra on Mt. Athos, Eustratios (*Actes de Lavra* I, nos.16, 20). Today the monastery of *Christos Soter* is identified as the church of Christos Mavrouna (see Appendix C, C52), and the 'extensive lands' with the large pasture area in the southern mountainous part of the island, possessed to this day by the great monastery of Athos. This donation signalled the involvement of the monastery of Lavra on the island, which became more intense after the transformation of the local monastery of Ayios Georgios (patron saint of the island) as a dependent estate centre or *metochi* of the great Lavra in 1289 (see Appendix C, C05). Moreover, the aforementioned donation provide us with information for an elite active on the island during the early 11th c., which apart from Kouvouklesios and his wife, apparently rich enough to possess such extensive lands, include the aforementioned Ioannis Pselakis ex-*archon* of Skyros*,* a certain Leo Gournakis *oikodespotis,* and one more called Leo Sarakostenos (*Actes de Lavra* I, no. 20, line 81).

In 1171-72 AD the Doge Vitale Michiel led a naval force against the islands of the Aegean Sea in retaliation for the arrest of the Venetian merchants of the empire on order of emperor Manuel I Komnenos. The fleet had looted Chios, but after being struck by a plague was recalled. During its return journey the fleet spent Easter on Skyros (Topping 1986, 218; Koder 1998, 280; Coronelli, in Antoniadis 1977, 121).

Regarding ecclesiastical affairs, within the terms of the Iconoclastic controversy, in 732 AD the emperor Leo III removed the provinces of Calabria, Sicily and Illyricum East from Papal jurisdiction, and put them under the direction of the Patriarchate of Constantinople. This led to the promotion of Corinth as Autocephalus Archbishopric seat and consequently to the promotion of the bishopric seat of Athens as Metropolis, to which the bishop of Skyros became suffragan (Christophilopoulou 1998, 110-1; Darrouzès 1981, no. 7, line 502). The reform in the ecclesiastical administration was followed by the construction of a new episcopal church within the Kastro of Skyros, dedicated to the Dormition of Mary. The church is reliably dated to 895 AD according to an inscription (see Appendix C, C01).

As a final note on the Early - Middle Byzantine period of the island we can include the mention by Malamut of a possible Slavic and Arab presence, on the grounds of some Skyrian toponyms (Malamut 1988 I, 272). However, this argument is unsupported historically and archaeologically.

4 Koder notes that the island was under the control of Lemnos (1998, 279). It is worth noting that in the sources Skyros is referred to as "one of the Cyclades", indicating that the term 'Cyclades' in the *Thematibus* did not necessarily coincide with the present geographical unit (*Theoph. Cont*. 57; after Ahrweiler 1966, 122, n.5).

From the Frankish to the Ottoman occupation (1204 – 1538 AD)

In the partitioning of the Byzantine Empire after the conquest of Constantinople in 1204 AD, Skyros was one of the Aegean islands assigned to the Latin emperor (Miller 1908, 29; Koder 1998, 280). However, the dominion was theoretical as the island, like the majority of the ex-Byzantine territories split in the *partitio,* had to be conquered. Venice undertook the conquest of the Aegean islands (with the blessing of the Latin emperor) authorizing its subjects to conquer the islands for their own, being vassals of the emperor according to the feudal models (Miller 1908, 43). Besides Marco Sanudo, the nephew of the Venetian doge Enrico Dandolo and founder of the Duchy of the Archipelago, several other Italian nobles had set off to build themselves an island empire, among them the Ghisi brothers, Andrea and Geremia. The Ghisi initially occupied Skyros, Skopelos, Skiathos (probably in 1207 AD at the latest), Tinos and Mykonos, later in partnership with Domenico Michiel and Pietro Giustiniani Kea and Serifos, and finally Amorgos (Miller 1908, 44; Frazee 1988, 55; Lock 1995, 147-8; Koder 1998, 280). Moreover, the holdings of the brothers were also extended in Euboea and according to Frazee, Euboea's capital Negroponte was probably their usual residence. As Frazee notes "the brothers were businessmen first and island lords second, hence their preference for a house in the centre of the Grecian Venetian world rather than on an out-of the-way island" (Frazee 1988, 55).

After the death of Andrea Ghisi in 1259, a quarrel between his son Philip and Lorenzo Tiepolo began regarding the possession of the Sporades: Andrea Ghisi had two sons Bartolommeo and Philip; Geremia two daughters Markesina and Isabeta. The first girl, Markesina, married Lorenzo Tiepolo and received as a dowry Skyros, Skopelos and Skiathos. Isabeta married her cousin, Philip, who managed to retain the islands, making his base the island of Skopelos (Graindor 1906, 81; Loenertz 1975, 49).

However, after the re-conquest of Constantinople by Michael III, an endeavour to bring the Aegean back to the Byzantines took place. The Italian knight Licario of Karystos, while in Negroponte on his grand campaign in Euboea on account of the Byzantines, attacked Skopelos and sent Philip Ghisi and his wife as captives to Constantinople. Licario of Karystos went on to capture Skyros, Skiathos and Lemnos (1277-1279). From that time until the final fall of Constantinople in 1453 AD, the aforementioned islands are supposed to have been in Byzantine hands, with the exception (on Skyros) of the Turkish occupation in the years 1395-1403. The Ghisi do not reappear on the Sporades (Loenertz 1975, 49, 52-6; Topping 1986, 219-20; Koder 1998, 280). However, there is evidence that Skyros during the 14th century was probably under Frankish rather than Byzantine occupation. It is known that during the last twenty years of the 13th c. the Aegean islands received numerous attacks: by the Franks endeavouring to retake them from the Byzantines and by the admiral of the fleet of Aragon, Rogier di Lluria (Miller 1908, 184-5; Lock 1995, 156-8). However, there is no specific reference to Skyros in the accounts of these attacks. It is unclear what was the status of the island after the treaties of 1302 and 1310 between the Byzantines and the Venetians, but interestingly enough the island seems to have a Latin bishop during the years 1315-1320 (*Ugolinus de Auximo, episc. Yschirensis,* in Fedalto II 1973, 135; see below).

The next event of perhaps greater importance to Skyros is the presence on the island of Niccolò III dalle Carceri, ninth Duke of the Archipelago (1371-1383). A further clarification is needed about the date of the Duke's presence on Skyros: in the literature this is falsely indicated in 1354 AD, because of a mistaken reference by Graindor and followed by subsequent scholars (e.g. Antoniadis 1997, 17; Koder 1998, 280).[5] Particularly, the French historian notes that "after the battle of Sapienza, won by the Genoese (4 November 1354), the Duke of Naxos Niccolò III dalle Carceri escapes and takes refuge on Skyros which he fortifies. To him are attributed the fortifications of the Kastro of Skyros...After the treaty with Venice (29 September 1355) Niccolò returned to Naxos" (Graindor 1906, 82). However, this note is quite confusing. First of all, the Duke of Naxos at that time was not Niccolò III dalle Carceri, but Giovanni I Sanudo (1341-1361) (Lock 1995, 332; Miller 1908, 589-90, 653). Moreover, Miller records that in 1354 the Genoese fleet attacked Naxos, and the Duke of Archipelago (Giovanni I) was captured and trans-

5 Actually Koder refers the year 1345 misled by a typographical mistake in one of Antoniadis publications, following Graindor.

ferred to Genoa. The next year the Duke was released and indeed returned to his duchy, but not from Skyros of course (Miller 1908, 589-90). Giovanni I died in 1361 and left the command of the Duchy to his daughter Fiorenza, a young widow who had married Giovanni dalle Carceri, descendant of the well known Lombard family from Verona, one of the three baronies (*terzieri*) ruling Euboea. With him she had a child, Niccolò (whom Graindor notes). Fiorenza, under pressure from Venice, married her cousin Niccolò II (Spezzabanda) in 1364 who governed as duke the possessions of his wife until her death in 1371. After that, Spezzabanda was custodian of the underage son of Fiorenza and only after his maturity did Niccolò became the ninth duke of the Archipelago (Niccolò III dalle Carceri 1371-1383). Miller goes on to write that Niccolò III was one of the worst dukes of the Aegean. He was occupied more with his large possessions in Euboea and used to pass more time there than in his duchy (Miller 1908, 590-3). Sauger and Tournefort record that Niccolò went on Skyros, "an island of his possessions" and stayed there for approximately two months to repair the fortifications of the Skyrian acropolis, after these were damaged by an earthquake (in Antoniadis 1977, 101, 133). The military preparations were against the Turks who making deeper and deeper forays into the Archipelago. Actually both Sauger and Tournefort refer to a successful repulse of a Turkish expedition on the island, during Niccolò's presence there.

Putting the data mentioned above in order, we can conclude that first of all Niccolò III dalle Carceri came on Skyros not in 1354 but apparently between 1371 and 1383. In any case, this in combination with the indication of a Latin bishop in 1315-1320 suggests that after the treaties of 1302 and 1310 between the Byzantines and the Venetians, the island returned to Frankish rule. The second conclusion is that during his residence, Niccolò had not 'fortified' the Kastro for the first time, as Graindor and others believe, but was only conducting repairs on the existing walls. These walls repaired by Niccolò, could be the Byzantine ones, or those constructed by the Ghisi. It would be difficult to believe that the Ghisi during their seventy-year dominion over the island (1207-1277) would leave Skyros without their traces. On the contrary it would be expected that they executed fortification programmes like they did with the rest of their possessions (e.g. Exombourgo, Tinos).

In any case, despite Niccolò's efforts, after the campaign of Bayezid I Yildirim in the Balkans, Skyros fell into Ottoman hands probably around 1393-95. After the treaty signed between Süleyman Çelebi and Ioannes VII Paleologos in 1403, however, Skyros together with the rest of the Sporades, Thessalonica and Chalkidiki returned to the Byzantines (Koder 1998, 280).

After the fall of Constantinople in 1453 and the negotiations between the Conqueror and the Venetians, the latter compensated themselves in acquiring Skyros, Skiathos and Skopelos. The control of these

1455	Francesco Pasgualigo
1458	Paulo Quirini
1461	Alessandro Bernardo
1464	Marco Miani
1467	Girolamo Salomono
1470	Cristoforo Quirini
1473	Fantino Moro
1477	Antonio Barbarigo
1481	Nicolo Contarini
1484	Pietro Bembo
1487	Antonio Badoer
1489	Marcantonio Donato
1493	Francesco Valaresso
1495	Girolamo Dandolo
1498	Jacopo Giustiniani
1501	Jacopo Giorgio
1504	Angelo Orio
1507	Donato Priuli
1510	Benedetto Marin
1513	Secondo da Pesaro
1515	Simone Diedo
1516	Marco Zeno
1519	?
1522	Nadale da Mostro
1526	Vicenzo Baffo
1528	Gianbattista Garzoni
c. 1531	Vicenzo Baffo*
?	Zuan Alvise Moro*
1535	Francesco Cornaro
1537	Jacopo Salamono

Table 2.1: Venetian *Rectors* of Skyros (after Hopf 1873: 378; *= *Rectors* added by Patrinelis 1963-64, 21, n.1).

islands could provide some protection to their major base in Negroponte. Indeed, during the winter of 1453/54 the Venetian fleet under the command of Giacomo Loredan occupied the island, with the accord of the Skyrian people (Thiriet 1961, *régestes* 2957, 2968, 2976; Topping 1986, 223; Koder 1998, 280). From that time until the final fall to the Ottomans in 1538, Skyros is administrated by *Rectors* dependent on the *Baili* of Negroponte. There is preserved the list of the *Rectors* from 1455 to 1537 (Table 2.1) (Hopf 1873, 377f.; Coronelli in Antoniadis 1977, 123-4).

However, apart from the Venetian authority, the local community was also involved in the island's administration by representatives apparently from the upper class, referred in the historical sources of the period as *vecchi - gerontes* and their leader, the *prothoiero-protogeros.* These ranks already in existence since 1460 are many times documented and apparently are the ancestors of the *Epitropoi* and '*Demo'-gerontes* of the Tourkokratia (Sathas 1833, 40-4; Antoniadis 1995a, 39ff). In 1515, after relevant request of the Skyrians to the *Consiglio dei Rogatti* in Venice, the aforementioned ranks are slightly reformed regarding the electorate, the tenure and their number: the tenure of both the *gerontes* and the *protogeros* was shortened to three years instead of lifelong; moreover they were not to be appointed by the *Rector* but to be elected by the *Rector,* the bishop, the abbot of the monastery of Saint George, the rest of the *gerontes,* the generals of the army (*Decharchi delle guardie*) and of the marines (*Capi de marinari*). Finally, the number of the aforementioned *gerontes* was not to be greater than four (Sathas 1833, 41; Antoniadis 1995a & 1995c, 78-83).

The Skyrian people, numbering at the beginning of the period 1200 (Rizzardo, after Topping 1986, 234), was privileged with fiscal decreases (Sathas 1833, 40-4; Antoniadis 1995a, 39ff., and 1995c, 68ff.), but often suffered from the *rectors*' fickleness. In 1519 Sebastiano Moro visited the island and refered to the disapproval of the locals for the *rector,* while in 1531, after complaints from the Skyrians, Venice sent Francesco Pasqualigo for an enquiry. As Sanuto notes in his diaries, Pasqualigo was received in the harbour by the islanders crying for help (Sanuto *diarii,* after Patrinelis 1963/64, 20-1).

In religious matters, during the period of the Frankish - Venetian occupation, it is known that the Latin Church was based on the already existing order of the Byzantine bishopric seats, displacing the Byzantine bishops with Latin ones (Slot 1982, 59; Lock 1995, 205-9). The Orthodox bishops were demoted to the title of *protopapas* (Frazee 1988, 56). However, it is a matter of debate whether the Latin bishops attested in the historical sources for the Aegean islands in general, were indeed established to their territories, or remained only on paper. It is quite probable, once the territories were retaken by the Byzantines or the Ottomans, the Latin prelates were no longer able to reside in their sees and they lived in the West, becoming titular bishops. Concerning Skyros, from a letter of Pope Innocent III to the new Archbishop of Athens Berard in 13 February 1209, we learn that Skyros remained a bishopric under the jurisdiction of the Latin Archbishop of Athens. The only known name of the Latin bishops of Skyros is that of *Ugolinus de Auximo episc. Yscyrensis* (1315-1320) (Fedalto 1973 I, 199, 227 & II: 135).The weak historical and archaeological testimony for the establishment of a Latin bishop on the island (which, it has to be noted, comes in strict contradiction with the local oral tradition according to which Latin bishop was definitely established on Skyros), is here interpreted as a non-continuous presence of a Catholic prelate on the island, but only during the periods of relative stability (e.g. the period of Ghisi, or the Venetian period). In fact, a request by the Skyrians to the *Signoria* of Venice, dated probably in 1460, is signed by the *protogeros*, some others apparently *gerontes*, and two priests, one of whom is son of a given "*protopapa* Douka". No word is mentioned about an Orthodox bishop, on the contrary the title of the *protopapas* is already active (Antoniadis 1995a, 39 ff.).

However, this 'displacement' of the Orthodox bishop of the island with the Latin one and the degradation of the former under the title of *protopapa,* must be conceived as a formal reform rather than an essential change. The number of the Catholics on the island would have been very small, in contrast to the Orthodox who undoubtedly made up the bulk of the population. Like the rest of Greece, "the Orthodox Church acted as a cultural focus and played a major role in the crystallization of a new Greek collective identity" (Jacoby 1989, 25), while the Latin bishop was more the religious formal representative of the new rule. In fact, in the Greek sources there are mentions of names entitled Orthodox bishops of Skyros during the times of Latin occupation (Table 2.2). It

343	Eirinaios
895	Savas
10th - 11th c.	Michael*
1274-1383	Makarios
1458	Ioakeim
Early 15th – early 16th c.	Makarios
Early-middle 16th c.	Symeon
1560	Dionysios
1567, 1569	Gabriel
1575	Dionysios
1576	Iosif
1580	Loukianos
1596	Ignatios
1612	Neofytos
1612-1633	Methodios
1633-1639	Makarios
1640, 1649	Gabriel
1660	Theodosios
1673	Ioasaf
1675-1684	Methodios
1686	Germanos
1700-1708	Kallinikos
1708	Gabriel
1721-1727	Gregorios
1734	Parthenios
1734	Daniel
1740, 1741	Gabriel
Middle 18th c.	Arsenios
1748-1755	Ieremias
1755	Gregorios
1758	Germanos Sivitos
1760	Gregorios
1764	Serafeim
1765	Kallinikos Sivitos
1766	Ioakeim
1767-1797	Ioasaf
1797-1837	Gregorios Epifaniou Lavriotis
1837-1841	Ecclesiastical Committee

Table 2.2: Attested bishops of Skyros (after Atesis 1961; *= after Nesbitt & Oikonomides 1994, 149)

is very characteristic that the writer of the 127 Codex of Dochiariou monastery in Mount Athos dated in 1458, a certain Ioakeim, signs as the bishop of Skyros (*διὰ χειρὸς κάμοῦ τοῦ ταπεινοῦ Ἐπισκόπου Σκύρου Ἰωακεὶμ ἐν ἔτει 1458*) (in Atesis 1961, 31). It seems then that the Orthodox bishops of the island never ceased to exist and their degradation to *propopapades* was referred to only in the formal Latin documents. A religious symbiosis must be envisaged between the two sects, as better documented in later centuries (Jacoby 1989, 26). Thus, during the Venetian occupation of the island, in a letter of Secondo da Pesaro (*rector* of Skyros in 1514), summarised in the Sanuto diaries, we learn that in the masses of the Great Lent there is present also the *monsignor episcopo nostro* (Sanuto *diarii,* after Patrinelis 1963/64, 22). The mention is certainly to the Orthodox liturgies and to the Latin bishop participating in these, as the Catholic grade *monsignor* attests. Apart from that, if the note was referring to the Catholic masses, the mention of the bishop's presence in these would be unnecessary. Moreover, it is interesting that Pesaro does not use the term *vescovo* as would be expected, but adopts the Greek term *episcopo* for the bishop.

An even more characteristic example for the religious symbiosis of the period comes from the aforementioned request of the Skyrians to the Venetian *signoria* the next year, in 1515. Nine *capitula* had been submitted by a Skyrian two-person delegation that travelled in Venice, consisting of a certain *gerontas* Ioannis Millonatos and the (orthodox) bishop Symeon. Interestingly enough, that Symeon was the orthodox bishop of the island is not provided by a Greek source but from the formal reply of the Venetian *Collegio* which had treated the request: *Adiere presentiam nostrum Rev. Papas Simeon episcopus istius loci* (Sathas 1833, 40).

Skyros in the Ottoman and Revolutionary period (1538-1830 AD)

In the early 16th century, especially after 1534 under the command of Hayreddin Barbarossa, the Ottoman navy expanded its operational range in the Mediterranean and particularly in the Aegean (Kolovos 2007, 51). In 1538 Skyros, like most of the Aegean islands, was occupied by the Ottoman fleet, apparently without resistance (Slot 1982, 75; Kiel 2007, 36; Graindor 1906, 83). However, the Ottomans were not interested in consolidating their rule over the insular world of the Aegean at that period (Kolovos 2007, 51). Thus, Barbarossa's expedition in the Aegean resulted initially in the islands becoming tributary to the sultan, but retaining more or less their previous internal regime

(Kasdagli 2007, 56, n.4; Slot 1982, 78). In fact on Skyros there is evidence that the Ottomans retained its Frankish rulers in power. This is attested by a document of 1556 relating to the land possessions of the monastery of St. George, signed by the governor of the island *Carlo Grimaldi,* apparently of Italian origin (Papageorgiou 1909, 123-4).

However, this situation changed towards the end of the 16th century, a time when the Ottomans sought to consolidate their rule over the islands, expulsing gradually their Frankish lords (Kolovos 2007, 53; Slot 1982, 88-90). Skyros was no exception, as from 1570 onwards there are testimonies of an Ottoman presence and Imperial administrative systems were applied on the island. From that time until the end of the Ottoman occupation, representatives of the Ottoman administration are regularly identified, and a small presence of Muslim residents is attested on the island (see next Chapter). The last quarter of the 16th century was a period of population and economic boom for the island according to the Ottoman *defters,* confirming the generally attested prosperous situation of the Aegean during the *Pax Othomanica* (see next Chapter).

This fruitful situation changed in the 17th century, a time of crisis for the Ottoman world (İnalcik 1972). This violent period started in the Aegean with the beginning of the Cretan war in 1645, where the Ottomans lost control over the islands (Slot 1982, 162-92). The Ottoman navy showed itself incapable of reacting to the Venetian blockade of the Dardanelles in 1648, an action undertaken in order to cut off the Ottoman force on Crete. Moreover, the Venetians made as their naval base the large natural harbour of Melos from where they imposed their rule on the other islands. In 1651 the Ottoman fleet was defeated twice by the Venetians outside Santorini and Paros-Naxos. About one thousand prisoners were taken by the Venetians (Kolovos 2007, 61). Skyros did not escape from this turbulent situation. In 1652 the Venetian fleet led by its admiral Foscolo attacked the island. The Venetians did not distinguish Muslims or local Christians taking many Skyrians as captives (Sathas 1867, 147 ff.). Marinos Tzane Bounialis, the Rethymnian poet of the Cretan war, attests similar behaviour of the Venetians on several other Aegean islands which were attacked (Alexiou & Aposkiti 1995, 241-3). This period of crisis is also shown in the population of Skyros as well, which now numbered about 1630 people, *c.* 600 less than the late 16th century (see next Chapter).

The situation seems to then stabilise until the Russian expedition in the Aegean (1770-1774), when Skyros, together with the most of the islands were liberated by the fleet of Orlof (Antoniadis 1995b, 59). However, after the departure of the Russians and particularly in the years before and especially during the Greek Revolution (1800-1827) the historical sources attest a dire situation for the island. The reason for that was the incapacity of the Ottoman Imperial mechanism to cope with the corruption of its administrative representatives, and with the pirates of Skiathos who were now 'visiting' Skyros regularly (Theocharis 1979, 10).

Nevertheless, piracy and Skyros is a very ambiguous matter. Generally the Sporades have had a long story as a pirates' hideout attacking the coasts of mainland Greece and the Aegean at least since the 16th century (Kiel 2007, 35). Apart from the role of the Skyrians as victims of pirate raids, there are contradictory indications of collaboration by the local population (Faltaits 1973d, 109 ff.; 1974, 75). Pouqueville actually attests to an intervention of the Ottoman fleet on Skyros, after accusations by the English government through its ambassador in Istanbul, of an attack against an English commercial ship carried out by pirates using Skyros as their base. The Ottoman navy indeed reacted, pursuing the pirates in 1815, but in the battle which followed at the cape of Markesi (northern Skyros) the Ottomans met defeat (Konstantinidis 1901, 110). What followed is very indicative for the relations of the Skyrians with the pirates: the Ottoman army arrived at Chora and started interrogations. Two Skyrians were hanged, eight were transported to Istanbul, of which two were executed there (Konstantinidis 1901, 110-11).

However, it is true that the relations of the locals with the pirates were not always collaborative, and must rather be conceived as fluid and fragile relations easily slipping from the one side to the other. From 1815 onwards until the extinction of piracy in the Aegean by Kapodistrias, the pirates should be viewed mostly as a menace to the island. In fact in 1816, one year after the battle of Markesi, the notorious *kleftes* Liolios and Tselios with their men arrived on Skyros and proceeded to loot (Theocharis 1979, 10; Konstantinidis 1901, 111). The situation became so difficult from the continuous presence and looting behaviour

of the pirates, that it prompted part of the population to migrate for a time to the island of Psara. This is attested by an Ottoman command of June 1816 towards the heads of the community (*proestoi*) of Psara, whom it called upon to send back the Skyrians to their base, as the Ottoman fleet would clean the area from the pirates (Konstantinidis 1901, 111-3; Papageorgiou 1909, 107-8).

After the commencement of the Greek Revolution the situation was not improved. Numerous well known *oplarchigoi* such as Doumbiotis, Mavrovouniotis, Zorbas and others, found their retreat on Skyros. Their looting behaviour on the island during the seven years of this period of anarchy is plentifully attested to in the sources (Theocharis 1979; Konstantinidis 1988; Papageorgiou 1909, 106 ff. Konstantinidis 1901, 113 ff.). The situation was aggravated by the numerous refugees arriving on the island from several places where the Revolution took a bad turn (e.g. from Izmir, Kymi and Ochthonia of Euboea, Kassandra of Macedonia etc.; see Theocharis 1979, 14-5; Konstantinidis 1901, 121).

Safety and stability arrived finally on the island during the first Greek national government of Kapodistrias (1828-1829). Skyros was consigned to the administration of the North Sporades, under the direction of an *ektaktos epitropos* based on the island of Skopelos. Anastasios Lontos was the first *epitropos* assigned. During his tenure, but mainly the tenure of his successor Dimitrios Kriezis, basic sanitary, economical and educational achievements, and more importantly measures for the public safety and the extinction of the piracy, were for the first time implemented (Theocharis 1979, 38 ff.). Within this timeframe in 1828, after the relevant request to the *ektaktos epitropos* by the *Dimogerontia,* Linaria was founded as the official port of the island (Faltaits 1975, 4). The necessary services were established (e.g. sanitary, coast-guard, customs etc.), and the first official port of the island was an obligatory approach by ships in order to implement the shipping measures of Kapodistrias (Faltaits 1975, 4). Although the gulf of Kalamitsa (where Linaria is located) was already being used as harbour of the island since antiquity, the foundation of the official port of the island in this place confirmed the reorientation of the island westwards, towards the newly-founded Greek state.

However, the authoritarian way of the government of Kapodistrias putting the local *archontes* in the margins, created a strain of discontent for the governor to contend with. During the period of Kapodistrias the local *dimogerontes* were essentially public employees who executed the orders of the *epitropos.* The *archontes* reacted against the regime to such a level as to lead the *epitropos* of the Sporades Lontos to order the censorship of the correspondence of the *dimogerontes,* or even to their arrest (Theocharis 1979, 43 ff.).

This reaction was a natural consequence, as for the first time the local *proestoi* were so explicitly kept from the administration of island affairs. In fact the institution of the local administration has had a long history on Skyros and generally on the Aegean islands, at least since the Frankish-Venetian period (see above). This institution increased its power after the Ottoman occupation, with the State "asking from a great part of its subjects more active social support... The establishment of a 'post-classical' Ottoman rule, in the second half of the 16th century and the first half of the 17th, with the recognition of free hold property (*mülk*) and revenue-raising through fixed sums paid by the communities (*maktu*), released social powers, a new class of Christian Orthodox landowners, who succeeded the former Frankish feudal lords at the top of the social hierarchy, together with the development of the local communal and ecclesiastical administration" (Kolovos 2007, 84-5). The Ottoman administration on the island, through the *Kadi* court and the other representatives, interacted actively with the local society, providing the means for the consolidation of the new social order (Kolovos 2007, 85). Moreover, during the Ottoman-Venetian wars of the 17th and 18th centuries Imperial rule on the islands was completely lost for long periods of time. The insecurity in this insular war prevented the development of a strong Muslim ruling class, and especially from the 18th century onwards, the lands, tax farming and commerce became gradually to be controlled by the Christians (Kolovos 2007, 58). The 18th century administrative reform of the *dimogerontia* which essentially created a self-administrative island must be viewed within these terms. This long self-administrative status was challenged essentially for the first time by the government of Kapodistrias.

Concluding this outline some notes for the ecclesiastical affairs of the island are necessary. Administratively the bishop of Skyros continued during the Ottoman period being suffragan to Athens, together

Year	Population	Source
1821	2000	Graves (after Antoniadis 1977, 192)
1828	2250	Note in the diary of the Papa-Dimitrios Oikonomou (after Theocharis 1979, 94)
1839	2500	Report of the mayor G. Nikolaou (after Atesis 1961, 212)
1848	2630	Graves (after Antoniadis 1977, 192)
1889	3188	Philippson 1959, 60
1896	3512	ΦΕΚ no. 59 (after Konstantinidis 1901, 134)
1909	4200	Papageorgiou 1909, 143
1920	2896	ΕΣΥΕ (after Spinelli & Evangelinidou 1974, 20)
1928	3179	ΕΣΥΕ (after Spinelli & Evangelinidou 1974, 20)
1940	3395	ΕΣΥΕ (after Spinelli & Evangelinidou 1974, 20)
1951	3193	ΕΣΥΕ (after Spinelli & Evangelinidou 1974, 20)
1961	2882	ΕΣΥΕ (after Spinelli & Evangelinidou 1974, 20)
1971	2349	ΕΣΥΕ (after Spinelli & Evangelinidou 1974, 20)

Table 2.3: Population levels of Skyros from the Revolutionary to Post-Revolutionary and Early Modern periods.

with the churches of Euripos, Daylia, Koroneia, Andros, Oreoi, Karystos, Porthmos (Aliveri), Aylona (Aulonari) and Syros. An interesting note is that in the years 1817-1821 the island of Psara became ecclesiastically dependent on the bishop of Skyros (Atesis 1961, 13-28). The Church, as generally noted in the Aegean, was one of the biggest landowners of the island during the Tourkokratia and first, together with the *proestoi* in the social hierarchy (Faltaits 1973d, 105-6).

Skyros in the Early Modern period (1830-c. 1950 AD)

The basic characteristics of Skyros during this period (especially towards the late 19th c. onwards) are common to the rest of insular Greece: transformation of the administrative system to a more centralised one of the new state, reorientation of the island's life towards Athens, population growth, migration, and apart from an agricultural economy (still the financial base of the island), the introduction of the first signs of an international, capitalist system of production and marketing.

After the creation of the Greek state, the new central government put a definite stop (a process already started by the government of Kapodistrias), to the essentially self-administrative status of the island. Skyros was made a municipality and in 1836 Dimitrios Tzikouris was elected the first mayor of the island (Antoniadis 1997, 117). The municipality of Skyros administratively belonged to the prefecture (*nomarchia*) of Euboea with its base the city of Chalkis, and to the *Eparchia Karystias* with its base the town of Kymi (Konstantinidis 1901, 135).This was the administrative status of the island active until 2011, when the *Kallikratis plan* replaced the 54 prefectures of Greece with 13 large regions.

Ecclesiastically, although the last bishop of Skyros died in 1837, the bishopric (suffragan to Athens) remained active indirectly, and administered by 'Ecclesiastical Committee' until 1841. That year the old bishopric of Skyros, active since the 4th c. AD, was cancelled and merged to the metropolis of Karystia (Atesis 1961, 24-5). This is the ecclesiastical status of the island active today.

The stability of the Post-Revolutionary period resulted apparently in population growth. Indeed, from 1821 onwards the population seems to increase steadily reaching towards the turn of the century more than 3500 souls, the highest number of the island's population probably in its entire history (Table 2.3).[6]

6 In other island cases (e.g. Syros), similar population increase was partially explained due to newcomers-refugees from still Ottoman-dominated areas (Vionis 2012, 57). Although individual cases of refugees can be also identified on Skyros (e.g. the families established at Linaria, see Faltais 1975, 4), there are no testimonies for large groups of refugees arriving on Skyros (like those attested on Syros), to explain in this way the notable population increase of the island. In any case, the high number of 4200 souls provided by Papageorgiou for the year 1909 might not refer to the inhabitants of the island but to the registered voters of it, not all of them based on Skyros. In fact concerning the year 1896, Konstantinidis (1901, 134) mentions that the voters of Skyros were 4142 (a number very close to that provided by Papageorgiou), but that

The dive occurring between the years 1909 and 1920 is apparently the result of a combination of two facts: of the first wave of internal migration of the noble families of the island to Athens (Faltaits 1974, 80), and of the Spanish influenza, coming to the island in 1918 and decimating dozens of families (Faltaits 1919). In fact after 1920 the population recovered and increased steadily again,[7] until the 1950's when the second and more severe wave of the 'great migration' of the Skyrians started (Faltaits 1974, 84).

The economy of the island continued, like in the Ottoman period, to be based on agriculture. Konstantinidis (1901, 23-4), provides us with precious information for the production of the island of his time. According to him, the main products of the island were wheat, legumes (among them the very good quality *fava*), lemons, honey, wax, and especially pastoral products (meat, leather, milk, cheese etc.). He numbers the sheep and goats of the island at approximately 25,000. The olive oil output quite often was not enough not even for internal consumption and for this reason was frequently imported. Moreover, he states that approximately 15,000 kilos of wheat was annually exported, together with an amount of *fava* and lemons. The island's exports were supplemented with a number of sheep and goats and their products. Finally he states that the introduction of chemical dye replaced natural dyes and thus, the cultivation of madder roots was significantly decreased.

Comparing the aforementioned account with the evidence for the agricultural production of the island in Ottoman times (see Chapter 3), no significant changes have occurred. The island continued basically the agro-pastoral economic system of the Ottoman period. The reduction of silk and linen production was already noted in the late Ottoman centuries, which with the advent of commercialisation, like the red dye, almost ceased. Perhaps worth noting is the increase in the number of sheep and goats, from 15,000 in the first half of the 19th c., to 25,000 animals at the end of it. Moreover, we should note the contrary phenomenon, i.e. decrease, that occurred, the complete lack of any word in Kontantinidis' account about wine. This must not be interpreted as an omission, as already in 1848 Graves attests that the wine production of the island was very little (Chapter 3). Additionally, no oral information or personal knowledge of a noticeable wine production during the last decades is known. The wine produced today is very little (destined only for family demands) and of bad quality. This gradual decline of wine production comes in strict contradiction with the statement of Tournefort that an amount of this was exported to the Venetian military of the Morea, or more recently the statement of Leake in 1806 about 10,000 barrels annual production, of which the three-quarters were exported (Chapter 3). A similar gradual decline of wine production during this period was noted on the island of Keos, attributed to the loss of labour through migration and a boom in wine production elsewhere (Sutton 1991, 393). However, another explanation for this decline, and perhaps more possible, is the phylloxera infestation. In fact, in the late 19th century the phylloxera epidemic destroyed most of the vineyards for wine grapes in Europe, most notably in France. The epidemic arrived in the early 20th c. in Greece as well, where it is definitely attested that the grapes of the plain of Ampelia on the outskirts of Chalkida were devastated (Nikos Anagnostou pers. com. 20-3-2014). The arrival of the insect at Chalkida makes it unlikely that the adjacent islands of Skyros or Keos were left unaffected.[8]

Apart from this agro-pastoral economy, during this period the first signs of an international, capitalist system of production and marketing occurring generally in Greece, make their appearance on Skyros as well. In 1897 the English company *Marmor Limited,* re-started the exploitation of the Skyrian marble quarries. The investment took place after a relevant contract between the Municipality of the island and the company, according to which the latter had permission to exploit all the marble sources of the island for

the permanent inhabitants of the island were 3512.

7 An increase apparently enhanced by the advent of refugees from Asia Minor after the Asia Minor Catastrophe of 1922.

8 "Phylloxera was introduced to Europe when avid botanists in Victorian England collected specimens of American vines in the 1850s. Because phylloxera is native to North America, the native grape species there are at least partially resistant. By contrast, the European wine grape *Vitis vinifera* is very susceptible to the insect. The epidemic devastated vineyards in Britain and then moved to the European mainland, destroying most of the European grape growing industry. In 1863, the first vines began to deteriorate inexplicably in the southern Rhône region of France. The problem spread rapidly across the continent. In France alone, total wine production fell from 84.5 million hectolitres in 1875 to only 23.4 million hectolitres in 1889. Some estimates hold that between two-thirds and nine-tenths of all European vineyards were destroyed" (Wikipedia, *Phylloxera*).

fifty years, against an annual rental of 3000 drachmas. The rental was modified in 1933 to 78 English pounds per year (Stefanidis 1941, 36-8). The company was focused in the areas of Ayios Panteleimon and Tris Boukes. Moreover, in the same period the brothers Skender started iron ore mining in the area of Atsitsa. The exploitation was allowed for 5% of the annual income of the company (Konstantinidis 1901, 37).

Both quarrying and mining activity undoubtedly revitalised the economy and generally the development of the island. Apart from the incomes of the municipality, approximately 300 people, locals and incomers (Greeks and Italians) worked in the aforementioned industrial activities (Konstantinidis 1901, 37). The companies constructed temporary shelters for the workers close to their working places. The Skender brothers especially built at Atsitsa a two-floor residence, which together with the railway construction for the loading of the iron ore, are unique examples of industrial archaeology on the island (the residence is the nowadays 'Atsitsa centre' hotel). The same applies for the dock built at the coast of Pefkos by *Marmor Limited* for the loading of the marbles extracted by the adjacent Ayios Panteleimon quarry. The material was transported to Pefkos bay through a dirt road constructed by the aforementioned company (Konstantinidis 1901, 38).

Apart from these two investments the municipality signed private concessions with Greek companies for pine forest exploitation and particularly resin collection. There is evidence for these concessions since the early 20th century. The leasing of resin collection proved to be very fruitful for the community, which between the years 1933-37 it gained 105,500 drachmas annually. In 1941 the pine forest and its products (resin), was characterised by the mayor of Skyros Stefanidis as "the main source of income of our community" (Stefanidis 1941, 16).

Generally, during the Early Modern period the island appears to be a thriving and developing community. Indicative of this situation is perhaps the economic review of the municipality for the year 1898. According to this, 23,632 drachmas were gained, against the 18,440 drachmas spent, resulting in a surplus of 5192 drachmas for the municipality repository (Konstantinidis 1901, 134). Similar figures are presented in the economic reviews of the years 1951-1954 (Lamprou 1954, 5).

After the turn of the century, the community authorities directed considerable activity to development works as attested in the relevant reports (see Faltaits 1931; Stefanidis 1941; Lamprou 1954). Browsing these reports we can see that the interest of the authorities was first of all in the construction of dirt roads (especially that connecting Chora with Linaria, the official port and second in the hierarchy settlement of the island), the creation of water and sewer systems at Chora (completed in 1954), the provision for shipping connection with Piraeus and Kymi, for sanitary and educational services etc. Moreover, during this period the island obtained its new central square for communal gatherings, its town hall (initially the elementary school of the island), and a first form of archaeological and folklore museum at the same place. In short, in these years the island, and more specifically Chora, obtained an urban-inspired form according to the relevant models of the newly founded Greek state.

Year	Population
1920	167
1928	199
1940	203
1951	278
1961	249
1971	213

Table 2.4: Population levels of Linaria from 1920 to 1971 (data source: ΕΣΥΕ, after Faltaits 1975, 13, n.4).

Chapter 3
Historical Sources for Ottoman Skyros

3.1 THE TRAVELLERS' ACCOUNTS

With the term travellers' accounts we commonly mean the textual accounts by western travellers, visiting the Aegean after the Fourth Crusade and the establishment of the Latin states, and particularly during the Ottoman domination of Greece. Whatever their interest or reason, either geographical, political, or the glorious ancient Greek past, these travellers' accounts offer us precious information regarding the geography, history/archaeology, population, economy, and the daily life of the places which they visited. Nevertheless, it is well known that not all the travellers' accounts, particularly those of the first centuries of *isolaria*, are products of a real visit to the place which they describe but are rather imaginary accounts based on letters and reports of others who had visited the place of interest earlier; these are called 'armchair travellers' by Bennet and Voutsaki (1991, 366).

Skyros was favoured by the excellent book of Xenofon Antoniadis, published in 1977 with the title *Η Σκύρος στους περιηγητές και γεωγράφους (1400-1900)* [*Skyros in the travellers and geographers (1400 – 1900*], which received an award from the Academy of Athens. From all the travellers writing for Greece, Antoniadis tried to identify those who referred to Skyros in particular, presenting in his book the relevant passages. An extensive introduction discusses in detail his methods, the problems and the evidence extracted from the travellers. A further and more detailed evaluation of these accounts is attempted in this chapter, based on the research of the aforementioned author.

Antoniadis starts his catalogue from the year 1420 (the time of visit of Cristoforo Buondelmonti) and ends in 1900, spanning five centuries (Table 3.1). He does not include in the catalogue authors who just mention the island without any other comment or description, or those who discuss Skyros while, because of a mistake, describing a different island. A typical example of this phenomenon is the confusion of Skyros (the *Sciro* or *Scyra* of the travellers) with Syros,

Traveller	Exact or roughly estimated time of visit
Christoforo Buondelmonti	1418 – 1420
Benedetto Bordone	1510
André Thevet	1552
Thomaso Porchacchi	1560 – 1570
Gioseppe Rosaccio	1580
William Lithgow	1610 – 1615
Monsieur Fermanel	1631
Marco Boschini	1650 – 1657
Giuseppe Sebastiani	1666
Olfert Dapper	1677 – 1687
Bernard Randolph	1680
Frabcesco Piacenza	1680 – 1685
Robert Sauger	1681 – 1690
Vincenzo Coronelli	1685 – 1695
J. Pitton de Tournefort	1702
Charles Thompson	1732
Henry Michelot	1750 – 1780
Choiseul - Gouffier	1776
Charles Sonnini	1780
Georges Depping	1820 – 1822
Prokes von Osten	1825
Karl Gustav Fiedler	1835
Johann Heigebaur	1840
Ludwig Ross	1841
Thomas Graves	1848
Louis Lacroix	1850
Dora d'Istria	1860
Charles D. Warner	1875
Emile Isambert	1880
Carl Fredrich	1900

Table 3.1: The travellers to Skyros (after Antoniadis 1977, 32).

Syra of the Cycladic islands, during the copying process of the 'armchair travellers'.

Apart from Buondelmonti, who visited the island in the 15th c. at the time of its Venetian occupation, the 16th century is represented by the Italian geographers Bordone, Porcacchi and Rosaccio and the French Thevet, who basically repeat Buondelmonti's description. The 17th century is characterised by a significant progress because of the more educated travellers, such as Dapper, Piacenza and Coronelli, who enrich their descriptions with information gleaned from ancient authors. However, Antoniadis notes that large parts of the travellers mentioned above are unfortunately copied from others, who were less accurate and mistaken; however, he recognises the important contribution of Coronelli. The 18th century is dominated by the new model of scientist-traveller like Tournefort and his descendants, whose accounts are characterised by the accuracy of the information. At the outset of the 19th century, the number of the travellers visiting Skyros is much larger. As Antoniadis states, the War of Independence is very close and explodes, with international interest and Hellenism at its peak. The inspired Westerners visit the Aegean and Skyros, speak with the natives, describe the island and try to interpret the history of Skyros through the ancient sources and the archaeological remains.

3.2 THE LOCAL HISTORICAL ARCHIVE

The local historical archive is actually a collection of private documents dispersed over several Skyrian families (e.g. Z. Antoniadis, M. Stefanidis, D. Oikonomidis, M. Faltaits, F. Maroudis and others), covering a time span from around the mid -16th to the mid -19th century. These almost exclusively Greek notarial documents are related to the everyday affairs of the Skyrians during the Turkish occupation of the island (e.g. sales, exchanges, donations, dowries, testaments, compromises, arbitrations etc.). Among them, of special importance are some issues of the central and local administration of the island related to these private affairs (e.g. of *Kadi, Vaivode,* Bishop, and of the *Koinotita*). Furthermore, there are a few Ottoman documents, almost exclusively receipts of the payment of *cizye,* the tax levied on able-bodied adult males.

A systematic publication of these documents started in 1977 as appendices of the monthly sheets of the local newspaper *Skyriana Nea*, led by the tireless researcher of the history of Skyros Xenofon Antoniadis. In 1990 Antoniadis published 170 of these documents dated from 1524 to 1820 in a special monograph entitled as *Archeio eggrafon Skyrou* (Antoniadis 1990). Photographs, transcription and commentary are provided in Antoniadis' book for every document, placed in chronological order. This core was supplemented some years later by 131 documents dated from 1599 to 1844, published by the same scholar in a similar manner in his book on Skyros under the Ottoman occupation (Antoniadis 1997).

The information which these documents offer is precious, especially regarding the social and economic everyday life of the Skyrians. Moreover, through these documents we can follow the development of the local *Koinotita* from the simple form of the *proestoi* or *epitropoi* to the systematization of the annual election of the *Dimogerontes,* and even identify the contacts of the local community (public or private) with the representatives of the central administration.

3.3 THE OTTOMAN TAX REGISTERS

By far the richest and most accurate information regarding the administration, population, economy and other topics generally for Ottoman Greece comes from the Ottoman tax registers (*defters*). These invaluable sources are used more and more in conjunction with archaeology for the study of monuments, the reconstruction of regional histories and other topics (see review in Davis & Davies 2007, 1-11). For Skyros the information from the Ottoman *defters* comes mainly from a study by Mackiel Kiel for the smaller islands of the Aegean, among them the Sporades (Kiel 2007). The Dutch scholar examined three registers which provide information on Skyros: the synoptic register (*icmal*) of 1539/40 (BBA, TT197), created approximately a year after the conquest of the island, the register of 1569/70 (TT474) of the *sancak* of Ağriboz and the *tahrir defter* of 1670/1, made after the conclusion of the long Cretan war (TKGM 105). Regarding the last, besides the detailed register (*mufasal*), there also is a well-made synoptic one (*icmal*) that leaves out the names of the inhabitants but gives agricultural details (TKGM 180). The publication of Kiel summarizes the data of the aforementioned registers regarding the households and taxation of the Sporades in the 16th–17th centuries (Kiel 2007, 35-7).

Apart from the already published data, a personal communication which I had with Mackiel Kiel in January of 2011, on whether he could provide me more unpublished evidence for Skyros from the Ottoman registers proved very fruitful. He searched for me and sent me copies of the entire *mufasal* of 1670/1 and the *icmal* of the same year related to Skyros. The latter was kindly transcribed and translated by Fokion Kotzageorgis of the University of Thessaloniki and sees for the first time the light of the publication here (Appendix D).

3.4 EVIDENCE EXTRACTED FROM THE AFOREMENTIONED SOURCES

3.4.1 Administration

Evidence for the administrative organisation of the island is attested in all the aforementioned sources. Starting with the Ottoman *defters,* while in the register of 1641 Skyros (*İskiros*) is among the Sultan's *havass* in Ağriboz from which the *Kapudan Pasha* collected taxes (Kolovos 2007, 55, n.28), according to the *icmal* of 1670/1 survey, the island (*İşkire*) continues being an administrative area of the *sancak* of Ağriboz, but is now assigned as an *arpalik* of the Seal-bearer (*mühürdar*) of the Pasha (TK 180). Furthermore, in the three Ottoman receipts of the *cizye* payment of the local archive dated from the late 18th to the early 19th centuries, the island is clearly referred to as the *hass* of the *Kapudan Pasha* (Antoniadis 1990, docs. 114/1785, 139/1798, 167/1810).

More information on the representatives of the imperial administration on the island comes from the travellers' accounts and the local archive. Both sources attest periodically to the presence of a *Kadi* (judge), whose base was off Skyros on a bigger island, as was common in the Aegean (Kolovos 2007, 55 & 56 n.35; Vionis 2012, 47). The *Kadi* is generally referred to by Sauger in 1680-1687, Tournefort in 1702, Thompson in 1732 and Depping in 1820 (in Antoniadis 1977, 103, 138, 142, 164). Actually the last traveller mentions that it was common in the event that the *Kadi* was kidnapped by corsairs for the local community to pay for his releasing.

The oldest known document where a *Kadi* was called to Skyros is dated to 1570, related to a dispute of the monastery of St. George with two individuals. The *Kadi* is a certain *Ali* son of *Piri.* The document is co-signed by two deputies of the *Kadi* (?), *Mouhioudin* and *Mustafa* son of *Otman,* while as witnesses there were four Muslims and twelve Christians that signed, among them a certain *Charem bey* (governor of the island?) and the orthodox bishop (Atesis 1961, 142-4). The second oldest reference is dated to 1599, signed by the *Kadi* of Skyros *Osman Mehmed* (Antoniadis 1997, 231, doc. 1). Five more documents are attested in the local archive for the years 1757-1784 (Antoniadis 1997, 159-60). All the aforementioned documents were published in co-operation with the local community, ultimately aiming at meeting the needs of the local society at that time.

Another official of the central administration of which traces can be attested in the local archive is that of the *Dragoman of the Fleet.* This was a high-ranking post filled by a member of the Greek elite of the Phanari district in Istanbul and its role was as both interpreter, translator and in a sense an intermediary between the Ottoman authorities and its subjects, in our case the Aegean islands (Davis 1991, 143; Vionis 2012, 47). The Dragoman of the Fleet's involvement in Skyrian affairs is confirmed by several documents dated from the late 18th to the early 19th centuries, having to do mainly with judicial actions (Antoniadis 1997, 164). The intervention of the *Dragoman* in these private affairs was carried out during his (rare) visits to the island (e.g. in 1820), though more frequently the parties concerned travelled to Chios or Paros, where he was more often present (Antoniadis 1997, 167).

Moreover, in the local historical archive there are attested other Ottoman officials who were periodically involved in the local affairs, such as the commander of the army *Serasker* (Antoniadis 1990, docs 86/1743, 87/1743, 100/1766), the emissary *Çavuş* (Antoniadis 1997, 300-1, docs 110/1818, 111/1819, 112/1819), or the *Subaşi* (Antoniadis 1997, 252-3, doc. 30/1762).

Apart from the aforementioned officials whose intervention in island affairs was mostly periodic, a permanent post on Skyros (at least from the 18th c. onwards) was certainly the *Vaivode.* The main function of this official was the collection and forwarding of the annual taxes, but his authority extended to the administrative, policing and judicial realms as well. This was often the case, especially in the Aegean islands where the presence of the *Kadi* was rare and irregular.

A *Vaivode* could be an Ottoman Muslim or a Greek Christian. Based on the local archive Antoniadis was able to record seventeen persons who functioned as *Vaivodes* of Skyros in the years 1739-1820 (Table 3.2) (see also Antoniadis 1995f). Thirteen of them are Skyrian *proestoi,* and six Greek Christians that were not Skyrian. In the tenures of 1742, 1760 and 1776/7 there were two *Vaivodes*, who apparently cooperated for the leasing of the annual *maktu* of the island. It is interesting to note that this almost monopoly of the local, or in any case Greek Christians, in the position of the *Vaivode,* confirms the increasing power of the Christians *kocabaşis* generally attested in the Aegean especially from the later years of the 18th c. onwards, who now concentrate almost exclusively in their hands both the tax collection and the local administration (Kolovos 2007, 78). In fact it sometimes occurred that the Skyrian *Vaivode* was at the same time a member of the local administration. This fact should be viewed as an element of the aforementioned reciprocal operation, and at last manipulation, between the Ottoman officials and the local nobles, resulting not in the weakening but rather in the strengthening of the local administration over the island (Antoniadis 1997, 91).

Speaking about the local administration, through the local archive we can trace a gradual development from old institutions occurring even before the Ottoman occupation to modern forms, active until the Greek Revolution and the general transformation of the administrative system of the newly founded Greek State.

1739	*Konstantinos*
1742	*Giannakoudis-Giorgantis*
1758	*Manolis Tzikouris*
1760	*Dimitris Tzikouris-Stamatis Tzikouris*
1765	*Dimitris Tzikouris*
1766	*Xatzithodorakis*
1776/7	*Giorgis Pefani-Antonaros*
1780	*Stamatis Tzikouris*
1783	*Ioannis*
1793	*Filimperis Pagkalos*
1799	*Manolis Rousos*
1815	*Manolis Kakogiannis*
1816	*Spiros Athinaios*
1820	*Konstantis Papakrimikiriou*

Table 3.2: *Vaivodes* of Skyros attested in the local archive (after Antoniadis 1997, 90).

1539	*Kyr-Georgios tis Anezas*
1556	*Kyr-Stamatis papa-Ioakeim*
1577(March)	*Kyr-Michail Kokkinos*
1577(October)	*Kyr-Giorgis Matheou*
1581	*Papa-Kyr-Matheos*
1604	*Matheos iereus*
1607	*Papa-Kyr-Matheos*

Table 3.3: *Protogeroi* of Ottoman Skyros attested in the local archive (after Antoniadis 1997, 93).

In the previous chapter we saw that during the Venetian domination, the local community was involved in the island's administration through representatives, namely the *gerontes* with their head *protogeros.* The presence of *protogeros* is attested in local documents even after the Ottoman occupation of the island in 1538 and for the next seventy years of its domination 1539-1607 (Table 3.3). This fact, in combination with the attested presence of the Venetian(?) governor of the island in 1556 *Carlo Grimaldi* (see Chapter 2), confirms that indeed even after the conquest of Skyros in 1538, the Ottomans did not change the previous situation on the island, asking only the submission of the Frankish rulers to Hayreddin and the poll-tax of their subjects.

This situation inherited from the Venetian period was apparently preserved until the first decades after the consolidation of the Ottomans on the island, towards the end of the 16th c. (see Chapter 2). In fact from 1607 onwards the title of *protogeros* disappears from the local documents and his position is taken from the mid 17th c. onwards by the *epitropoi,* a more distinctive term from the general *gerontes,* introduced on the island perhaps copying other island models (Koukou 1980, 73).[1] According to data extracted from the local archive, the number of the *epitropoi* ranged from two to four or even five together with the *grammatikos* (scribe). It is interesting to note that from the early 18th c. onwards the number of the

1 The gap of information from the early 16th to the mid 17th c. perhaps is not disconnected to the long Cretan war and the turbulent situation which this caused in the Aegean.

epitropoi grows smaller; from the four or five of the 17th c., after 1701 their number shrinks to one or two (Table 3.4). Although this might be the result of the insufficient data provided by the documents, it might also be interpreted as a step towards the definite disappearing of the title from 1762 onwards. Then the old title of *gerontes* of the Venetian period returns, a change apparently related to a transformation of the administrative system and of the formation of the *Dimogerontia.*

1656	*Papa-Ioannis Margetis*
	Papa-Matzoukos
	Geros Varlamos
	Galanis
	Papa-Dimitrakis (grammatikos)
1658	*Papa-Ioannis Makris*
	Georgakis Leou
	Antonis tis Chaidemenis
	Georgis Karoulias
1660	*Papa-Vretzilios*
	Gero-Sevastos
1663	*Ioannis Manousou*
	Michalakis Mytilineos
1679	*Papa-kyr-Stamatis*
	Papa-Ioannis Makri
	Georgakis tou Antonaki
	Papa-Manolis Katziki (grammatikos)
1681	*Georgios papa-Antonaki*
1701	*Georgis papa-Antoni*
	Manolis tou Nikolaki
	Nikolas Giorgi
	Papa-Dimitris
	Papa-Giorgis Giannaki (grammatikos)
1704	*Dimitrakis Tenedios*
1708	*Manolis tou Nikola*
	Theodoratzis tou Dimitri
	Georgios iereus (grammatikos)
1710	*Papa-Giorgis Giannaki*
1731	*Proigoumenos Timotheos*
	Kyr-Manolis tou Stamati Tzanou
1741	Georgis toy Nikolou
1745	Papa-Giorgis tou Tzekouri
1756	Giorgis tou Gligori
1762	Stamatis Tzikouri

Table 3.4: *Epitropoi* of Skyros attested in the local archive (after Antoniadis 1997, 95-6).

However, the exact time of this transformation is very hazy. Antoniadis adopts as older historical evidence for the formation of *Dimogerontia* (which must be noted that with this very title on Skyros appears only after the Greek Revolution), the rhombus-shaped stamp of the *Koinotita* with the date 1733 (Antoniadis 1997, 110). This is a three-parted stamp, belonging to the three-member council of the *Dimogerontia.* However, it is that, as we saw above, the title of *epitropos* is present as late as in 1762 when Stamatis Tzikouris signs as witness using the term *epitropos tis Choras,* while in the same year and in a different document he is attested as *gerontas* (Antoniadis 1997, 252-3, docs. 30, 31). Complications set in by the fact that Tournefort speaks of three local governors already active since 1702 (in Antoniadis 1977, 142). Perhaps this means that despite the administrative transformation, the title of *epitropos* was not abandoned immediately, but continued to be used together with the 'archaic' *gerontas* which finally prevailed, and which in its turn after the Greek Revolution was partially replaced by that of *dimogerontas.* Furthermore, the evidence of the stamp of the *Koinotita* dated in 1733, does not exclude an administrative transformation to have occurred earlier in the early 18th c., without changing initially the title of the local representatives.

In any case, Antoniadis, based on the local documents and considering the replacement of the term *epitropos* with *gerontas* (a process definitely concluded in 1762), compiled a catalogue of the annually elected *Dimogerontes* of the island (Table 3.5). The catalogue has many gaps as Antoniadis admits, caused by the insufficient data of the documents. First of all, although the three-member institution was attested by Tournefort, Depping (in Antoniadis 1977, 164), and more importantly by the three-part stamp of 1733, a complete listing of all the three members is only attested from 1782 onwards (with an irregularity occurring in the years 1794-97 and 1825-26). Moreover, Antoniadis includes in the catalogue the *chorafiaris,* a person elected from the *Dimogerontia* for the policing of the fields, rather than a *dimogerontas* himself. Interesting to note is the replacement of the title of *gerontas* with that of the *syntichos* in the

1762-63	*Stamatios Tzikouris kai gerontas*
1765-66	*Dimitrios papa-Tzikouri kai voevodas*
	Giakoumos iereas kai gerontas
	Giorgis Papazoglou kai gerontas
1766-67	*Georgoudis kai gerontas tis choras*
1767-68	*Dimitrakis Tzikouri*
	Faltagis
	Dimitrios Smpounos
1768-69	*Giannis tou Theodosi kai gerontas*
	Papa-kyr-Georgis tou Mike, grammatikos
	Dimitris t'Antria, chorafiaris
1769-70	*Manolakis Tzikouri*
	Dimitrios Tzordia
1771	*Manolakis Tzikouris*
1772	*Petris Tenedinas kai gerontas*
1773	*Papa-Grigoris tou Mike, suntichos*
	Nikolos tou Petrou, syntichos
1774	*Dimitris Tzordia, syntichos*
	Konstantis tou Manolaki, syntichos
1775-76	*Dimitris Mavrikou, chorafiaris*
1776-77	*Giorgis Pefani*
	Antonaros
1777-78	*Giannis Michalaki kai gerontas*
	Georgoudis
	Zacharias, chorafiaris
1778-79	*Petris kai gerontas*
	Konstantis Manolaki kai gerontas
1779-80	*Dimitrakis Milona kai gerontas*
	Andreas Skordanas kai gerontas
1780-81	*Thanassis kai gerontas*
1781-82	*Petris kai gerontas*
	Stefanis kai gerontas
1782-83	*Andreas Skordanas kai gerontas*
	Stamatis Manoli kai gerontas
	Stefanis Kantilis kai gerontas
1783-84	*Nikolas Petrou kai gerontas*
	Dimitrios Smpounos kai gerontas
	Giorgis Papazoglou kai gerontas
1784-85	*Manolakis Tzikouris kai gerontas*
	Georgios Pefani kai gerontas
	Kostantis Papathodori kai gerontas
1785-86	*Dimitris Giorgi kai gerontas*
	Antonaros kai gerontas
	Tzikouris kai gerontas
1786-87	*Giorgantis tou Manoli kai gerontas*
	Ioannis Georgiou kai gerontas
	Giannakos Dimitriou kai gerontas
1787-88	*Petris Georgiou kai gerontas*
	Nikolas Petrou kai gerontas
	Giorgis Dimitraki kai gerontas
1788-89	*Kostantis Manolaki kai gerontas*
	Georgios Pefani kai gerontas
	Stefanis Kantilis kai gerontas
1789-90	*Stefanis Kantilis kai gerontas*
	Stamatis Spounou kai gerontas
1790-92	*Georgios Pefani kai gerontas*
	Petris Tenedinas kai gerontas
1792-93	*Nikolas Petrou kai gerontas*
	Gero-Gergoudis kai gerontas
	Kostantis Papathodori kai gerontas
1793-94	*Nikolas Petrou kai gerontas*
	Gero-Gergoudis kai gerontas
	Kostantis Papathodori kai gerontas
	Manolis Kompogiannis, chorafiaris
1794-95	*Antonaros kai gerontas*
	Stefanis kai grammatikos
1795-96	*Manolakis Tzikouri kai gerontas*
	Georgios Skordanas kai gerontas
1796-97	*Faltais Varlaam kai gerontas*
	Giorgis Avlonitis kai gerontas
1797-98	*Stavrinos Chatzikostanti kai gerontas*
	Dimitrios Papathodori kai gerontas
	Giorgantis kai voevodas
1798-99	*Georgios Skordanas kai gerontas*
	Ioannis Avloniti kai gerontas
	Antonaros
1799-00	*Vretzilios Panteli kai gerontas*
	Dimitris Papathodori kai gerontas
1800-01	*D. Petrou kai gerontas*
	Manolis Komninou kai gerontas
	Dimitrios Zoupounos
1801-02	*Georgios Avlonitis kai gerontas*
	Stamatis Papazoglou kai gerontas
	Georgios Stefani kai gerontas

1802-03	*Faltagis Emmanouil kai gerontas*
	Stavrinos Chatzikostanti kai gerontas
	Dimitrios Tzikouri kai gerontas
1804-05	*Giannakis Dimitriou kai gerontas*
	Antreas Skordanas kai gerontas
	Giorgis Kartalis kai gerontas
1805-06	*Giannakis Dimitriou kai gerontas*
	Manolis Komninou kai gerontas
	Manolis Petrou kai gerontas
1806-07	-
1807-08	*Giorgis Stefani kai gerontas*
	Giannis Komninou kai gerontas
	Dimitrios Tzikouri kai gerontas
1808-09	*Georgios Avlonitis kai gerontas*
	Georgios Tzannou kai gerontas
1809-10	*Dimitrakis Avlonitis kai gerontas*
	Varlamos kai gerontas
	Giannakis Petrou kai gerontas
1810-11	*Stamatis Chatzitheodorou kai gerontas*
1811-12	*Petrakis kai gerontas*
	Manolis Tzordia kai gerontas
	Kostantis Zipounou kai gerontas
1812-13	*Georgios Avlonitis kai gerontas*
	Giorgis Stefani kai gerontas
	Kostantis Michali kai gerontas
1813-14	*Ioannis Chatzitheodorou kai gerontas*
1814-15	-
1815-16	*Georgios Malamatinis kai gerontas*
1816-17	*Georgios Avlonitis kai gerontas*
	Georgios Kartalis kai gerontas
	Stamatios Chatzitheodorou kai gerontas
	Dimitrios Stamati kai gerontas
1817-18	*Dimitrios Avlonitis kai gerontas*
	Kostantis Zepounou kai gerontas
1818-19	*Ioannis Chatzitheodorou kai gerontas*
	Giannis Meletiou kai gerontas
	Giorgis Mavrikenas kai gerontas
	Manolis Orfanou kai gerontas
1819-20	*Kostantis Zepounou kai gerontas*
	Dimitris Nikolaki kai gerontas
	Pantelis Vretziliou kai gerontas
	Matzouranis kai gerontas
1820-21	*Kostantis Papapremikyriou kai voevodas*
	Manolis Tzordia kai gerontas
	Dimitrios Manoli kai gerontas
1821-22	*Georgios Avlonitis kai gerontas*
	Kostantis Zepounou kai gerontas
	Kostantis Michailou kai gerontas
1822-23	*Dimitris Nikolaki*
	Dimitris Manolaki
	Kostantis Zepounou
1823-24	-
1824-25	*Eforoi kai epistatai (G. Avlonitis, D. Tzikouris, D. Nikolaou, K. Zipounos, S. Chatzi, D. Catziathanasiou, G. Stefanis, G. Dimitraki, gero-Tsaklaris, N. Georgiou, D. Karambinis, I. Melenti)*
1825-26	*Dimitris Nikolaki, dimogeron*
	Dimitris Tzikouri, dimogeron
	Dimitris Nikolaki kai gerontas
	Nikolakis Karagiannis kai gerontas
	Stamatis Chatzitheodorou kai gerontas
1826-27	*Georgios papa-Leou, dimogeron*
	Antonis papa-Zacharia, dimogeron
1827-28	*Georgios Avlonitis kai gerontas*
	Faltais Stamatiou Gialouris
	Stamatis Manoli
1828-29	*Dimitrios Stamatiou Lorentzos, gerontas*
	Georgios Avlonitis, gerontas
	Ioannis Chatziathanasiou, gerontas
1829-30	*Dimitrios Tzikouris*
	Ioannis Avlonitis
	Kostantis Smpounou
1830-31	*Kostantis Smpounou*
1831-33	-
1834-35	*Dimitrios Tzikouris*
	Kostantis Smpounos
	Ioannis Avlonitis

Table 3.5: *Dimogerontes* of Skyros attested in the local archive (after Antoniadis 1997, 113-7).

years 1773-74, a change that occurred during the Russian occupation of the island; or the numerous *eforoi* and *epistatai* which replaced the *dimogerontes* in the biennial 1824-25, as consequence of the provisional administrative system applied during the Greek Revolution (see Theocharis 1979, 17, 22). Finally, an interesting element is the participation of the *Vaivode* in 1765 and in 1820-21 among the representatives of the local administration.

The institution of *Dimogerontia* lasted until 1835. With the decree of the newly founded Greek State '*peri eklogis dimotikon archon*', in February of 1836 Dimitrios Tzikouris was elected as the first mayor of Skyros (Antoniadis 1997, 117).

Travellers (after Antoniadis 1977; after the name of the traveller in parenthesis the relative page reference)			**Other sources**		
Traveller	**Date**	**Population**	**Source**	**Date**	**Population**
			Rizzardo (after Topping 1986, 234)	1470	1200 people
Bordone (54)	1510 - 1520	Poor - populated			
			Ottoman register BBA, TT197 (after Kiel 2007, 37)	1539/40	1550 people
Thevet (56)	1552	Almost uninhabited*			
Porchacchi (41, 58)	1560 - 1570	"Dishabitata"*	Ottoman register TT474 (after Kiel 2007, 37)	1569/70	2200 people
Rosaccio (59)	1580	Poor - populated*			
Sebastiani (41, 70)	1666	"Pocco frequentata"*	Ottoman register TK 180.	1670/1	1630 people
Piacenza (90)	1680 - 1685	1000 people (no more)*			
Tournefort (134)	1702	300 families (c. 1500 people)			
Leake (158)	1806	500 families (c. 2500 people)			
Depping (163)	1820 - 1822	300 families (c. 1500 people)*			
Graves (192)	1821	2000 people			
Von Osten (170)	1825	3000*			
			Note in the diary of the Papa-Dimitrios Oikonomou (after Theocharis 1979, 94)	1828	450 families (c. 2250 people)
			Report of the mayor G. Nikolaou (after Atesis 1961, 212)	1839	500 families (c. 2500 people)
Graves (192)	1848	2630 people			
			Philippson 1959, 60	1889	3188

Table 3.6: Population figures for Skyros from the travellers and other sources (* =inaccurate figure; cells in gray background=most probably accurate figure).

3.4.2 Population

A complete figure of the population numbers over the period under discussion is presented in Table 3.6. Apart from the data from the travellers' accounts and the Ottoman registers, for comparative reasons and for a more complete view of the population development, there are added to this table data from other sources as well. Thus, for an indicative figure of the island's population before the Ottoman occupation I referred to G. Rizzardo (*La presa di Negroponte fatta dai Turchi ai Veneziani nel MCCCCLXX,* ed. E.A. Cicogna, Venice 1844; here after Topping 1986, 234), who is generally accepted as a reliable source and often used in the literature (apart from Topping see Koder 1977, 232; Slot 1982, 284-9). Moreover, for the problematic (as we shall see below) 19th century, data from two local sources are included, which together with Philippson make more clear the step from the late Ottoman to the Early Modern period.

Luckily the 16th and 17th (centuries of the unreliable 'armchair travellers'; see Bennet & Voutsaki 1991, 369; Bintliff 1977, 553-4), are completely covered by the most accurate information provided by the Ottoman registers. In fact while in all the 16th and 17th centuries the travellers are continuously relating that the island was poorly-populated or even uninhabited, from the Ottoman *defters* we are informed of an island, not of course very populated, but one having a high enough number of people to not justify the aforementioned travellers' desolated characterisation. Adding actually the data from Rizzardo, we notice a steady increase of the population from the middle of the 15th until the late 16th century, with 1000 more people for the latter. This increase is clearly in line with the generally attested fruitful situation in the Aegean during the *Pax Othomanica* of the 16th c., which the figure of Skyros comes to confirm (Bintliff 2007, 223; Vionis 2012, 51). Likewise, the population decline to 1600 inhabitants in the following 'dark' (Kasdagli 2004) 17th century must be viewed within the generally attested crisis of the Ottoman world (İnalcik 1972), and particularly as a result of the turbulent situation in the Aegean caused by the Cretan war. Besides it is known that in 1652 the island was attacked by the Venetian fleet (see Chapter 2).

Skyros does not seem to recover from this difficult period during the 18th century, at least regarding the population. In fact the approximately 1500 souls recorded by Tournefort seventy years after the last Ottoman register must be close to the reality. Unfortunately for the 18th century we have no other source to consult except that of the French traveller, but Tournefort is generally considered to be one of the most trustworthy observers (Antoniadis 1977, 30).

The 19th century, although more rich in data, is more problematic due to the contradictory numbers found. Leake, who visited Skyros in 1806 reports *c.* 2500 souls, while Depping approx. fifteen years later reports 1500, a thousand less. Graves, who visited the island at the same time as Depping, writes 500 souls more than him (2000), and Von Osten in 1825 reports the impressive number of 3000 people inhabiting Skyros. Undoubtedly this discrepancy among the travellers must be explained due to the turbulent years before and during the Greek Revolution, when several immigrations took place in the Aegean. Actually, The 'dive' reported by Depping could be explained by the historically attested immigration of Skyrians to the island of Psara, if the same historical sources attesting the immigration did not confirm that these people were back on Skyros around 1816 (see Chapter 2). Even if this period was extremely difficult for the inhabitants of Skyros who suffered mainly from the piracy by the unorganised soldiers of the Revolution (see Chapter 2), no massive attacks which cost lives are attested from the sources to explain such radical reduction of population. The number provided by Depping is most likely inaccurate and probably copied from Tournefort who is very often mentioned in Depping's passage on Skyros. In any case after the end of the Revolution and the stability provided by the government of Kapodistrias and then the creation of the Greek State the island population presents a regular increase.[2]

Another interesting matter is the ethnic and religious groups of which this population consisted, in regard to the misleading assumptions to which someone can be led solely based on the travellers' accounts. Sebastiani in 1666 is the first who makes a mention of Skyros' ethnic composition, stating that the island "is inhabited exclusively by Greeks". Dapper some years

2 The extremely low number of 825 souls for the year 1829 referred by Atesis (1961, 23, n.6), must not be taken into consideration. The source of Atesis was a report, the source of which, suspiciously, is not provided by the author. This extremely low number is far away from the number given in the previous year as well as that of 1839.

later repeats that the people of Skyros are "only Greek Christians" (in Antoniadis 1977, 70, 73). Piacenza's and Coronelli's reference to a monastery of *Cappuccinos* (Capuchin monks) must not be taken into consideration, as that part of the population in their description is probably referring to Syros (Antoniadis 1977, 89 n. 27, 125 n.47). Moreover, Tournefort in 1702 and Thompson in 1732, write that "all the inhabitants of the island are Christian orthodox" and that "the only Turk is the *Kadi*". The only traveller who gives a different figure is Sauger who visited Skyros during the years 1681-1690. He refers to some Turks living on the island and of the existence of a mosque (in Antoniadis 1977, 138, 142, 103).

Local scholars reiterate the aforementioned travellers' reports on the absence of Muslims on Skyros. In fact all of them cite that no Muslims lived permanently on the island (e.g. Antoniadis 1997, 30, 83; Antoniadis 1995b, 59; Theocharis 1979, 8; Papageorgiou 1909, 105). An exception to the rule is Faltaits (1972e). However, apart from the periodical instances of Muslims as witnesses in the local documents (which suggests an establishment of Muslims ready to hand), the *icmal* of the 1670/1 Ottoman register assures us that at least during this period, six families of Turk Muslims or local converts (*c.* 30 people), were living on Skyros with a respectable amount of land (Appendix D). The establishment of these few Muslims on the island is confirmed by local tradition as well, which named the area at the present day elementary school of Chora as *Tourkomnimoria* or *Tourkomnimata,* indicating apparently the place of their cemetery. An Ottoman funeral inscription, today in the local archaeological museum, was found in this place (Faltais 1972e, 3).

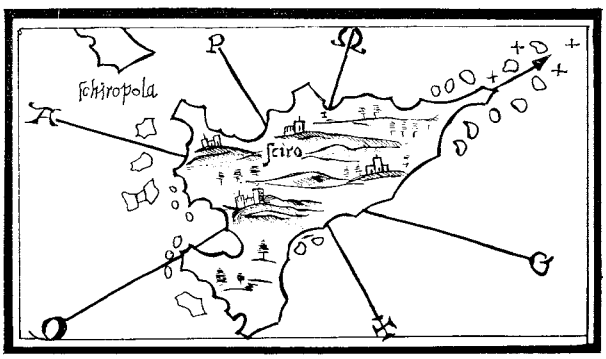


Fig. 3.1: Map of Skyros; Bordone, *Isolario, nel qual si ragiona di tutte l'isole del mondo*, Venice 1547 (after Antoniadis 1977, 53).

Fig. 3.2: Map of Skyros; Rosaccio, *Viaggio da Venetia a Constantinopoli*, Venice 1606 (archive - courtesy Faltaits Museum).

Concerning the presence of Muslims on Skyros after the late 17th century, it is generally accepted that from this period onwards the situation in the Aegean led the Muslims of the islands to liquidate their properties and flee (Kolovos 2007, 65). This is perhaps the reason why reliable travellers such as Tournefort do not mention Muslims on Skyros.

Regarding the settlements across which this population was distributed, the only available sources are the travellers' accounts. However, they do not help very much; on the contrary their reports, at least until the 17th century are quite perplexing. The mention of Buondelmonti "*in qua* (Skyros), *IV erant oppida et nunc duo restant*" (in Antoniadis 1977, 51 n. 3), has been continuously repeated until 1650. Moreover, Bordone does not hesitate to place imaginatively on his map four settlements, in equal distance from each other (Fig. 3.1), while Rosaccio, in the same vein, adds a fifth one (Fig. 3.2).

From the 17th century onwards, whenever the travellers refer to the settlement distribution, almost all of them speak about one main settlement with its Kastro*,* referring obviously to Chora, which is described by them in more or less detail. However, Randolph in addition to Chora, mentions generally some other villages with few inhabitants. Of special interest are Piacenza and Coronelli, who both refer, in addition to the main settlement, to the names of two villages, namely *Meniana* and *S. Polo*. Piacenza adds the villages *Tisbe, Potesi* and *Lati,* which togeth-

Fig. 3.3: Map of Skyros; Piacenza, *L'Egeo redivivo*, Modena 1688 (archive - courtesy Faltaits Museum).

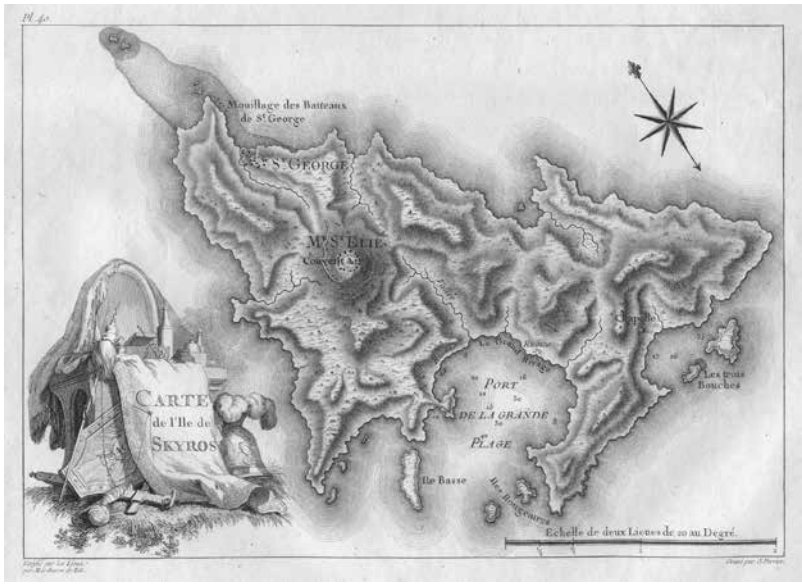


Fig. 3.4: Map of Skyros; Choiseul-Gouffier, *Voyage pittoresque de la Grèce*, Brussels 1782 (archive - courtesy Faltaits Museum).

er with *Chora* connects them with the four villages mentioned by Bordone (Fig. 3.3).

However, these references are probably the result of a mixture of Buondelmonti's statement combined with the villages of a different island, to which probably the aforementioned travellers mistakenly refer to. This is clear from the rest of their passage referring to the population of the island in general. As Antoniadis argues (1977, 36), confirmation of the inaccuracy of the information given on the aforementioned villages, is the fact that not only that none of the names of the aforementioned (imaginary) villages survive today, but also the fact that Tournefort, visiting the island 20-30 years after Randolph, Piacenza and Coronelli, definitely states that no other settlement exists on the island besides "the village around the Kastro of Ayios Georgios". One village, that of St. George (Chora), Choiseul-Gouffier indicates in his map of 1776 (Fig. 3.4). Leake, in 1806, reports a second seasonally inhabited village, however, without mentioning its name and location. Finally Fiedler in 1835 mentions, without reference to names or locations, that according to the Skyrians the island had once nine villages.

Island	Households (1539/40)	Tax in Akçe (1539/40)	Households (1569/70)	Tax in Akçe (1569/70)	Households (1670/1)	Tax in Akçe (1670/1)
Skiathos	82	-	131	30,000	76	33,411
Skopelos	89	-	60	8500	266	213,014
Skyros	310	35,000	440	50,000	326	207,248
Alonisos	0	0	20	4000	87	66,113
Total	481		651	92,500	755	519,786

Table 3.7: Households and taxation on Skiathos, Skopelos, Skyros and Alonisos, 1539/40-1670-1 (after Kiel 2007, 37, table 2.1. Note: A dash signifies an illegible entry in the original document).

3.4.3 Economy and Production

Data on the economy and production on Skyros come primarily from the Ottoman registers and secondarily from the travellers' accounts. A general figure of the island's economy can be gained from the comparison of its taxation in 1539/40, 1569/70 and 1670/1 as indicated by Kiel (Table 3.7). According to these data we notice that in 1539/40 the island, with 310 households, paid totally 35,000 *akçe,* while in 1569/70, with 440 households, it paid 50,000, attesting to its thriving situation, far more advanced in comparison to the rest of the Sporades. However, this figure changes in 1670/1: although Skyros had sixty households more than Skopelos, it comes second in revenues with 207,248 *akçe,* after Skopelos which paid 213,014. A general note that should be made is that, as Kiel notes, the increased taxation of the islands which is attested between 1569/70 and 1670/1 in the registers, in reality is an effect of the drastic inflation in the value of the Ottoman silver coin after 1585 (Kiel 2007, 37).

More detailed information on the island's 17th century revenues comes from the *icmal* of the 1670/1 survey. Regarding production especially, we can note the primary role in the island revenues of cereals, vineyards, fig trees, honey production and of course sheep and goats. Of a lesser scale was the income from olives and oaks. Moreover, we learn about the cultivation of cotton, flax and silk (see in detail Appendix D).

The 17th century travellers confirm some of the aforementioned data. They note the numerous goats, well known since antiquity as they say, and they comment on the good quality of milk and cheese produced from them (Fermanel, Dapper, Piacenza, Boschini, Coronelli)[3]. Some of the travellers note the many vines and the very good wine produced (Dapper, Piacenza, Coronelli), while Boschini give us the extra information on the production of linen textiles (after Antoniadis 1977, 64, 68, 75, 86, 115).

For the 18th and 19th centuries, unfortunately we only have the information from the travellers' accounts. Tournefort was not excited by the goats of Skyros, which it shares with other Aegean islands, but notes the very good cheese and milk. Moreover, he informs us about the abundance of wheat and barley, without unfortunately giving numbers of production. He notes however, that part of the wheat and barley crop is exported to the "Franks". He makes special reference to the beautiful vineyards and the "outstanding wine", which costs 1 *skoudo* the barrel; he also notes that much of it is exported to the Morea Venetian military. Tournefort finally notes that the annual production of wax comes to 10 *kantaria* (5650 kilos) (after Antoniadis 1977, 134). Thompson repeats the information about the goats, the cheese and the wine (1 *korona* the barrel). He adds that sheep costs 3 shillings and lamb, 1.5 (after Antoniadis 1977, 140).

Wine:	10,000 barrels maximum (¾ exported)
Wheat:	15,000 kilos (2000 exported)
Oranges/Lemons:	600,000 kilos
Beans:	500 *kantaria* (28,250 kilos)
Madder-roots	400 *kantaria* (22,600 kilos)
Honey:	8000 *okades* (10,240 kilos)
Wax:	2000 *okades* (2560 kilos)
Sheep/goats:	15,000 (2000 exported)

Table 3.8: The annual production of Skyros according to Leake (1806).
* 1 *oka*: 1.28 kilos; 1 *kantari*: 56.5 kilos

The 19th century is more detailed thanks to Colonel Leake, who visited Skyros in 1806. Leake informs us that "all the hills are seed with wheat, vines and madder-roots". He reports the annual production of the island (Table 3.8) and mentions that the 500 families living on Skyros pay 20 *pouggia* tax to the sultan (after Antoniadis 1977, 158).

However, a different figure about production is provided by Graves, who visited Skyros in 1821 and 1848. Graves starts with the statement that "silk is not anymore exported". He reports that the vineyards are very few and just cover the needs of the island and characterises the grapes as small and tasteless. In bad seasons, Skyros used to import wine from Kymi of Euboea. He reports that the island exports 40-45,000 kilos of corn, wheat and barley. In addition, he notes that the orange, lemon, honey and wax production referred to by Leake is much diminished in his time, in contrast to madder-root production, which instead

3 The very good quality of the Skyrian goats is indeed cited by Pindar (Fragm. 95) and Athenaios (Deipn. XII, 540 d). The second source adds actually that the Skyrian goats were highly considered by the tyrant of Samos Polycratis.

	1650-57 Boschini	1677-87 Dapper	1680-85 Piacenza	1685-95 Coronelli	1702 Tournefort	1732 Thompson	1806 Leak	1848 Graves
Cereals					Plenty		15,000 kilos	40,000 – 45,000 kilos
Wine		Plenty	Plenty	Good quality	Plenty		10,000 barrels (max)	Very little
Fruits & figs							600,000	
Legumes & fava							500 *kantaria* (28,250 kilos)	
Madder - roots							400 *kantaria* (22,600 kilos)	1000 *kantaria* (56,500 kilos)
Honey							8000 *okades* (10,240 kilos)	
Wax					100 *kantaria* (5650 kilos)		2000 *okades* (2560 kilos)	
Silk								*... is not anymore exported...*
Linen textiles	*(Skyros) makes linen textiles*							
Sheep & goats	Plenty		Plenty			Plenty	15,000	15,000
Bullocks								3000
Milk & cheese	Plenty		Plenty	Good quality	Good quality	Good quality		

Table 3.9: Information about the agricultural production of Skyros according to the travellers' accounts.

of 400 *kantaria,* in his time reached 1000 for export (56,500 kilos; after Antoniadis 1977, 192). The animals remained more or less the same: 15,000 sheep and goats (1000 exported) and 3000 bullocks (100 exported)[4].

4 The number of 40,000 sheep and goats indicated in the catalogue of damages which Skyros suffered in the period 1821-1827 (Theocharis 1979, 82-3), is inaccurate. The catalogue was made by the Skyrians for their compensation after the end of the Revolution, and for that reason apparently exaggerated.

Chapter 4
Previous Archaeological and Historical Research

The first Notes to the Archaeological Journals

At the end of the 19th century and at the beginning of the 20th there appear the first reports regarding the antiquities of the island in the journals of the recently founded foreign archaeological schools of Greece, namely the *Bulletin de Correspondence Hellénique, Annual of the British School at Athens, Athenische Mitteilungen* and *Revue Archéologique.*

These reports are clearly distinguished from the previous travellers' references regarding the antiquities of the island, in that simple mention of them within the general description of the island are no longer made in passing, but form the focus. Five European scholars led early archaeological investigations on the island (Lebeque 1873, Girard 1879, Mayer 1893, Dawkins 1904 and Fredrich 1906), a result of archaeological itineraries made over large territories of the country, within the general explosion of the archaeological discovery of Greece undertaken by the recently founded foreign archaeological schools in Athens.

The reports consist of simple text (Lebeque, Girard, Mayer), include transliteration of some inscriptions (Lebeque, Girard), or even plans and photographs (Dawkins, Fredrich). All scholars described the most impressive archaeological evidence of the island, namely the fortification of the ancient *Polis* centre, in the present town. Fredrich was the first who studied meticulously the fortifications and tried to plan the external enceinte, giving measures and adding photographs (Fig. 4.1). Three of the scholars (Dawkins, Mayer and Fredrich) recognised the cemetery of the settlement in the valley of Magazia-Kambos (S10, S12), the first two entering also into ceramological discussions on the pottery found in the tombs.

Apart from the ancient *Polis* centre, the attention of scholars also fell on the archaeological remains at Ari, Paliokastro, Ayios Fokas and Kalamitsa (Lebeque, Girard and Fredrich). The site of Markesi at the northern promontory of the island, with its ancient temple, necropolis and tufa quarries received also their attention, with Fredrich being the first to present a plan of the visible part of the temple (Fig. 4.2). Finally, Girard and Fredrich made some comments about the ancient marble quarries of the island at the sites of Kolones, Marmara and Tris Boukes.

Although the focus of the first scholars was on the glorious ancient past of the island, some observations on the medieval monuments of the island also

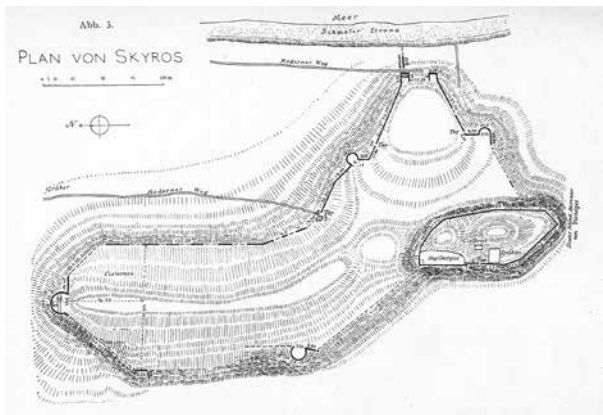


Fig. 4.1: The first plan of the ancient fortifications of the *Polis* centre of Skyros, made by Fredrich in 1906.

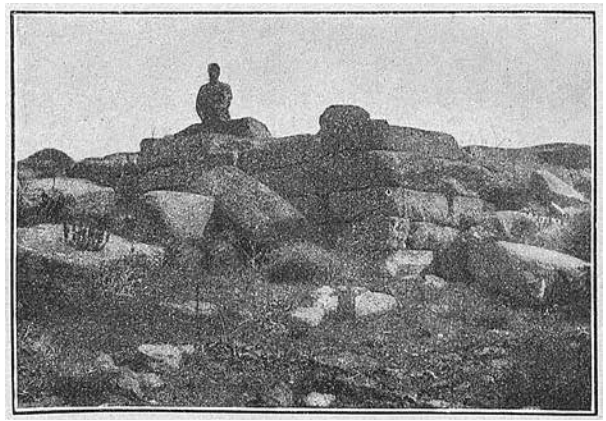


Fig. 4.2: Fredrich on the ancient temple of Markesi in 1906.

took place. Thus, Lebeque, besides commenting on the reused ancient sculptures at the monastery of Ayios Dimitrios (C55), noted the "very nice" post-medieval frescoes of the church. Fredrich transliterated the painted and carved inscriptions of the same monastery as well as one inscription from the monastery of Ayios Georgios (C05) on the castle. Dawkins and Fredrich studied the church of the Episkopi (C01), presenting its plan and transliterating the inscription of its foundation. Additionally, Fredrich commented on the late-medieval cistern of the castle as well, being the first, once more, to present its plan.

The first 'histories' of Skyros

During the first years of the 20th century, the first books dedicated to Skyros made their appearance. In 1901 M. Konstantinidis published *The island of Skyros, a historical essay from the ancient until modern times,* in 1906 Graidor the *Histoire de l'île de Skyros jusqu'en 1538* and in 1909 Papageorgiou the *History of Skyros from the ancient times*.

The monographs of the two Greek - Skyrian writers are typical of the historical books which appear at the beginning of the century, made usually by intellectual locals as an offer to their birthplace. Besides the historical outline and the description of the archaeological finds which the Skyrian writers offer, their books include a detailed description of the physical geography, the culture and the daily life of the island. The information given about the economy, agricultural production, demography and the daily life of the island are precious today.

The book of Graindor is completely different from the previous two. A strictly historical text, characterised by its scientific style and based on the ancient and medieval historical sources, this book is the most meticulous historical study of its time.

Towards a more intensive study and the first excavations

From the second decade of the 20th century onwards, a more intensive study of the island's antiquities takes place. Skyros is mentioned for the first time in the journals of the Archaeological Service of Greece, *Archaiologikon Deltion* and *Archaiologiki Efimeris,* while Greek scholars this time take up the reins of studying the island. The titles of the articles have no more the general 'notes on Skyros' or alike, but are focused on specific subjects.

Evangelidis in 1918 conducted the first formal excavations, although brief, on the island, in the name of the Archaeological Service of Greece, reporting the results to the *Archaiologikon Deltion.* He excavated on the hill of Fourka (S05) the foundations of an ancient temple, some Roman graves close to the temple, while at the site of Magazia (S10), close to the site where Dawkins made his remarks about sub-Mycenaean and Geometric pottery, he recorded four Protogeometric and Geometric graves (Evangelidis 1918).

Defner's contribution comes in three articles in the *Archaiologiki Efimeris*, regarding a palimpsest Hellenistic inscription, the ancient quarries of the island and a second detailed study (after Fredrich), of the fortification of the ancient *Polis* centre (1923 and 1925-26 respectively).

More evidence from the Geometric cemetery north from the ancient urban centre, was brought to light by the Skyrian archaeologist Papadimitriou, through a small excavation at the hill of Themi (S11), where he excavated five Protogeometric graves (Papadimitriou 1936). In the next year, at the site of Magazia (S10), Stavropoulos excavated some more Protogeometric and Geometric tombs (Stavropoulos 1937)

The beginnings of Prehistoric Archaeology on Skyros

Research until the WWII was mainly focused on the historical periods. The foundations for the archaeological research of the prehistoric period of the island were laid down by the Skyrian archaeologist Dimitris Theocharis. In his article in the *Archaiologiki Efimeris* of 1945-47, Theocharis published the Neolithic pottery from the site Papa To Chouma (S08), on the eastern flank of the ancient acropolis, and a series of Mycenaean rock-cut chamber tombs at the site of Krokos, on the east edge of the town of Skyros. In 1959 Theocharis published his second article on prehistoric Skyros, where he supplemented the last paper, adding also his remarks about probable Mesolithic and possibly Palaeolithic evidence at the site of Spiliotissa at Achili (S60).

The explosion of Prehistoric research on Skyros started in 1981, with the systematic excavation at the site of Palamari (S27) under the direction of Liana Parlama (still in progress). This first and, to this day, unique systematic archaeological fieldwork on the is-

land, brought to the light a fortified settlement of the Early and Middle Bronze Age, contributing further to Aegean Prehistory (Fig. 4.3).

Apart from the excavation at Palamari, Parlama also undertook a general study of the prehistoric period of the island for her PhD dissertation in 1984. The study of Parlama uncovered an archaeologically hardly known period on Skyros, and was until recently the only strictly archaeological monograph dedicated to the island. Besides her focus on the Bronze Age, Parlama presented in her thesis the first long-term archaeological catalogue of the island.

The systematization of the rescue excavations by the Archaeological Service of Greece and the evidence for Skyros in the Early Iron Age

The attention to the island's antiquities became more intense from the 1970s onwards, after the establishment of the 11th Ephoreia at Chalkis in 1977 (Touloupa 1978, 120). The new Ephoreia started the systematic control of building activity in the area around Kastro and its slopes and at Magazia/Kambos, the two areas where in the past Prehistoric and Early Iron Age archaeological remains had been identified (Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997b, 35). The result of this control and of the numerous rescue excavations was the recovery of an extensive Protogeometric, Geometric and Archaic cemetery. Until 2002, 45 tombs had been revealed, of cemeteries belonging to several settlements, with the key associated settlement that at the top of Chora (Sapouna-Sakellaraki 2001-02, 165 and 188). The studies on the finds from these tombs show a flourishing settlement of the island during the Early Iron Age, suggesting that Skyros was a dynamic centre of exchange of objects and ideas, with many contacts with the North Cyclades, Euboea and Attica (Desborough 1980, Kalogeropoulou 1983, Vlavianou-Tsaliki 1998).

Fig. 4.3: One of the first teams of the systematic excavation at Palamari, in 1986 (archive-courtesy Scientific Committee of Palamari Skyros).

The study of the marble quarries of the island

Apart from the old publication regarding the ancient quarries of Skyros by Defner in 1923, a special interest in the marble quarries of the island has taken place in the recent years. Apart from Dworakowska's article of 1972, a more systematic study took place after 1990, with a general interest towards the ancient stones, initiated by the *Association for the Study of Marbles & Other Stones in Antiquity* (ASMOSIA), founded in 1988 (Lazzarini 1999; Lazzarini & Turi 1999; Lazzarini & Canceliere 2000; Bruno 2002; Lazzarini 2007, 161-75; Karambinis & Lazzarini forthcoming).

The Research on the Medieval to Modern era of the Island

References to the medieval past of Skyros are restricted in the architecture and history of art. Apart from the mentions by the first European scholars of the late 19th - early 20th centuries cited above, several Byzantinists during their study regarding the ecclesiastical architecture of Greece, have made some brief remarks on the architectural type of the church of the Episkopi (C01), based on the plans of Dawkins and Fredrich, without visiting the island.[1] The first proper study of this important medieval monument came in 1960 by Bouras. Apart from that, archaeological activity on the medieval period of the island has been until today restricted to rescue conservation and restoration works of the Archaeological Service and to accordingly brief reports in the *Archaiologikon Deltion* (1971, 26.B1, 278-9; 1972, 27.B2, 372-3; 1981, 36.B1, 81; 1982, 37.B1, 74).

1 G. Millet, *L'école grecque dans l'architecture byzantine*, Paris 1916, 43; M. Sotiriou, Ο ναός της Σκριπούς στην Βοιωτία, in *Archaiologiki Ephimeris* 1931, 139; A. Xyngopoulos, Ο ναός της Επισκοπής Σκοπέλου, in *Archaiologiki Ephimeris* 1956, 191-2.

More plentiful are the historical studies. Vasileios Atesis, bishop of Lemnos and Skyrian in origin, has offered a series of articles and a monograph regarding the ecclesiastical history of Skyros, while Xenophon Antoniadis has presented a significant work regarding the history of the island during the medieval and mainly post-medieval times (including the study of the local historical archive). Apart from those, several other Skyrians contributed to the historical study of medieval and post-medieval Skyros, such as Kostas and Manos Faltaits, Kostis Konstantinidis, Napoleon Xanthoulis, Theodoros Skouras and Dimitris Theocharis (see references).

Apart from history and archaeology, the rich in 'traditional elements' island of Skyros has been the subject of several folklore studies. The island caught the attention of the folkloric scholars as early as the beginnings of the 20th century, within the general intellectual movement of that period in Greece, characterised by the search for the 'original' elements of the Greek 'tradition', as a reference to long-term Greek civilisation reacting to the increasing Europeanization (Theocharidis 2009). Apart from the study of Konstantinos Psachos in 1910 regarding the songs of Skyros, in 1925 Angeliki Chatzimichali, one of the leaders of the aforementioned intellectual movement, published her book *Folk art of Skyros*, a work of reference for folk life studies of Greece, examining Skyrian architecture and handicraft. This was followed in 1940 by a second important work by Niki Perdika, with the title *Skyros, Impressions and descriptions-historical and folkloristic notes-customs and monuments of the people* (Academy of Athens honorary award).

The aforementioned intellectual movement led in 1920s to the creation of the first communal folklore (and archaeological) collection of the island (Faltaits 1931, 15-6)[2]. After this first attempt, in 1964 Manos Faltaits founded the 'Faltaits Historical and Folklore Museum' one of the oldest private museums of the kind in Greece, and in the following years he released a series of articles concerning folk life and material culture of Skyros (see references).

Interest in the folk life of the island never ceased. Two more books dedicated to the songs of Skyros were published by Tsianis (2003) and Lamprou (2004), and one more for the Skyrian costumes by Lamprou (1994). Lately, an old unpublished study of Vamvakeridis saw light in 2008.

The island of Skyros was also the subject of three PhD dissertations by social anthropologists: Cornelia Zarkia, *Societe et Espace dans l'Ile de Skyros* (1991), Agapi Amanatidi, *"Coming into Being": Metaphors of Self and Becoming in Carnival on the Aegean Island of Skyros* (2005), and Andronikos Theocharidis, *Material Culture, Social Structure and Memory, heirlooms and objects of 'folk art and handicraft' on Skyros and their circulation inside and outside the limits of the local* (2009; in modern Greek).

Concluding this review on the research on the medieval to early modern era of Skyros, it would be an omission not to mention the well known Melissa series of *Greek Traditional Architecture* and the volume dedicated to Skyros, written by Arnaoutoglou (1982).

2 This first collection constituted eventually the core of the Archaeological Museum of Skyros, founded later by the State.

PART 2

The Archaeological Survey: Methodology & Comparisons

Much ink has already been spilt about the development of archaeological survey, on the "exploratory travels of a very casual nature, followed by extensive reconnaissance and leading to intensive, small-scale survey" (Cherry 1983, 393). Survey archaeology has long ago been acknowledged as the only means for understanding regional histories (Gkiasta 2008, 24; Cherry 1983, 389). The archaeological survey, from its topographical tradition at the beginning of the 20th century, through the landscape reconnaissance using extensive pedestrian methods, local information, aerial photographs and maps phase, has presented a new approach from the 1970s – 1980s onwards. This can be ultimately connected to the 'loss of innocence' (Clark 1973) or of the 'great divide' (Renfrew 1980; Snodgrass 1985) in the context of Classical Archaeology. The influence of the Anglo-American "New Archaeology", has led to a gradual explosion of more intensive survey projects in the Classical regions, focussing on a much smaller spatial scale, with much greater intensity, systematic sampling and data collection, and with a focus on environmental issues and on a more regional perspective: these projects have been characterised as 'New Wave' surveys (Bintliff 1992) and have been gradually increasing in Greece since the 1970s (Cherry 2003, 140, fig. 9.3; Cherry 2004, 26, fig. 1.3).

Moreover, the acknowledgement that these landscape-based surveys are designed for the reconstruction of rural history and not only the deliberate finding of the much discussed 'sites', has led to the conceptualisation of these intensive surveys, as 'siteless' or 'non-site' surveys (Gaffney & Tingle 1984; Dunnell & Dancey 1983). According to this perception, landscape is conceived of as a continuous record of human activity and thus, useful information can be obtained, apart from the artefacts lying on-site, from cultural items scattered in the physical landscape as well, the so called 'off-site' material. Furthermore, the lack of identified 'sites' from a survey team, has stopped to be conceived as a 'failure', but as a case for interpretation. Finally, the non-site oriented surveys "have also led to the development of concepts such as 'settlement area theory' opening up themes of dynamic relationships between human societies and landscapes, at a variety of temporal and spatial scales" (Neustupny 1991).

Archaeological survey was the main tool used in this study. However, in contrast to the aforementioned 'New Wave' surveys conducted by entire teams, the Skyros survey was a one-man effort. This way of proceeding is generally considered to be not as efficient, as the smaller scale of intensity applied by single-person surveys, is not only less productive in terms of archaeological sites found in comparison to the more intensive (multi-person) ones, but a single-person survey also poses significant problems of interpretation attributable to the patchy way in which they cover a study region (Bevan & Conolly 2013, 13; Cherry 1983, 387). It is thus challenging to examine whether this single-person survey on the island of Skyros has managed to keep standards comparable to those of the team-based highly intensive ones.

What I set out to do in the next three chapters is to present as explicitly as possible the methodology followed by my own survey project on Skyros for the sake of the much-desired possibility of inter-survey comparison (Alcock & Cherry 2004, 4). Moreover, the understanding of the survey methods is crucial for the evaluation of the archaeological data, which when synthesised, control the following interpretation as well.

The Skyros survey was conducted in the years 2010-2013. The fieldwork was continuous during these three years, taking advantage of my working position on the island. The majority of the sites have

been visited more than once, in different seasons, in order to (among others) defuse the biasing effect of the differing levels of ground visibility. The Skyros survey was a combination of a site-based intensive and extensive survey. Chapter 5 presents in detail the survey design applied on the island, while the next two Chapters (6 and 7) examine the methods applied for these two different scales of fieldwork investigation, the intensive and extensive respectively.

Chapter 5
The Skyros survey: a site-based intensive and extensive survey

5.1 REGIONAL SCOPE

In the theory of survey, special attention has been paid to the regional scope, thus, deploying sampling theory, on the selection of a region, or of its representative territory, on which a survey is implemented (Cherry 1983, 385). Many past surveys have defined their region of interest in cultural terms (e.g. the territory of a Greek *Polis*; see Cherry 1983, 386), but since very early on this approach resulted in problems: bearing in mind the diachronic perspective of a good survey, "an area survey ideal for one period may not be suitable for others" (Cherry 1983, 386). This difficulty has been faced in the definition of the area of the Laconia survey for example (Cavanagh *et al.* 2002, 12). As Cherry argues, the problem of orientation is solved by the more or less arbitrary selection of a block of land and the study of the changing settlement systems within it. The arbitrariness can be reduced by defining the region to coincide with natural borders, while what we should aim for, are regions naturally defined with cultural relevance, like the small islands, which are characterised as ideal cases (1983, 386).

In the discussion of the problem of orientation of the Keos survey, it was noted that the insularity of a small island presents advantages in this sort of studies: "Islands have clearly defined and relatively unchanging boundaries that delimit a natural area which can be expected to behave to some extent as a unified cultural unit" (Cherry *at al.* 1991, 9).

With these considerations in mind, it is clear that Skyros falls in this last, more advantageous case, being on the Aegean scale an island of medium size (215 sq. km) and presenting a cultural unity.

5.2 CHRONOLOGICAL FRAME OF THE SURVEY

As many have pointed out, good surveys are diachronic. However, many Greek surveys in the past have had as their main goal the investigation of a particular period in a given region, a fact that generally did not raise too many objections as a method (Cherry 1983, 85). Moreover, many of these surveys, although their explicit focus was on a specific period, have, through their systematization and scientific mode resulted in more evidence about periods that were initially outside their aims. A typical example of this phenomenon is the grand-father of the Greek surveys, the University Minnesota Messenia Expedition project, that despite its subtitle "Reconstructing a Bronze Age Regional Environment" (McDonald & Rapp 1972), provides much evidence for the historical periods as well.

However, it is generally accepted that many surveys undertaken in the Greek area until recently, although declaiming their diachronic perspective, in reality were significantly concentrated in the Prehistoric and Greco-Roman periods rather than the Post-Roman. This was not only because of their stated interest; the slow development of Medieval archaeology in Greece, and especially of material culture studies, has resulted in the phenomenon that there is more known about prehistoric pottery than about the ceramics a few decades old. This had as a result, in the final publications of the purportedly diachronic archaeological surveys, that the Post-Roman periods tend to be represented with no archaeology at all, depending almost exclusively on the historical sources and churches for the reconstruction of the regional history of these periods (e.g. Melos survey). Where some Post-Roman archaeological material was taken into consideration, this was underestimated as, in contrast to the detailed chronological subdivisions of the Prehistoric and Greco-Roman periods, the Post-Ro-

man material was represented only by the wide term 'Medieval' or 'Byzantine', covering a chronological range of approximately 1000 years (e.g. Southern Euboea survey).

In contrast to the majority of all the aforementioned projects, in the Skyros survey the opposite was true: it has had as its focus the Late Roman and Post-Roman periods. Careful consideration was given to the material from the Late Roman to Early Modern times, and the various chronological subdivisions are, in this case, occurring in this era, while the pre-Late Roman periods are represented by the general 'Prehistoric' or 'Greco-Roman' appellations. This is of course a measure not taken as the revenge of a Post-Roman archaeologist on his predecessors, but simply an adjustment taken by a one-man specialization and effort for an entire region. Being aware of the importance of the diachronic perspective of the survey and of my incapacity to treat adequately material which in other cases is processed by entire teams, I preferred to record the older of my focus area material, chronologically more broadly. In this way I have avoided an important peril, that of misleading reports stemming from possible false chronologies and on the other hand, I have succeeded in offering a more complete picture of the settlement patterns of Skyros.

5.3 SURVEY DESIGN

Some comparative models

It is generally accepted that because of limitations of manpower availability, time and resources, in combination with the size of the study area, sampling strategies are considered an inevitable method for archaeological investigation, for excavations and surveys alike.[1] Taking as example four Greek surveys in areas similar to Skyros (the islands of Melos, Keos and the peninsulas of Methana and Southern Argolid), we notice four different survey designs/sampling schemes (Fig. 5.1)**.** In Melos, the acknowledged limits in time and resources in combination with the proposed intensity and the size of the research area (151 sq km), obliged the Melos team to create eight random transect samples, oriented north-south, where intensive survey took place. Thus, from the 151 sq km of the area under study, in reality only 20% was intensively investigated (Cherry 1982, 16-7). In Keos, although the "fundamental aim of the survey was to study how society on Keos changed and developed over the extensive period from the island's first colonization until the present day..." (Cherry *et al.* 1991, 14), the survey area eventually selected as a sample was concentrated north-west of the island in an area of some 18 sq km. Thus, of the 103 sq km total area of Keos, only 15% has been intensively investigated (Cherry *et al.* 1991, 14-6). In Methana, the intensively investigated area was chosen on the grounds of the preliminary reconnaissance made by the survey team and their estimation regarding the 'site' density, rather than a random sample. Thus, the survey was concentrated on the coastal zone, being more selective in an area with an altitude of 100-400 metres and in areas with limestone and volcanic formations, where the extensive survey proved to be unproductive. Thus, of the 50 sq km total area of the peninsula, no more than 21% was intensively investigated (Mee & Forbes 1997, 33-4). Finally in the Southern Argolid, without being clearly specified why specific areas were intensively surveyed in preference to others, of the 225 sq km of the area under study, only 20% was intensively investigated, while the rest of the area has been only extensively examined (Jameson *et al.* 1994, 218).

The Skyros model

The Skyros survey was a site-based extensive and locally intensive survey. The method followed was to examine the entire island extensively (inevitably in a site-concentrated manner), and conduct intensive survey in 16 case-studies settlement-sites, to represent as much as possible the geographical areas of the island (north, south, coastal, inland) (Fig. 5.2)

This method, I believe, was the best way to investigate an insular region like Skyros for one man. Intensive survey in all of the 215 sq km of the island was of course out of the question. The random sample-transects of the Melos project has been criticised as "admirably suited for documenting sites whose distribution is both ubiquitous and numerous (for example, Roman villas or Greek Early Bronze Age and Classical small farmstead distributions), [but] suffers from an inability to record sites whose distribution is highly localized and rare" (Bintliff 2000a,

1 Exception to the rule is the tiny island of Antikythera (20.8 sq. km), the first Mediterranean island being surveyed in its entirety (see Bevan & Conolly 2013).

8). Moreover, Snodgrass commenting on the question regarding if Phylakopi was the only inhabited site in Melos in the Mid-Late Bronze Age, states: "There are alternative ways of choosing a 20% sample of a territory which, in some cases at least, give a more reliable picture of the whole...I feel that by surveying a carefully chosen chunk of Melos, preferably in one place, the authors would have had more success..." (Snodgrass 1982, 721). On the other hand by following the Keos model, choosing thus a chunk of Skyros, following the suggestion of Snodgrass for Melos, this would face the problem discussed above, that an area survey ideal for one period may not be suitable for others. Indeed, this is the reply that Cherry gives to Snodgrass in his aforementioned suggestion (Cherry 1983, 404), and this is a weakness that the Keos team admits for their survey area (Cherry *et al.* 1991, 16). By contrast, by investigating the island for almost three years (2010-2013) extensively, taking advantage of the good knowledge of Skyros as native of the

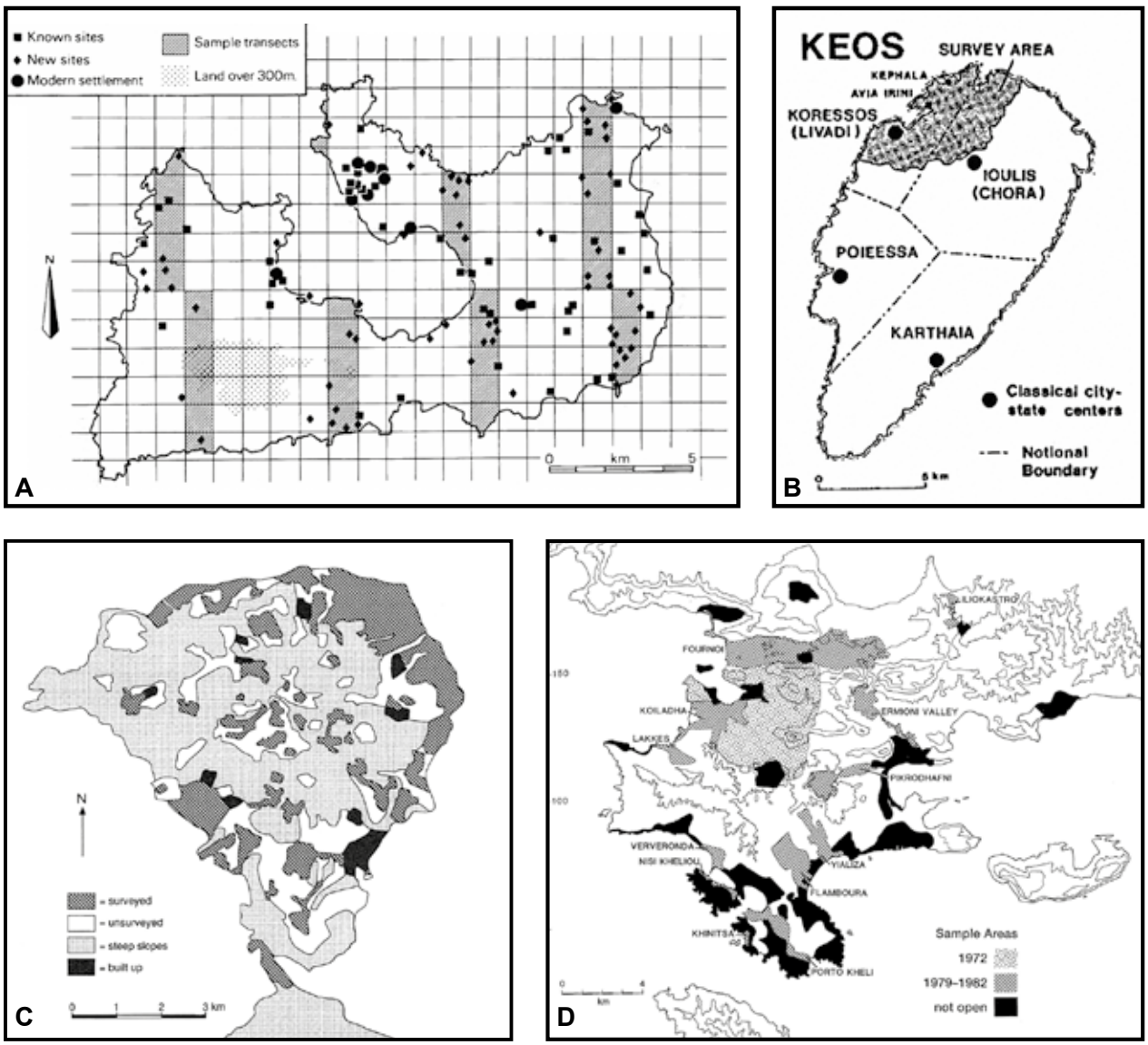


Fig. 5.1: Survey designs of Melos (A), Keos (B), Methana (C) and Argolid (D) (after Cherry 1982, 18, fig. 2.1; Cherry *et al*. 1991, 6, fig. 1.1; Mee & Forbes 1997, 34, fig. 3.1; Jameson *et al*. 1994, 217, fig. 4.1).

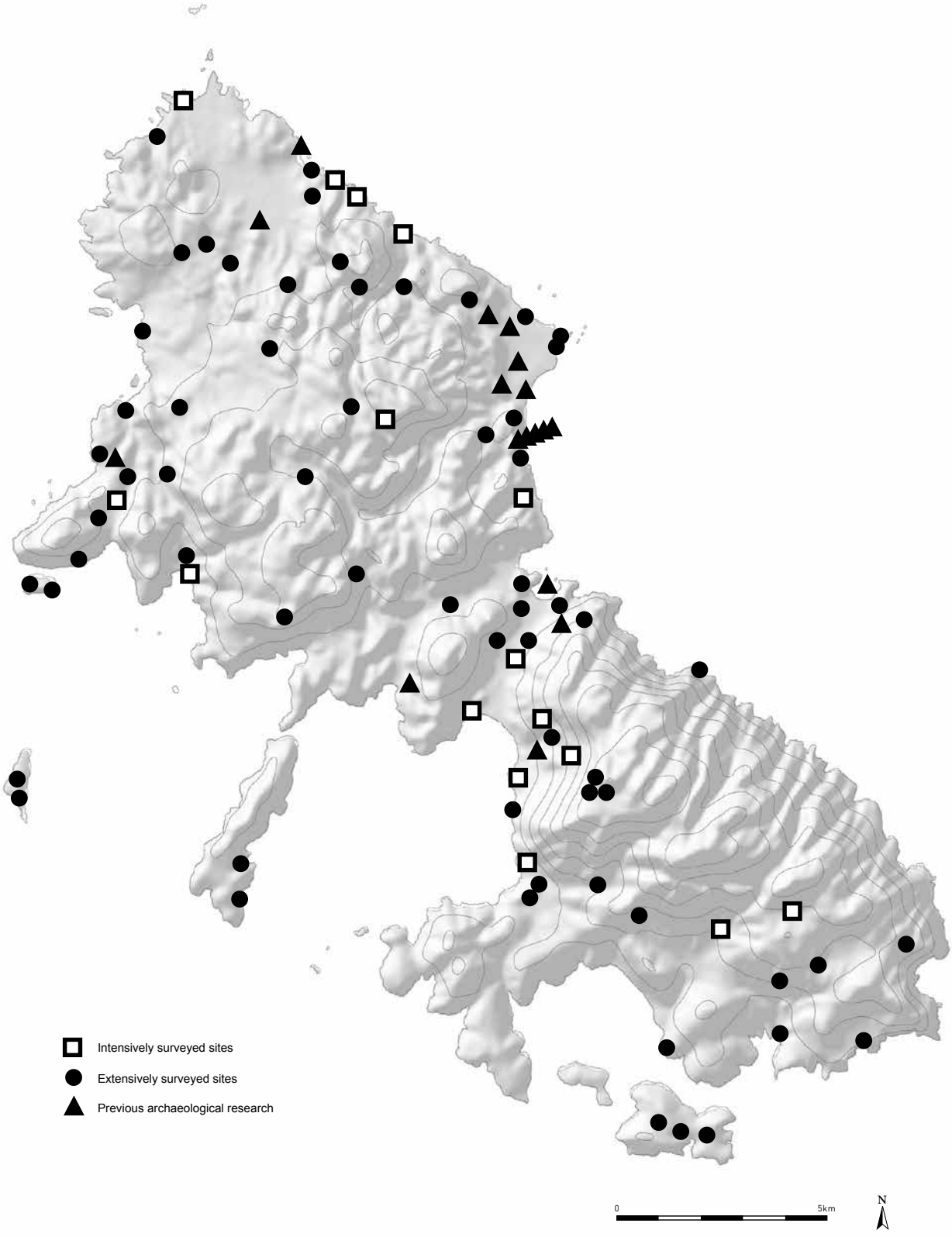


Fig. 5.2: Skyros survey design.

place, and by implementing a more thorough analysis through intensive survey on 16 settlement-sites, I believe I have managed in general to 'catch' a representative sample for my case study.

Moreover, as Cherry argues, based on K.V. Flannery's statements in his book *The early Mesoamerican village* (1976), "for most areas where there is likely to be a size hierarchy of sites, traditional extensive survey techniques and chance local discoveries are likely to detect most of the sites in the upper and middle tiers of the hierarchy: indeed the size or imposing character of the most important sites will usually make them very difficult to miss. At the lower end of the hierarchy, however, there can be expected large numbers of small unobtrusive sites which might well be overlooked by any but the most intensive survey..."(Cherry 1982, 16). The evaluation of the Skyros survey regarding this matter, apart from a future, more intensive survey which could test it, is for now to compare the Skyros values with other more intensive surveys. But before doing that, it is necessary first to clarify what we are comparing, thus to discuss the 'site definition'.

5.4 SITE DEFINITION

As Cherry again argues "there is the need to be very explicit about what we mean when we use terms such as 'site', lest we end up comparing apples with oranges: if one survey project, on the 2 sq km Cretan island of Pseira can report almost as many so-called 'sites' (*c.* 300) as another, of the entire 2.500 sq km north Greek province of Grevena, something must surely be amiss" (Cherry 2004, 29). For the team of the Argolid survey for example, "the term 'site' is nothing more than a convenient way to designate a locality where cultural materials were found, apparently belonging together. Thus a grave only a few square meters in area was called a site, just as was a walled settlement many hectares in extent. [For the Argolid team] the definition of a site included isolated features, such as a well or an inscription, but was intended to exclude materials deposited or distributed solely by natural processes" (Jameson *et al.* 1994, 221).

The inclusion of the 'isolated features, such as a well or an inscription' for the case of Skyros, considering the emphasis of the project on the Post-Roman times, would mean that all material remains of human activity dated until the 1950s (houses, huts, folds, mills, threshing floors, wells etc.), should be incorporated into the catalogue of sites, something which, however correct or not, would be impossible given the limits of one person.

An additional difficulty is introduced by the numerous Ottoman and Early Modern churches of the island. If an ancient isolated grave or inscription deserves to be considered as 'site', then I cannot understand why a church, clear evidence of past human activity, does not deserve the same! However, the churches of Skyros number a staggering 176; the incorporation of the 176 churches, in combination with the inclusion of all the aforementioned Early Modern domestic structures into the catalogue of 'sites', although that *sensu strictu* could be considered as 'sites', would produce misleading 'site' numbers, incompatible with other surveys. Thus, it was decided that churches should not be included into the catalogue of sites (Appendix A) and just be mentioned if they were located in settlements, presenting in this way the diachronic human activity on a specific place. As for the churches, more or less the same goes for the numerous domestic Early Modern structures: in the catalogue of sites there are reported only those located on settlement sites with attested prior human activity, while in the chapter on the Early Modern Skyros, in a related map are indicated all the huts/farmsteads identified in the countryside, during a special survey carried out for this purpose.

After this clarification I can state that the term 'site', in the case of Skyros, includes all the types of material remains of past human activity on the island until and including the Ottoman period (the churches and landscape architecture noted above excluded), regardless if a specific site regards a permanent or seasonal residual settlement, or a find of industrial or burial function, such as a quarry or cemetery/grave. A catalogue of the recorded sites is provided in Appendix A, while the 16 settlement-sites which have been intensively surveyed are discussed in detail in Chapter 8.

5.5 SITE DENSITY: SOME COMPARATIVE DATA

Returning now to the results of the Skyros survey and their comparison with other comparable intensive surveys of Greece, we can present the following estimations. In Appendix A are 96 sites; from them

only 11 have been included in the gazetteer purely on the grounds of previous archaeological research. The remaining 85 have been surveyed (16 intensively and 69 extensively), providing for the majority of them significant new information. Among them, 43 sites are presented here for the first time, being exclusively fruits from fieldwork.

The 96 sites correspond in terms of site density for the 215 sq km total area of Skyros, to 0.44 sites/sq km. Comparing now the Skyros values with other Greek surveys, we notice the following: in the final publication of Melos, there is provided a register of archaeological sites of the island, including all the until then known sites, recorded from the survey and the previous archaeological investigation; 119 sites are recorded in the 151 sq km of Melos, which corresponds to 0.78 sites/sq km, a site density almost double that of Skyros. The difference is even more strik-

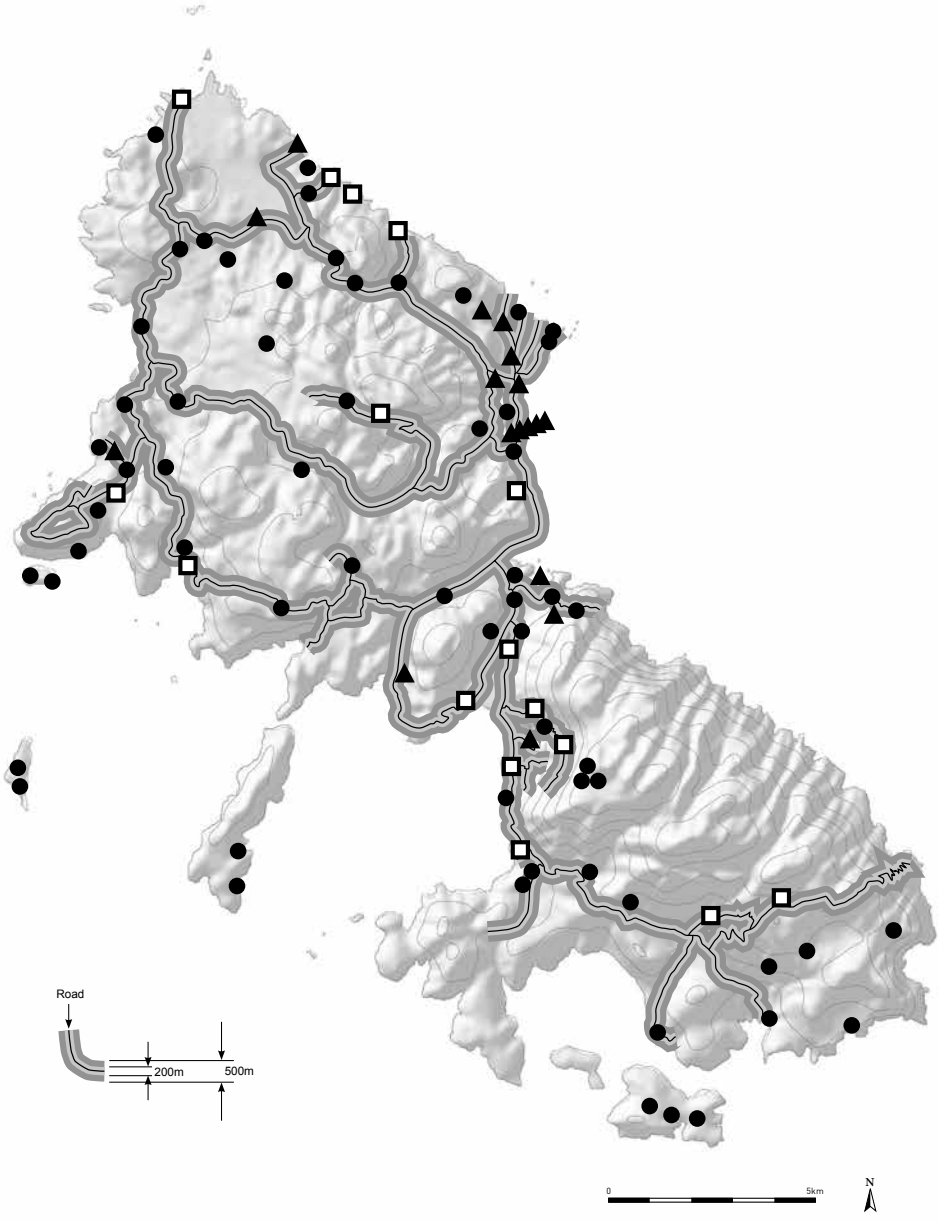


Fig. 5.3: Relationship between sites and modern roads network.

ing by comparing the Skyros values with Methana, where in a peninsula of 50 sq km in size, the intensive survey has recorded 145 sites, corresponding to 2.9 sites/sq km (Mee & Forbes 1997, 118-74). Similarly, in the Northern Keos survey the equivalent catalogue includes 71 sites for an area of 18 sq km, scoring in 3.9 sites/sq km (Cherry *et al.* 1991, 69-128). Finally, controlling an inland survey, this of Boeotia, we notice that merely in the Leondari SE/Thespiai S sector, in an area of only 5.2 sq. km, 17 sites have been revealed (Bintliff *et al.* 2007, 129), corresponding to 3.2 sites/sq km.

Taking into account the low score of site density for the Skyros survey in comparison to four Greek surveys, it is clear that what is presented here is only a selective number of the sites of Skyros and that plenty of them remain still in the shadows, waiting to be found. This difference in site densities between the Skyros survey and the other four, must be accounted for by the extensive mode of the former, and particularly into the blank zones of the inland area of the island. As Fig. 5.3 shows, the majority of the recorded sites are located in the coastal zones or a small distance from the modern roads. On the contrary, in the central inland areas of the north and south part of the island is a relatively big gap of sites. Indeed, the dense pine and cedar forest which covers the majority of the central north part and the mountainous area with almost no road accessibility at the south, made impossible the survey of these territories and interestingly enough, no information has been gleaned from these areas from previous archaeological research either.

However, by comparing the number of sites revealed by the Skyros survey to the percentage of the intensively surveyed area of the island, would render the Skyros survey quite successful, as the 96 sites have been revealed in only 0.570 sq km intensively surveyed territory of the 215 sq km of the island, thus

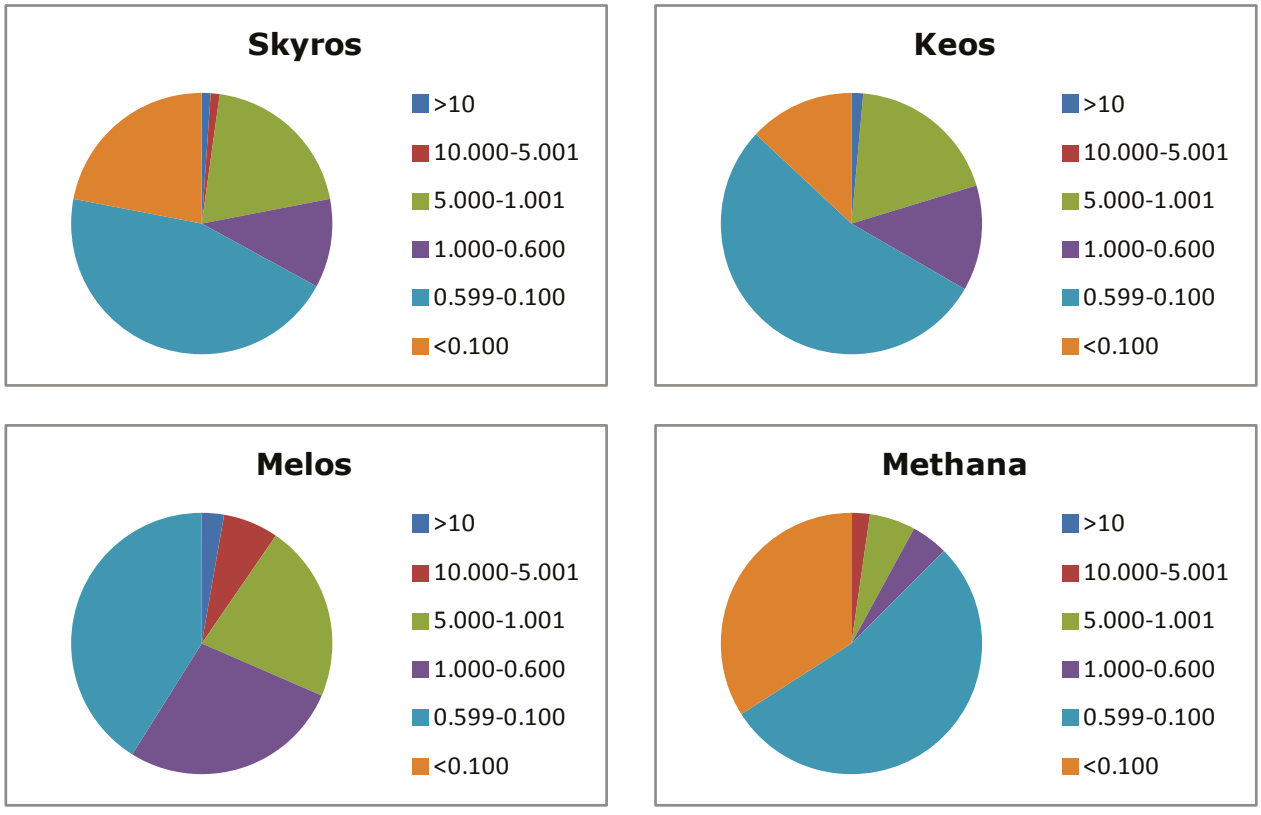


Fig. 5.4: Comparison of site sizes in four surveys in descending order by size/ha; Skyros: 96 sites for 215 sq km (0.44 sites/sq km); Keos 71 sites for 18 sq km (3.9 sites/sq km); Melos: 119 sites for 151 sq km (0.78 sites/sq km); Methana: 220 sites for 50 sq km (4.4 sites/sq km).

in *c.* 0.26% of the total surface of Skyros. The 119 sites of the Melos survey have been revealed in 20% of the total surface of the island.

Furthermore, there is an interesting observation to make in the Skyros case: remembering the words of Flannery (1976, 159) about the size hierarchy of sites and that extensive surveys are likely to detect only the largest and most prominent of them while the smaller can be only identified by 'the most intensive survey', we notice that this is not the case for Skyros. Comparing the site sizes of the Skyros survey with those of Melos, Kea and Methana, the figure is very similar (Fig. 5.4). Actually the Skyros survey takes the second position after Methana in the detection of small sites <0.1 ha in size. Thus it is clear from this exercise that the Skyros survey has not recorded only the largest and most prominent sites of the island.

Chapter 6
Methods for the Intensive survey

Sixteen settlement-sites were selected to be intensively surveyed. These 16 sites will be the case study for the more thorough examination regarding the internal settlement patterns of the island across time. The 16 sites have been selected on the grounds of their location on the island and their size. They represent as much as possible all the geographical zones (north, south, coastal, inland), with a relative underestimation of the two inland zones in the north and south part (see Fig. 5.2). Regarding their size, 11 of them are larger than 1.0 ha and 5 are smaller than 1.0 ha (Fig. 6.1). The long-term urban centre of Skyros is not included among these, as it is still today the major settlement of the island.

6.1 FIELD-WALKING PROCEDURE

Site location accuracy was achieved with the help of the aerial ortho-photographs of the Ethniko Ktimatologio and the 1:5000 maps of the Geografiki Ypiresia Stratou (GYS). The ortho-photographs were taken in 2007-2009 for the national land cadaster, initiated in the aforementioned years in Greece and very accurate. After the extensive visit to the site and the identification broadly of the area with the pottery concentration, the site was located on the aerial photo of the Ktimatologio at a 1:2500 scale. Afterwards, with the help of a graphic designer, the site location was made to an in scale adjustment of the relevant GYS sheet in 1:5000. The combination of the two layers printed in A3 size (in scale), was the background for the intensive survey procedure.

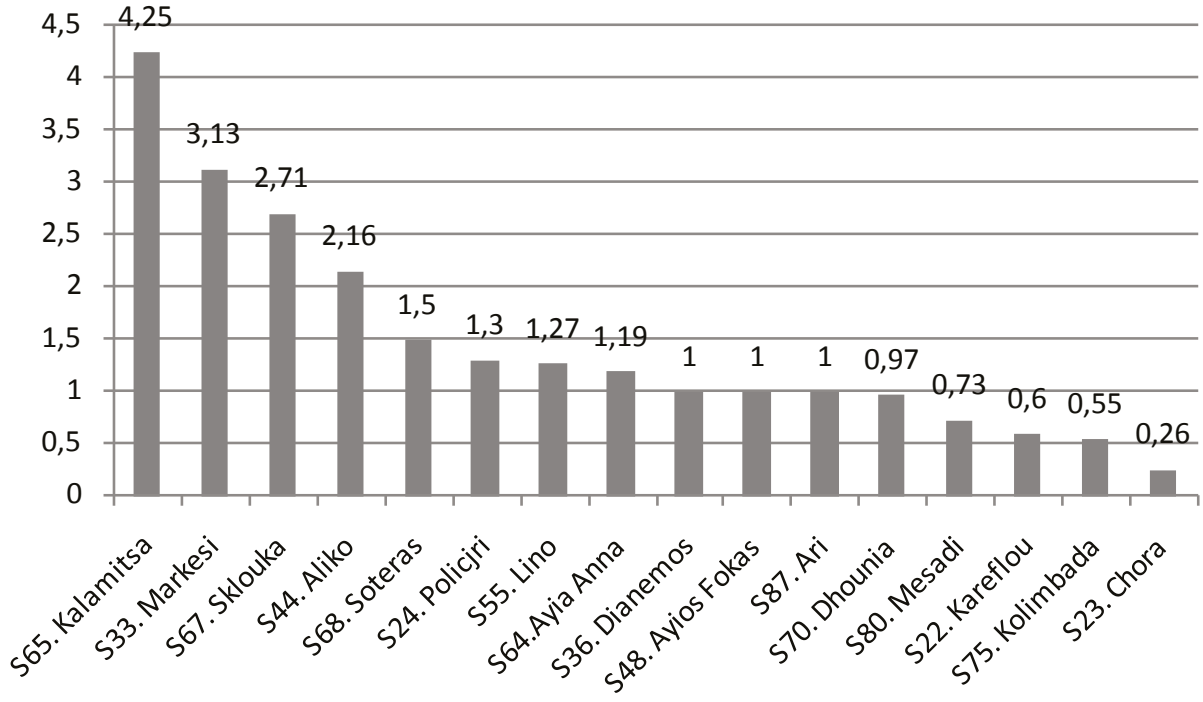


Fig. 6.1: The 16 intensively surveyed sites in descending order by size per ha.

In the field, with the printed map-aerial photograph at hand, the site was divided in irregular natural Units. In cultivated lands, the Units followed the shape of the fields, while in arid and mountainous areas, natural fixed points helped for location accuracy. Special care was taken so that the Units did not exceed 0.2 ha (the majority of them *c.* 0.1 ha). The exact size estimation of each Unit was possible again with the help of the Ethniko Ktimatologio electronic site.

After the definition of the Units, the next step was the counting and collecting. Pre-printed site record forms took the place of the map-photograph in my hands, for the entering of the data of every Unit, with first the visibility grade (0 to 10 for the worst and the best respectively). In each form were provided entries corresponding to chronological periods and cross-periods (e.g. CL-HEL, etc). When the counting started, in the common back-to-forth manner, every sherd counted was also registered in the relevant chronological entry. As expected, this instant-dating, obliged me to be very broad-brush in my chronologies widening the date frames usually into cross-periods, especially for the pre-LR finds. Needless to say the majority of the sherds and tiles were of undiagnostic date, a common phenomenon in all Mediterranean surveys (Tartaron *et al.* 2006, 479) and consequently registered in the relevant entry entitled 'Undiagnostic' and 'Undiagnostic tiles'. The goal in this phase of the survey was for all the counted sherds to be registered into the forms and thus, the sum of the registrations to correspond to the raw density of the given Unit.

All the diagnostic LR and Post-Roman sherds spotted during the fieldwalking, apart from their registration into the forms, were collected for more detailed study in the laboratory. However, this apparent total collection of the LR-plus sherds, which if real, could disturb severely the site, was as we shall see below, false (see below 'Sample fraction').

Finally, all the architectural remains were measured, photographed and located in the printed map-aerial photograph.

After the elaboration of the data the problem of the characterisation of the pottery densities presented itself. Indeed, apart from the low values (analysed in the next paragraph), the targeted site-based survey was lacking in background data, significant not only for the information about the non-site activity of the island itself, but also crucial for the definition of the boundaries among core, halo and background areas of the 16 sites[1]. It is well known that in systematic 'site-less' intensive surveys conducted by a group, the sites emerge through their high pottery densities against the low usually background density carpet of a given region. In other words, what constitutes a given area as a surface site, among others, is their high artefact density compared to the low background.

It is clear that this full view of on-site and background densities was not possible in the site-based Skyros survey. This was known even before the start of the fieldwork. However, in order to moderate the lack of evidence for the background densities, and thus approximate the core sizes, it was decided to undertake two fieldwork supplements, both conducted in the summer of 2012:

A. The re-surveying of the 16 sites beyond the area of the Units, through transects that extended as far as possible into the site surroundings, in order to maximise the data available. Thus, for every site 2 to 6 transects have been carried out, of several metres length and from 2 to maximum 10 metres wide. No registration or collection of finds took place in the transects but only a ceramic count for the estimation of the densities (raw and v-c). Through the fieldwork supplement A it was possible to test the scale in which the densities gradually drop from on to off-site levels.

B. For the testing of the background densities four off-site areas on the island were chosen, at some distance from any known site. Special attention was paid in the selection of these four areas that they represent as much as possible the different geomorphologic circumstances and human activity attested to on Skyros. Thus, two areas were chosen from the north part of the island, one from the middle and one from the south. The three more fertile valleys of the island, and apparently the locality of intense off-site human activity, namely Trachi, Kambos and Kalikri were examined, while the south sample represented the rocky mountainous and less inhabited area of the island. In all four examples random transects, 2 metres wide extending to several hundred metres in length were undertaken. As in the transects around the sites, here too, only ceramic counts were made for the estimation of the densities, without collection or registration of the artefacts. Through the fieldwork supplement B it was possible to test the off-site density levels around the sites (provided by the fieldwork supplement A),

1 For the 'halo effect' see below.

against the background activity of the island away from them.

6.2 ON-SITE DENSITIES: SOME COMPARATIVE DATA

After the fieldwork and data analysis, I realised that the calculated on-site densities were significantly lower than the respective densities from other surveys in Greece, even after the visibility correction. Two options are thought to be responsible for this: either Skyros is unlike other parts of Greece, or more simply, I have missed sherds. To test which of the two happened to be the case, the following exercise was undertaken: from each of the 16 sites was chosen one core-unit (and in two cases two), which was then revisited and recounted, this time subdividing the units into grids of approximately 10x10 m. The result was interesting (Table 6.1): the second, more intensive count resulted in a number from 1.7 to 13.5 times more sherds than the first more extensive fieldwalking. On average the intensive count yielded more sherds than the original extensive count by a factor of 4.2. The biggest difference occurs in sites with very bad survey conditions (uncultivated land, scrubby, mountainous and with high inclination). In sites on a more gentle terrain, the difference is less striking, reaching more 'acceptable' levels, comparable to other surveys as well.

Site	Factor increase
S22. Kareflou	7.3
S23. Chora	2.2
S24. Polichri	3.5
S33. Markesi	5.4*
S36. Achladonas	2.2
S44. Alyko	3
S48. Ayios Fokas	1.7
S55. Lino	3
S64. Ayia Anna	1.8
S65. Kalamitsa	3.3
S67. Sklouka	3.7
S68. Soteras	13.5
S70. Dhounia	5
S75. Kolimbada	6
S80. Mesadi	4.6*
S87. Ari	1.7
Average	**4.2**

Table 6.1: Difference in raw pottery density between the first and second, more intensive, count in the core Units of the 16 intensively surveyed sites (* average of two core Units intensively counted).

The observed phenomenon of sherds missed in the initial survey pottery density is not the first time that this has occurred. Bintliff, Howard & Snodgrass in their analysis of the Thespiai South/Leondari South-East sectors of Boeotia survey, note a difference in pottery density between the transect fieldwalking and the gridded intensive collection which reaches on average 2.5 times more sherds for the latter, and they conclude that "intensive study leads to several times more material being noticed on the same site" (2007, 183). A similar difference in pottery density between the tract and grid counting was observed in the Antikythera survey, "perhaps by a factor of ten" (Bevan & Conolly 2013, 47).

In order to correct the on-site density values, for every site initial density values were extrapolated to the rest of the Units, using as the multiplier the difference between the two counts of the core Unit. This solution is the same as was applied by other survey projects with similar problems. As a matter of fact, Bintliff, Howard & Snodgrass extrapolated their initial values using the multiplier 2.5 in order to correct their on-site density values against prior field walking counting (2007, 184).The team of the Asea survey implemented a similar experiment in order to 'produce' pottery densities comparable to other surveys. In fact, at the core of one of their sites (S16), they divided one field in 16 squares of 8x8 m and after the recount the result was 10 times more sherds. Using the number 10 as multiplier they 'have produced' densities more compatible to other surveys, although they admit that still, their values correspond to one fifth of those of the Keos and Boeotia surveys (Forsén & Forsén 2003, 17, 20).

Forsén & Forsén use in their book the word 'produce' to underscore that, as self-evident as it may seem, the on-site density up to a certain point is strongly dependent on the implemented intensity and the visibility. The Laconia survey confirmed this phenomenon, as shown by a similar exercise: "our experiment at site U490, in comparing counts made on hands and knees within an area of 1 sq m with those taken using event-counters while walking 30 x 15 m transects, showed a considerably higher density in the former case" (Cavanagh *et al.* 2002, 45).

Returning to the on-site density values of Skyros, after the exercise described above, in Table 6.2 is shown the lowest and highest on-site density values combining the elaboration of the data regarding the internal structure of every site**.**

Leaving for now the highest values, which generally have not been the focus of survey archaeologists, the lowest values, which are strongly connected with the boundaries of the on-site areas and ultimately, with the concept of the site definition itself, merit further discussion.

Much has already been said about the minimum find density that should be expected at a given site and the possible systematization for deciding when the on-site boundaries stop and when those of the off-site areas begin, applicable to all surveys. Like many have pointed out (e.g. Cherry 1983, 396-7) this kind of systematization would be difficult to achieve, as these measures can vary from one survey to the next and consequently, absolute values such as the old site definition of density at least 5 artefacts per sq m, would have to be discarded. For example, sites with less intensive occupation than others, would produce accordingly less depositional waste, perilously close to off-site values, and for one-period sites with components of low deposition material, such as those of the Byzantine period, it is normal to leave less finds on the ground, than a CL-HEL site, a period of 'high waste production'.

As Bintliff, Howard & Snodgrass argue, "we need to treat each site as unique, and to evaluate it in its unique off-site context as well" (2007, 183), meaning that no regularity exists on the surface archaeological survey indicating the 'correct' density value which one would expect to find in on-site or off-site districts. This distinction is usually the result of the empirical procedure of the surveyor in comparison to relevant results of adjacent projects, in our case, of the Aegean world. Pottery density alone cannot characterise whether an area is on-site or not. For example, in the Boeotia survey again, areas with high pottery densities have many times turned out to be 'haloes' (essentially off-site material). For the case of Skyros at least, the site boundaries have been identified on the grounds of density, but also taking into consideration other factors as well, such as the per period find densities, the functional analysis of the finds etc. Thus, the estimation of the lowest on-site densities came after the identification of the site boundaries and not vice-versa.

Comparing the lowest density values of Skyros with four Greek surveys (Table 6.3), we notice variants, stemming partially from the different scales of intensity (Skyros and Asea [low], against Boeotia and Keos [high]). Regarding Asea, Forsén & Forsén admit that still, after the extrapolation described above, the threshold of their sites corresponds to 1/5 of the values of Boeotia and Kea. On the other hand, the extremely high standard of the Methana team, 50,000/ha, is apparently derived using the old principle of the 5 artefacts per sq m as a minimum value for site definition, a value which however, as Mee & Forbes admit, is "suspiciously high" in comparison to other surveys in Greece (1997, 36, n.11).

Site	Lowest on-site density value	Highest on-site density value	Average on-site density value
S22. Kareflou	3586	8517	5502
S23. Chora	3633	3923	3750
S24. Polichri	1446	9068	3364
S33. Markesi	2610	22,771	10,400
S36. Dianemos	1258	7126	3815
S44. Aliko	419	2237	915
S48. Ayios Fokas	710	2661	1323
S55. Lino	911	10,504	3550
S64. Ayia Anna	684	4858	1696
S65. Kalamitsa	652	6732	1918
S67. Sklouka	935	7157	3269
S68. Soteras	5786	32,029	16,184
S70. Dhounia	2727	13,632	7507
S75. Kolimbada	974	7178	3016
S80. Mesadi	4932	18,837	11,618
S87. Ari	1850	5873	3704
Average	**2070**	**10194**	**5095**

Table 6.2: Pottery on-site density values per ha, of the 16 intensively surveyed sites on Skyros (v-c).

Boeotia	4500 (Bintliff & Snodgrass 1985, 130)
Keos	3100 (Cherry, Davis & Mantzourani 1991, 46)
Methana	50,000 (Mee & Forbes 1997, 36)
Asea	300 (Forsén & Forsén 2003, 19)
Skyros	400 (with lowest average the 2070)

Table 6.3: Comparative figures for lowest on-site densities per ha in five Greek surveys.

6.3 SOME NOTES ON THE BACKGROUND DENSITIES

The data available regarding the off-site densities of Skyros came from the surroundings of the 16 intensively surveyed sites and from the four sampled off-site areas examined in the summer of 2012 (see above). I can state at the outset that here I adopt the model of the Boeotia survey, dividing the off-site material into 'halo' and background.

The term, 'halo effect' explicitly rejects burial sites and applies to the areas around settlement sites and, "...[is defined as] an elevated level of discard intermediate between local off-site and site levels, which may run uphill as well as downhill from the site in question and therefore cannot be a product merely of erosion or plough drag (significantly though these latter may have contributed)" (Bintliff *et al.* 2007, 16). Thus 'halo effect' must be conceived as the immediate impact of the site on the landscape, apparently higher in density than the wider off-site scatters of pottery of the far larger zones of the landscape where past humans did not live, bury, worship, or conduct high-discard activities (Bintliff *et al.* 2007, 15). It is conceived then that haloes are identified around sites only and that their size is correlated usually with the size of their site (Bintliff *et al.* 2007, 16).

Moreover, it is apparent that the phenomena causing the halo effect, such as the high inclination, erosion or plough drag mentioned above, can in some cases (usually in small rural sites), increase significantly the pottery densities of the halo, reaching, or even overcoming, the low levels of the on-site densities, creating an overlapping in the values of the two. However, given that the identification of a site is based primarily, but not solely, on quantitative criteria, in such cases there are then other criteria that can assist in the correction of these biasing effects in order to recognise the site and its halo areas despite their possible vice-versa pottery densities. Criteria such as the comparison of the densities with the per period finds, the functional analysis of the artefacts will help. On Skyros for instance, the overlapping between site and halo densities has been noticed in four cases (S36, S55, S65 and S70).

Furthermore, considering the variety of the minimum and maximum site densities, and consequently the variety of their halos, it is logical that the *halo* val-

Site	Lowest halo density value	Highest halo density value	Average halo density value
S22. Kareflou	310	1733	717
S23. Chora	190	279	234
S24. Polichri	852	852	852
S33. Markesi	1152	2460	1630
S36. Dianemos	409	1712	958
S44. Aliko	202	373	285
S48. Ayios Fokas	195	443	292
S55. Lino	296	2188	921
S64. Ayia Anna	150	235	177
S65. Kalamitsa	218	953	534
S67. Sklouka	528	851	631
S68. Soteras	220	2680	1270
S70. Dhounia	498	3862	1496
S75. Kolimbada	-	704	-
S80. Mesadi	1172	5358	2876
S87. Ari	231	1347	597
Average	**386**	**1626**	**898**

Table 6.4: Halo pottery density values per ha, around the 16 intensively surveyed sites on Skyros (v-c).

Site	Lowest background density value	Highest background density value	Average background density value
S22. Kareflou	0	161	39
S23. Chora	0	120	31
S24. Polichri	0	53	14
S33. Markesi	0	817	252
S36. Dianemos	0	553	253
S44. Aliko	62	146	117
S48. Ayios Fokas	37	141	95
S55. Lino	0	142	53
S64. Ayia Anna	0	96	26
S65. Kalamitsa	0	126	78
S67. Sklouka	53	398	222
S68. Soteras	100	105	102
S70. Dhounia	0	349	148
S75. Kolimbada	-	-	-
S80. Mesadi	0	1029	221
S87. Ari	0	168	60
Average	**17**	**293**	**114**

Table 6.5: Background pottery density values per ha, around the 16 intensively surveyed sites on Skyros (v- c).

ues of a given site can possibly be higher than the *site* values of another. Table 6.4 presents the halo density values of the 16 intensively surveyed sites of Skyros, in which the average value of *c.* 900 sherds/ha is greater than the lowest on-site values of four sites.

Regarding the background densities, the data available derive from the local off-site areas around the sites and their halos, and from the four off-site zones examined in the summer of 2012 as case studies. Table 6.5 presents the background densities around the 16 intensively surveyed sites. The majority of them present zero pottery density beyond the immediate impact of the site on the landscape (halo), while the highest values in rare cases can reach *c.*

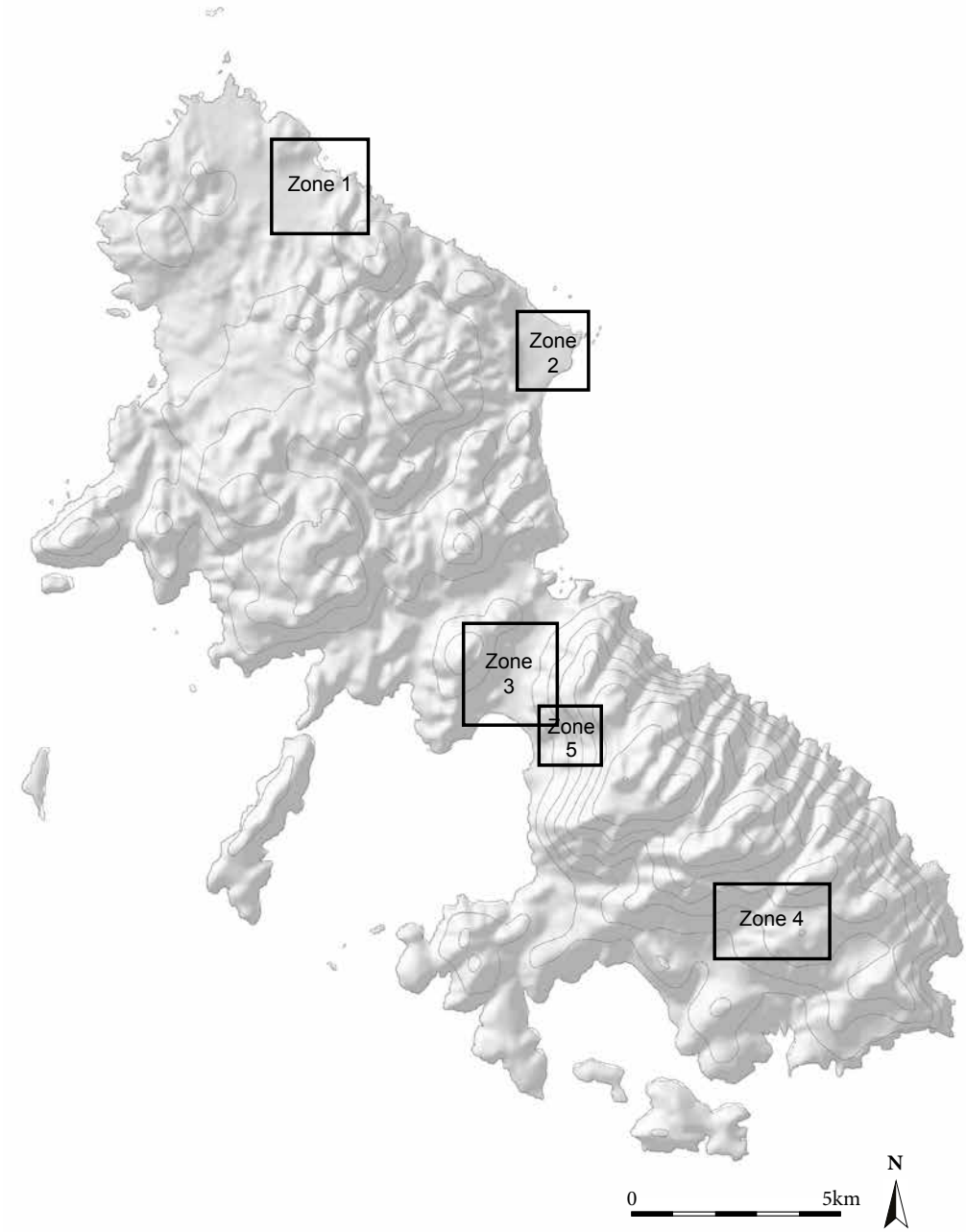


Fig. 6.2: The five geographical sample-zones selected for the examination of the background densities.

1000 sherds/ha. However, the average background pottery density around the 16 sites is estimated to be *c.* 115 sherds/ha.

We can now compare this average with the data from the four off-site zones, attempting a total interpretation (Fig. 6.2). Three of the four off-site zones were selected from three fertile valleys on Skyros, where the expectation of intense human activity is high. One further zone is in the rocky mountain area of the island. These four areas were selected with the aim of representing the range of geomorphological circumstances and human activity. What follows is a description of each zone.

Zone 1 is located at the north edge of Skyros in the large valley of Trachi, towards Palamari bay (Fig. 6.3). Five sites have been identified in the area, among them the Bronze Age settlement of Palamari (S27), systematically excavated since 1984, and the intensively surveyed S24 (similarly prehistoric with a Post-Medieval component). Nine transects have been implemented of 2 metres wide and several metres long, along the plain area with densities ranging from 0 to maximal 931 sherds/ha, the latter approximately 200 metres from the core of S25. The average value is estimated at 120 sherds/ha, which fits well enough with the average 115 sherds/ha around the sites.

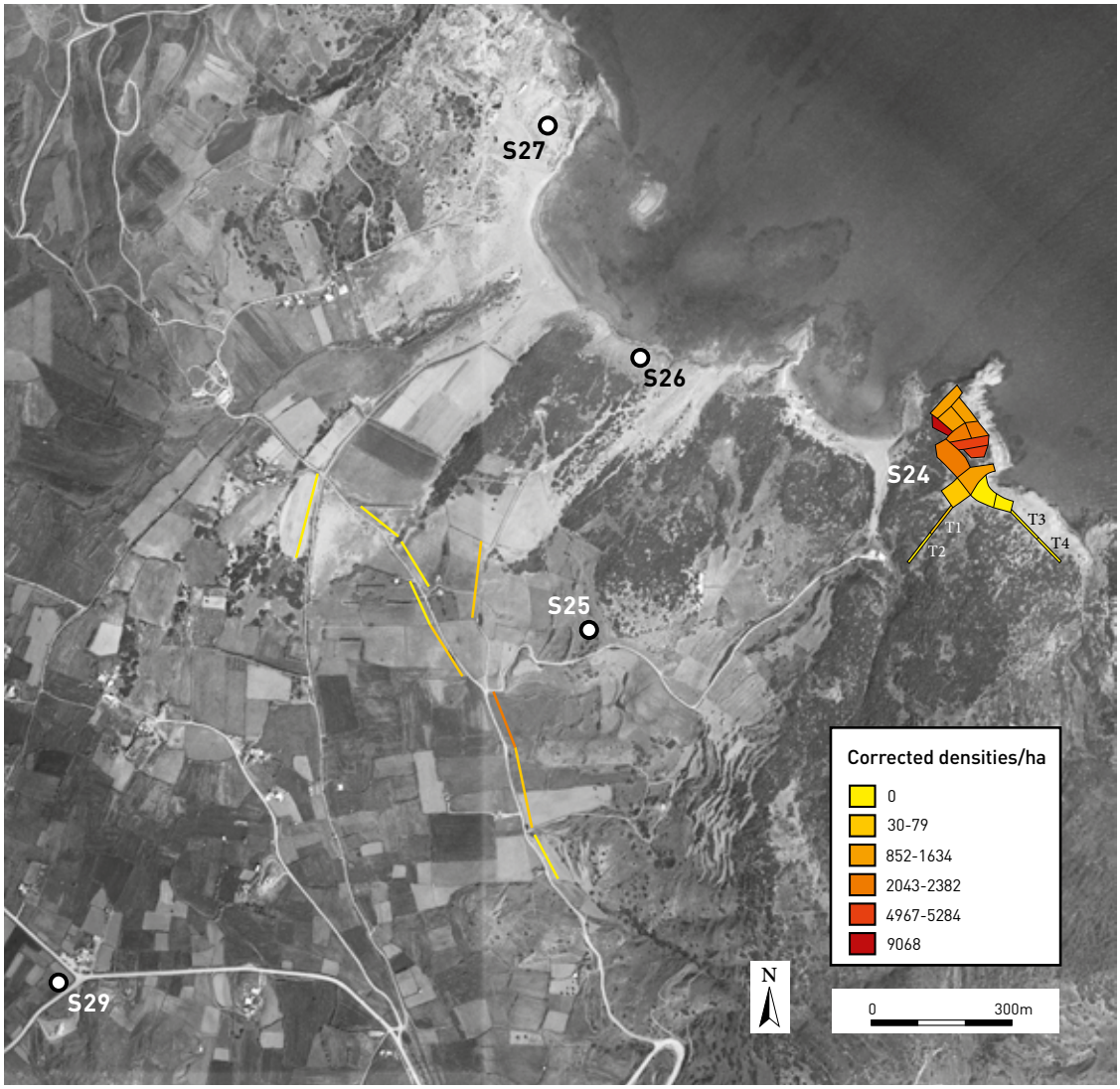


Fig. 6.3: Zone 1 (Valley of Trachi)

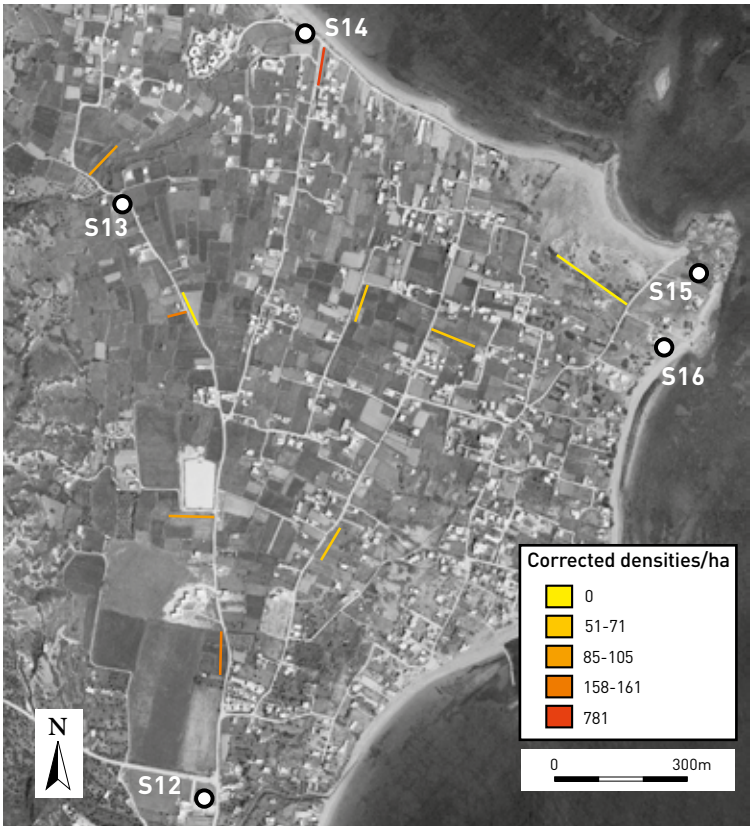


Fig. 6.4: Zone 2 (Kambos)

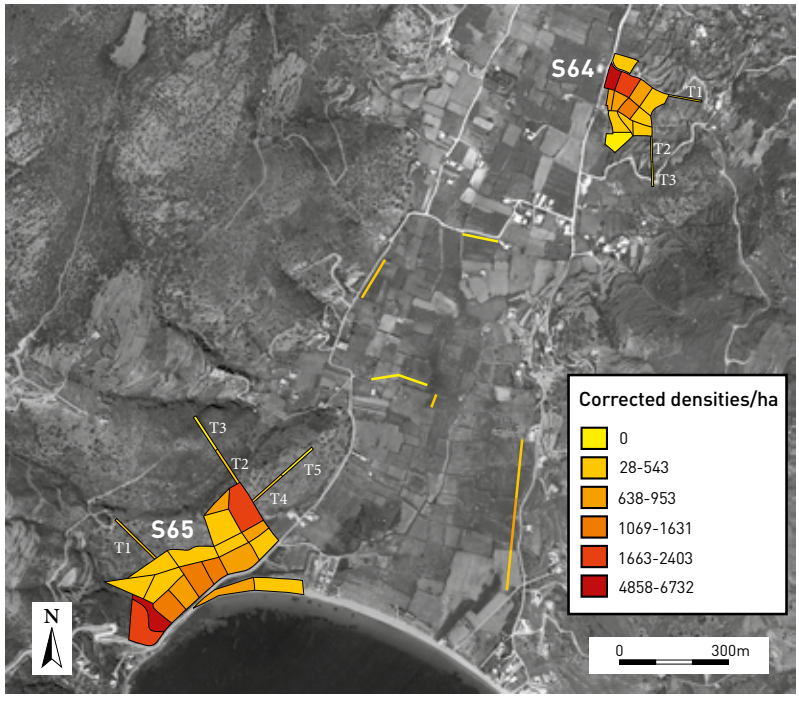


Fig. 6.5: Zone 3 (Valley of Kalikri)

Zone 2 is actually the Kambos lowland immediately north of S01, the principal continuous settlement of the island from antiquity to today (Fig. 6.4). S01 in ancient times was the location of the *Polis* and in the medieval period onwards the Chora of the island. Today the Kambos knows a hectic building activity as an extension of the Chora and its surroundings, but until the EMOD period it was the closest plain area to the main settlement of the island.

Aside from S01 located a bit to the south, five sites are known in the area of the Kambos; two of them cemeteries, part of the extensive Protogeometric and G-A cemetery of Magazia-Kambos (S12, S13). Ten transects have been laid out in so far as was possible in all directions of Kambos, of a similar size to that of Zone 1. Their densities range from 0 to 781 sherds/ha, the latter clearly entering into the impact of the probably residential HEL-LR S14. The average value is 147 sherds/ha, slightly higher than the average around the sites (115 sherds/ha), a justifiable difference considering that Zone 2 should present the most intense off-site (and partially on-site) activity of the island.

Zone 3 is on the most fertile land on Skyros, the valley of Kalikri (Fig. 6.5)**.** The nine transects of 2 metres wide were implemented in the south part of the valley close to Kalamitsa bay, among three sites intensively surveyed, namely S64, S65 and farther south-east (not shown in the figure) S67. Similarly, the densities range from 0 to 638 sherds/ha, with on average 226 sherds/ha in this zone. This, at first sight strange, difference between the aforementioned value and the average of 115 sherds/ha around the sites, can be partially explained by better examining Fig. 6.5**.** There we notice that the majority of the transects around the sites (contributing apparently to the background averages around them) are located in rocky sloping areas, where human activity is rightly expected to be less intense than the intensively cultivated area of the plain.

Thus we see in Zone 4, located in the rocky sloping area between the intensively surveyed sites

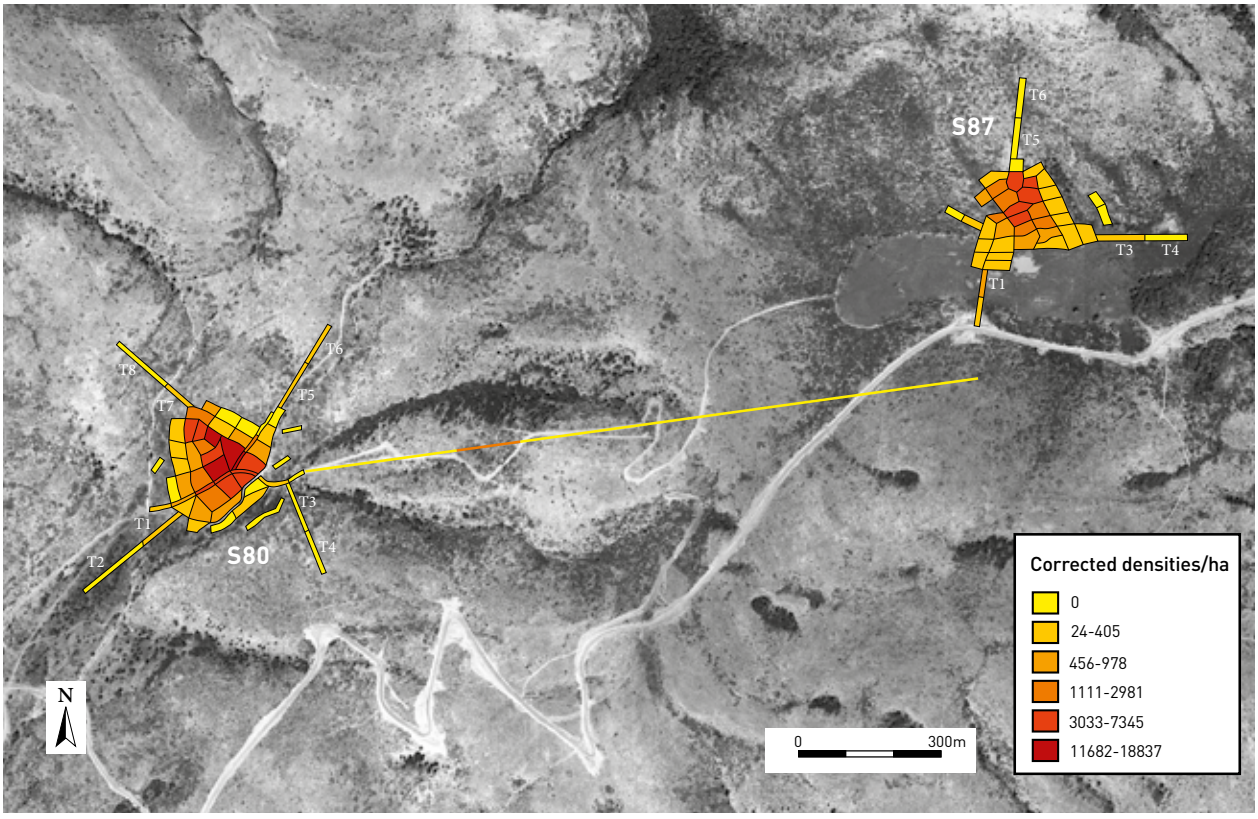


Fig. 6.6: Zone 4 (Mountainous area between S80-S87)

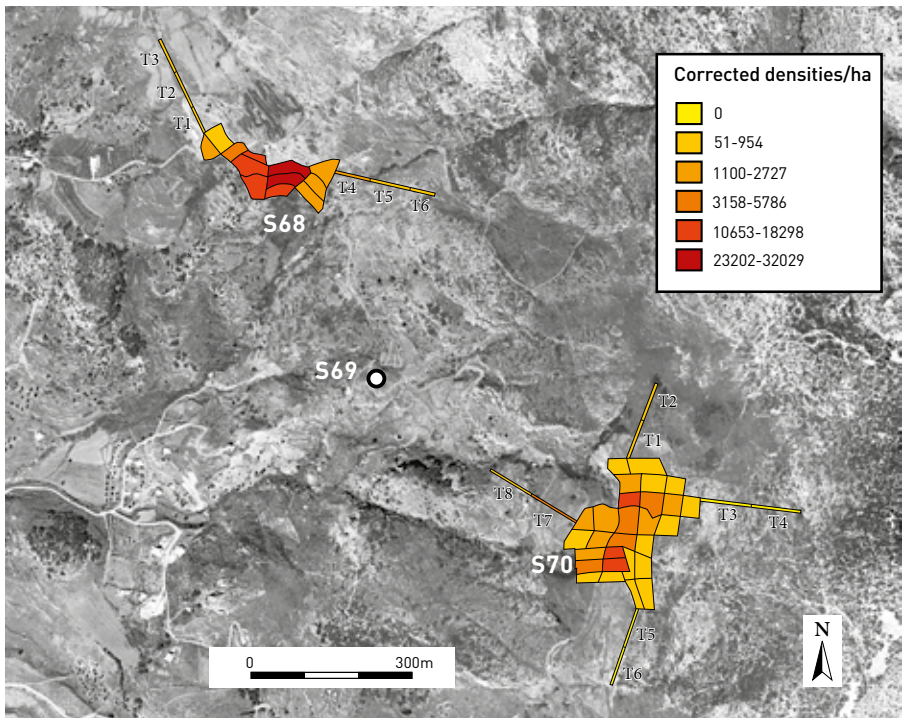


Fig. 6.7: Zone 5 (Mountainous area between S68-S70)

S80 and S87, that the background densities outside the impact of the sites on the landscape are almost 0 (Fig. 6.6). An exception to this blank area is the value of 1111 sherds/ha identified approximately in the middle of the two sites. Actually this value, suspiciously high, could imply the existence of a site. However, the exclusively tile fragments from this area of unusual density suggests the off-site character of the finds.

However, minimal density values are not always the case for the mountainous areas of the island, especially when there are sites in close proximity. Taking for example a fifth zone, immediately above Kalamitsa bay, around S68, S69 and S70, (where no extra transects have been conducted because of the vicinity of the sites among them and thus the transects implemented around the sites were sufficient), we notice a quite different picture (Fig. 6.7)**.** We see for example that T1 and T2 of the intensively surveyed site S70 score around 100 sherds/ha, as much as the adjacent T6 of S68. Considering the small distance between the two transects, it is reasonable to assume a background value covering the whole area between the sites to be around the 100 sherds/ha. Furthermore, T8 of S70 presents an even higher density of *c.* 300 sherds/ha, apparently the result of its location on the communication axis of S70 with S69.

Putting together the data from the background areas around the sites and those from the four sample-zones analysed above, we can estimate an average of the background densities of the island at around 160 sherds/ha.

6.4 SAMPLE FRACTION

The Skyros survey was focused on the LR and Post-Roman periods, consequently the samples collected to be examined, were ceramics dated only to those periods. My intention was to conduct a 'total' collection of the diagnostic LR/Post-Roman sherds, while taking notes as detailed as possible about the rest, leaving them in the field. As mentioned above, this took place simultaneously during the first field walk for the sake of time and consistency. No pottery was collected during the second, gridded counting of the core Units and no pottery collection took place during the transects around the sites and the four off-site areas mentioned above.

However, with the argument of 'total collection' it is apparent that the meaning of 'sampling' is cancelled, and could be even stressed that, if this 'total collection' had succeeded, it could have resulted in a serious disturbance of the archaeological record.

However, 'total' collection as we shall see is a relative matter, especially in the case of Skyros, and ultimately not successful at all.

First of all, as Tartaron *et al*. have argued, total collection in reality can never been achieved, as "geomorphological and human factors always place limits on the fullness of the archaeological record detected at a single moment in time" (2006, 478, n.67). Furthermore, as analysed above, after the exercise of the second gridded counting of the core Units of the sites, the ceramics counted during the first fieldwalking were on average 4.4 times less than the second intensive count, meaning that many sherds during the first fieldwalking had been missed. Thus, considering that sample collection took place during the first, more extensive counting, it is apparent that the most of the LR-plus sherds are still in the field, simply because they were not seen.

Given this consideration, regarding the pottery collection, to be more precise, we should say that what took place was not 'total collection of the LR-plus pottery', but 'total collection of the LR-plus pottery seen'. Moreover, considering that, of the counted ceramics of the first fieldwalking, only those were collected that could be definitely dated to the LR/Post-Roman, while leaving the dubious pieces on the field, the percentage of this LR/Post-Roman pottery collection is even more diminished. In several cases levels were so low that interpreting such pottery scatters as on or off-site distributions was very difficult.

However, this phenomenon is a common problem in archaeological survey and it is usually solved with a second 'targeting sampling' (Bintliff 2000a, 4; Bintliff *et al.* 2007, 18). This was the solution that I applied on Skyros as well: with the pottery densities maps in hand, I revisited the sites trying to enhance the weak pottery densities of specific periods, through a second targeting sampling, however, not always with successful results. As the team of the Boeotia survey argue, "even such multiple sampling will not always resolve the question of relative numbers of sherds of a given period, in cases where a low representation comes perilously close to the level of possible off-site scatter" (Bintliff *et al.* 2007, 19). Having these con-

Site	Raw count	Estimated density after the correction through the second gridded counting (not v-c)	No of sherds collected	% of the sherds collected to the raw count	% of the sherds collected to the estimated density (not v-c)
S22. Kareflou	262	1912	41	15.6	2.1
S23. Chora	194	426	35	18	8.2
S24. Polichri	857	3000	41	4.7	1.36
S33. Markesi	3282	17.723	341	10.3	1.9
S36. Dianemos	1196	2631	101	8.4	3.8
S44. Aliko	646	1938	33	5.1	1.7
S48. Ayios Fokas	523	889	42	8	4.7
S55. Lino	2620	7860	212	8	2.6
S64. Ayia Anna	704	1267	41	5.8	3.2
S65. Kalamitsa	1408	4646	132	9.3	2.8
S67. Sklouka	2542	9405	151	5.9	1.6
S68. Soteras	1005	13.567	114	11.3	0.8
S70. Dhounia	1240	6200	143	11.5	2.3
S75. Kolimbada	139	834	3	2.1	0.35
S80. Mesadi	1391	7553	160	11.5	2.1
S87. Ari	1281	2176	41	3.2	1.8
Total	**19.290**	**82.027**	**1631**	**8.5**	**2.0**

Table 6.6: Comparative data about the pottery counted and pottery collected (sample fraction) in the 16 intensively surveyed sites.

siderations in mind, I believe it is proper that the reading of the find maps for each component must always be conceived as an underestimated representation of the 'real' material lying on the ground and not as absolute numbers. Moreover, it must always be remembered that the find maps of each component, are the result of a two-dimensional sampling of the surface site and thus it is in itself an underestimation of the buried cultural deposits (Bevan & Conolly 2013, 47).

Table 6.6 gives comparative data between the pottery counted and the sample fraction statistics for the 16 intensively surveyed sites. In total, 19,290 sherds were counted during the first extensive field-walking on all the sites, the density of which increased to *c.* 82,027 sherds after the extrapolation of the raw count with the multiplier 4.4 (the average of the difference between the first and second count in the core Units of the sites/not v-c). 1631 sherds were collected, all of them of LR/Post-Roman date. This number corresponds to 8.5% of the raw count of all the 16 sites and to 2.0% of the estimated pottery density after the correction of the gridded counting.

In addition to these 1631 sherds, 335 sherds were collected through the grab samples of the extensive survey, similarly of LR/Post-Roman date. No counting has taken place there for presenting comparative data. Thus the total of the ceramics collected from the surface of Skyros reaches the number of 1966 sherds.

The distribution of these 1966 LR/Post-Roman sherds into the various subdivisions is shown in Table 6.7. A first remark that can be made is the abundance of the LR sherds which occupy almost half of the finds. This is at first sight the result of a relevant explosion of the LR period occurring in the Aegean in general, however, most certainly to do with the easy recognition of the combed amphora body sherds in the field (Pettegrew 2007).

A severe decrease of finds occurred, as expected, in the Early Byzantine period, with a slight recovery during the M-LBYZ, followed by an even greater increase during the OTT period, especially towards the late phase.

M-LR	99
LR	1090
LR-EBYZ	7
EBYZ	12
EBYZ-LBYZ	1
MBYZ	44
M-LBYZ	168
LBYZ	21
LBYZ-EOTT	3
LBYZ-OTT	13
EOTT	9
E-LOTT	67
LOTT	50
OTT-EMOD	185
EMOD	179
LR/POST-ROMAN	5
POST-ROMAN	13

Table 6.7: Number of sherds per period and cross period. Totally, 1966 sherds were collected by the survey.

Chapter 7
Methods for the Extensive survey

Except for the 16 intensively surveyed sites, the rest of the island was surveyed extensively. The extensive survey revealed 69 sites (settlements, quarries, graves and isolated structures). In 64 sites the size was recognisable, mainly less than 1.0 ha (Fig. 7.1).

Only 9 sites are larger than 1.0 ha, among them Chora (S01), the abandoned Early Modern village of Katounes (S21) and three Roman quarries. Six are between 0.5 – 1.0 ha (two of them Roman quarries), while 39 reach a maximum of 0.5 ha. The small size of the majority of the extensively surveyed sites helped in combining the intensive survey data and ultimately drawing the per period settlement maps of the island. Thus, the small maximal site size, at say 0.4-0.5 ha, enabled me to include the given site in the settlement distribution map of a given period, even in those cases with more than one chronological component. It is apparent that in the case of a large multiple-period site, this would be impossible without an intensive examination. Actually, size was one of the criteria for the selection of a settlement site to be among the 16 intensively surveyed. Small settlement sites, even with more than one component, were left for extensive examination only, so as no problems could be created for the per period site-patterns.

The fieldwork process was very simple: again the site location accuracy was achieved through the GYS maps and the aerial photographs of Ethniko Ktimatologio (see Chapter 6). In aceramic sites, the structure(s) were recorded in detail while in ceramic sites after the identification of their centre, a cross walking was implemented for the estimation of their approximate size. For pre-Late Roman components, relevant notes were taken regarding the density (low, medium, high) of the respective finds and of their quality and function (i.e. fine black slip, amphorae, etc). For every LR-plus component grab samples were collected, consisting of at least half a dozen finds of different, where possible, functional categories. Notes regarding the geomorphological setting concluded the examination of the site.

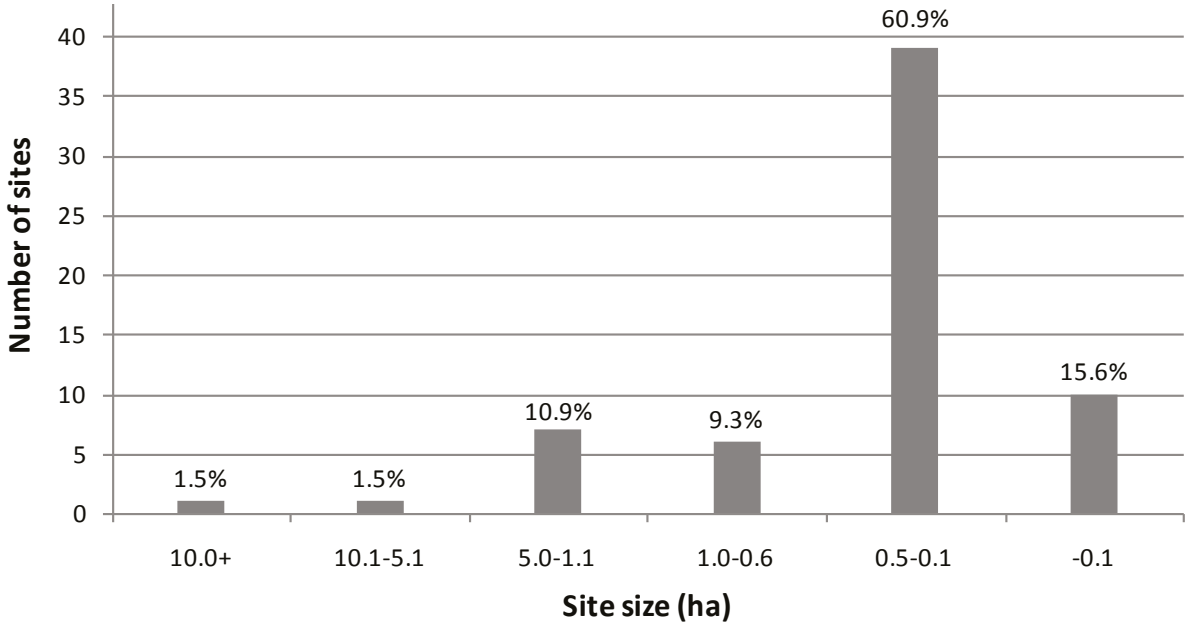


Fig. 7.1: The distribution of the 64 extensively surveyed sites of Skyros, according to their size per ha.

PART 3

The Archaeological Survey: The Sites

This part presents the results of research on the more thoroughly investigated sites of the island. In Chapter 8, there is a full presentation of the sixteen intensively surveyed settlement sites, and Chapter 9 attempts a long-term analysis of the most prominent among the extensively surveyed sites of the island, namely Chora. The rest of the extensively surveyed sites in the countryside (together with the summaries of the sixteen intensively surveyed), are presented in Appendix A, which provides an up-to-date catalogue of the archaeological sites of the island.

The inclusion of the sixteen intensively surveyed sites of the countryside and of Chora in the core-text of this study was considered essential for several reasons: firstly, the intensive survey on the sixteen rural sites was one of the main subjects of this primarily survey-based archaeological research. The detailed presentation of the sixteen sites presented below is solely a result of this study, contributing significantly to Skyrian archaeology, and hopefully to survey archaeology too. It was considered essential to present the results of the fieldwork undertaken in the context of the survey research. Secondly, the long-term spatial analysis of the urban centre of the island attempted in Chapter 9, in combination with the analysis of the sixteen intensively surveyed rural sites, offers to the reader an insight into the relation between urban centre and countryside, useful for the 'zoom-out' interpretational synthesis for the island as a whole in Part 4. Concerning Chora, the presentation of the medieval and post-medieval architectural remains of the castle in Chapter 9 (attempted here for the first time), is an essential element in a Post-Roman-based research like the present.

Chapter 8
Analysis of the Intensively Surveyed Sites

This chapter presents in detail the sixteen intensively surveyed sites. These, for the sake of consistency are also included into the Gazetteer of the 96 archaeological sites of the island listed in Appendix A. However, only a summary of the intensive survey is presented in Appendix A. Some details concerning the architectural structures or the history of previous archaeological research on some of the sites are provided in Appendix A, in order to free up the following analysis, which is focused on the artefact trends.

The sixteen sites intensively surveyed presented here are the following:

S22 (Kareflou)
S23 (Chora)
S24 (Polichri)
S33 (Markesi)
S38 (Dianemos)
S44 (Aliko)
S48 (Ayios Fokas)
S55 (Lino)
S64 (Ayia Anna)
S65 (Kalamitsa)
S67 (Sklouka)
S68 (Soteras)
S70 (Dhounia)
S75 (Kolimbada)
S80 (Mesadi)
S87 (Ari)

For the methodology behind the analysis presented below the reader is referred to Chapter 6. The aforementioned chapter is a prerequisite for the introduction in this part.

The analysis of each site is organised into seven sections accompanied with illustrations.

Location details, with a view of the site and a topographical map. Each map is provided with a key indicating the site location on the island.

The artefact trends and the structure of the site, indicating the artefact densities in (v)isibility (c)orrected numbers per ha, estimating the values representing the site core, halo and off-site areas and accordingly, defining on the map the core and when applicable the site halo. This section presents also the extent and shape of the site core, and if possible its halo, on a contoured map. Finally there is also provided, if possible, a map with the tile distributions; (Note: not all the 16 sites are equipped with this map type, as the registration of the tiles separately from the rest of the sherds has not been implemented from the beginning of the survey).

Sample fraction statistics, comparing the pottery counted (raw) with the pottery collected (the latter exclusively of LR – Post Roman date). An associated map shows the distribution of the collected pottery on the surveyed area.

Finds statistics, indicating the chronological distribution of the sum of the raw finds, of the collected and of those registered only (left on the field). Here is also provided in an associated map the distribution of the undiagnostic finds on the surveyed area. (Note: The full catalogue of the collected finds of each site appears in Appendix B).

Display of periods, supported with a sequence of maps of the finds by period, analysing as in Section B, the estimated site core and if possible the site halo, per period this time.

Functional analysis of the finds with relevant tables regarding the LR – Post Roman. The functional analysis model followed here is that of Whitelaw regarding the Keos project, and then followed by Bintliff *et al.* on the Boeotia survey, according to which the ceramics are categorised in three groups: table wares, processing and storage/transport vessels (Bintliff *et al.* 2007, 39). Concerning the LR finds especially, the associated table is presented in two versions: one for all sherds, and the other excluding the body sherds, presenting thus the sum total of the rims, handles and bases only. This exercise was initially ap-

plied by Pettegrew (2007), in his suggestion that the explosion of the LR phase of the Aegean sites (in contrast to the ER or MR periods), is partially result of the easy identification of the LR amphorae in the field due to their characteristic combing. In other words, that the prevalence of the LR phase against the ER or MR periods, is the result of the better diagnosticity of the LR finds, against the undiagnostic ER – MR sherds. Having in mind that a body fragment of a LR amphora would be easily recognised on the field and thus picked up, but not the same as an undecorated MR amphora, Pettegrew excludes from the relevant percentages of the surveys the body sherds, calibrating only the rims, handles and bases (Pettegrew 2007, 771, table 11). The results show indeed, a less explosive LR period.

Although Pettegrew's problematic was directed at causes of under-representation of the earlier Roman periods in contrast to the over-representation of the LR, we can use his experiment for explaining the reasons for the domination of the transport/storage LR vessels in comparison to the rest. It has been argued that trade during the LR period reached spectacularly high levels (Abadie-Reynal 1989), a phenomenon which has consequently led to a tremendous amphora production, the debris of which dominates in every modern Aegean archaeological survey. Although Abadie-Reynal's theory is undoubtedly correct, still, the amount of transport/storage fragments identified in the LR settlement sites of Skyros is impressive. By excluding from the calibration the body sherds and taking into account the rims, bases and handles only, we notice a slight decrease of the percentage of the transport/storage vessels, and thus a more regular distribution of the finds among the three functional categories.

Final interpretation presenting a summary of the size and character of the site on the basis of the aforementioned data.

SITE 22 (S22) – KAREFLOU

A. Location details (Fig. 8.1, Fig. 8.2)

Surveyed January 2011, June 2012: ground visibility 3 – 10; average 4.

The site is located on the north-east coast of the island, on Kareflou beach, at the end of a gulley beginning approximately 1 km south-west. The site lies on

Fig. 8.1: S22, the site seen from the south-east.

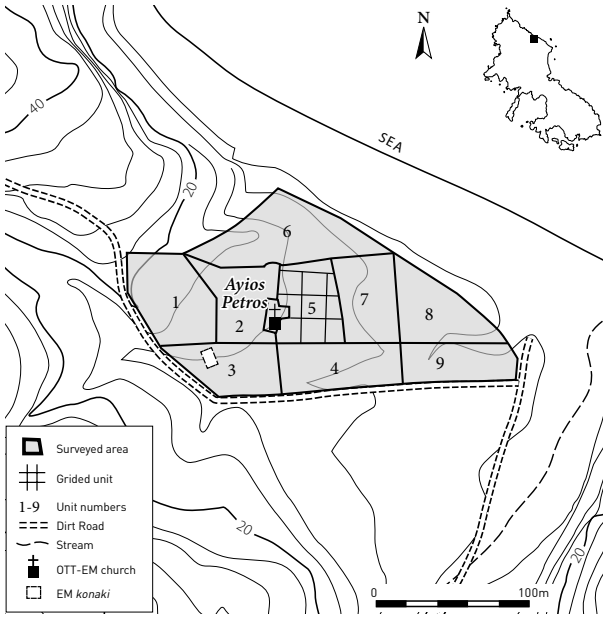


Fig. 8.2: S22, topographical map.

a plain area at the north side of the beach, around the OTT-EMOD small church of Ayios Petros. The land is sandy, significantly eroded by the strong north-east winds that blow over the area for the greater part of the year. The area today is uncultivated and covered with garrigue/maquis (*astoivi*), but it was cultivated until the EMOD period.

B. The artefact trends and the structure of the site

Densities in sherds/ha:
On-site: min. 3586, max. 8517, average 5502.
Halo: min. 310, max. 1733, average 717.
Background: min. 0, max. 161, average 39.

The total surveyed area (excluding the transects) covered 12,678m^2, in which 262 sherds were counted during the first field walking (raw count). This relatively low pottery recovery is mainly the result of the bad visibility due to the dense maquis, and consequently of the difficulty in maintaining regular spacing during the back-to-forth survey in the relatively large Units (1408 m^2 on average). It is apparent that this low pottery recovery is especially striking in the maps of the components, the data of which give the impression of very low activity. The low pottery recovery could create doubts about the function of the site, especially when dealing with periods with generally large amounts of pottery discards, such as the GR-R. However, the functional analysis of these few finds recovered and the existence of the halo phenomenon, corrects the biasing effect of the bad visibility and of the loss of site-space created by the dense maquis. This loss of space, and evidently of artefacts as well, was confirmed when after the identification of the core of the site, and the implementation of a second gridded intensive count in the core U5, the result was a number of sherds 7.3 times more than the first count at the same Unit. S22, together with S68, are the sites which have presented the biggest difference between the first and the second, more intensive count, among the 16 intensively surveyed sites of the island. Regarding S22, multiplying by a factor of 7.3, I extrapolated the initial density values for the rest of the Units resulting in a total number of 1912 sherds, and after the visibility correction I estimated the corrected densities per ha as shown in Fig. 8.3.

S22 is estimated as a site of maximal size *c.* 6000 m^2 (*c.* 0.6 ha). This size coincides with the boundaries

Fig. 8.3: S22, indication of the corrected densities per ha, showing estimated boundaries of the site at its maximum extent.

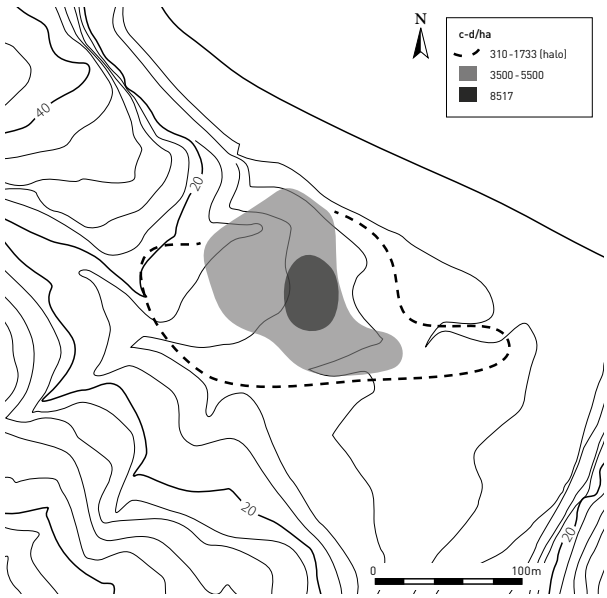


Fig. 8.4: S22, contour analysis of the site density, based on corrected densities per ha.

of the HEL-R and LR components (see section E). As Figs. 8.3 and 8.4 show, the site presents its core east from the church of Ayios Petros and particularly in U5 with density >8500 sherds/ha, while a second, less intense activity is recorded at its north, south and west side with density values around 3500-5500 sherds/ha.

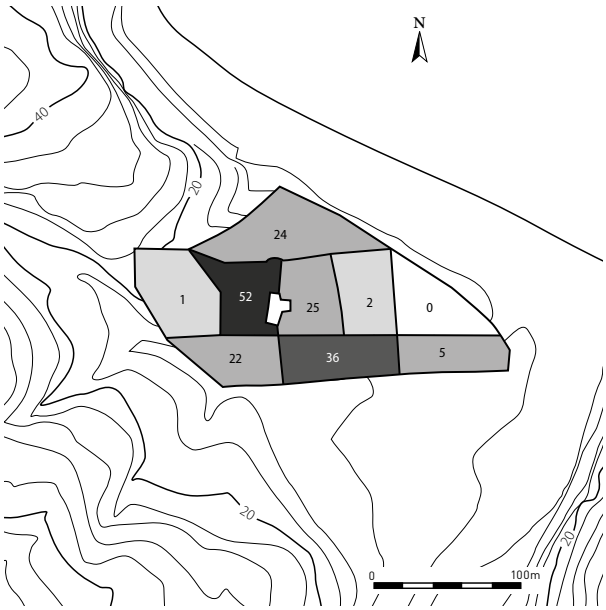


Fig. 8.5: S22, distribution of the counted tiles.

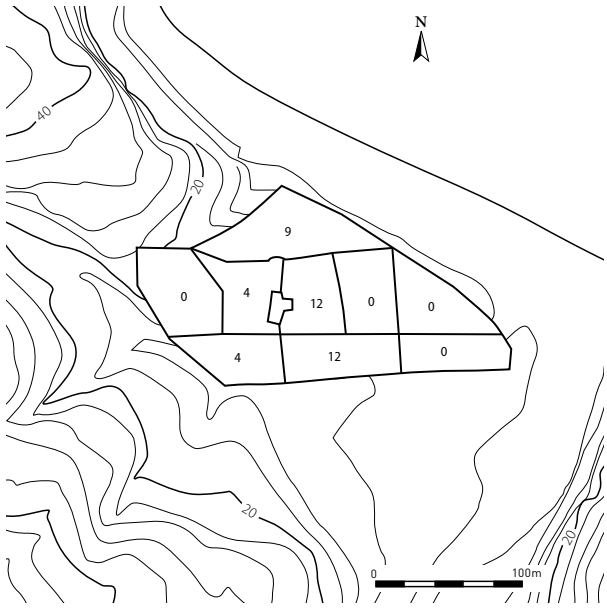


Fig. 8.6: S22, the number of sherds collected, by Unit.

Farther east and west the values fall abruptly, apparently an indication of the site boundaries. Moreover, after the implementation of the six transects in June of 2012, a clearer structure of the site has been achieved. East of U9 (377 sherds/ha) T1 and T2 have given 0 values; the same happened in T5 and 6, immediately north-west of U6. Only T3, on the plain area south of the core has given a value of 112 sherds/ha, very close to the 161 sherds/ha of U8. From these data I estimated that the medium values around the on-site boundaries (*c.* 300 - 2000), should correspond to the halo area of the site, while the values *c.* <300 should reflect the background density around the site.

Finally the tile distributions follow more or less the pattern of the pottery densities and confirm the aforementioned conclusions, with high concentrations within the on-site boundaries, evidently deriving from the buildings (Fig. 8.5).

C. Sample fraction statistics

Of the 262 sherds of the first raw count of the Units, 41 sherds were collected, thus 15.6%. This percentage diminishes to 2.1%, when comparing the 41 collected sherds with the 1912, which is the estimated pottery density of the Units (not v-c) lying on the field, after the extrapolation with the multiplier 7.3 (Fig. 8.6).

Period	Total	%
Undiagnostic	169	64.5
HEL-R	52	19.8
LR	34	12.9
EBYZ	1	2.2
MBYZ	1	
M-LBYZ	3	
LBYZ	2	
Total	**262**	**100**

Table 8.1: S22, statistics of the finds by period (Unit counts).

D. Finds statistics (for the catalogue of the collected finds see Appendix B):

The total of the finds is actually the sum of the registrations (Table 8.1). Thus we see that from the 1912 sherds (the estimated pottery density of the Units after the extrapolation with the multiplier 7.3/not v-c), I counted and registered 262 sherds, thus 13.7%. Not all the registered ceramics were collected, but only the LR-Post Roman sherds, leaving the rest on the field; thus from the 262 finds 41 were picked up, a

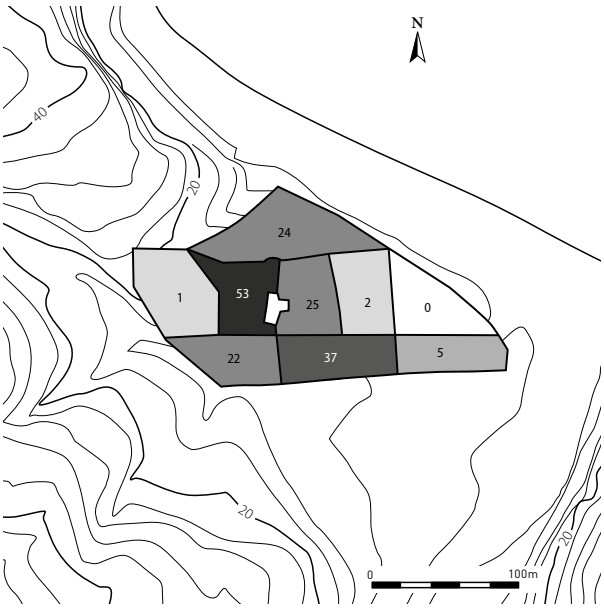


Fig. 8.7: S22, distribution of the undiagnostic pottery.

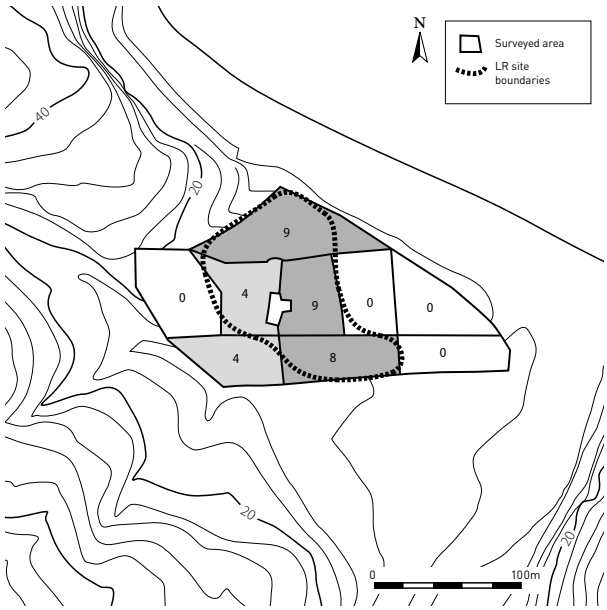


Fig. 8.9: S22, distribution of diagnostic pottery of the Late Roman period, showing estimated boundaries of the Late Roman site.

Fig. 8.8: S22, distribution of diagnostic pottery of the Hellenistic-Roman period, showing estimated boundaries of the Hellenistic-Roman site.

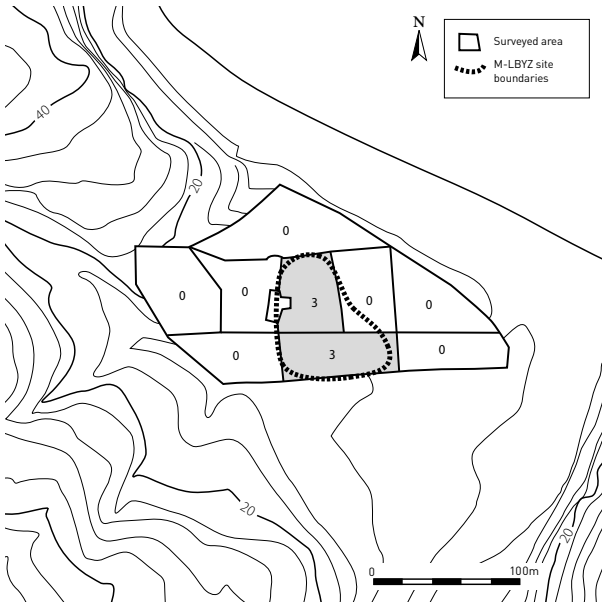


Fig. 8.10: S22, distribution of diagnostic pottery of the Mid–Late Byzantine period, showing estimated boundaries of the Mid-Late Byzantine site.

number which corresponds to 2.1% of the total estimated density of the Units (not v-c).

Like the rest of the intensively surveyed sites, the majority of finds were undiagnostic, including of course in this group the tiles as well. Around 20% of the finds were from the HEL-R period, representing the most ancient component identified. LR sherds represented *c.* 13%, while a very small percentage of MED ceramics supplement the finds statistics.

E. Display of periods (Figs. 8.8 - 8.10)

The HEL-R component is the earliest human occupation of the site identified. Despite my policy to treat the pre-LR finds within the larger category of the GR-R, avoiding the pitfall of a possible wrong dating, however, it could be safely argued that the relevant pottery found on S22, could hardly be dated earlier than the HEL period. On the contrary, although the dating of the pre-LR finds took place on the field without any further examination in the laboratory, it is believed that almost all of them belong chronologically in HEL and mainly in the R period. During this period the site reaches the size of *c.* 0.6 ha, being probably a medium-large farm (Fig. 8.8).

The first comment that could be made is the low number of finds, especially for a high-productive pottery period, as was the case in the HEL-R. This, as mentioned above, was due to the bad visibility of the area, affecting mainly the per period find distributions (see section B). The majority of the finds are concentrated at the north and south edges of the site, leaving the central Units with slightly more sherds than those characterised as off-site. In fact, it is very difficult to distinguish the boundary between the on and off-site zone in such slight differences. Thus, the 2 or 3 sherds in Units 7 and 3, hardly could be characterised as off-site material in comparison to the 5 or 8 sherds in Units 5 and 2, on the grounds of quantitative criteria only. This was done on the basis of the corrected densities, as a more reliable source for the structure of the site. Finally, it is evident that with such low numbers of finds no clue about a visible halo effect was possible to be deduced.

During the LR period the site maintains its original shape and size of *c.* 0.6 ha. The finds here are even lower than the HEL-R site, but however, maintain an equilibrated distribution. Here again I based my calculation on the corrected densities in order to exclude U3 from the on-site area, despite its equal number of finds with U2.

After the usual gap of the EBYZ period, represented by 1 sherd only belonging to a globular amphora, the site presents a small M-LBYZ component, shrunk in comparison to the ancient and LR ones. The M-LBYZ site has been identified through 6 sherds only (1 MBYZ, 3 M-LBYZ and 2 LBYZ), pottery recovery on the brink of its characterisation as on-site material. All sherds were combined in order to represent the broad M-LBYZ site. By splitting our sherds, we have been obliged to interpret the ceramics collected as probably off-site material. However, the concentration of the M-LBYZ finds in the core area of the older components, as well as their functional analysis (see section F), suggests that indeed, at the focus areas of the ancient and LR components, a small MED farm had developed, not greater than 0.25 ha in size.

After the LBYZ period, the only definitive archaeological evidence that we have is the church of Ayios Petros of OTT-EMOD date and an EMOD hut (*konaki*) apparently attesting to a non-residential site during the OTT period onwards.

	LR all sherds/ sum total:34		LR RHBa/ sum total:8	
Functional category	**Total**	**%**	**Total**	**%**
Transport/storage	28	82.3	3	37.5
Tablewares	3	8.8	3	37.5
Processing	3	8.8	2	25
Total	**34**	**100**	**8**	**100**

Table 8.2: S22, functional analysis of the LR finds, for (i) all sherds and (ii) rims, handles and bases only.

F. Functional analysis

Regarding the functional analysis of the HEL-R finds we are obliged to rely on the notes kept during the field work and on the registration forms only, as no collection of finds took place. However, we can note the rarity of fine wares and the prevalence of plain table wares and transport/storage vessels, namely amphorae. The assemblage fits well with the rural character of a mid-large HEL-R farm, which S22 probably was during this period.

As for the LR component, the majority of the finds, not surprisingly, were amphorae body sherds, resulting in a complete dominance of the transport/storage functional category in comparison to the other two (Table 8.2). By implementing the experiment of the exclusion of the bodies from the calibration, on the one hand the number of the LR finds decreases dramatically, reaching only 8 sherds, but on the other, the distribution of the finds among the three functional categories is much more equilibrated. This equilibrium clearly reflects the residential character of the settlement.

Despite the low pottery recovery of the M-LBYZ component (6 finds only), their equal distribution among the three functional categories, in combination with their tight concentration on the field, attests that this low number of finds represents a habitation site (Table 8.3).

Functional category	Total	%
Transport/storage	2	33.3
Tablewares	2	33.3
Processing	2	33.3
Total	**6**	**100**

Table 8.3: S22, functional analysis of the Mid – Late BYZ finds.

G. Final interpretation

S22 was a substantial rural site, starting its existence probably during the HEL-R period. The site reaches its maximal size in the HEL-R and LR periods (nearly 0.6 ha), the size of a medium farm. During the LR period, an Early Christian basilica should exist, taking into account the *spolia* incorporated into the masonry of the OTT-EMOD church of Ayios Petros (see Appendix A, S22). The existence of the basilica in combination with the medium sized site, could suggest that the site itself during this period could be a rural basilica only, even without a permanent farm-settlement. This last is enhanced by the lack of the halo effect, a common characteristic of the residential sites. However, this remains only a hypothesis, given that the bad visibility and consequently the pottery recovery did not permit me to analyse a potential halo effect, even for the HEL-R site.

There is no evidence about the continuation of the site as an occupation during the EBYZ period, and only in the M-LBYZ period can a small farm be identified of no more than 0.25 ha, located in the focus area of the ancient and LR site. During the OTT period onwards, the site probably stops to exist as a permanently inhabited place and is used only seasonally for the cultivation of the land and the periodical mass at the OTT-EMOD church of Ayios Petros.

SITE 23 (S23) – CHORA

*A. Location details (*Fig. 8.11*,* Fig. 8.12*)*

Surveyed February 2011, August 2012: ground visibility 3 – 5; average 3.5

The site is located on the north-east coast of the island, in an uninhabited area, completely exposed to the strong north-east winds of the Aegean Sea. The site lies on a sloping, arid and scrubby land, the edge of which falls abruptly into the sea, the result of submersion from which the north-east coast of the island in general suffers. Indeed, parts of walls belonging to the buildings of the site, stand out from the edge of the cliff. Despite the aridity of the area today, the land was intensively cultivated until the EMOD period, as attested by the numerous terraces, occurring in the whole area.

The site is only reachable by walking 20 minutes through the scrubland, deviating from a very bad dirt road starting from Kareflou bay.

Fig. 8.11: S23, the site seen from the south-east.

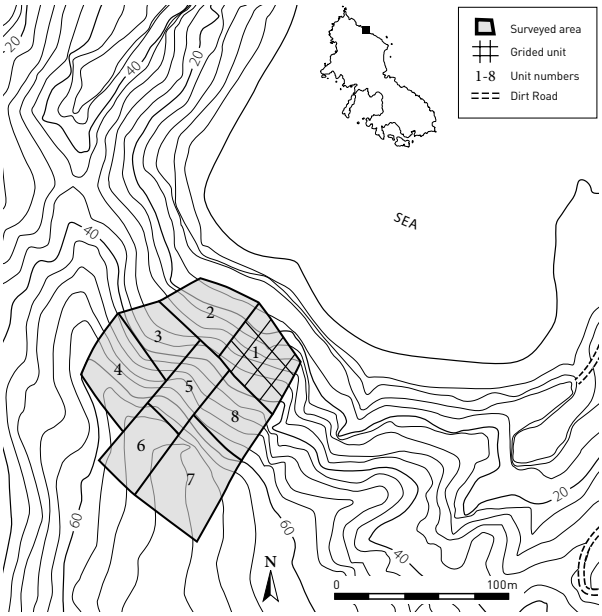


Fig. 8.12: S23, topographical map.

B. The artefact trends and the structure of the site

Densities in sherds/ha:
On-site: min. 3633, max. 3923, average 3750.
Halo: min. 190, max. 279, average 234.
Background: min. 0, max. 120, average 31.

The total surveyed area (excluding the transects) covered 10,820m^2, in which 194 sherds were counted during the first field walking (raw count). After the second intensive count of gridded U1 the result was 2.2 times more sherds than the first count. Using the number 2.2 as multiplier, I extrapolated the initial density values for the rest of the Units resulting in a total number of 426 sherds, and after the visibility correction I estimated the corrected densities per ha as showed in Fig. 8.13.

As Figs. 8.13 and 8.14 clearly show, the survey has been able to investigate only part of the site, the rest of which has been collapsed into the sea. The preserved on-site part covers an area of c. 0.26 ha, and it is located at the north-east side of the surveyed area, at the edge of the cliff. Indeed, Units 1 and 2 present significantly higher densities than the rest, with values >3500 sheds/ha. Immediately south of this core the values range between 190 – 300, then fall to 120 sherds/ha in U7, continuing falling in the transects to <100. Despite the lack of data, comparing these numbers with the rest of the intensively surveyed sites of the island, it is assumed that apart from the clearly on-site value estimated in >3500 sherds/ha, the halo should correspond to the lower density 190-300 sherds/ha, while the value <120 should reflect the background densities around the site.

Regarding the on-site area, it is impossible to know surely whether the two Units identified represent a peripheral part, or the core of a partially lost site. However, apart from the pottery densities, the

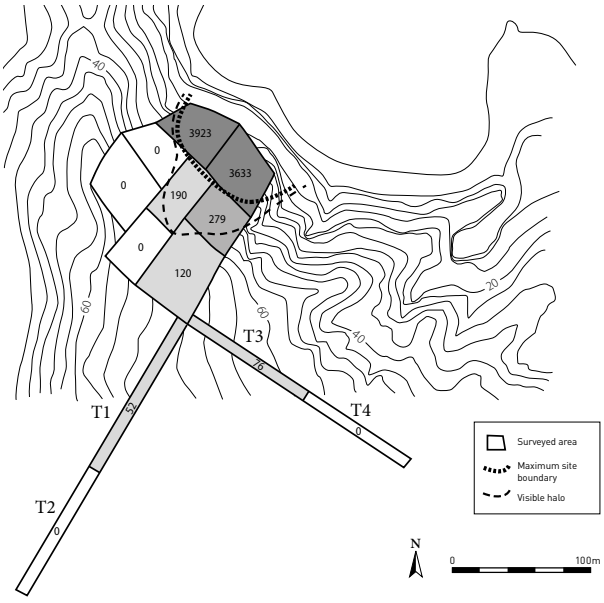


Fig. 8.13: S23, indication of the corrected densities per ha, showing estimated boundaries of the site at its maximum investigated extent.

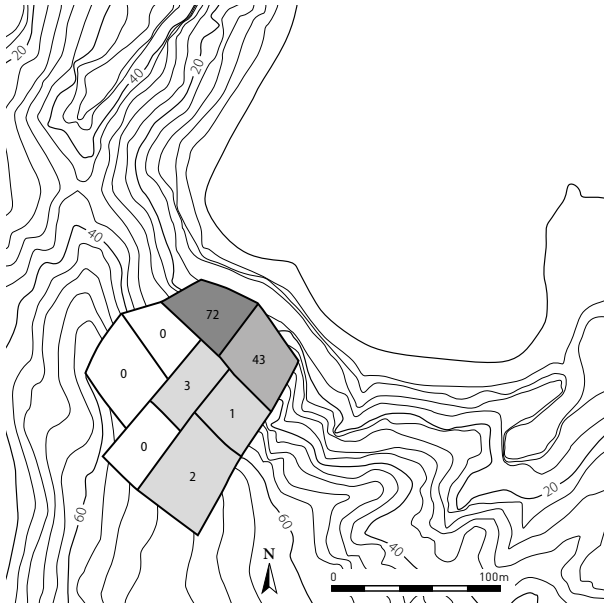


Fig. 8.15: S23, the distribution of the counted tiles.

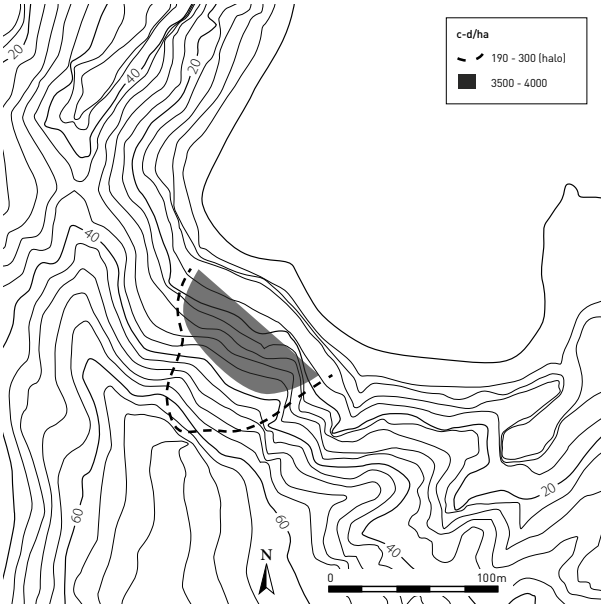


Fig. 8.14: S23, contour analysis of the site density, based on corrected densities per ha.

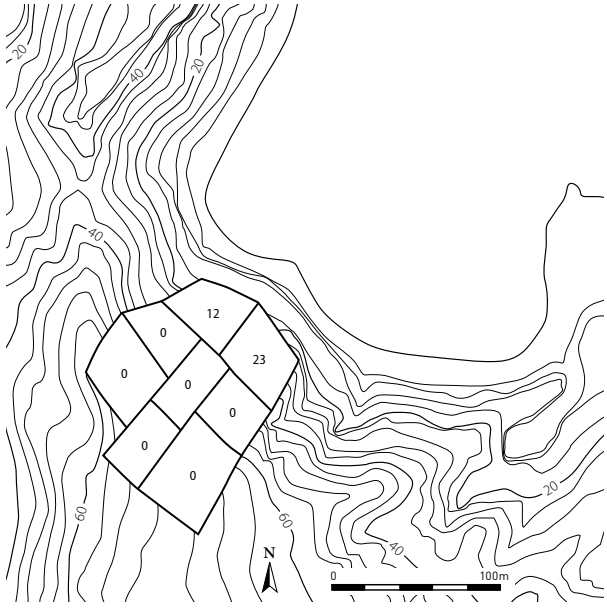


Fig. 8.16: S23, the number of sherds collected, by Unit.

high tile concentration (Fig. 8.15) and the existence of wall remains in Units 1 and 2, indicate the location of the building(s) of the site and consequently its probable core. If this hypothesis is correct, and bearing in mind that our site should be rural and consequently small, the lost part of it should be equal or slightly bigger than that preserved, and thus, with every probability its total size is not greater than 0.4 ha.

C. Sample fraction statistics

Of the 194 sherds of the first raw count of the Units, 35 sherds were collected, thus 18%. This percentage diminishes to 8.2%, when comparing the 35 collected sherds with the 426, which is the estimated pottery density of the Units (not v-c) lying on the field, after the extrapolation with the multiplier 2.2 (Fig. 8.16).

D. Finds statistics (for the catalogue of the collected finds see Appendix B):

The total of finds is actually the sum of the registrations (Table 8.4). Thus we see that from the 426 sherds (the estimated pottery density of the Units after the extrapolation with the multiplier 2.2/not v-c), I counted and registered 194 sherds (45.5%). Recall that not all the registered ceramics have been collected, but only the LR-Post Roman sherds, leaving the rest on the field; thus from the 194 finds 35 were picked up, a number which corresponds to 8.2% of the total estimated density of the Units (not v-c).

The majority of the finds were undiagnostic (Fig. 8.17). Apart from this group, the largest percentage of the finds belongs to the LR period. It is worth noting that from the LR sherds datable more accurately, the majority belong chronologically from the 6th c. to the mid of the 7th c., attesting a late LR activity of the site. Apart from the dominance of the LR finds, a smaller number of GR-R sherds has been also registered, the majority of them R.

Period	Total	%
Undiagnostic	132	68
Greco-Roman	27	13.9
M-LR	1	17
LR	32	
EMOD	2	1
Total	**194**	**100**

Table 8.4: S23, statistics of the finds by period (Unit counts).

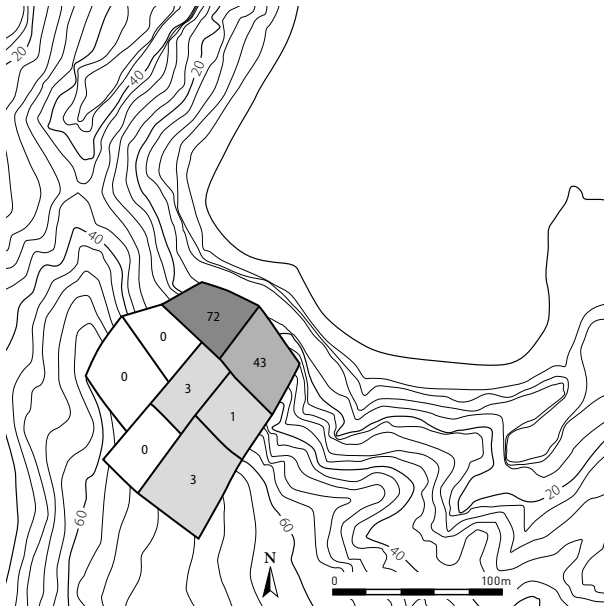


Fig. 8.17: S23, distribution of the undiagnostic pottery.

	LR all sherds/ sum total: 33		LR RHBa/ sum total: 17	
Functional category	**Total**	**%**	**Total**	**%**
Transport/storage	17	51.5	2	11.7
Tablewares	11	33.3	10	58.8
Processing	4	12.1	4	23.5
Other	1	3	1	5.8
Total	**33**	**100**	**17**	**100**

Table 8.5: S23, functional analysis of the Late Roman sherds (the 1 M-LR sherd included), for (i) all sherds and (ii) rims, handles and bases only.

E. Display of periods (Figs. 8.18-19)

S23 has had a relatively brief life. During the ER period probably a first settlement is created, which is even more developed during the LR period, active at least until the mid of the 7th c. The relatively clearly visible thriving activity of the site during the 6th and 7th c., in combination with several undiagnostic sherds, similar to the LR ceramics, put forward hints about possible continuation of the site into the 8th c.

F. Functional analysis

The functional analysis of the finds confirms the residential character of S23. This is clear especially for the LR period, for which we have detailed information. As Table 8.5 shows, there is a regular distribution of the finds among the functional categories, with only a slight prevalence of transport/storage vessels in comparison to the table wares, which is significantly high in S23. Actually, by excluding the bodysherds from our calibration, the table wares are dominant. Moreover, the 4 processing vessels and the one lamp supplement ideally the figure of LR domestic activity.

G. Final interpretation

S23 is a substantial rural site, nowadays only a fraction of its original size because of its submersion into the sea. The preserved on-site part covers an area of c. 0.26 ha, while the total site size is roughly estimated to be not greater than 0.4 ha. The site's origins lie probably in the ER period and it noticeably thrived during the LR period.

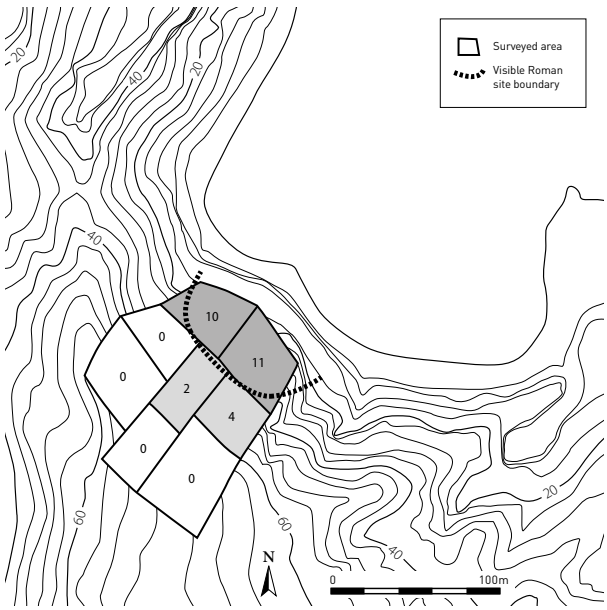


Fig. 8.18: S23, distribution of diagnostic pottery of the Greco-Roman period, showing estimated boundaries of the identifiable Greco-Roman site.

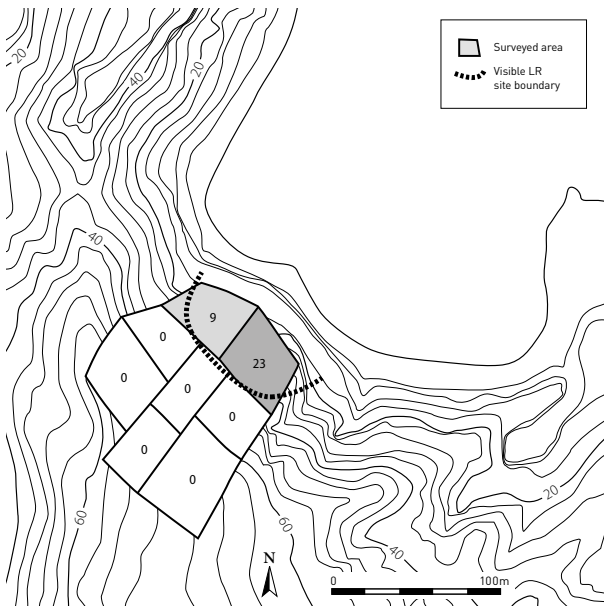


Fig. 8.19: S23, distribution of the diagnostic pottery of the Late Roman period, showing estimated boundaries of the identifiable LR site.

SITE 24 (S24) – POLICHRI

A. Location details (Fig. 8.20, Fig. 8.21)

Surveyed February 2011, August 2012: ground visibility 4 – 10; average 8

The site is located on the north-east coast of Skyros, on a promontory which encloses from the south-east side the bay of Palamari, having a visible connection with the homonym prehistoric S27, around 1 km away. The site lies on top of the promontory, above the small beach of Polichri, around a collapsed architectural structure. The area is significantly eroded and arid, buffeted by the strong north-east winds of the Aegean, and partially covered with scrub and cedar trees. The phenomenon of high land erosion and submersion at the north-east coast of the island in general could have caused a partial submersion of the site into the sea, as was attested at the adjacent sites S23 and S27. The survey did not encompass the western, steep and severely eroded slopes towards the beach of Polichri, because of the dense and almost impenetrable cedar thicket.

Fig. 8.20: S24, the site seen from the south.

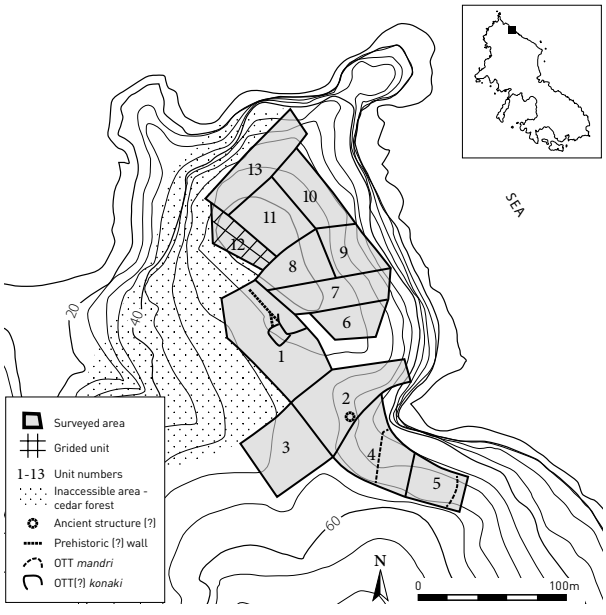


Fig. 8.21: S24, topographical map.

B. The artefact trends and the structure of the site

On-site: min. 1446, max. 9068, average 3364.
Halo: min. 852, max. 852, average 852.
Background: min. 0, max. 53, average 14.

The total surveyed area (excluding the transects) covered 20,000m^2, in which 857 sherds were counted during the first field walking (raw count). The sec-

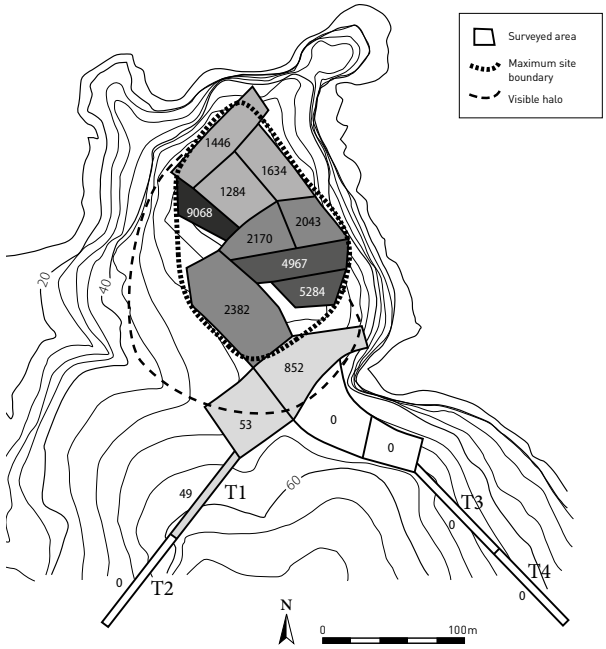


Fig. 8.22: S24, indication of the corrected densities per ha, showing estimated boundaries of the site at its maximum (visible) extent, and of the visible halo areas.

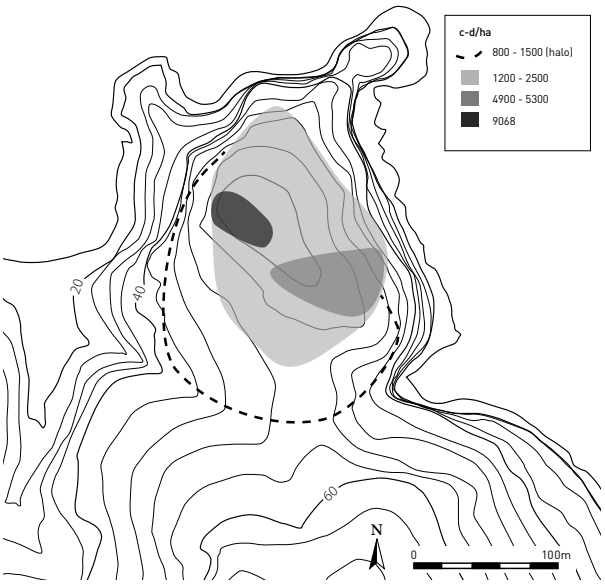


Fig. 8.23: S24, contour analysis of the site density, based on corrected densities per ha.

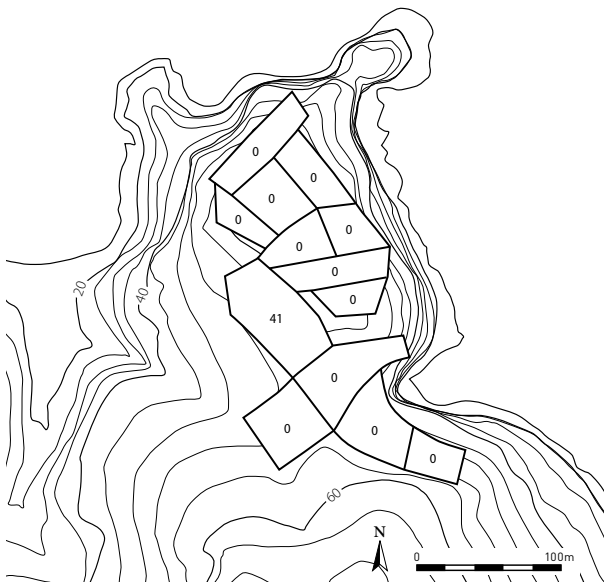


Fig. 8.24: S24, the number of sherds collected, by Unit.

ond intensive count of the gridded U12 resulted in 3.5 times more sherds than the first count. Using the number 3.5 as the multiplier, I extrapolated the initial density values for the rest of the Units resulting in a total number of 3000 sherds. After the visibility correction the estimated corrected densities per ha are shown in Fig. 8.22.

S24 is a site of 13,000 m^2 (*c.* 1.3 ha), a size which probably corresponds to the PREH site, that is by far its largest component. As Figs. 8.22 and 8.23 show, the core of the site is identified at the top of the hill in U12. The fact that the core is located at the edge of the surveyed area, suggests its possible continuation westwards, in an area that today is quite eroded. A secondary core is identified at its eastern edge (U6&7) with density values >5000. Between these two cores the values are >2000, but northwards drop slightly to >1000. This is the estimated on-site area, at least visible today. Southwards, U2 gives the median value of 852 sherds/ha, between the aforementioned on-site values and the apparently background densities identified in the south surroundings, which fall significantly to <100. The median value of the 852 sherds/ha is interpreted as the visible halo of the site, which possibly could enclose the site towards the south-west, as indicated in Figs. 8.22 and 8.23.

C. Sample fraction statistics

Of the 857 sherds of the first raw count of the Units, 41 sherds were collected, thus 4.7%. This percentage diminishes to 1.3%, when comparing the 41 collected sherds with the 3000, which is the estimated pottery density of the Units (not v-c) lying on the field, after the extrapolation with the multiplier 3.5 (Fig. 8.24).

D. Finds statistics (for the catalogue of the collected finds see Appendix B):

The total of the finds is actually the sum of the registered observations (Table 8.6). Thus we see that from the 3000 sherds (the estimated pottery density of the Units after the extrapolation with the multiplier 3.5/not v-c), 857 sherds were counted and registered (28.5%). Not all the registered ceramics have been collected, only the Post-Roman sherds, leaving the rest on the field; thus from the 3000 finds 41 were picked up, which corresponds to 1.3% of the total estimated density of the Units (not v-c).

Approximately 95% of the sherds counted on the field were *strictu sensu* undiagnostic (Table 8.6, Fig. 8.25). However, it is believed that the majority of all these ceramics should belong chronologically in the

Prehistoric period. Parlama cites ceramic evidence for all the three Bronze Age periods on the locality (Parlama 1984, 50-1). The rest of the finds, located in U1 only, are chronologically several millennia distant, belonging to the LBYZ, OTT and EMOD period. Between these two chronological phases, the Prehistoric and the Post-Medieval, no other find has been recovered, although Parlama had noticed a few possible CL–HEL sherds, which she associates with a rounded structure dated by her in the same period (see Fig. 8.21 and Appendix A, S24).

E. Display of periods (Figs. 8.25 - 29)

Polichri is mainly a prehistoric site. If the aforementioned hypothesis that the majority of the *strictu sensu* undiagnostic finds are prehistoric is true, then this component should reach 1.3 ha, representing actually the maximal site boundary of the corrected densities. As Fig. 8.25 shows, the prehistoric site presents the same core areas indicated in the corrected densities (see section B), thus, Units 1, 6, 7 and 12. In these Units, several dry-stone walls have been recorded, apparently the remains of the buildings of the prehistoric site. As in the corrected densities discussion, the high on-site density scores of U1 and U12 suggest the probable expansion of the site farther west. The inclusion of the anomaly of the 25 finds of U13 into the site (while the 38 of U2 are considered as part of the halo area), was done on the base of the corrected densities. Indeed, the former presents almost double the value of the latter, something that hints at a special biasing effect that has disturbed the diagnosticity of the finds in U13.

Period	Total	%
Undiagnostic	816	95
POST-ROMAN	1	5
LBYZ-EOTT	7	
OTT	28	
OTT-EMOD	1	
EMOD	4	
Total	**857**	**100**

Table 8.6: S24, statistics of the finds by period (Unit counts).

After the prehistoric period and until the LBYZ period, the site lacks any archaeological evidence for a permanent human occupation. The HEL tower that Parlama saw in the foundations of the rounded structure in U2 (see Fig. 8.21 and Appendix A, S24), here is not interpreted as such, mainly because of the very rough manner of construction. The small size of the undressed stones, do not correspond to the foundations of a HEL tower, and indeed, this construction differs clearly from the rest of the ancient towers identified on the island.

During the LBYZ - Early OTT period a small rural settlement was established at the area of U1, of no more than 0.3 ha in size (Fig. 8.26). This is attested by 7 LBYZ–OTT sherds collected there and it is confirmed by the historical sources as well. From the codex of the monastery of Ayios Georgios, we learn that at least from the year 1454, among the possessions of the monastery was a *mandra* at Polichri. Indeed, the land of Polichri belongs still today to the monastery of Ayios Georgios. Apparently, the *mandra* cited in the codex included a hut and folds, identified by the survey and indicated in the topographical map (Fig. 8.21).

This small farm seems to be in full use during the OTT period, as the 16 OTT sherds of domestic

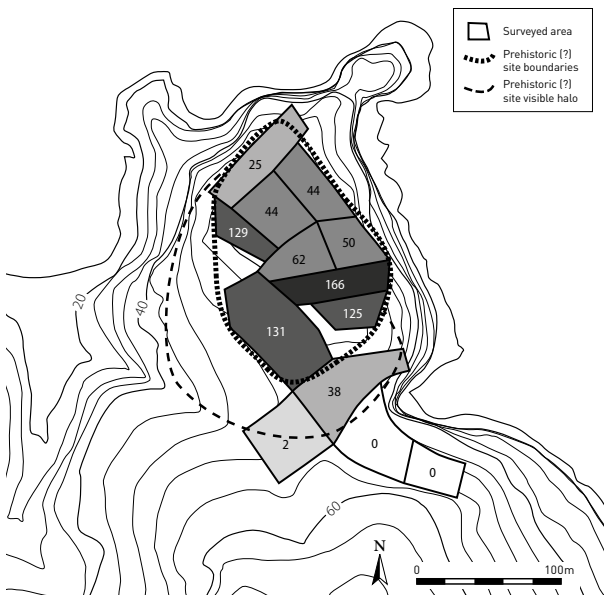


Fig. 8.25: S24, distribution of the Undiagnostic pottery.

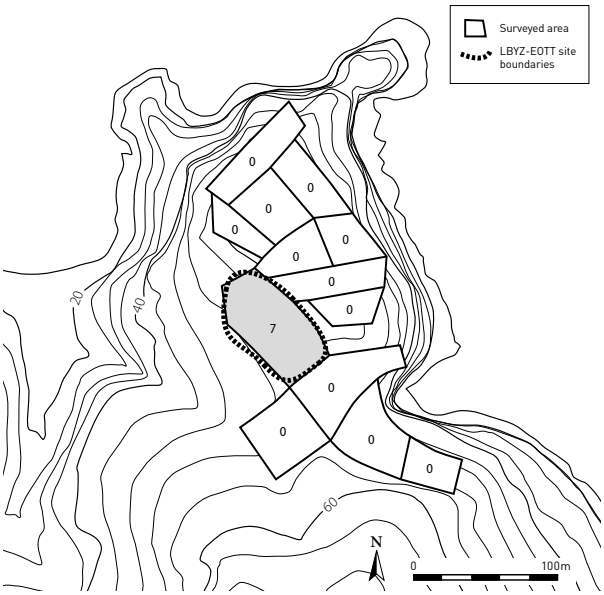


Fig. 8.26: S24, distribution of diagnostic pottery of the LBYZ-OTT period, showing estimated boundaries of the LBYZ-OTT site.

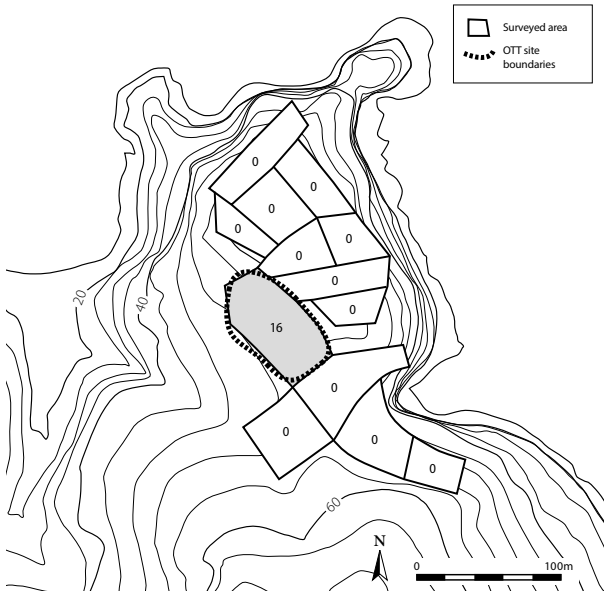


Fig. 8.27: S24, distribution of diagnostic (domestic) pottery of the OTT period, showing estimated boundaries of the OTT settlement site.

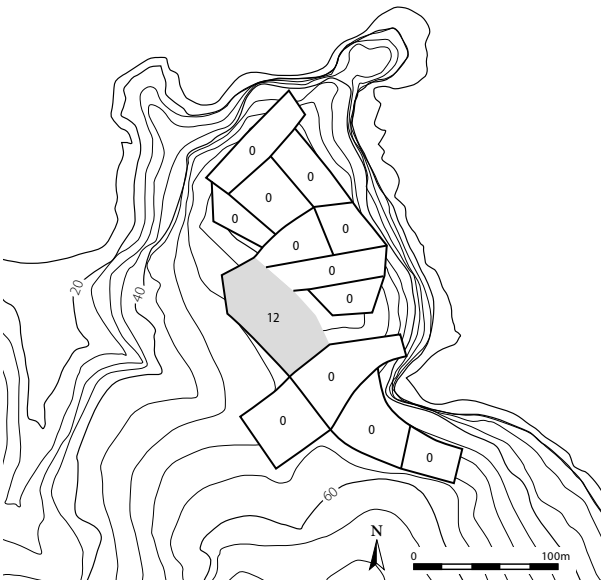


Fig. 8.28: S24, distribution of the OTT beehive fragments.

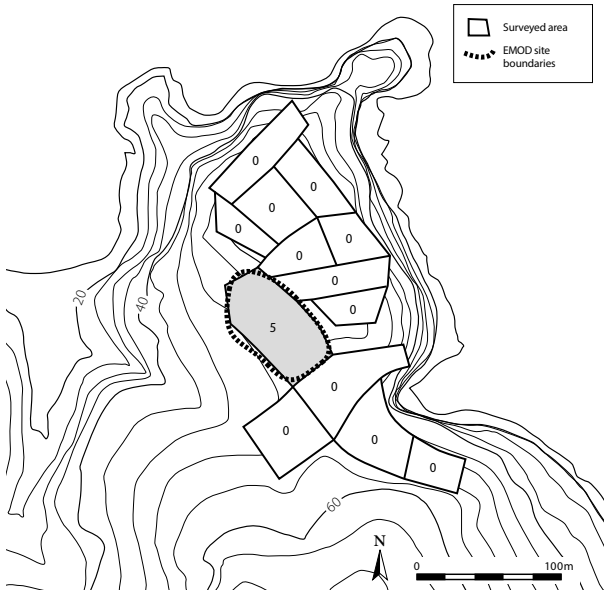


Fig. 8.29: S24, distribution of diagnostic pottery of the EMOD period, showing estimated boundaries of the EMOD site (the one OTT-EMOD sherd included).

vessels attest. No traces about a possible expansion of the site during this period has been attested farther than U1 and it seems that more or less the situation should have remained the same, with a small number of shepherd inhabitants in the still visible hut, for the custody of the monastic possessions (Fig. 8.27). Towards the end of the OTT period the *mandra* seems not to be used for residential reasons: from the 28 OTT finds identified in U1, 12 belong to beehive fragments (Fig. 8.28). The seasonally residential use of the site returns in the EMOD period, as the 5 EMOD domestic finds attest (Fig. 8.29).

F. Functional analysis

The total of 7 LBYZ–OTT sherds recovered comes from transport/storage vessels and in particular from *stamnoi*. Probably, this suggests a semi-residential use of the site, because even though the small *stamnoi* were used as transport vessels for large and small distances they were also used as auxiliary table ware vessels for the housekeeping of water etc.

The functional analysis of the OTT domestic finds present a more regular picture, with the 16 domestic sherds collected being almost equally distributed between the two categories of the transport/storage and table wares. The 12 OTT beehive fragments, apparently confirm the end of the site as a residential place, for a certain period of time in the OTT period (Table 8.7). The EMOD finds offer a regular picture with all three funcional categories present (Table 8.8).

G. Final interpretation

S24 is a substantial Prehistoric site of *c.* 1.3 ha. The geological submersion that the north-east coast of the island underwent could have had an effect on Polichri as well, resulting in the partial collapse of the site into the sea as surely happened to the adjacent sites S23 and S27.

No definite human occupation has taken place during the Greco-Roman and Medieval periods. Only in the 15th c., as the historical sources inform us, the monastery of Ayios Georgios establishes a small *mandra,* in land of its possession. This small pastoral installation has been confirmed by the survey and was estimated to be *c.* 0.3 ha in size. This small farm was active until the end of the EMOD period, with an interruption of its residential use by an apiary, established somewhere in the OTT period.

OTT sherds/ sum total: 28		
Functional category	**Total**	**%**
Transport/Storage	7	25
Tablewares	9	32.1
Processing	-	-
Agricultural production	12	42.8
Total	**28**	**100**

Table 8.7: S24, functional analysis of the OTT sherds.

EMOD sherds/ sum total: 5		
Functional category	**Total**	**%**
Transport/Storage	2	40
Tablewares	2	40
Processing	1	20
Total	**5**	**100**

Table 8.8: S24, functional analysis of the Early Modern sherds (the one OTT-EMOD sherd included).

SITE 33 (S33) – MARKESI

A. Location details (Figs. 8.30, 8.31 & 8.32)

Surveyed December 2010, August 2012: ground visibility 0 – 10; average 5.5

The site is located on the promontory of Markesi at the north edge of the island, where the largest valley on Skyros, that of Trachi, ends. A large part of this valley is taken up by an air force base constructed in the 1970's. Luckily, the site area is located outside the base thus the site has remained undamaged. The intensive survey took place after requesting and being granted permission by the Ministry of Defence.

The site lies on three low hills that are separated by a small plain area, cultivated like the rest of the valley of Trachi, until the construction of the military base. The north-east hill (Area A), consists of limestone, schist, terra rossa and tufa. Its slopes are covered by dense swathes of scrub and cedar trees, which makes passage to the apex of the hill almost impossible, except when approached from the north-west side. The north-west hill (Area B) is essentially an arid tufa rock, whereas the south is a sand-hill covered with cedar trees. Both the sand and the cedars descend from the slopes of the hill in a northeast-south-west direction ending in two beaches at both ends. The maquis covering the small plain among the hills has stopped the encroaching sand, leaving the soil uncovered and partially undisturbed. The sand has severely affected the ground visibility at the east, biasing the archaeological data (see section B).

Archaeologically speaking, Markesi has attracted the attention of the early scholars because of two prominent finds: the foundations of an ancient temple, located at the apex of the north-east hill and a ceme-

Fig. 8.30: S33, the site seen from the south-west.

Fig. 8.31: S33, topographical map.

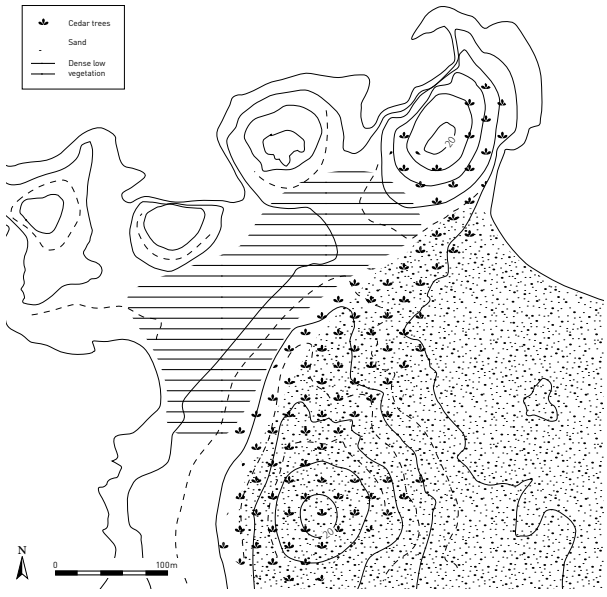


Fig. 8.32: S33, indication of the ground-covering of the site, affecting the ground visibility.

tery, consisting of rock-cut tombs at the north-west hill. Twenty (20) tombs were counted during the survey, in addition to a rock-cut room-space rectangular structure. Beside the cemetery, a tufa quarry is located, while in the opposite direction, at the OTT church of Theotokos many ancient and/or LR architectural pieces are identified (see Appendix A, S33).

B. The artefact trends and the structure of the site (Figs. 8.33 & 8.34)

On-site: min. 2610, max. 22,771, average 10,400.
Halo: min. 1152, max. 2460, average 1630.
Background: min. 0, max. 817, average 252.

Fig. 8.33: S33, indication of the corrected densities per ha, showing estimated boundaries of the site at its maximum (visible) extent, and of the visible halo areas.

The total surveyed area (excluding the transects) covered *c.* 73,000m^2, in which 3302 sherds were counted during the first field walking (raw count). Because of the large site size the second intensive count took place in two core Units (U15 & 16), and averaged 5.4 times more sherds than the first count. Using 5.4 as the multiplier, I extrapolated the initial density values for the rest of the Units resulting in a total number of 17,847 sherds. After the visibility correction I estimated the corrected densities per ha as shown in Fig. 8.33.

S33 is estimated to be *c.* 31,300m^2 (*c.* 3.13 ha) at maximum, which actually corresponds to the GR-R component. As Figs. 8.33-34 show, the site presents two cores, westwards and eastwards of the cemetery (Area B) with densities >20,000, and around the church (Area D) with densities >20,000 in U15, surrounded by values of >14,000 sherds/ha. The latter should be interpreted as the domestic zone of the site as attested from the relevant finds recovered there. The plain area between the two cores presents a lower density ranging from *c.* 4000-12,000 sherds/ha. The blank area in the middle has not been investigated because of the zero visibility; however, its location among definitely on-site Units suggest its inclusion into the on-site boundaries.

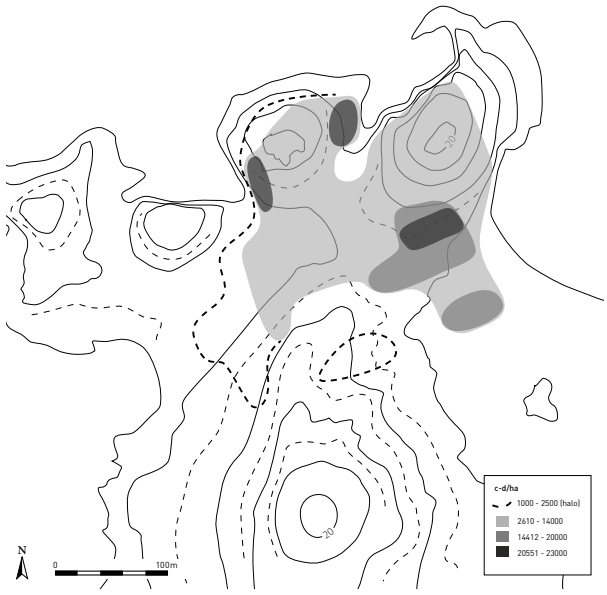


Fig. 8.34: S33, contour analysis of the site density, based on corrected densities per ha.

Area A, at the north-east hill where the temple is located, presents the lowest on-site density with *c.* 2610 sherds/ha.

In Area C the densities descend gradually from the centre of the site towards its western surroundings, from 4000 to *c.* 1000-2000 and then to values <1000 sherd/ha. I consider these three steps as the respective boundaries marking the on-site, halo and off-site areas (Fig. 8.33). The on-site boundary located at the Units 38 and 39 is enhanced by the finds of the largest component of the site, namely the GR-R. Westwards of the aforementioned Units, the finds decrease significantly to single-digit numbers.

A quite different picture is presented in Area D. Southwards of the core Units the densities drop suddenly to zero values, with the exception of Units 21 and 23. This must be conceived as a biasing effect caused by the sand which covers the area, resulting in almost zero visibility (Fig. 8.32). In fact, the high value of 16,917 sherds/ha of U25, is result of a bulldozer-made pit which after the removal of the recent sand-strata revealed the ancient surface. It is reasonable then to assume that a similar biasing phenomenon is at play in the adjacent Units as well, and that in reality the site could extend farther to the south. This was not possible to be checked as, apart from the disturbance of the sand, permission to investigate farther in this direction was not given.

C. Sample fraction statistics

Of the 3302 sherds of the first raw count of the Units, 339 sherds were collected, thus 10.2%. This percentage diminishes to 1.8%, when comparing the 339 collected sherds with the 17,847, which is the estimated pottery density of the Units (not v-c) lying on the field, after the extrapolation with the multiplier 5.4 (Fig. 8.36).

D. Finds statistics (for the catalogue of the collected finds see Appendix B):

The total of the finds is actually the sum of the registrations (Table 8.9). Thus we see that from the 17,847 sherds (the estimated pottery density of the Units after the extrapolation with the multiplier 5.4/not v-c), I counted and registered 3302 sherds, thus 18.5%. Not all the registered ceramics have been collected, but only the LR-Post Roman sherds, leaving the rest on the field; thus from the 3302 finds I picked up 339, a number which corresponds to 1.8% of the total estimated density of the Units (not v-c).

The first remark that can be made is the almost zero pottery recovery of Post-Roman sherds, a strong indication of the cessation of the settlement after the LR period. The 6 sole sherds collected from the Byzantine till the EMOD period, as well as the MBYZ

Fig. 8.35: S33, distribution of the counted tiles.

Fig. 8.36: S33, number of sherds collected by Unit.

Period	Total	%
Undiagnostic	774	23.4
GR-R	2189	66.3
M-LR	13	10
LR	320	
POST-ROMAN	1	0.2
M-LBYZ	2	
EMOD	3	
Total	**3.302**	**100**

Table 8.9: S33, statistics of the finds by period (Unit counts).

part of an amphora delivered to the Archaeological Service, consist of background data, connected with a possibly periodical off-site human activity at Markesi.

The largest number of the finds is dated to the GR-R period. This group, together with the undiagnostic pieces, make up 90% of the total, leaving for the LR the remaining 10%. As we shall see in the following section, the site presents a high activity during the GR-R period, something which certainly continues during the LR period as well. Focussing on numbers, by dividing the 2189 GR-R finds into 4 groups, corresponding broadly to the four chronological groups of our large GR-R period (G-A, CL, HEL, R), for each of the groups there would correspond *c.* 547 finds, a count which is not too far from the 333 LR finds collected.

Fig. 8.37: S33, distribution of the Undiagnostic pottery.

E. Display of periods (Figs. 8.38-39)

During the GR-R period S33 reaches its maximum extent, being a site of 3.13 ha (Fig. 8.38). It seems to be a well organised large settlement, equipped with a temple on the north-east hill (one of the two identified on the island), and with a cemetery at the north-west. The domestic area probably was developed at the south-east plain area, around the small church of Theotokos. This is indicated by the high pottery concentration there identified and its domestic functional character.

It is clear that the inclusion of U8 into the on-site area has been done on the basis of the corrected densities, as a more reliable source for this case. The rocky and the coastal part of the specific area, exposed to all weathers, has resulted in much eroded pottery the majority of which undiagnostic. Similar undiagnosticity has occurred in Units 38 and 39, low in GR-R finds, despite the relatively high values of the corrected densities. This is the reason why the 14 finds of U38 are considered on-site, while the adjacent 15 of U40 are off-site material.

In the LR period the site shrinks to 1.34 ha size. It is now mainly concentrated in the domestic area of the GR-R component, keeping apparently the same character. A small extension is identified towards the east side of the ancient cemetery, while the area of the ancient temple is not any more intensively used. In this area, as well as north-west of the core, I identified the visible halo of the site (Fig. 8.39).

After this time, apart from some off-site MED finds and the OTT-EMOD church of Theotokos, apparently of seasonal use, no other residential activity on the site has been identified.

F. Functional analysis

Apart from the tiles, concentrated mainly at the two foci of the site, the majority of the GR-R pottery identified were from table wares and storage/transport vessels; a normal distribution for a settlement site.

Regarding the LR component, this was the most productive in finds among all the sites surveyed, not

Fig. 8.38: S33, distribution of diagnostic pottery of the Greco-Roman period, showing estimated boundaries of the Greco-Roman site.

Fig. 8.39: S33, distribution of the diagnostic pottery of the Late Roman period, showing estimated boundaries of the LR site.

only in quantity but in quality as well, evidence of the flourishing of S33 during this period. As Table 8.10 shows, 333 LR finds have been identified and collected, with the fragments of transport/storage vessels not surprisingly occupying 77% of the assemblage. The number of table wares and processing vessels were also relatively large. Furthermore, the distribution among the functional categories is slightly changed after the exclusion of the body fragments from the calibration. After that, the table wares approach 50%, taking the primacy in the find percentages, with the transport/storage vessels following in the second place, with 37% of the assemblage. Finally, the processing vessels, as usual, complete the assemblage, being the third largest finds category.

G. Final interpretation

S33 was a large village that reached its maximal size in the GR-R period, 3.13 ha. The settlement had its own temple and an organised cemetery at the northwest hill. In the LR period the site shrank to 1.34 ha in size, but was still flourishing. The site was concentrated in the domestic area of the ancient site and was possibly equipped with its own church (see Appendix A, S33). After the 7th century, the site is abandoned, without any clue indicating a Post-Roman residence. Some MED finds are considered as background material, while the church of Theotokos, constructed probably during the OTT period only attests to a seasonal and non residential usage of the area.

	LR all sherds/ sum total: 333		LR RHBa/ sum total: 108	
Functional category	**Total**	**%**	**Total**	**%**
Transport/storage	258	77.4	40	37
Tablewares	54	16.2	51	47.2
Processing	18	5.4	17	15.7
Other (lamps)	3	0.9	-	-
Total	**333**	**100**	**108**	**100**

Table 8.10: S33, functional analysis of the Late Roman sherds (the 13 M-LR sherds included), for (i) all sherds and (ii) rims, handles and bases only.

SITE 36 (S36) – DIANEMOS

A. Location details (Figs. 8.40, 8.41)

Surveyed December 2010, August 2012: ground visibility 2 – 8; average 5.1

The site is located west of Chora, in the forested mainland of the northern part of the island, on the southern slopes of the Afanes peak. More precisely, the site is some metres north of the OTT(?) church of Ayios Nikolaos Achladonas, around an abandoned EMOD hut (*konaki*).

The site is reached via a dirt road which starts from Ferekambos plain, through a pine forest, passing by the churches of Ayios Meronas and Ayios Nikolaos and finally ending at Paraspisi plateau.

In general the central area of the northern part of the island is dominated by an extensive pine forest, which is interrupted by several small plateaux like the one at the west of the site. These relatively smooth fields have encouraged grain cultivation which was intense until the EMOD period. Today the *astivi* scrub dominates the whole area, which is used almost exclusively as pasture.

Fig. 8.40: S36, the site seen from the south.

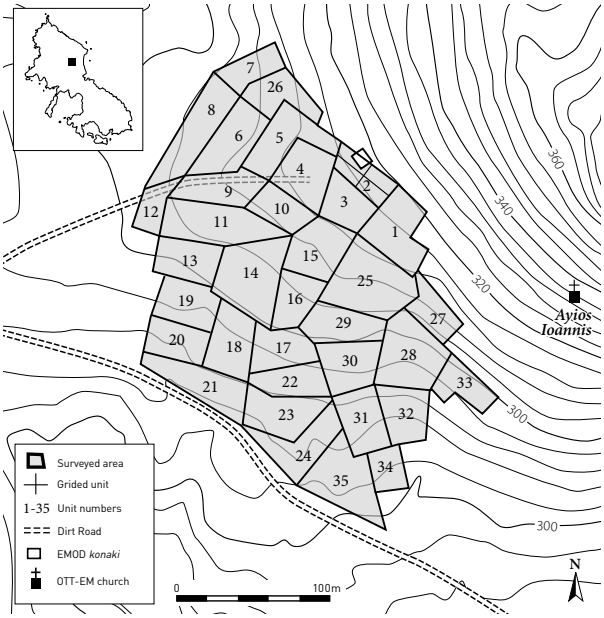


Fig. 8.41: S36, topographical map.

B. The artefact trends and the structure of the site (Figs. 8.42 & 8.43)

On-site: min. 1258, max. 7126, average 3815.
Halo: min. 246, max. 1712, average 1041.
Background: min. 0, max. 553, average 253.

The total surveyed area (excluding the transects) covered 27,054 m^2 in which 1196 sherds were counted during the first field walking (raw count). After the second intensive count in the gridded U2, the result was 2.2 more sherds than the first count. Using the number 2.2 as the multiplier, I extrapolated the initial density values for the rest of the Units resulting in a total number of 2633 sherds. After the visibility correction I estimated the corrected densities per ha as shown in Fig. 8.42.

S36 is estimated to have been a site *c.* 10,000m^2 (*c.* 1.0 ha) in size, which basically corresponds to the MED component plus the size of a small LR component identified in U20. Actually S36 is the only site from the 16 intensively surveyed whose principal component is MED, with a GR-R component that barely can be interpreted as a small non-residential site and a LR one interpreted as a small farm, in a slightly different location in comparison to the posterior MED hamlet (see section D).

As Figs. 8.42-3 show, the site presents two cores, one at its northern edge where the EMOD hut stands with a density >7000, and a second one approximately at its centre, with densities *c.* >5000 sherds/ha. Around these two cores, the values range between *c.* 2000-4500 sherds, with the exception of U3 (density=1258) & U4 (density=1694). Except for

these two Units, the aforementioned area presents a concentration with steady densities >2000, outside of which the values fall regularly from <2000, descending in lower levels at more distance. An exception to this structure is U20 in approximately 40 metres westwards of the core, whose value of 2240 sherds/ha approaches those of the focus area mentioned above. Actually it is estimated that the values >2000 represented by the large area in the centre together with U20, should correspond to the on-site area, while the <2000 until *c.* 400 sherds/ha to the halo of the site. The values <400 should reflect the background densities around the site.

This estimation is in accordance with the distribution of the components' finds as well. Thus we notice in the relevant maps (Figs. 8.47-52) that the majority of the finds are concentrated primarily in the central area, which is then interpreted to be the core of the site but accompanied by a secondary focus at U20 and its surroundings. Through the examination of the diagnostic finds we can correct the anomaly of U3 & U4 located between the two cores, the density of which (<2000) disturbs the structure of the site presented above and creates the overlapping between the on-site and halo values. The finds from the components, and those from the MED in particular (Fig. 8.50), show that both U3 & U4 have as many finds as the adjacent core Units with much more higher densities. This similarity in finds, in combination with their location, make U3 & U4 definitely on-site Units, and thus their low corrected densities are due to a special biasing effect or to a possible survey mistake. This assumption is supported by the fact that the Units with approximate, or even slightly higher densities than U3 & U4 (namely U5=1424, U7=1712, U11=1606 and U14=1587), all of them westwards of the focus area, have given up much fewer diagnostic finds, of apparent off-site levels.

Finally, the high value of the core U20 is explained by the presence of a small LR component there. Indeed, examining the relevant Fig. 8.48, we notice the concentration of some diagnostic LR finds in this location, making us suppose a relevant activity which caused an augmented pottery discard in the area.

Fig. 8.42: S36, indication of the corrected densities per ha, showing estimated boundaries of the site at its maximum extent, and of the visible halo areas.

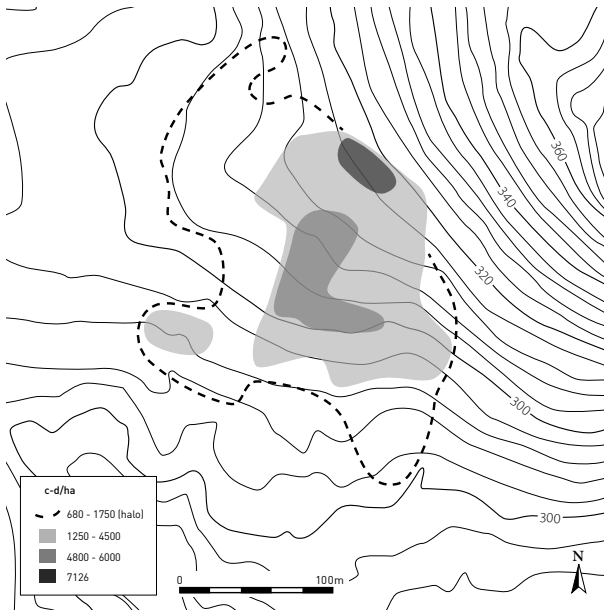


Fig. 8.43: S36, contour analysis of the site density, based on corrected densities per ha.

C. Sample fraction statistics

Of the 1196 sherds of the first raw count of the Units, 101 sherds were collected, thus 8.4%. This percentage diminishes to 3.8%, when comparing the 101 collected sherds with the 2633, which is the estimated pottery density of the Units (not v-c) lying on the field, after the extrapolation with the multiplier 2.2 (Fig. 8.45).

D. Finds statistics (for the catalogue of the collected finds see Appendix B):

The total of the finds is actually the sum of the registrations (Table 8.11). Thus we see that from the 2633 sherds (the estimated pottery density of the Units after the extrapolation with the multiplier 2.2/not v-c), I counted and registered 1196 sherds (45.4%). Only the diagnostic LR-Post Roman sherds of the registered ceramics were collected, leaving the rest in the field; thus from the 1196 finds 101 were picked up, a number which corresponds to 3.8% of the total estimated density of the Units (not v-c).

The first observation that can be made is the high percentage of undiagnostic finds, *c.* 90%. Given the slight presence of the GR-R and LR components, we can assume that the majority of the undiagnostic group belongs to a Post-Roman date.

After the low percentages of the GR-R and LR finds, the MED group occupy the largest number among the diagnostic pieces, *c.* the 6%. This low number represents the activity of the M-LBYZ hamlet. After the M-LBYZ, the percentages drop again in minimum numbers for the OTT and EMOD periods, reflecting the small semi-permanent relevant farms (see section E).

Period	Total	%
Undiagnostic	1081	90.3
Greco-Roman	14	1.2
LR	10	0.8
MBYZ	21	6.2
M-LBYZ	53	
LBYZ	1	
OTT	9	0.7
EMOD	7	0.6
Total	**1196**	**100**

Table 8.11: S36, statistics of the finds by period (Unit counts).

E. Display of periods (Figs. 8.47 - 52)

During the GR-R period a small component is detected in the centre of the site of no more than *c.* 0.26 ha in size. This has been identified on the basis of some diagnostic pieces located there, in combination with the data from the corrected densities. The Units 27 and 31, with 3 and 2 finds respectively, have been excluded from the on-site area on the grounds of their low corrected densities, belonging apparently in the halo levels in the general structure of the site (see Fig. 8.42). In contrast, the on-site area of the GR-R component has been detected in the Units 16, 25 and 29 due to their high corrected density values, despite their equal low number of diagnostic finds. However, considering the high number of pottery discard that GR-R sites usually produce, the low numbers of S36 (close to off-site levels) indicate a low activity at the site during this period suggesting apparently non- or at maximum semi-residential use.

The LR component gives a similar picture, shifted westwards in comparison to the GR-R (Fig. 8.48). Units 18, 20 and 21 have 9 finds in total, a concentration which, despite its low number, indicates a certain amount of activity there. The on-site area has been identified in U20, again on the grounds of the corrected densities. Thus, we notice that U18 and U21 present low density values <1000, being probably part of the halo area of the site, in contrast to U20 whose density approaches the lower on-site values of it (see Fig. 8.42). If these estimations are correct, this would render a LR site no bigger than 0.06 ha in size. The site was probably residential as the functional analysis of the finds attest (see section F).

S36 was primarily a M-LBYZ site. During this period the site reaches its maximum extent of *c.* 0.95 ha in size. The fact that apart from the 53 finds, generally of M-LBYZ date, also 21 of definitely MBYZ were collected, dictated the addition of a separate map indicating the distribution of the MBYZ finds alone (Fig. 8.49). However, this is not so helpful in understanding the structure of the MED site, because of the low number and the loose distribution of the finds. The majority of them are identified within the on-site

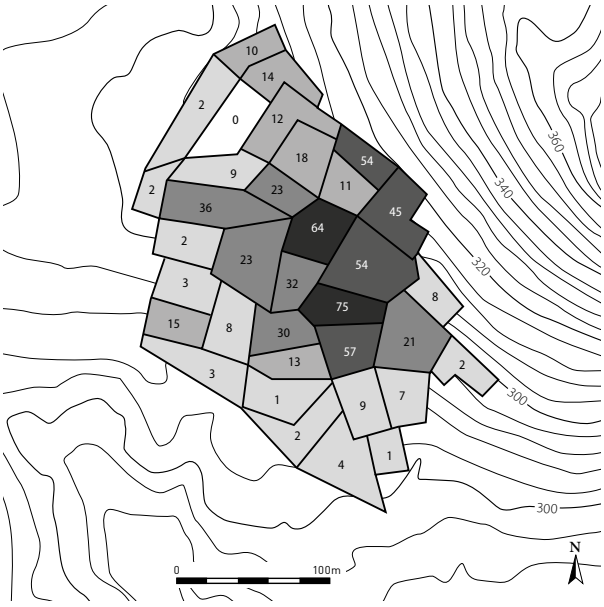


Fig. 8.44: S36, distribution of the counted tiles.

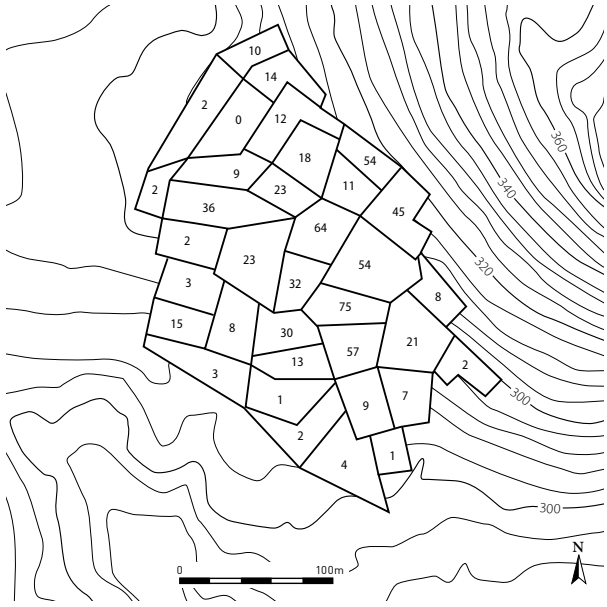


Fig. 8.45: S36, number of sherds collected, by Unit.

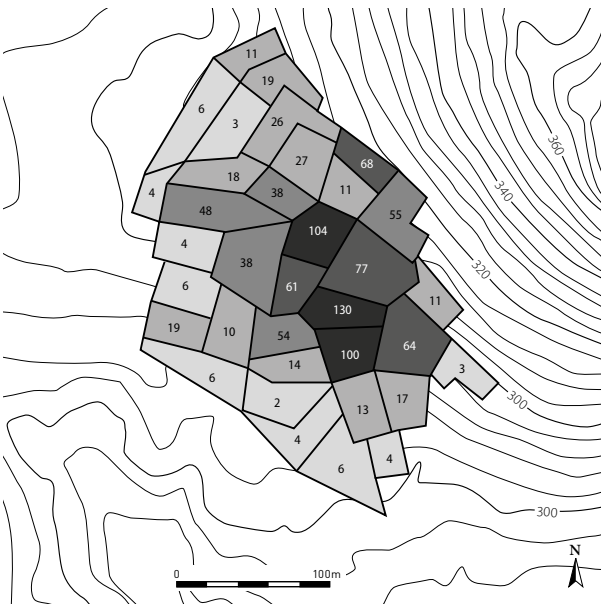


Fig. 8.46: S36, distribution of the undiagnostic pottery.

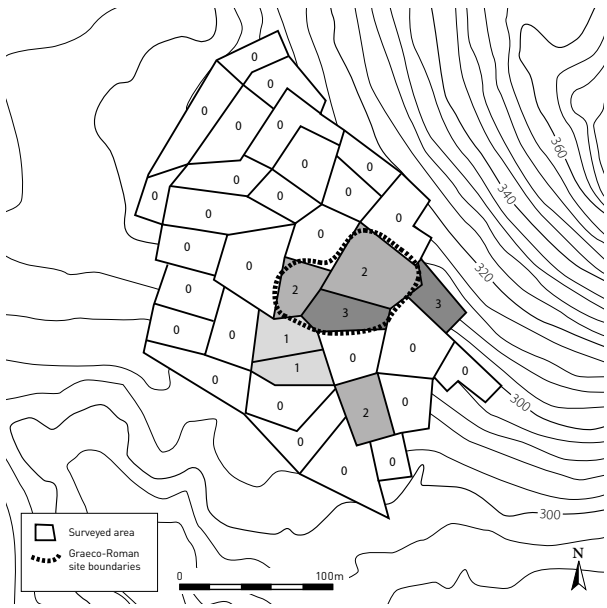


Fig. 8.47: S36, distribution of the diagnostic pottery of the Greco-Roman period, showing estimated boundaries of the Greco-Roman site.

area of the corrected densities. This is clearer in the map of the M-LBYZ distributions (with the MBYZ finds included) (Fig. 8.50). There we notice the mass of the MED finds concentrated in an area which coincides with the high corrected density values of Fig. 8.42, helping us establish the on-site boundary of the MED component. Furthermore, we notice that the focus of the site seems to be located at its northern edge, close to the EMOD hut, with a less intense activity towards the south-east.

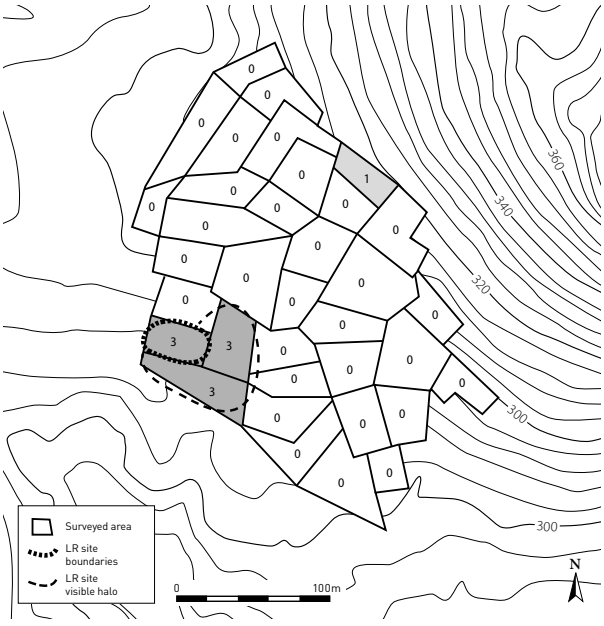


Fig. 8.48: S36, distribution of diagnostic pottery of the Late Roman period, showing estimated boundaries of the Late Roman site.

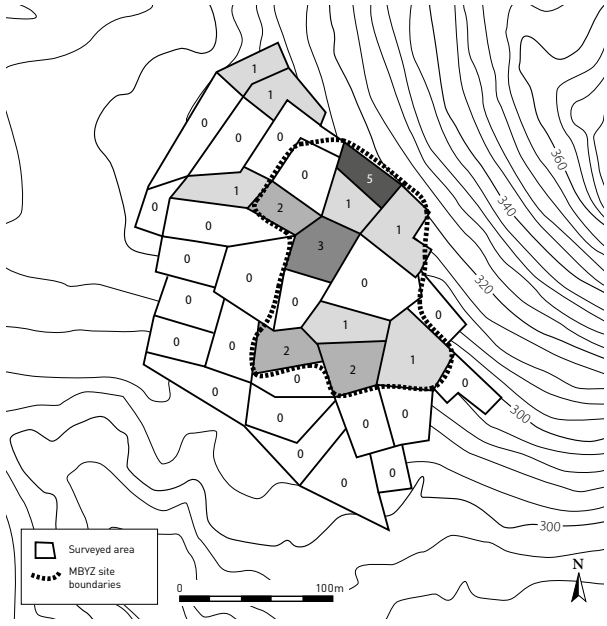


Fig. 8.49: S36, distribution of diagnostic pottery of the Mid Byzantine period, showing estimated boundaries of the Mid Byzantine site.

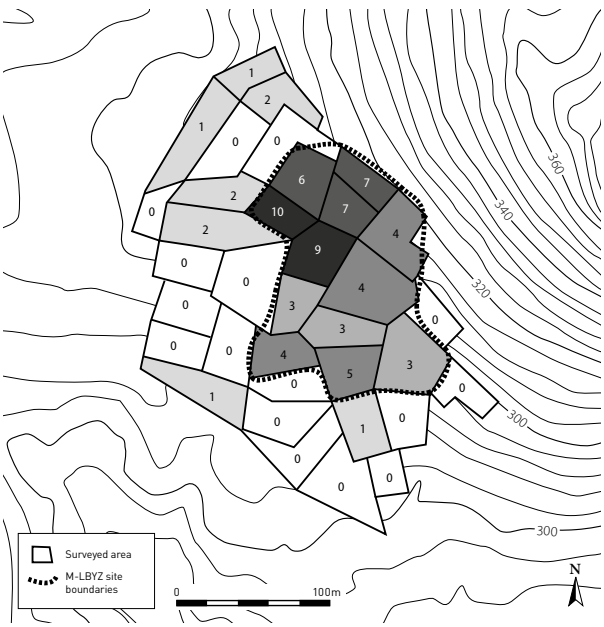


Fig. 8.50: S36, distribution of diagnostic pottery of the Mid-Late Byzantine period, showing estimated boundaries of the Mid-Late Byzantine site.

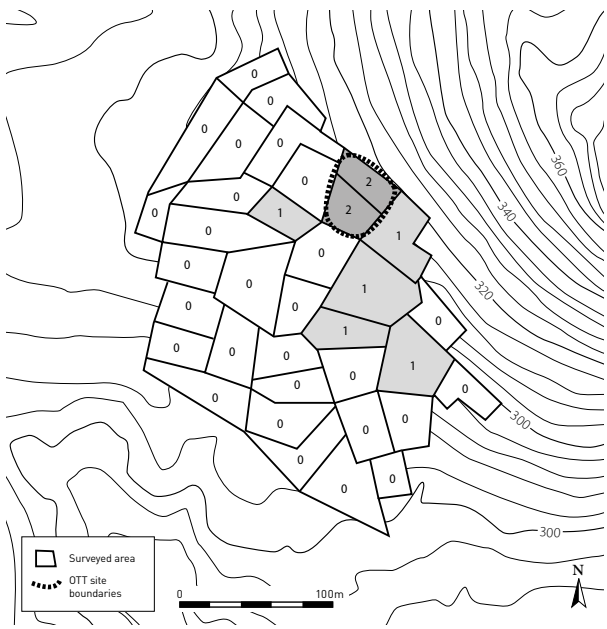


Fig. 8.51: S36, distribution of diagnostic pottery of the Ottoman period (the 1 LBYZ-OTT sherds included), showing estimated boundaries of the Ottoman site.

During the OTT period S36 seems to cease as a permanently residential site. Its position was occupied by a small farm of probably semi-permanent character identified around the abandoned hut, the origins of which are possibly of corresponding date (Fig. 8.51). Thus, on the grounds of the architectural structure in combination with 4 domestic finds around it, the estimated size of the OTT site is no more than 0.12 ha.

Similarly, it was the abandoned hut rather than the loose finds that led me to identify the EMOD semi-permanent site in the same area, of no more than 0.12 ha in size as well (Fig. 8.52).

F. Functional analysis

The few GR-R finds belong mainly to transport/storage and plain vessels, in accordance with a non- to semi-residential use of the site during this period.

Regarding the LR component, despite its small size and the relatively few finds (10 diagnostic pieces in total) the 4 fine table wares and the 1 lamp fragment attest to a residential site (Table 8.12).

A very regular distribution is presented in the MED assemblage, with the table wares making up approximately 60% of the finds, the transport/storage vessels 24% and the processing the remaining 17% (Table 8.13). The relatively high number of table wares, almost exclusively fine glazed pieces, is in accordance with the function of a hamlet rather than of a rural farm, in which we would expect normally less fine wares and more transport/storage vessels.

Finally, Tables 8.14 and 8.15 present the functional analysis of the OTT and EMOD finds respectively. In both groups, despite the very low numbers of finds, we notice a very regular distribution among the three functional categories. This fact agrees with the function of small farms of probably semi-permanent character, the last assumption not so much on the grounds of the functional analysis of the finds which seems very regular, but mainly due to the residential model of OTT and EMOD Skyrian society, with the main houses at Chora and semi-permanent rural shelters at the countryside.

G. Final interpretation

S36 is a substantial rural site which reaches its maximal size, *c.* 0.95 ha, in the MED period. A small GR-R farm has been detected at the core of the site of around 0.26 ha in size, apparently of a non-residential character.

In the LR period an even smaller farm of *c.* 0.06 ha in size has been identified westwards of the ancient and the posterior MED components but of a definitely residential character.

In the M-LBYZ period a hamlet of *c.* 0.95 ha in size developed at the site. The hamlet was equipped with fine glazed wares, according to the cultural domestic *koine* of the Byzantine world. It is interesting to note that less than 500 metres westward is located S38, a relatively large site of *c.* 2.0 ha in size. S38 has presented an extensive GR-R and LR phase without any indication of a continuation of the site in the Post-Roman period. Despite the lack of EBYZ finds, however, the fact that the S36's boom period occurs within the MED period, imply a possible shift of the inhabitants from S38 some metres eastwards at this time.

During the OTT period S36 ceases to be used as hamlet and it is replaced by a small semi-permanent small farm of no more than 0.21 ha in size. The same situation continues in the EMOD period as well, as the abandoned hut attests.

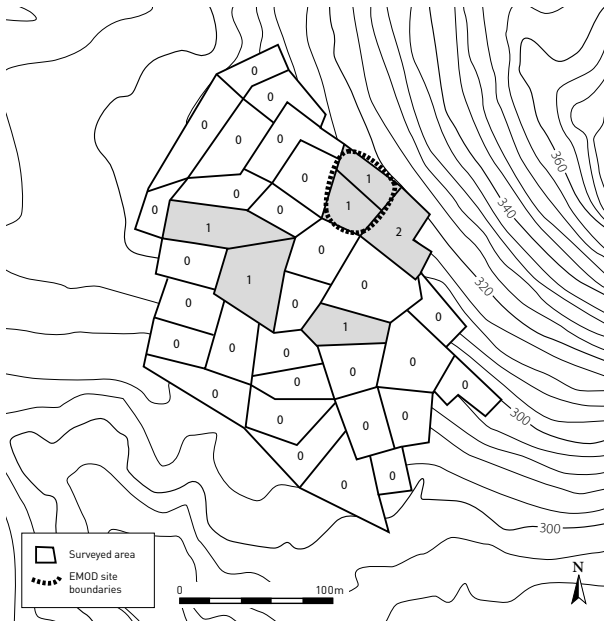


Fig. 8.52: S36, distribution of diagnostic pottery of the Early Modern period, showing estimated boundaries of the Early Modern site.

	LR all sherds/sum total:10	
Functional category	**Total**	**%**
Transport/Storage	5	50
Tablewares	4	40
Processing	-	-
Other (lamps)	1	10
Total	**10**	**100**

Table 8.12: S36, functional analysis of the Late Roman sherds.

	M-LBYZ sherds/ sum total: 75	
Functional category	**Total**	**%**
Transport/Storage	18	24
Tablewares	46	61.3
Processing	11	14.6
Total	**75**	**100**

Table 8.13: S36, functional analysis of the Mid-Late Byzantine sherds.

	OTT sherds/ sum total: 9	
Functional category	**Total**	**%**
Transport/Storage	1	11.1
Tablewares	4	44.4
Processing	4	44.4
Total	**9**	**100**

Table 8.14: S36, functional analysis of the Ottoman sherds (the 1 LBYZ-OTT sherd included).

	EMOD sherds/sum total: 7	
Functional category	**Total**	**%**
Transport/Storage	3	42.8
Tablewares	3	42.8
Processing	1	14.2
Total	**7**	**100**

Table 8.15: S36, functional analysis of the Early Modern sherds (the 3 OTT-EMOD sherds included).

SITE 44 (S44) – ALIKO

A. Location details (Fig. 8.53, Fig. 8.54)

Surveyed February 2011, August 2012: ground visibility 8– 10; average 9.3.

The site is located in the north-west part of the island, on the plateau of Aliko, enclosed by the low peaks of Oros and Thalia. The site lies on a gently

Fig. 8.53: S44, the site seen from the south-west.

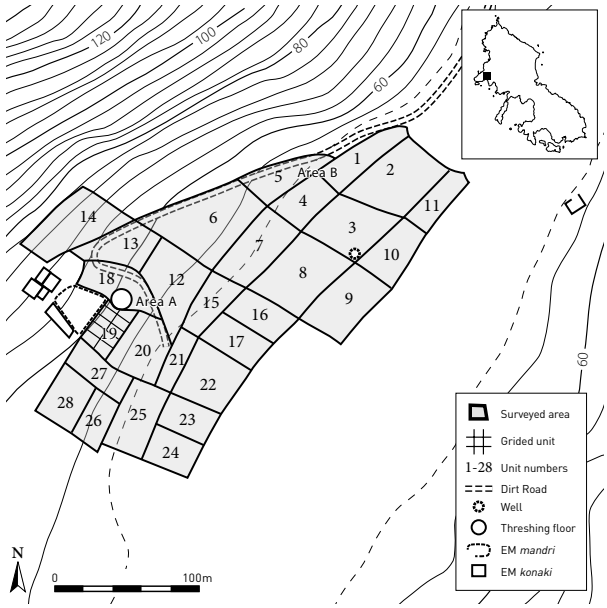


Fig. 8.54: S44, topographical map.

sloping terrain at the north-west side of the plateau, around an EMOD hut (*konaki*), still active. The location of the ancient and MOD site, offers to its inhabitants good weather protection, especially from the strong north-west Aegean winds and simultaneously an open view to the plateau lying towards the south-east. S44 is 400 metres north of the ancient tower of Aliko (S45) and as discussed below, the site was related to the tower. The land, deprived of water supply, is exploited seasonally for grain cultivation and pasture. The cultivated area has suffered from the increasingly encroaching dense cedar and pine forest, condemning the inhabitants to continuous labour for the preservation of the land for cultivation. This effort was likely more intense in the past; the gradual abandonment of the agricultural economy on the island nowadays has lessened the necessity for this activity. In fact, when comparing the modern aerial photographs with those taken in the '40s, we observe that the plateau then was significantly deforested, especially on its south-west side, where the tower is located. It is quite probable, that in antiquity the tower should be in a completely deforested area, logically enough in order to serve the needs of the inhabitants (see section G).

The site is reached through a dirt road starting from the asphalt road Atsitsa – Ayios Fokas, after traversing the plateau of Chartsa.

The surveyed area took place around the EMOD hut. No survey took place on the slopes at its north-west and west side, where the very dense cedar forest makes the area impenetrable. Moreover, no survey took place in the yards of the hut and south-west of it, where the probabilistic extensive walking before the survey, had negative results regarding artefact recovery.

B. The artefact trends and the structure of the site

Densities in sherds/ha:
On-site: min. 419, max. 2237, average 915.
Halo: min. 202, max. 373, average 285.
Background: min. 62, max. 146, average 117.

The total surveyed area (excluding the transects) covered 37,000m^2, in which have been counted 646 sherds during the first field walking (raw count). During the probabilistic walking I observed the relatively low pottery scatter, a phenomenon which is discussed below. After the identification of the core U19 and its second intensive grid-count, the result was a number of sherds 3 times more than the first count. Using the integer 3 as multiplier, the extrapolated initial density values for the rest of the Units resulted in a total number of 1938 sherds. After the visibility correction I estimated the corrected densities per ha as shown in Fig. 8.55.

S44 has been noticeably difficult for the interpretation of the data because of the low pottery densities in combination with the distribution of the few ceramics in a wide area around the site. It is characteristic that S44 is among the few intensively surveyed sites that has not presented a 0 (null) density value even in the transects, some of them many metres distant from the core. This difficulty has been augmented by the incoherence between the data from the corrected densities and the components' finds.

However, S44 is estimated to be a site of *c.* 21,600 m^2 (*c.* 2.16 ha), including the EMOD hut, which although un-surveyed, had pottery densities around it which were noticeably high. Thus, it is believed that the present state with the buildings at the highest point of the plateau must represent, more or less, the ancient status of the site.

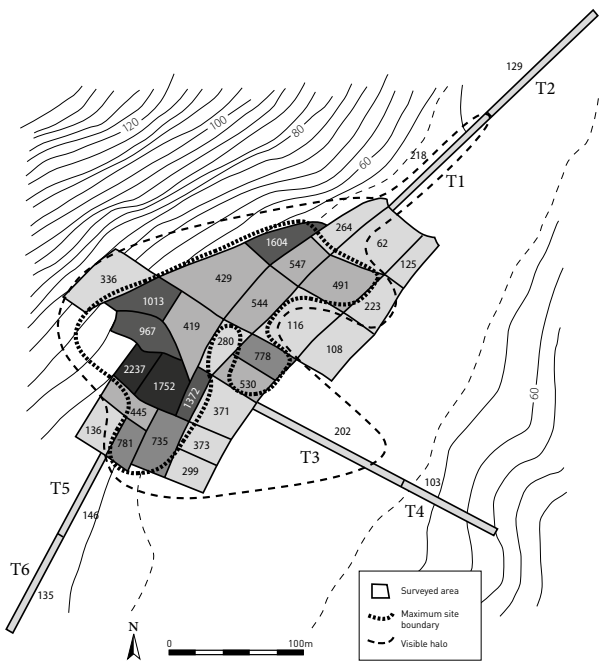


Fig. 8.55: S44, indication of the corrected densities per ha, showing estimated boundaries of the site at its maximum extent.

As Fig. 8.55 and the impressionistic contour analysis of Fig. 8.56 show, the site presents two focus areas, one at Area A, with densities >1700 in U19 & U20, and a second one in Area B, with density >1600 in U5. Between the two cores the values range between 400-1300 sherds/ha, with the higher values more or less concentrated around the first core. The low density of 280 sherds/ha of U15 must represent a gap in the site confirmed by the low number of the finds of the components as well, namely the GR-R, by far the prime occupation of the site. Around the aforementioned area the densities fall to approximately <400, while with greater distance the fall is even more, to *c.* <200 sherds/ha. This drop is less gradual at the south-west edge of the site, where from the 781 sherds/ha of U26, the value falls abruptly to 146 (T5).

The three aforementioned gradual steps of the densities must correspond to the boundaries of the on-site, halo and background areas of the site. It is estimated that the on-site densities should begin at approximately >400 sherds/ha, while a density below this value should indicate the start of the site halo. The value <200 sherds/ha should correspond to the background densities around the site.

The estimation of the on-site area as presented in Figs. 8.55-56 is more or less confirmed by the distribution of the finds of the largest component, namely the GR-R, as well as by the tile concentrations (Fig. 8.57).

C. Sample fraction statistics

Of the 646 sherds of the first raw count of the Units, 33 sherds were collected, thus 5.1%. This percentage diminishes to 1.7%, when comparing the 33 collected sherds with the 1938, which is the estimated pottery density of the Units (not v-c) lying on the field, after the extrapolation with the multiplier 3 (Fig. 8.58).

D. Finds statistics (for the catalogue of the collected finds see Appendix B):

The total of the finds is actually the sum of the registrations (Table 8.16). Thus we see that from the 1938 sherds (the estimated pottery density of the Units after the extrapolation with the multiplier 3/not v-c), I counted and registered 646 sherds, thus 33.3%. Not all the registered ceramics were collected, but only the LR-Post Roman sherds, leaving the rest on the field; thus from the 646 finds 33 were picked up, a number which corresponds to 1.7% of the total estimated density of the Units (not v-c).

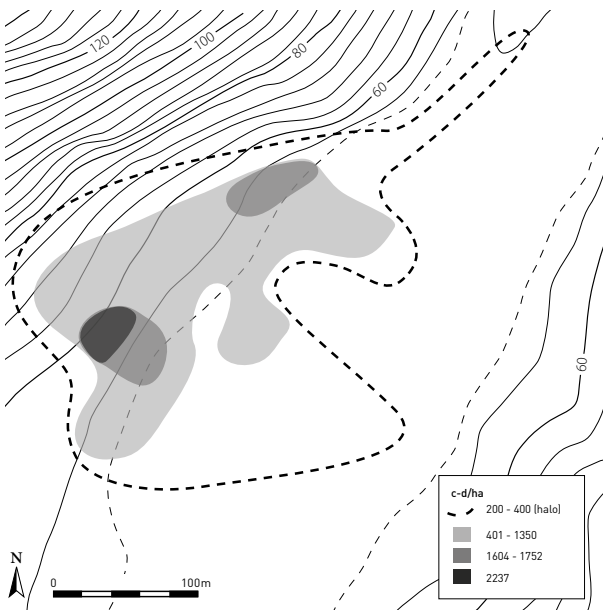


Fig. 8.56: S44, contour analysis of the site density, based on corrected densities per ha.

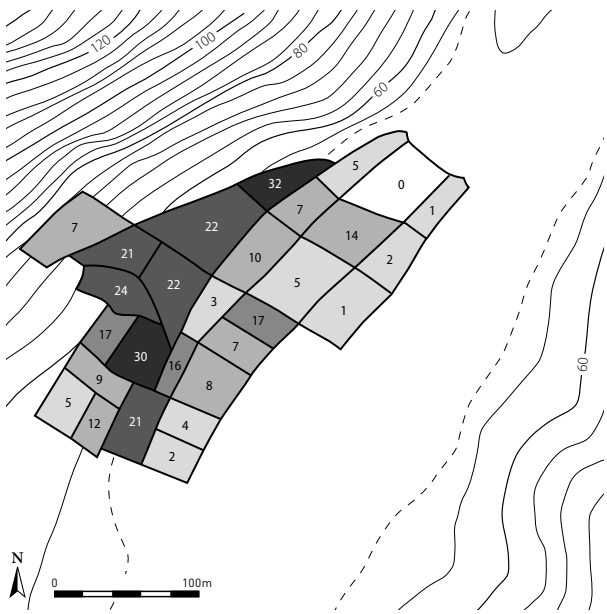


Fig. 8.57: S44, the distribution of the counted tiles.

Like in the rest of the intensively surveyed sites, a considerable percentage of the artefacts were undiagnostic (Table 8.16, Fig. 8.59); almost half of the finds, including in this group the tiles as well. 41% of the finds belong to the GR-R period, representing the most prominent component of the site, while a much lower percentage reflects an apparently smaller LR and EMOD component; only 2 MED ceramics, apparently off-site material, supplement the total find assemblage.

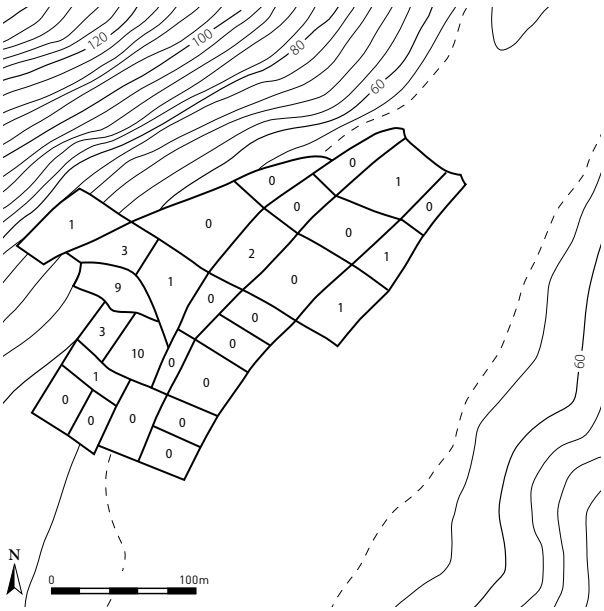


Fig. 8.58: S44, the number of sherds actually collected, by Unit.

Period	Total	%
Undiagnostic	346	53.5
Greco-Roman	267	41.3
LR	13	2
MBYZ	1	0.3
M-LBYZ	1	
OTT	1	2.7
OTT-EMOD	3	
EMOD	14	
Total	**646**	**100**

Table 8.16: S44, statistics of the finds by period (Unit counts).

E. Display of periods (Figs. 8.60 - 62)

During the GR-R period, the site reaches its maximum extent of *c.* 2.16 ha, interpreted as a large estate-hamlet (Fig. 8.60). As mentioned in section B, the site presents two focus areas, one large, around the EMOD hut (Area A), and a second, smaller one to the north (Area B). As Fig. 8.57 indicates, the high tile concentrations in both areas, suggest that both of them probably accommodated the buildings of the site. It is clear that the exclusion of U15 from the site was done on the basis not only of the low finds (the adjacent U16 presents the same number), but mainly on the corrected densities, according to which U15 presents a significantly low value. The same pertains to a series of other Units as well (interpreted as halo areas of the GR-R component), whose relevant finds are equal, or even higher than some of those interpreted here as on-site.

Similarly, the halo of the GR-R component as presented in Fig. 8.60 has been estimated on the grounds of the corrected densities as well. Furthermore, the fact that the posterior LR and EMOD components where far smaller and probably of non- to semi-residential character, suggests that the majority of the undiagnostic finds around the site which creat-

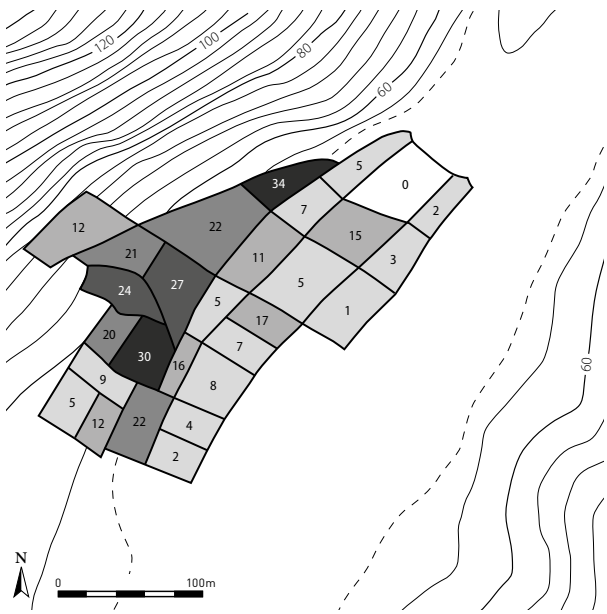


Fig. 8.59: S44, distribution of the undiagnostic pottery.

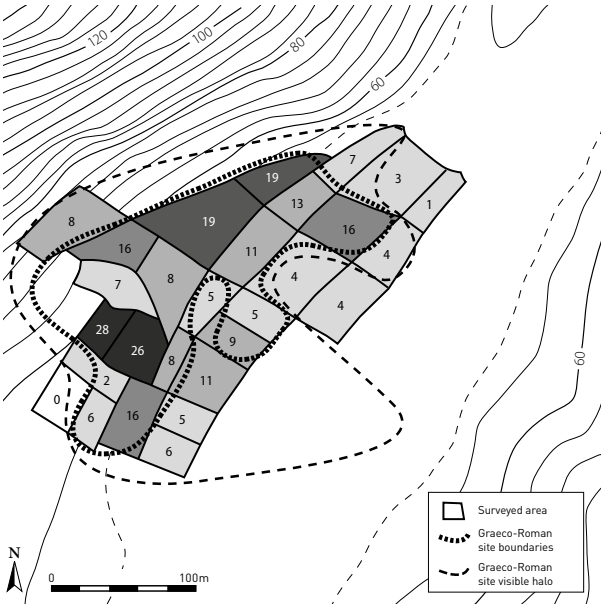


Fig. 8.60: S44, distribution of diagnostic pottery of the Greco-Roman period, showing estimated boundaries of the Greco-Roman site.

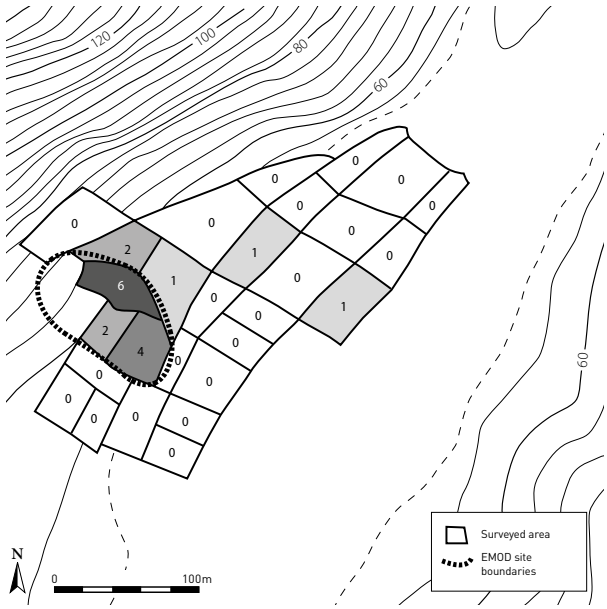


Fig. 8.62: S44, distribution of diagnostic pottery of the Early Modern period, showing estimated boundaries of the Early Modern site.

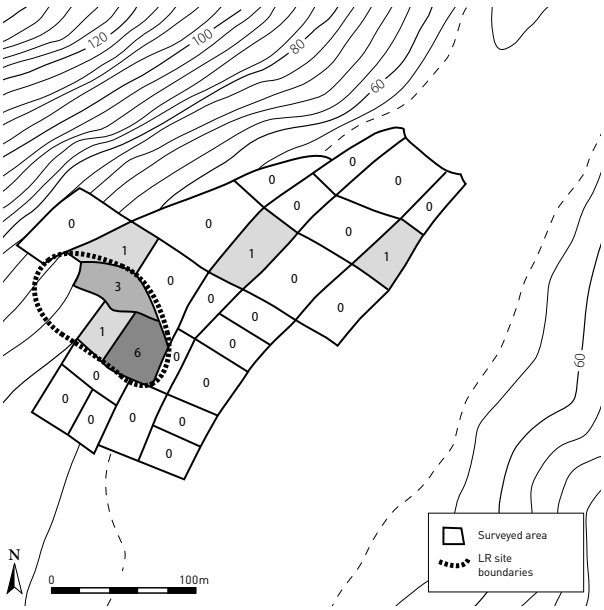


Fig. 8.61: S44, distribution of diagnostic pottery of the Late Roman period, showing estimated boundaries of the Late Roman site.

ed the density values as presented in Fig. 8.55, should belong chronologically in the GR-R period.

During the LR period the site shrank to *c.* 0.5 ha in size (Fig. 8.61), concentrated around the EMOD hut. The LR component presents a lower pottery recovery than the EMOD, quite a strange phenomenon considering the much richer pottery discard that the LR sites usually present in comparison to that of the later periods. This fact in combination with the functional analysis of the few finds (see section F), led to the assumption that the LR site had a non- to semi-residential use.

During the Post-Roman period there is no indication of permanent human activity at the site. The 2 transport/storage M-LBYZ sherds are apparently off-site material. It is only in the EMOD period that the site is reactivated by the construction of the hut and its supplemental structures, namely the folds and the threshing floor. Apparently the structures and the few sherds collected from the immediate surroundings of the structure's space indicate the boundaries of the EMOD site (Figs. 8.54, 8.62). Interestingly enough, the EMOD component's size is the same as that of the LR component, reaching *c.* 0.5 ha. Apart from the size, the structure of the site is also identical; in effect,

it seems that by placing the buildings of the EMOD site onto the LR site map, one could even infer the shape of the latter.

F. Functional analysis

Regarding the functional analysis of the GR-R finds we are obliged to rely on the fieldwork notes, according to which the fine table wares were rare and the plain wares and the transport/storage vessels prevailed; an assemblage which fits with the rural character of a GR-R farm.

As for the LR component, except for one Phocaean Red Slip Ware sherd, the rest of the finds, not surprisingly, were amphora body sherds (Table 8.17). By excluding the body sherds from the calibration, we could hardly speak of a LR site. This fact suggests the apparently non- or semi-residential use of the site during the LR period.

The EMOD assemblage is much more balanced (Table 8.18). Although there was a high amount of transport/storage vessels, among the finds collected occur 3 table wares and 3 processing vessels, in accordance with the function of a small-medium rural EMOD farm, even of a semi-residential character.

G. Final interpretation

S44 is a substantial rural site which reaches its maximum size (*c.* 2.16 ha) in the GR-R period and is interpreted as a large estate-hamlet. A series of data correlate the GR-R component of S44 with S45, the latter being a tower located on the southern slopes above the plateau of Aliko (see Appendix A, S44). The remote and distant location of S44 from the urban centre in combination with the agricultural character of the site and the apparent need of a store-refuge building, interpret the small tower of Aliko as a structure serving the needs of the inhabitants of S44. This hypothesis is supported by the fact that no pottery at all has been identified around the tower (suggesting its occasional use), and that no other human settlement has been identified closer to the tower than S44. The choice of the location of the tower, 400 metres south of the proper settlement could be explained by the advantageous location, with panoramic view and thus control of the plateau, offering a defensive advantage to the occupants in case of emergency. Moreover, its high location, visible from all over the area could serve the symbolical use of the tower as well, and thus underscoring the land occupancy to the spectator (for the towers of Skyros in general, see Chapter 10.2).

During the LR period the site shrinks to the size of *c.* 0.5 ha. It is a small-medium semi-permanent farm, concentrated in the area around the EMOD hut.

Regarding the MED period, the only 2 transport/storage M-LBYZ sherds collected, indicate an occasional use of the site. Only during the EMOD period is there clear evidence of a human occupation at the site, by the construction of the hut and its auxiliary structures. Interestingly enough, the size and structure of the EMOD site, coincides absolutely with that of the LR period, not exceeding 0.5 ha.

Functional category	Total	%
Transport/Storage	11	64.7
Tablewares	3	17.6
Processing	3	17.6
Total	**17**	**100**

Table 8.18: S44, functional analysis of the Early Modern finds.

	LR all sherds/ sum total: 13		LR RHBa/ sum total: 2	
Functional category	**Total**	**%**	**Total**	**%**
Transport/storage	12	92.3	1	50
Tablewares	1	7.7	1	50
Processing	-	-	-	-
Total	**13**	**100**	**2**	**100**

Table 8.17: S44, functional analysis of the Late Roman finds, for (i) all sherds and (ii) rims, handles and bases only.

SITE 48 (S48) – AYIOS FOKAS

A. Location details (Fig. 8.63, Fig. 8.64)

Surveyed June 2010, July 2012: ground visibility 7 – 9; average 8

The site is located on the west coast of the island, at the south-west enclosure of Ayios Fokas bay. The site area is a gently sloping promontory, around the church of Ayios Fokas after which the area is named, on a relatively small field, close to the sea.

Fig. 8.63: S48, the site seen from the south.

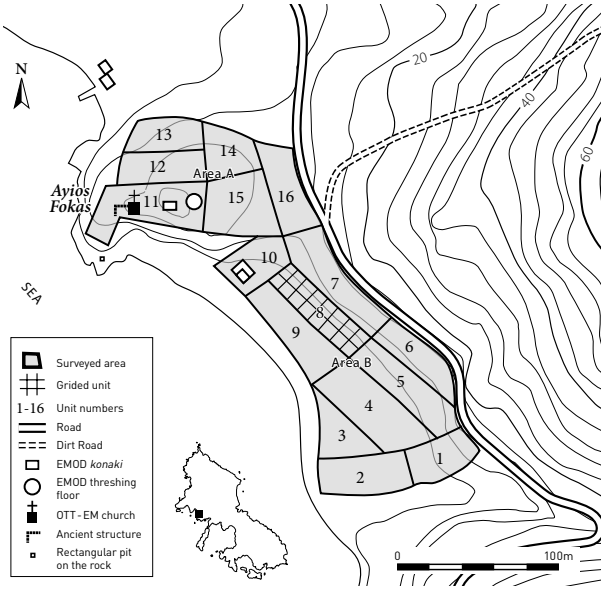


Fig. 8.64: S48, topographical map.

On the top of the promontory lie several blocks of Skyrian polychrome marble of apparently R date and probably from the adjacent quarry of Papagrigori (S50). These blocks have been reused in posterior (LR?) date for the construction of a building, interpreted by past scholars as an Early Christian basilica (see Appendix A, S48).

The site is easily reached by the asphalt road from Ayios Fokas to Pefkos. The area is cultivated with cereals.

B. The artefact trends and the structure of the site

Densities in sherds/ha:
On-site: min. 710, max. 2661, average 1323.
Halo: min. 195, max. 443, average 292.
Background: min. 37, max. 141, average 95.

The total surveyed area (excluding the transects) covered 22,000 m^2, in which have been counted 523 sherds during the first field walking (raw count). After the second intensive count of the gridded U8 the result was 1.7 times more sherds than the first count. Using the number 1.7 as multiplier, I extrapolated the initial density values for the rest of the Units resulting in a total number of 889 sherds, and after the visibility correction I estimated the corrected densities per ha as shown in Fig. 8.65.

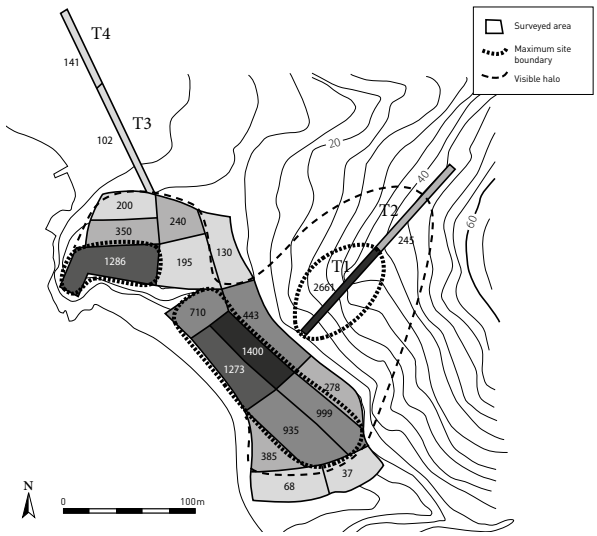


Fig. 8.65: S48, indication of the corrected densities per ha, showing estimated boundaries of the site at its maximum extent.

S48 is estimated as a site of *c.* 10,000 m² (1.0 ha). This size corresponds to the maximum on-site activity of all the periods attested in the field and apparently this size was not attained in any single period of time. S48 is a special case regarding the survey research: during the resurveying of the site in July of 2012, in Transect 1, on the slopes immediately above the surveyed in 2010 area, a significantly high pottery density for the levels of S48 was identified, higher than the Units below. The area of T1 has become the core of the site with density value *c.* >2600 sherds/ha.

Two more cores have been identified in the area of the Units, the first in the middle of the field (Area B) and the second at the top of the promontory (Area A). Both present values >1200. North-west and south-east of the core of Area B the values range between 700-1000 sherds/ha, while around this area and T1 the densities drop to <500 sherds/ha. The same values occur around the core U11 on the promontory. Northwards of the promontory (T3 &T4) and southwards of Area B (U1 & U2), the densities drop in to <150. The four levels of the densities presented above are interpreted as the respective boundaries between the on-site, halo and background areas of the site. Thus, the value 700 sherds/ha is estimated as the minimum attested density for the on-site area, while the range 200 – 500 represent the halo of the site. The densities <200 sherds/ha should reflect the background activity around the site. As usually, the confirmation for the aforementioned assumption came from the finds of the components.

C. Sample fraction statistics

Of the 523 sherds of the first raw count of the Units, 42 sherds were collected, thus 8%. This percentage diminishes to 4.7%, when comparing the 42 collected sherds with the 889, which is the estimated pottery density of the Units (not v-c) lying on the field, after the extrapolation with the multiplier 1.7 (Fig. 8.67).

D. Finds statistics (for the catalogue of the collected finds see Appendix B):

The total of the finds is actually the sum of the registrations (Table 8.19). Thus we see that from the 889 sherds (the estimated pottery density of the Units after the extrapolation with the multiplier 1.7/not v-c), I counted and registered 523 sherds (58.8%). Only the LR-Post Roman sherds were collected, leaving the rest on the field; thus from the 889 finds I picked up 42, a number which corresponds to 4.7% of the total estimated density of the Units (not v-c).

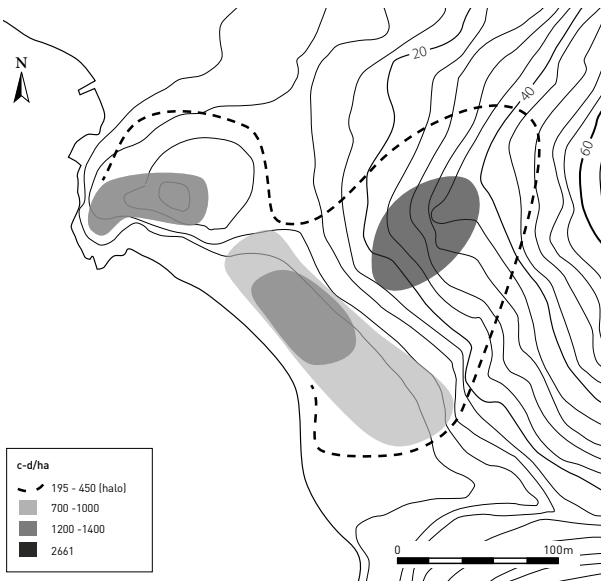


Fig. 8.66: S48, contour analysis of the site density, based on corrected densities per ha.

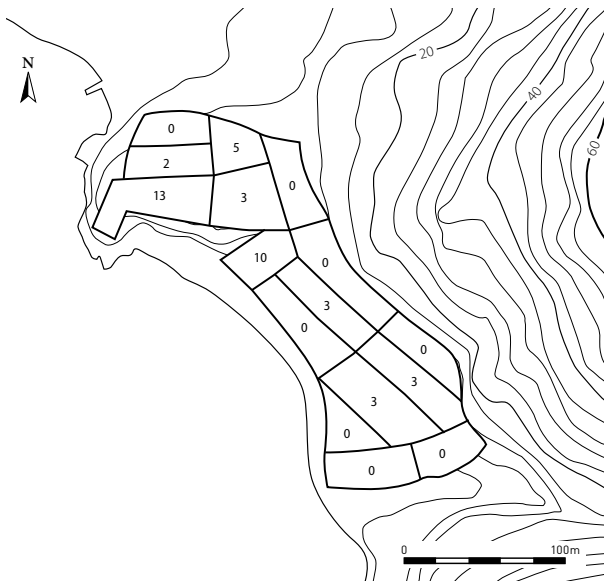


Fig. 8.67: S48, the number of sherds collected, by Unit.

As is clearly seen in Table 8.19, the majority of the pottery identified during the fieldwalking was of GR-R date, followed by the undiagnostic ceramics (Table 8.19, Fig. 8.68). This is the result of the quite good diagnosticity of the ceramics despite their low number. Only 11 LR sherds have been found (the 3 M-LR sherds included), while, regarding the Post-Roman finds, apart from the 3 M–LBYZ off-site sherds, 27 Late OTT–EMOD sherds were collected.

Period	Total	%
Undiagnostic	183	34.9
Greco-Roman	298	56.9
M-LR	3	2.1
LR	8	
Post-Roman	1	0.7
M-LBYZ	3	
OTT	1	5.1
OTT-EMOD	5	
EMOD	21	
Total	**523**	**100**

Table 8.19: S48, statistics of the finds by period (Unit counts).

E. Display of periods (Figs. 8.69 - 8.71)

It is clear that S48 is primarily a GR-R site and more notably HEL – R. During this long period of time S48 reaches 0.75 ha in size, interpreted as a large estate (Fig. 8.69). It is concentrated in Area B and on the eastern slopes. Indeed, in the aforementioned size is included the area of T1 which has presented the highest density value (see section B) and from which unfortunately we have no data on the chronology from the ceramics counted. Recall that the purpose of the resurveying of all the 16 intensively surveyed sites by transects, was the investigation of the surroundings of the sites and more precisely the confirmation about the halo and background levels. For this reason, in the transects were calculated the densities only without collection or registration of finds. S48 is a special case where the survey of 2010 had failed to identify that the core area extended further on the eastern slopes. However, given that the main component of the site was GR-R and that the subsequent LR was concentrated on the promontory, it can be assumed that the ceramics gathered at the area of T1 belong to the broader GR-R period.

As indicated in the map of the corrected densities (Fig. 8.65), here too, the site seems to present

Fig. 8.68: S48, distribution of the undiagnostic pottery.

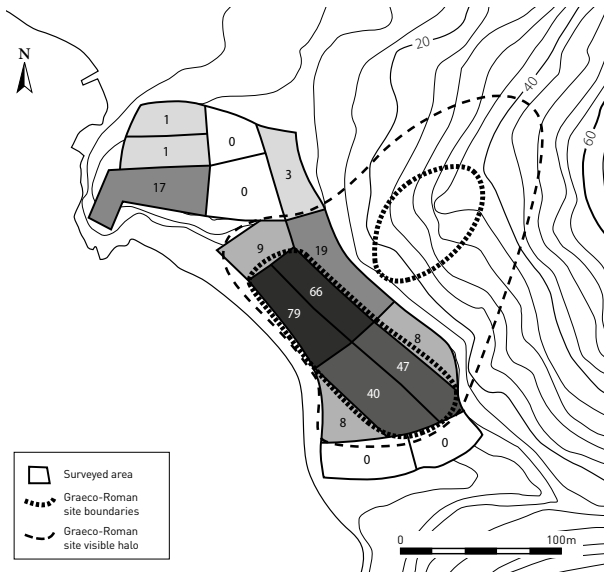


Fig. 8.69: S48, distribution of the diagnostic pottery of the Greco-Roman period, showing estimated boundaries of the Greco-Roman site.

a gap between the T1 and the field below, unless the construction of the asphalt road which passes between them has disturbed the data along its sides.

In the LR period the site shrinks notably, not exceeding *c.* 0.17 ha (Fig. 8.70). The site now is concentrated on the promontory (Area A), where the LR(?) structure is located, interpreted by past scholars as an Early Christian basilica (see Appendix A, S48). Indeed, only 11 LR sherds have been recovered (the 3 M-LR sherds included), the majority at U11.

After the LR period the site ceases. The 3 M-LBYZ sherds are apparently off-site material and it is only towards the late OTT and EMOD periods that the site shows revitalisation (Fig. 8.71). Two small shelters-farms were constructed during this period not exceeding totally 0.3 ha in size. One lay at the northern edge of the field and the other on top of the promontory. Pottery remnants of this occupation are the 27 late OTT and EMOD sherds collected. The area between the two farms has been interpreted as the visible halo of the EMOD component. Finally during that time the small church of Ayios Fokas was (re-)constructed, after which the area was named.

F. Functional analysis

The good diagnosticity of the pottery in the field, enabled a relatively accurate and adequate functional identification of the GR-R ceramics, although no samples were collected. Black and red slip table wares as well as numerous fragments of R amphorae were present. Quite a large amount of tiles and bricks identified in the core Units 8 and 9 indicates the buildings of the GR-R large farm.

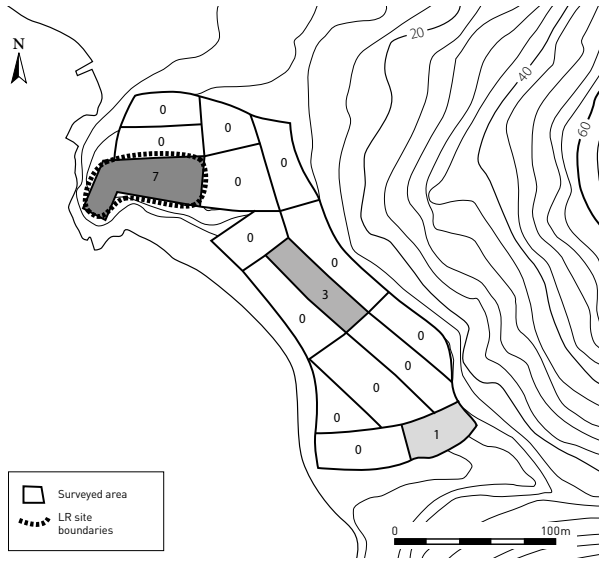


Fig. 8.70: S48, distribution of diagnostic pottery of the Late Roman period (the 3 M-LR sherds included), showing estimated boundaries of the Late Roman site.

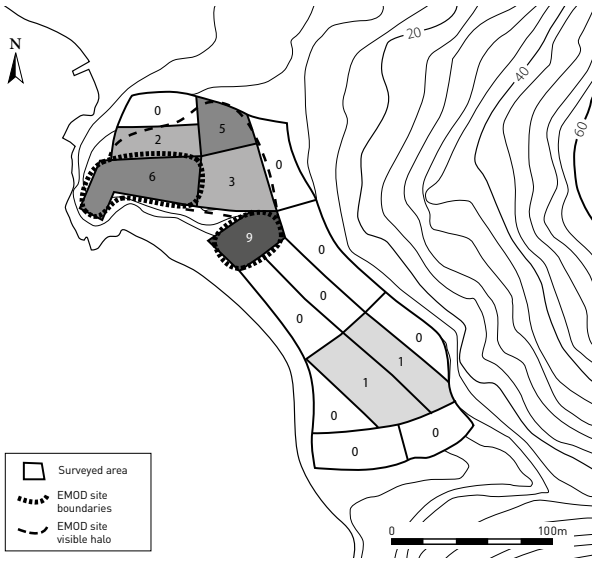


Fig. 8.71: S48, distribution of diagnostic pottery of the Early Modern period, showing estimated boundaries of the Early Modern site.

	LR all sherds/ sum total: 11		LR RHBa/ sum total: 3	
Functional category	**Total**	**%**	**Total**	**%**
Transport/storage	9	81.8	1	33.3
Tablewares	2	18.1	2	66.7
Processing	-	-	-	-
Total	**11**	**100**	**3**	**100**

Table 8.20: S48, functional analysis of the Late Roman sherds (the 3 M-LR sherds included), for (i) all sherds and (ii) rims, handles and bases only.

The majority of the LR pottery recovered was, as usual, amphorae and in particular body sherds (Table 8.20). The exclusion of the body sherds from the calibration would leave barely enough evidence for a LR site. However, two Phocaean Red Slip Ware sherds were also collected.

A balanced distribution among the functional categories was attested in the EMOD pottery assemblage (Table 8.21). This reflects the residential, even semi-permanent, function of the two small farms.

G. Final interpretation

S48 is a substantial rural site which reaches its maximum size of 0.75 ha in the GR-R period. Despite the rural character, its inhabitants were equipped with fine tablewares, reflecting in this way the cultural *koine* of Classical Greek society. In the R period the site was probably used as an anchorage for the shipment of the material of the adjacent marble quarry of Papagrigori (S50). The blocks of polychrome marble located on the promontory, and the rectangular socket on the rock, identical to those attested in the R quarries of the island (see Chapter 10.3), confirm this hypothesis.

In the LR period the site shrinks severely to *c.* 0.17 ha, restricting its activity to the top of the promontory, in the location of the structure built by the reused R marble blocks. The function of the settlement could be possibly related to the continuation of the site as an anchorage of the still active(?) marble quarry.

During the Post-Roman period the site is devoid of any permanent human activity, and only during the Late OTT - EMOD period does the site present a revitalisation shown through the two small farms, settled on and close to the promontory.

Late Ottoman and Early Modern sherds/ sum total: 27		
Functional category	**Total**	**%**
Transport/Storage	12	44.4
Tablewares	7	25.9
Processing	8	29.6
Total	**27**	**100**

Table 8.21: S48, functional analysis of the Late Ottoman and Early Modern sherds.

SITE 55 (S55) – LINO

A. Location details (Fig. 8.72, Fig. 8.73)

Surveyed September 2010, June 2012: ground visibility 0 – 10; average 8.5

The site is located on the east coast of the island, approximately 1.5 km south of Chora, westwards of the asphalt road Chora-Linaria. The site lies on a relatively steep area around the OTT-EMOD

Fig. 8.72: S55, the site seen from the north.

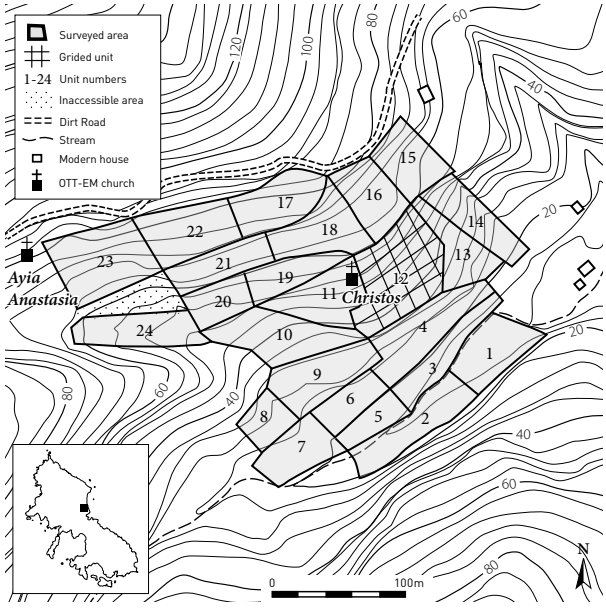


Fig. 8.73: S55, topographical map.

Fig. 8.74: S55, indication of the corrected densities per ha, showing estimated boundaries of the site at its maximum extent, and of the visible halo areas.

church of Christos, above a stream which waters a small fertile valley. The area is shaped in terraces, a result of the intensive cultivation of the land during the OTT-EMOD period. Today, apart from the many olive trees, the land remains uncultivated and is used mainly as pasture.

B. The artefact trends and the structure of the site

On-site: min. 911, max. 10,504, average 3550.
Halo: min. 296, max. 2188, average 921.
Background: min. 0, max. 142, average 53.

The total surveyed area (excluding the transects) covered 48,908m^2, in which 2620 sherds were counted during the first field walking (raw count). After the second intensive count of the gridded U12 the result was 3 times more sherds than the first count. Using the number 3 as multiplier, I extrapolated the initial density values for the rest of the Units resulting in a total number of 7860 sherds, and after the visibility correction I estimated the corrected densities per ha as shown in Fig. 8.74.

S55 is estimated as a site of *c.* 17,000 m^2 (1.7 ha). This size corresponds to the maximal on-site activity of all the periods attested on the field and apparently occupation never reached this size in a single period of time. The core of the site is clearly located in U12 with a density >10,000 (Figs. 8.74-75). The site spreads regularly westwards, with densities ranging *c.* 2000-4500, while a lower pottery concentration is presented above the core, with values ranging *c.* 900-1200, resulting from a shift of the site northwards

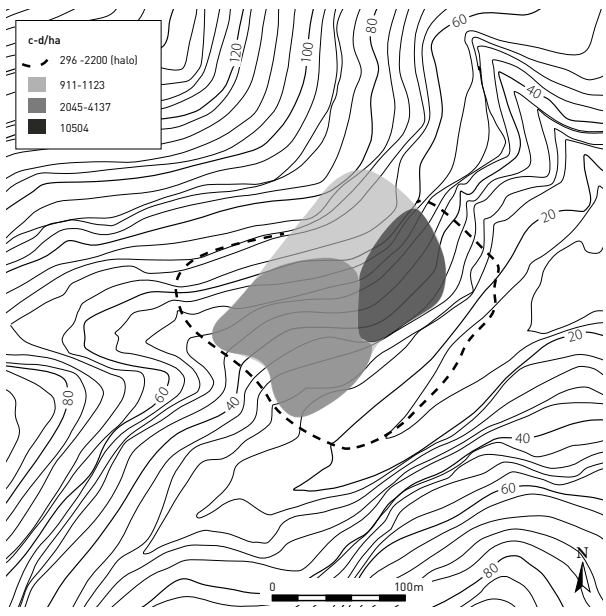


Fig. 8.75: S55, contour analysis of the site density, based on corrected densities per ha.

from the medieval period onwards (see below). The tile concentration is distributed mainly within the aforementioned on-site boundaries, evidence for the buildings in this area (Fig. 8.76). The very bad visibility of U11 (grade 1), has biased the figure of its density, which is particularly striking in the display of each period (Figs. 8.79-84). However, its position, circled by Units with high density values, does not leave doubts about its inclusion into the core of the site.

The declining densities around the aforementioned on-site core, of medium value between the core and the background, probably correspond to the visible halo of this residential site (Fig. 8.74). The 296 sherds/ha of U3 is considered as the lower halo-value, while the higher 2188 sherds/ha is identified in U6. There is an overlapping of the density values between the on-site and the halo-areas: the halo-Units 5, 6 and 13 show higher or equal density values in comparison to the Units 16 and 18, which are considered on-site. I have arrived at this conclusion considering the components' finds in combination with the geomorphological features of the area. The diagnosticity of the Units 5, 6 and 13 was very low, and the artefacts consisted mainly of much eroded ceramics. Furthermore, in none of the occupational periods of the aforementioned Units have there been found numbers of finds sufficient enough to be included into the respective site boundaries, in contrast to the Units 16 and 18 which clearly present a relatively high num-

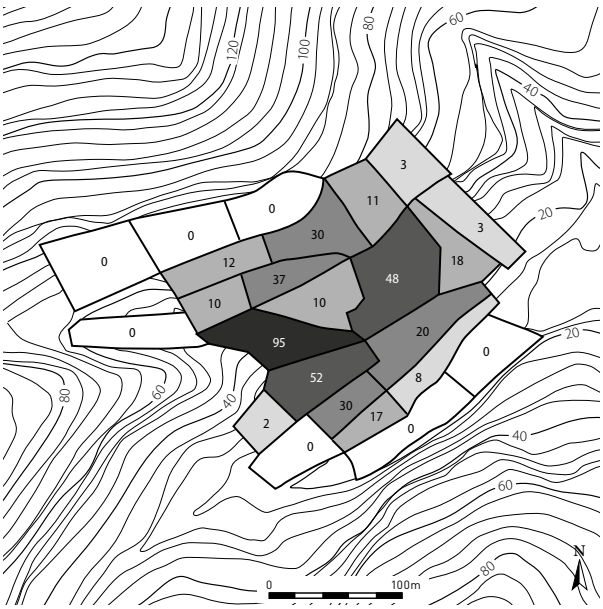


Fig. 8.76: S55, distribution of the counted tiles.

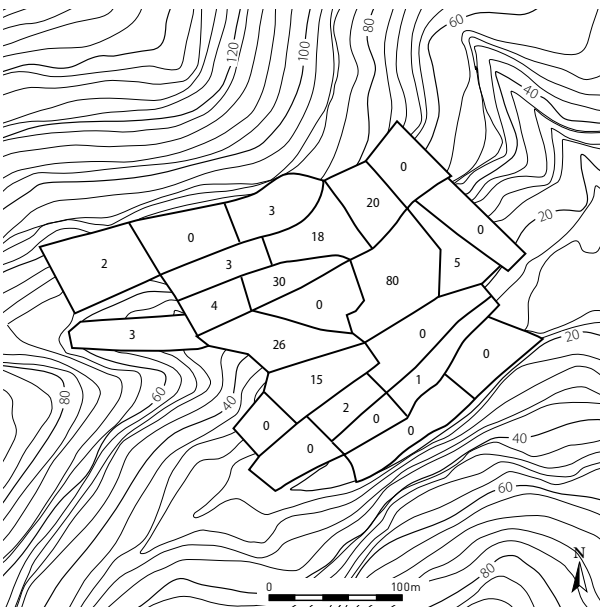


Fig. 8.77: S55, the number of sherds collected, by Unit.

Period	Total	%
Undiagnostic	1140	43.5
Greco-Roman	1268	48.4
M-LR	21	3.7
LR	76	
Post-Roman	2	0.08
LR-EBYZ	1	0.1
EBYZ	2	
MBYZ	2	0.9
M-LBYZ	15	
LBYZ	6	
LBYZ - OTT	2	1.03
OTT	25	
OTT-EMOD	13	2.29
EMOD	47	
Total	**2620**	**100**

Table 8.22: S55, statistics of the finds by period (Unit counts).

ber of EMOD finds corresponding to a contemporary site (Fig. 8.84). Only in the GR-R site is the picture a bit hazier. There we see that the values of Units 5 and 13 are significantly lower than those of the GR-R core Units (Fig. 8.79), but U6 is very close, or better, exceeds the lowest value of the GR-R site, namely the 51 sherds of U19. This last is considered a special case, because of an apparently low diagnosticity and subsequently low GR-R finds recovery: the corrected density of U19 is sufficiently higher than of U6 (Fig. 8.74), and moreover, the majority of the finds which have resulted in this high corrected density must belong to the GR-R or LR sites, as beyond this period the finds are very poor.

If the corrected densities of the Units 5, 6 and 13 (Fig. 8.74) cannot be supported by the finds of the components, then something must be amiss: either the low diagnosticity has resulted in low safely dated finds recovered and distributed into our period maps, and thus the corrected densities of Fig. 8.74 must be more reliable about the structure of the site in comparison to the per period maps, or the relatively high values of the Units 5, 6 and 13 are the result of essentially off-site material, particularly augmented by a special biasing effect. Although the first phenomenon has been observed many times in the survey, here it is believed that the second explanation is correct. Thus, that the relatively high values of the aforementioned Units, very close to the low on-site ones, are created mainly by ceramics rolled from the core area immediately above, because of the steepness of the area and the erosion of the soil.

Below the lowest halo-value of the 296 sherds/ha of U3, the next descending density is the 142 sherds/ha of U14, presenting thus, a drop of approximately 150 sherds. This value is considered as the highest background density identified around the site.

The goal of resurveying the site during June of 2012 was to test the aforementioned assumptions by conducting six transects in the surroundings of the site. The six transects have confirmed the initial suppositions: T3 to T6 have given 0 values, while T1 and T2 have approached the 140 sherds/ha of U14, indicating (in combination with the data from the off-site Units) a background density around the site with starting point <150.

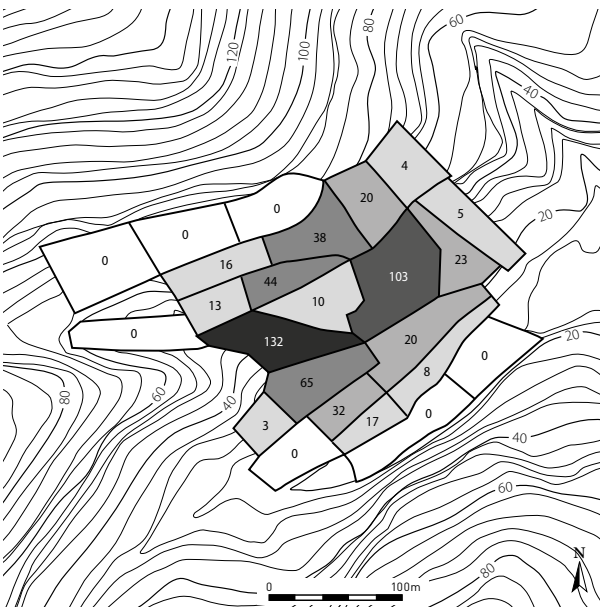


Fig. 8.78: S55, distribution of the undiagnostic pottery.

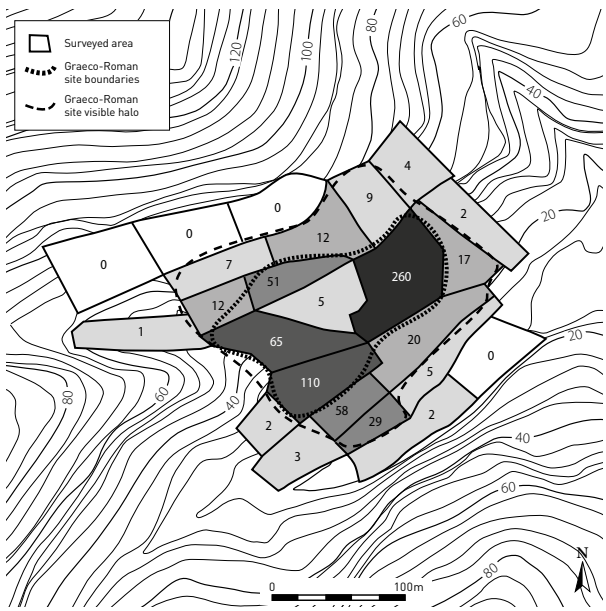


Fig. 8.79: S55, distribution of the diagnostic pottery of the Greco-Roman period, showing estimated boundaries of the Greco-Roman site.

C. Sample fraction statistics

Of the 2620 sherds of the first raw count of the Units, 212 sherds were collected, thus 8%. This percentage diminishes to 2.6%, when comparing the 212 collected sherds with the 7860, which is the estimated pottery density of the Units (not v-c) lying on the field, after the extrapolation with the multiplier 3 (Fig. 8.77).

D. Finds statistics (for the catalogue of the collected finds see Appendix B):

The total of the finds is actually the sum of the registrations (Table 8.22). Thus we see that from the 7860 sherds (the estimated pottery density of the Units after the extrapolation with the multiplier 3/not v-c), I counted and registered 2620 sherds, thus 33.3%. Not all the registered ceramics have been collected but only the LR-Post Roman sherds leaving the rest on the field; thus of the 2,620 I picked up 212, a number which corresponds to 2.6% of the total estimated density of the Units (not v-c).

Again we notice the extremely high number of undiagnostic and GR-R sherds, the latter partially because of the wide periodisation regarding the pre-LR periods. However, in the case of S55, the site presents a notable CL-R phase, not only quantitatively but also qualitatively. A large amount of fresh, fine pottery has been noticed (e.g. black and red slip table wares, see section F). The 97 LR sherds counted and collected (the 21 M-LR sherds included), attest a lower than previous activity on the site, while the 115 Post-Roman sherds, divided from the MBYZ to EMOD period present apparently an even lower activity.

E. Display of periods (Figs. 8.79 - 84)

Clearly during the GR-R period S55 reaches its maximum extent, being a large site of *c.* 1.27 ha (Fig. 8.79). The core of the site is identified at the east-southeast side, with a gentle expansion westwards. In this area the majority of tiles were identified as well, apparently discarded from the GR-R site. The very bad visibility of U11 (grade 1), has resulted in the recovery of only 5 sherds. However, its location, among definitely on-site Units, indicates its inclusion among them. As discussed in section B, the 58 finds of U6 have been considered as halo-material (in contrast to the 51 on-site of U19), on the grounds of the corrected densities

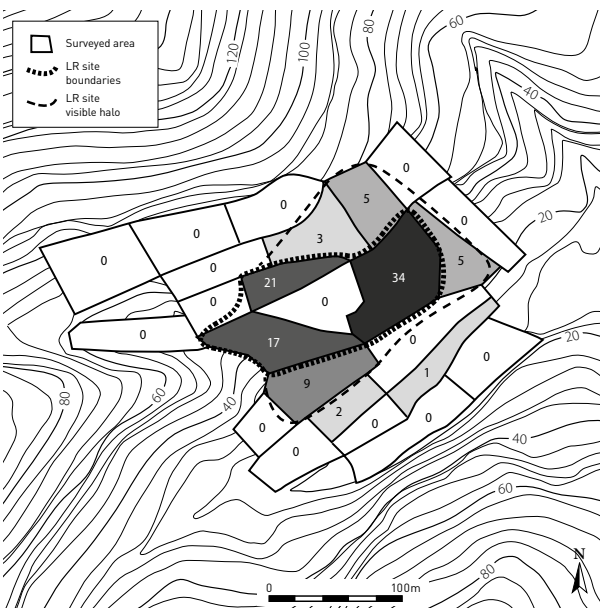


Fig. 8.80: S55, distribution of diagnostic pottery of the Late Roman period (the 21 M-LR sherds included), showing estimated boundaries of the Late Roman site.

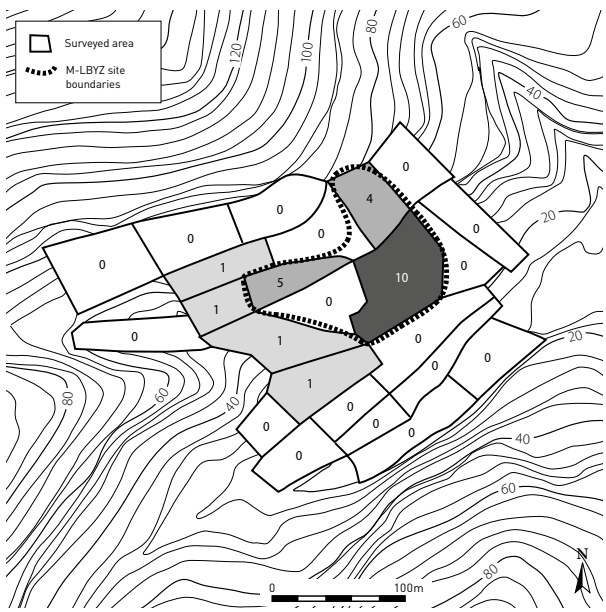


Fig. 8.81: S55, distribution of diagnostic pottery of the Mid-Late Byzantine period, showing estimated boundaries of the Mid-Late Byzantine site.

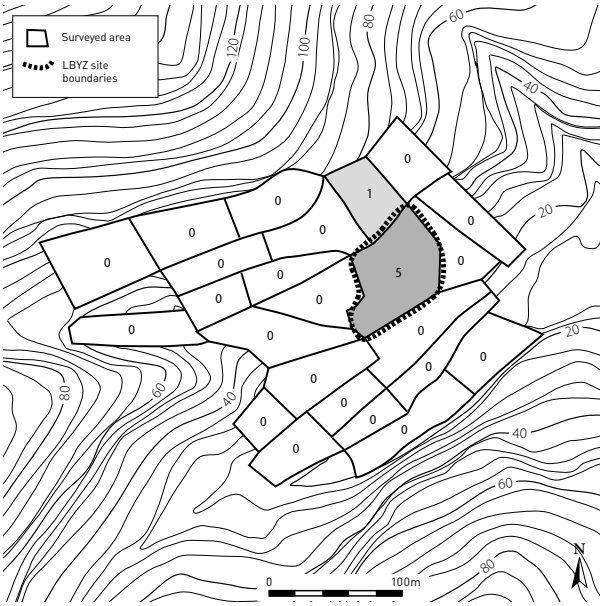


Fig. 8.82: S55, distribution of diagnostic pottery of the Late Byzantine period, showing estimated boundaries of the Late Byzantine site.

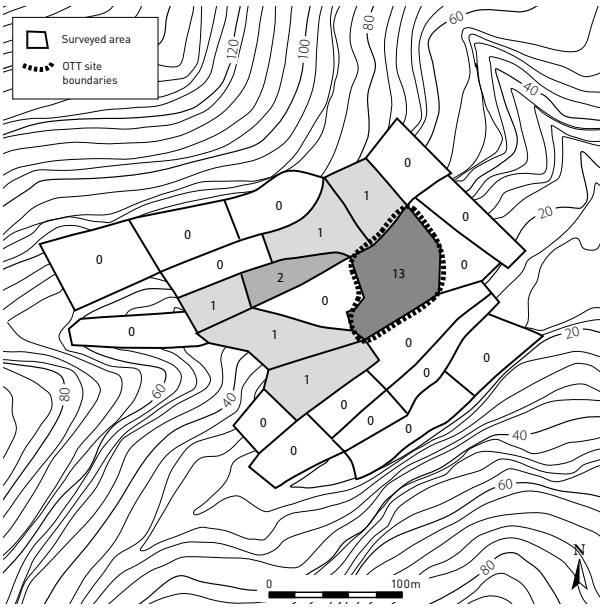


Fig. 8.83: S55, distribution of diagnostic pottery of the Ottoman period (the 2 LBYZ-OTT sherds included, the 7 OTT beehive sherds excluded), showing estimated boundaries of the Ottoman residential site.

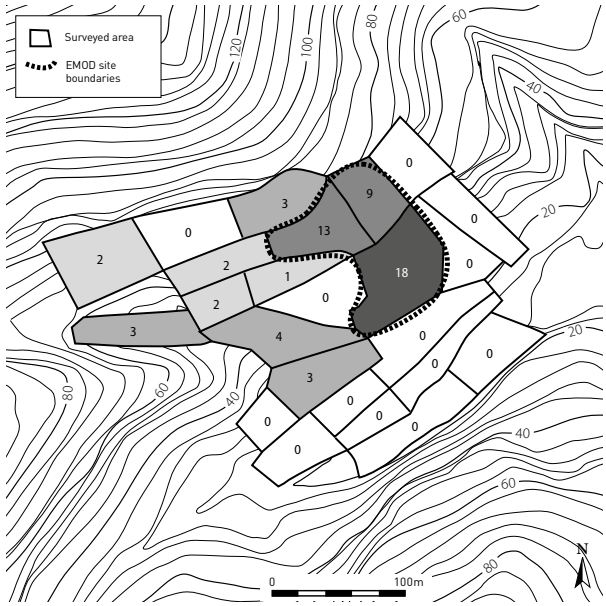


Fig. 8.84: S55, distribution of diagnostic pottery of the Early Modern period (the 13 OTT-EMOD sherds included), showing estimated boundaries of the Early Modern site.

(see section B). Finally, the halo of the GR-R component has been identified more or less in the same location with that of the corrected densities.

During the LR period the site shrinks slightly, down to an area of *c.* 1.0 ha (Fig. 8.80). No shift of the site is detected, on the contrary, U12 maintains its focal character. U11 has not given up any sherds because of the bad visibility effect, but clearly forms part of the site. The halo effect is still visible around the LR site boundaries.

The situation becomes more problematic in the MED period again, due to the low pottery finds and the cross-period attributions. Apart from the 3 EBYZ sherds which leave a hint of a possible relevant activity, only 2 sherds are safely dated in the MBYZ period, 6 only definitely in LBYZ (the 5 gathered in U12), while 15 more, are broadly dated in the M-LBYZ period. Here I present two maps, one of the M-LBYZ site in general, including all the 23 aforementioned M-LBYZ sherds, and a second one of only the LBYZ site, taking into account the definite LBYZ finds only. The results of these two maps are a M-LBYZ site equal in size with that of the LR period, reaching *c.* 1.0 ha, (including U11 in its area), but presenting a

	LR all sherds/ sum total: 97		LR RHBa/ sum total: 20	
Functional category	**Total**	**%**	**Total**	**%**
Transport/storage	75	77.3	4	20
Tablewares	16	16.4	14	70
Processing	6	6.1	2	10
Total	**97**	**100**	**20**	**100**

Table 8.23: S55, functional analysis of the Late Roman sherds (the 21 M-LR sherds included), for (i) all sherds and (ii) rims, handles and bases only.

slight shift towards the north, maintaining however, the focus area in U12 (Fig. 8.81). In contrast, taking into account only the definitely LBYZ sherds, Fig. 8.82 shows a much smaller site which does not cover more than *c.* 0.4 ha, concentrated in the core U12.

During the OTT and EMOD period a gradual revitalisation visits the site. The 13 on-site OTT sherds are again gathered at the core U12, representing a site of *c.* 0.4 ha (Fig. 8.83). Towards the end of the OTT period and more clearly during the EMOD period a slight expansion of the site is identified northwards, where the site seems to be developed during the M-LBYZ period as well, and thus, reaches 0.81 ha in size (Fig. 8.84). Finally, the revitalisation of the site during the OTT-EMOD period is also attested by the construction of the small rural churches of Christos and Ayia Anastasia, dated probably to that time.

F. Functional analysis

Although no collection regarding the GR-R sherds has taken place, from the registrations we know that the majority of the ceramics belonged to the fine table ware pottery (e.g. black slip table wares and tiles, red slip R pottery etc.).

The majority of the LR finds collected were body sherds of transport/storage vessels (*c.* 77%). The table wares occupy 16% and the processing vessels 6% (Table 8.23). Despite the prevalence of the trasnport/storage vessels, the presence of the other two functional categories attests the residential character of the LR site. Moreover, after excluding body sherds from the counts, the percentages are opposite. Thus, the table wares now occupy 70% of the assemblage, while the transport-storage vessels 20%.

Regarding the M-LBYZ period, the 16 transport/storage sherds, the 5 table wares and the 2 pro-

M-LBYZ sherds/ sum total: 23		
Functional category	**Total**	**%**
Transport/Storage	16	69.5
Tablewares	5	21.7
Processing	2	8.6
Total	**23**	**100**

Table 8.24: S55, functional analysis of the Mid-Late Byzantine sherds.

OTT sherds/ sum total: 27		
Functional category	**Total**	**%**
Transport/Storage	4	15
Tablewares	14	52
Processing	2	7
Agricultural production	7	26
Total	**27**	**100**

Table 8.25: S55, functional analysis of the Ottoman sherds (the 2 LBYZ-OTT sherds included).

EMOD sherds/ sum total: 60		
Functional category	**Total**	**%**
Transport/Storage	20	33.3
Tablewares	20	33.3
Processing	20	33.3
Total	**60**	**100**

Table 8.26: S55, functional analysis of the Early Modern sherds (the 13 OTT-EMOD sherds included).

cessing, seems to correspond well enough with the function of a MED farm (Table 8.24), while a more striking presence of table wares is occurred in OTT period (Table 8.25). Furthermore, ideal equilibration among the functional categories occurs in the analysis of the EMOD finds (Table 8.26).

G. Final interpretation

S55 is a substantial rural site which reaches its maximum size of 1.27 ha in the GR-R period. Despite its rural character, its inhabitants had fine table wares, reflecting in this way the cultural *koine* of the Classical Greek society. In the LR period the site shrinks slightly to 1.0 ha, its core at the same spot as the pre-LR settlement. The function of the settlement was clearly residential, as the fine tableware imports attest. During the M-LBYZ period, the site maintains the size of 1.0 ha, despite its shift northwards. Its core, however, remains at the same spot as the ancient and the LR site. By separating our MED finds and presenting the map of the LBYZ site apart from the M-LBYZ one, the results indicate a site much more shrunken, to *c.* 0.4 ha, occupying only the core of the ancient site. The same figure is presented for the OTT period as well, thus a small farm of no more than 0.4 ha in size. The situation changes towards the late OTT and more clearly during the EMOD period. A revitalising occurs, and a bigger site of *c.* 0.81 ha expands northwards, to the same area where the MED site was located, having as focus area always the perennial core U12.

SITE 64 (S64) – AYIA ANNA

A. Location details (Fig. 8.85, Fig. 8.86)

Surveyed August 2010, June 2012: ground visibility 5 – 9; average 6.3

The site is located in the valley of Kalikri in the middle part of the island, beside the asphalt road Achili – Kalamitsa. S64 can be found on the eastern slopes immediately above the valley, around the

Fig. 8.85: S64, the site seen from the west.

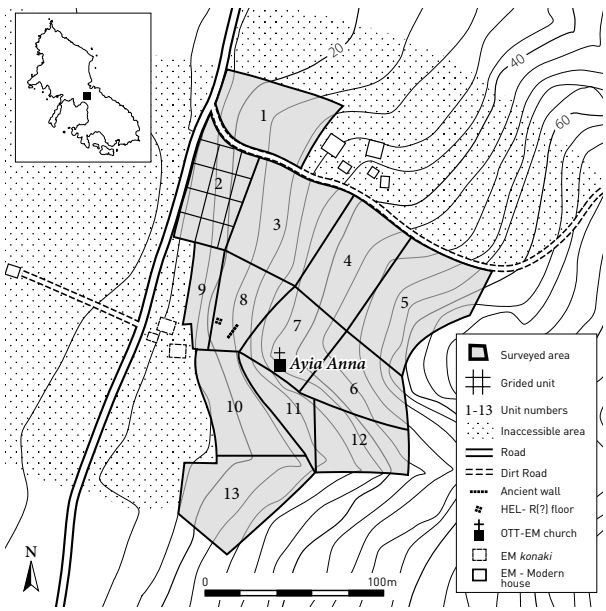


Fig. 8.86: S64, topographical map.

OTT(?) church of Ayia Anna. Below the church *c.* 10 metres of ancient fortification wall and a fragment of HEL-R pavement, confirm the locality of the ancient site (see Appendix A, S64).

The site is easily reached by the asphalt road which passes immediately beside it. Below the road no research has been conducted, because of an intensive vegetable cultivation during the fieldwork session. The land is one of the most fertile of the island. Vegetable and cereal cultivation in the valley, in combination with olive trees on the terraces of the slopes constitute the present day agricultural practice of the area, a situation which must be a reflection of that in antiquity.

B. The artefact trends and the structure of the site

Densities in sherds/ha:
On-site: min. 684, max. 4858, average 1696.
Halo: min. 150, max. 235, average 177.
Background: min. 0, max. 96, average 26.

The total surveyed area (excluding the transects) covered *c.* 28,000 m^2, in which 704 sherds were counted during the first field walking (raw count). After the second intensive count of the gridded U2 the result was 1.8 times more sherds than the first count. Using the number 1.8 as multiplier, I extrapolated the initial density values for the rest of the Units resulting in a total number of 1267 sherds, and after the visibility correction I estimated the corrected densities per ha as shown in Fig. 8.87.

S64 is estimated as a site of *c.* 11,900 m^2 (*c.* 1.19 ha) maximum, a size reached during the GR-R period. The core of the site is identified at its western edge (U2), with a gradually descending activity towards the east and south (Figs. 8.87 - 88). After the highest value of 4858 sherds of U2 we notice a drop of approximately 3000 sherds in U3, while the rest of the estimated on-site Units fall to approximately half the number of U3, except from the slightly increased number of U7.

It would be reasonable to offer a quite different presentation of the site-structure with the four low-density Units (U4, U7, U8, U9) interpreted as halo areas rather than on-site, considering the data from the components as well. In all the three components of the site (GR-R, LR, M-LBYZ) the aforementioned Units are significantly poorer in finds in

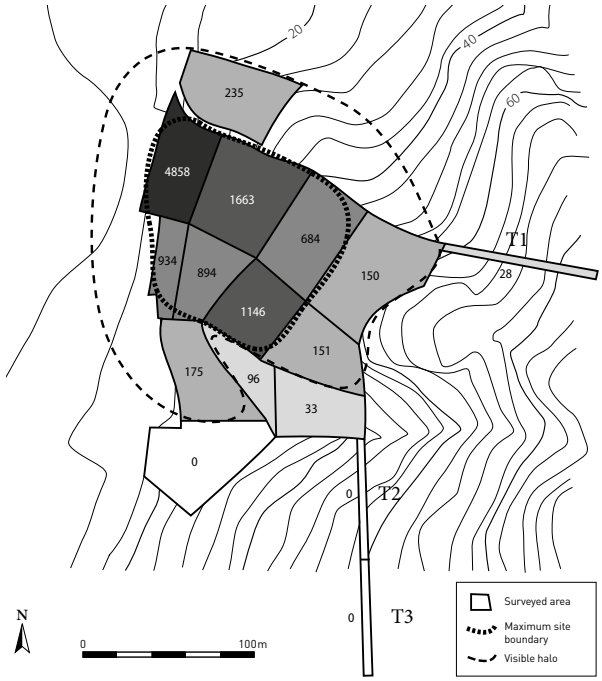


Fig. 8.87: S64, indication of the corrected densities per ha, showing estimated boundaries of the site at its maximum investigated extent.

comparison to U2 and U3 (Figs. 8.91 - 93). In fact, regarding the LR and MED components, U4, U7, U8 and U9 are off-site areas. It is clear then, that if the four Units under inspection were once part of the site, this would have taken place only in the GR-R component. However, the low number of GR-R finds in the Units further support their characterization as halo (Fig. 8.91).

Reverting to the subject of the corrected densities, the 'disturbing' value of 1146 sherds of U7, close to the 1663 of the definitely core-U3, could interpret U7 as on-site and its low GR-R pottery recovery could be explained as a result of the low diagnosticity. Such an explanation could draw in the remaining three Units due to the slight density-differences among them (U7=1146, U9=934, U8=894, U4=684). Apart from that, the strongest argument for their characterization as on-site Units is the location of the architectural finds, apparently of GR-R date, consisting of a fortification wall and of a building floor. Both of them are located in U8 and its exclusion from the site would seriously perplex the definition of the 'site' itself. It is reasonable then to assume that the low den-

sities in the four Units around the core, are the result of a lower activity of the GR-R component there.

Although no survey has been conducted westwards of the road, it is believed that the core area probably does not continue into the valley. Examining Fig. 8.87 we notice that the values of U1 and U10 are significantly decreased in comparison to the core Units between them. If supposedly the site had de-

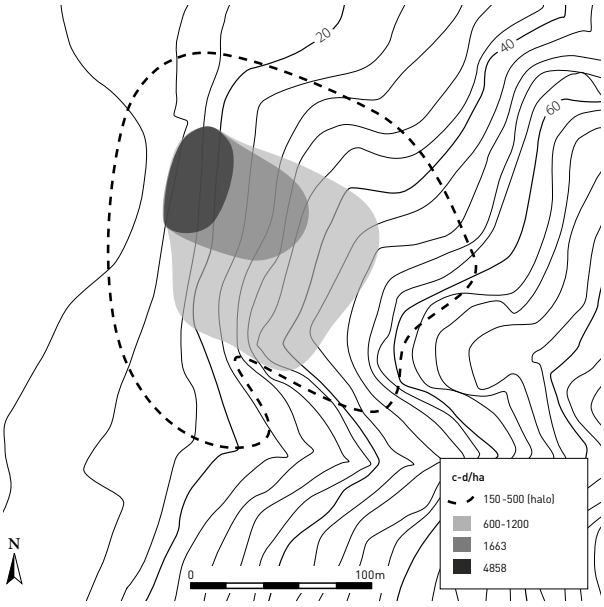


Fig. 8.88: S64, contour analysis of the site density, based on corrected densities per ha.

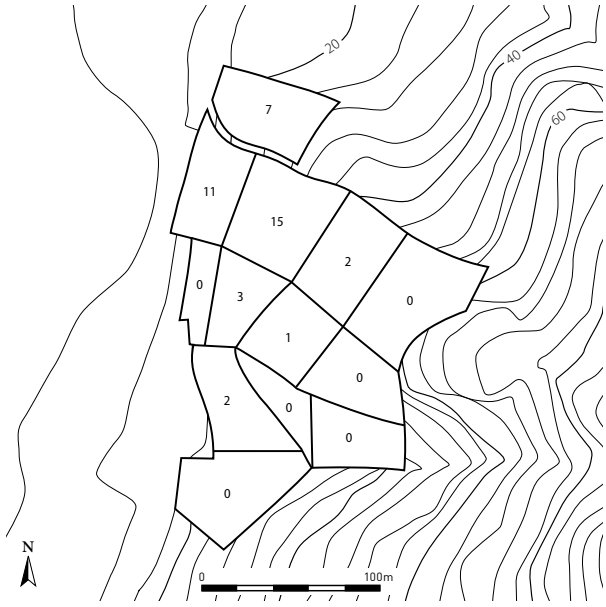


Fig. 8.89: S64, the number of sherds collected, by Unit.

Fig. 8.90: S64, distribution of the undiagnostic pottery.

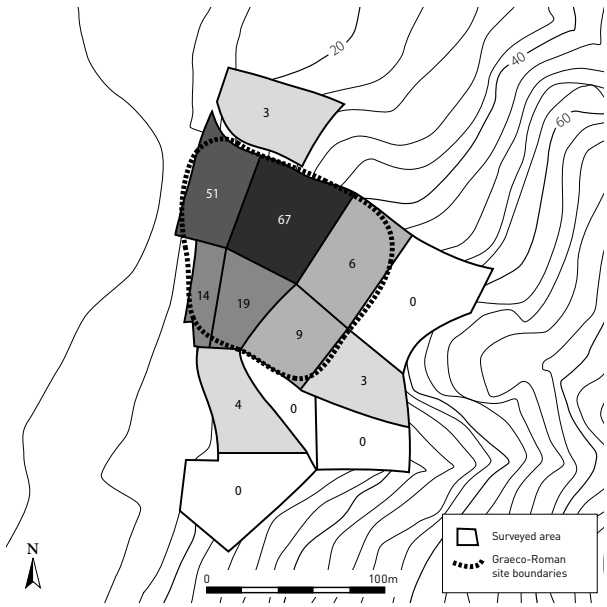


Fig. 8.91: S64, distribution of diagnostic pottery of the Greco-Roman period, showing estimated boundaries of the investigated Greco-Roman site.

veloped farther west, we should probably expect the two aforementioned Units to be richer in finds. On the contrary, their values are very close to those of U5 and U6.

The three transects conducted in June of 2012 help us understand better the structure of the site. Eastwards of U5 the density is decreased to c. 28 sherds/ha, an indication of the beginning of the background area after approximately 50 metres from the site boundary. This in combination with the data from U1 and U10 enable us reconstruct a halo zone of approximately 50 metres from the north, south and east of the site, which we could suppose could continue westwards of the site as well into the valley. This would give to the site a regular shape, in accordance with the hypothesis that the ancient inhabitants would prefer to stay on the slopes immediately east of the valley, rather than into it: "Sometimes a farm or village is located marginally to arable land or other resources, precisely so as to make maximum use of the latter" (Bintliff *et al.* 2007, 139). The estimated density value of the halo then, should range between 150-500 sherds/ha, while the starting value for the background should be <150.

C. Sample fraction statistics

Of the 704 sherds of the first raw count of the Units, 41 sherds were collected, thus 5.8%. This percentage diminishes to 3.2%, when comparing the 41 collected sherds with the 1267, which is the estimated pottery density of the Units (not v-c) lying on the field, after the extrapolation with the multiplier 1.8 (Fig. 8.89).

D. Finds statistics (for the catalogue of the collected finds see Appendix B):

The total of the finds is actually the sum of the registrations (Table 8.27). Thus we see that from the 1267 sherds (the estimated pottery density of the Units after the extrapolation with the multiplier 1.8/not v-c), I counted and registered 704 sherds, thus 55.3%. Only the LR-Post Roman sherds were collected of the registered ceramics; thus from the 1267 finds 41 were picked up, a number which corresponds to 3.2% of the total estimated density of the Units (not v-c).

As Table 8.27 shows, the majority of the pottery found was undiagnostic, followed by the GR-R ceramics, a common phenomenon of the survey. The 176 GR-R sherds in comparison to the 3 M-LR, 18 LR and the 9 MED, reflect the prominence of the GR-R component. Moreover, the 9 MED sherds, unfortunately can only be broadly grouped in the cross-period from the Mid to Late Byzantine period. As for the 12 EMOD sherds, these are actually off-site material of the adjacent contemporary small farms.

E. Display of periods (Figs. 8.91 - 93)

It is clear that S64 is primarily a GR-R site. During this long period of time S64 reaches *c.* 1.19 ha in size, interpreted as a large estate (Fig. 8.91). The core of the site is located in U2 and 3, with a pottery recovery of 51 and 67 GR-R sherds, respectively. Despite their low pottery recovery, the reasons for the inclusion of the four Units 4, 7, 8 and 9 into the on-site area have been analysed in section B. Furthermore, the slight find difference among U4 and U1, and U10 and U6, could not justify the distinction between the on and off-site areas on the grounds of quantitative criteria only, without the help of the corrected densities. Finally, the low find recovery does not permit any suggestion about the halo of the component. The corrected densities leave hints only about the Units 1, 6 and 10 as such.

Unfortunately there are no data about the tiles' distribution in order to get some more information on the structure of the GR-R component. However, combining the evidence from the pottery and the architectural remains, we could presume the existence of a tower-structure in the location of the existing church and the domestic area below it, towards the valley.

Period	Total	%
Undiagnostic	487	69.1
Greco-Roman	176	25
M-LR	3	2.9
LR	18	
M-LBYZ	9	1.2
EMOD	11	1.5
Total	**704**	**100**

Table 8.27: S64, statistics of the finds by period (Unit counts).

In the LR period the site shrinks notably to *c.* 0.5 ha. Clearly the site continues to be active in the core area of the GR-R component (Fig. 8.92). The late 6th to late 7th c. chronology of the 3 more precisely dated fine tableware finds, show a late phase of the site (see Appendix B, S64).

The fragmentation of the 9 totally collected sherds dated in cross-periods from the Mid to Late Byzantine period, does not allow a clear picture of the chronological sequence of the site within the MED era and obliges us to sum up the evidence as presented in Fig. 8.93. It is clear that if we split the 9 MED finds in different chronological subdivisions, we could not rule out seeing the relevant finds possibly as off-site material. Bearing this convention in mind, we can identify a broadly dated M-LBYZ site even more shrunken than the LR one of no more than 0.3 ha in size, occupying the core area of the site since antiquity.

F. Functional analysis

The functional analysis of the GR-R finds counted and registered on the field attest a more or less regular representation of the three functional groups in consideration, with the table wares and transport/storage vessels being in the first place.

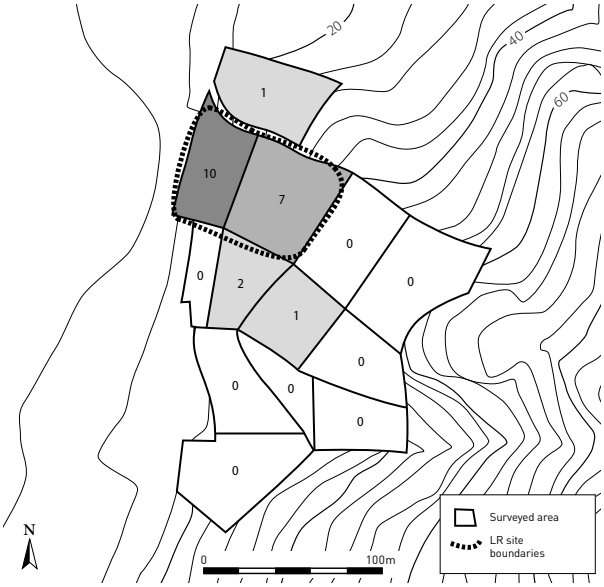


Fig. 8.92: S64, distribution of the diagnostic pottery of the Late Roman period (including the 3 M-LR sherds collected), showing estimated boundaries of the investigated LR site.

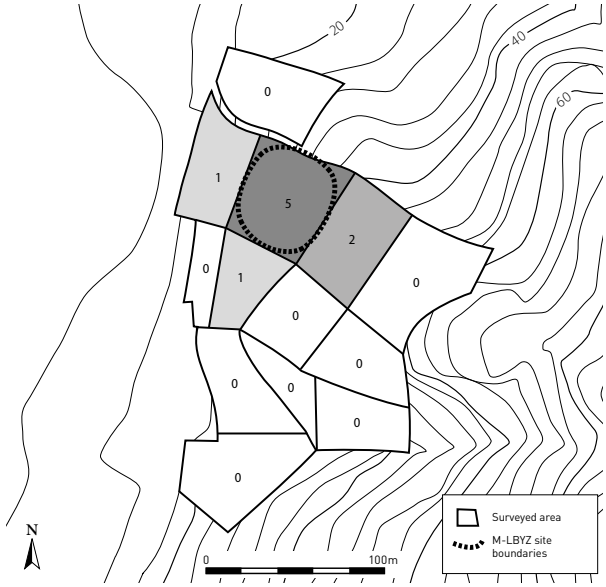


Fig. 8.93: S64, distribution of the diagnostic pottery of the Mid -Late Byzantine period, showing estimated boundaries of the Mid – Late Byzantine site.

	LR all sherds/ sum total: 21		LR RHBa/ sum total: 6	
Functional category	**Total**	**%**	**Total**	**%**
Transport/storage	18	85.7	3	50
Tablewares	3	14.2	3	50
Processing	-	-	-	-
Total	**21**	**100**	**37**	**100**

Table 8.28: S64, functional analysis of the Late Roman sherds (the 3 M-LR sherds included), for (i) all sherds and (ii) rims, handles and bases only.

The more detailed information regarding the LR finds, show, as usual, a staggering presence of the transport/storage vessels. After the usual exercise of excluding the body sherds from the calibration, besides the notable decrease of finds (on the brink of their characterisation as on-site material), the finds are equally distributed between the first two functional categories (Table 8.28). In any case, the presence of 3 fine red slip ware fragments, suggests a residential function of the site during the LR period.

The functional analysis of the Byzantine finds, despite their low number, shows a much balanced distribution, suggesting a residential small farm-site (Table 8.29).

G. Final interpretation

S64 is a substantial rural site, which reaches its maximum size in the GR-R period, *c.* 1.19 ha. At that time this large estate was equipped with a fortified area at the top of the site, used periodically by the inhabitants who mainly settled below it. During the LR period the site shrinks to a medium farm, *c.* 0.5 ha in size. The focus area continues to be the core of the GR-R component. The site seems to be active during the M-LBYZ period, being probably a modest farm, not overcoming *c.* 0.3 ha in size.

After that time, the only definite indication about a residential usage of the site (probably seasonal) is during the EMOD period with the construction of the huts (*konakia*) and their relevant off-site pottery discard identified on the area of the ancient site. The existence of the church of Ayia Anna, built probably in the OTT period, indicates a seasonal usage of the site even earlier.

M-LBYZ sherds/ sum total: 9		
Functional category	**Total**	**%**
Transport/Storage	4	44
Tablewares	2	22
Processing	3	33
Total	**9**	**100**

Table 8.29: S64, functional analysis of the Byzantine sherds.

SITE 65 (S65) – KALAMITSA

A. Location details (Fig. 8.94, Fig. 8.95)

Surveyed September 2010, July 2012: ground visibility 2 – 10; average 5,5

The site, one of the biggest of the island, is located on the western side of Kalamitsa bay. S65 is found beside the asphalt road Kalamitsa - Linaria, on a large plain area between the sea and the hills to the north.

Fig. 8.94: S65, the site seen from the north-east.

Fig. 8.95: S65, topographical map.

The site seems to begin south-west of the asphalt road (Area A), a non-investigated area because of the intense building activity taking place there. The area is referred to as *kolona* by the locals, because of a large monolithic R column thrust into the land. Within the surveyed area, on a slight height beside the road and close to some abandoned EMOD huts (*konakia*), lie two semi-buried R sarcophagi reported by the post-medieval travellers. These finds have been the subject of an extensive discussion among the first historians and archaeologists studying the island, on the identification of the site with the settlement of *Krision* referred to in the literature (see Appendix A, S65). In the centre of the site (Area B) several ancient squared stones and fragments of walls are identified, while on one of the hills called Tourli (Area C) a R-LR rectangular structure is located. The site must have been in continuous use from antiquity until the post-medieval period as the island's main port-anchorage.

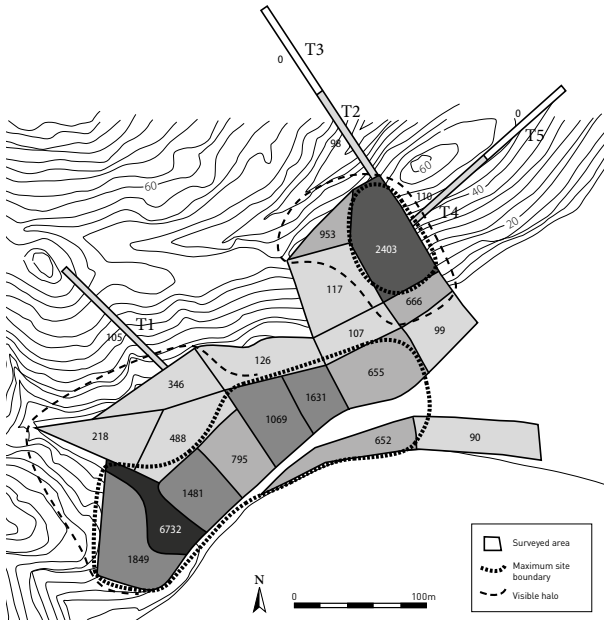


Fig. 8.96: S65, indication of the corrected densities per ha, showing estimated boundaries of the site at its maximum investigated extent.

B. The artefact trends and the structure of the site

Densities in sherds/ha:
On-site: min. 652, max. 6732, average 1918.
Halo: min. 218, max. 953, average 534.
Background: min. 0, max. 126, average 78.

The total surveyed area covered 85,000m^2, in which 1408 sherds were counted during the first field walking (raw count). After the second intensive count of the gridded U2 the result was 3.3 times more sherds than the first count. Using the number 3.3 as multiplier, I extrapolated the initial density values for the rest of the Units resulting in a total number of 4646 sherds, and after the visibility correction I estimated the corrected densities per ha as shown in Fig. 8.96.

S65 is one of the largest sites of the island, of *c.* 42,500 m^2 (*c.* 4.25 ha) maximum. This size corresponds to the R component, the largest of the site. Despite the large area, the pottery densities are relatively low in comparison to other sites of the island. This is partially explained by the special geomorphologic circumstances of the area, and particularly that of Area B. The large field which constitutes the majority of the site, has been completely uncultivated since the EMOD period and has been exclusively used as pasture since then. Moreover, the area suffers regularly from stagnant waters, a phenomenon which, in combination with the lack of cultivation, creates an arid and hard soil, poor, and apart from fertility, also sherd recovery as well; a situation which was faced at the time of the survey.

As Figs. 8.96-97 show, the site presents three cores, one at the south-west edge of the surveyed area around the R sarcophagi, a second one in the centre of the large field and a third one on the hill of Tourli. All of them present density values >1000. Especially the first core includes the highest density value registered on the site, namely the 6732 sherds/ha in U2. The second core on the hill presents values >2000, while the third one on the field scores between 1000 – 2000 sherds/ha. The same value is identified at the first core, in a zone which seems to surround the focus U2. Around these three cores the densities range between 500 – 1000, while a more loose pottery concentration is identified to the north, on the slopes and at the eastern edge of the surveyed area.

Using the data from the Units and the Transects (the latter conducted during the resurveying of the site in July of 2012), I estimated that the values <500 should be considered as off-site material. An anomaly to the aforementioned assumption is presented by U14 and U16 with values 666 and 953 sherds/ha respectively, which actually create an overlap between

the on-site and halo values. The high values that the aforementioned Units present, are probably the result of their location immediately below the core U15 in combination with the erosion of the soil. The high slope inclination there has resulted in rolling sherds from the core Unit, something which consequently has augmented the pottery concentration of the adjacent U14 and 16. On the contrary, U17, which is located on the neck of the hill, at the same altitude with U15, presents a significantly lower density, definitely of off-site character. This last must represent the original situation of Area C.

Apart from that, the aforementioned assumption is confirmed also by the fact that both U14 and U16 were very poor in datable finds. It is very characteristic that in sum, both Units, in both the main components of the site (GR-R, LR), have offered only two diagnostic sherds (Figs. 8.100-101). This of course is the result of the low diagnosticity that the given Units have presented, a normal phenomenon for an area with eroded sherds rolled from elsewhere and not *in situ*.

Returning to the 500 sherds/ha as estimated boundary between the on and off-site areas, a different reading of the data with the on-site area characterised with values >1000 would be reasonable. This of course would render the low area around the core in the centre of the field as halo, rather than on-site (the first zone indicated with light grey in Fig. 8.97). However, such an interpretation would contradict the data from the components' finds. For example U11 which presents the low density value of 655 sherds/ha, has given 29 GR-R finds, while its adjacent U10 with density score more than double, has offered 22 finds (Fig. 8.100). Moreover, U18 with density value of only 652 sherds/ha has given 10 LR finds, as much as U1 with density 1849 sherds/ha (Fig. 8.101). In other words, if indeed this low-density area was halo, we would expect to identify a similar to the corrected densities distribution of the finds in the components' data as well, but this is not the case.

After finalising the boundary between the on and off-site areas at 500 sherds/ha, we can now proceed to the distinction between the halo and background densities. The on-site and halo values, namely the 666 and 953 sherds/ha of the U14 and U16, are a special case because of the geomorphologic phenomena analysed above. These last values of course can be characterised as halo areas of the core U15. In area B particularly, we notice that Units 5, 6 and 7 present values 200-500, while the densities seem to descend regularly below 200 sherds on the slopes of the hills. We estimate then, that the aforementioned Units should be part of the visible halo of the site and that the starting point for the background should be <200.

C. Sample fraction statistics

Of the 1408 sherds of the first raw count of the Units, 132 sherds were collected, thus 9.3%. This percentage diminishes to 2.8%, when comparing the 133 collected sherds with the 4646, which is the estimated pottery density of the Units (not v-c) lying on the field, after the extrapolation with the multiplier 3.3 (Fig. 8.98).

D. Finds statistics (for the catalogue of the collected finds see Appendix B):

The total number of the finds is actually the sum of the registrations (Table 8.30). Thus we see that from the 4646 sherds (the estimated pottery density of the Units after the extrapolation with the multiplier 3.3/not v-c), I counted and registered 1408 sherds (30%). Only the LR-Post Roman sherds were collected, leaving the rest on the field; thus from the 1408 finds 132 were picked up, a number which corresponds to 2.8% of the total estimated density of the Units (not v-c).

Approximately 70% of the sherds counted on the field were undiagnostic (Table 8.30, Fig. 8.99). This phenomenon was usual in the survey. The very high percentage found at S65 is enhanced from and partially result of the aridness and the lack of cultivation of the land having as a consequence the deprivation from fresh-broken and diagnostic pottery. Second in the order of Table 8.30, is the large group of the GR-R pottery, in reality mainly R, reflecting a contemporary peak of the site.

The LR pottery finds take the third position: 100 sherds were collected (the 6 M-LR sherds included), a prominence attested in variety and quality as well (see section F), something which reflects a quite active and of a special role site on the island during the LR period. Beyond the LR finds, the few MED comprise apparently off-site material. The unique MBYZ Otranto amphora sherd collected suggests the continuation of the site as port-anchorage even during the MED period. Moreover, the 13 beehive OTT sherds

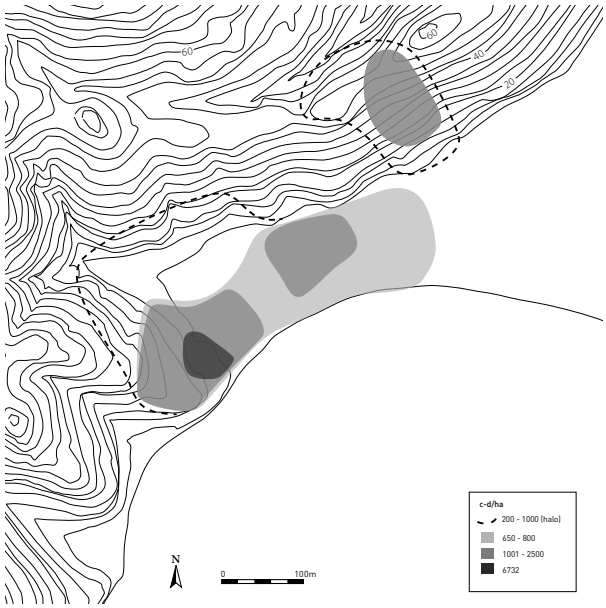


Fig. 8.97: S65, contour analysis of the site density, based on corrected densities per ha.

Fig. 8.98: S65, the number of sherds collected, by Unit.

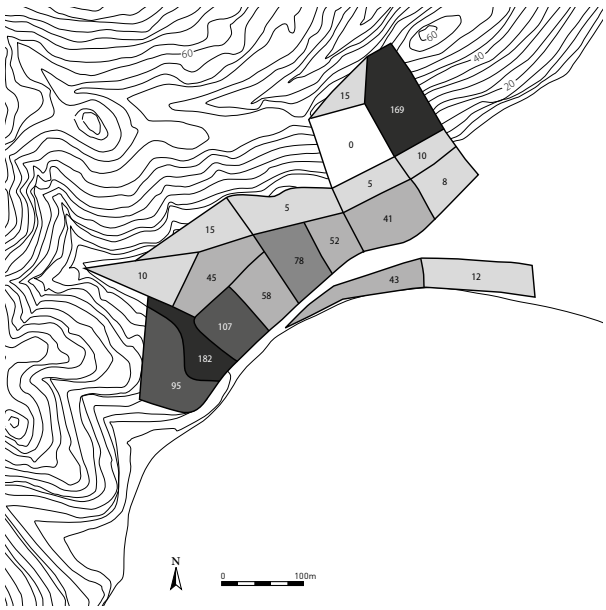


Fig. 8.99: S65, distribution of the undiagnostic pottery.

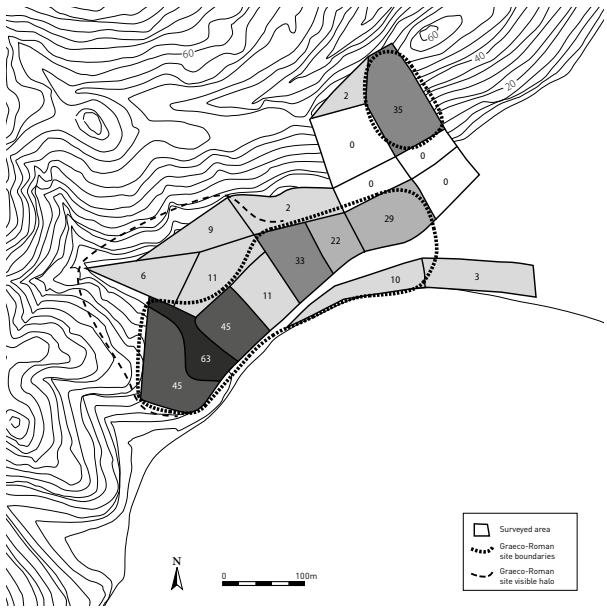


Fig. 8.100: S65, distribution of diagnostic pottery of the Greco-Roman period, showing estimated boundaries of the Greco-Roman site.

Period	Total	%
Undiagnostic	950	67.4
Greco-Roman	326	23.1
M-LR	6	7.1
LR	94	
LR-Post Roman	2	0.14
Post-Roman	1	0.07
LR-EBYZ	2	0.14
MBYZ	1	0.21
M-LBYZ	2	
OTT	13	0.9
EMOD	11	0.78
Total	**1408**	**100**

Table 8.30: S65, statistics of the finds by period (Units counts).

attest the lack of any residential activity at the site, while the 11 EMOD sherds represent the function of a small EMOD farm located in U1.

E. Display of periods (Figs. 8.100 - 102)

According to the registration forms, the life of the site seems to begin at least from the HEL period onwards. However, it is during the R period when the site probably explodes, reaching a size of *c.* 4.25 ha (Fig. 8.100). Like in the discussion of the corrected densities, the site presents three focus areas, the first in the area of U2, where the 2 sarcophagi lie, the second in the middle of the large field (U9) and a third one at the top of the hill (U15) where the R-LR architectural structure is located. Again here, the visible halo of the site is identified at Units 5, 6 and 7. The 11 finds of U5 have been characterised as halo material, while the 11 of U4 and the 10 of U18 as on-site on the grounds of the corrected densities. Indeed, U4 and U18 present corrected densities 200-300 sherds more than U5. Interestingly enough, and in confirmation to the assumption cited in section B, no halo effect is detected on the grounds of the dated finds around U15, in contrast to the analysis of the corrected densities where U14 and U16 appear rich in ceramics. This happens because of the eroded undiagnostic pottery in the latter Units, material apparently not *in situ,* but mainly coming from the core area at the top.

The majority of the tile concentrations have been found in the aforementioned three focus locations, indicating the building areas of the site. Several wall fragments identified outside the aforementioned core Units, suggest that more structures were located in the relevant places (Fig. 8.95). In addition, numerous fragments of monolithic columns of polychrome Skyrian marble dated to the R period (a time of extensive extraction of the particular stone), indicate the apparently rich in quantity and quality building activity of the site.

The combination of the archaeological data imply that S65 was a settlement of special importance during the R period. The pottery distribution and the numerous buildings suggest an organised nucleated settlement, equipped with buildings of luxury (considering the numerous marble fragments), while the two sarcophagi of *lapis sarcophagus* stone, definitely imported products from Assos of Troas (see Appendix A, S65), attest to the existence of citizens of special standing. It is believed that S65 was the central port of the island during the R period.

During the LR period it is quite sure that the site maintains its important role, as the main port of the island. The site shrinks slightly, to *c.* 3.1 ha in size, and is now restricted to the three aforementioned focus areas of the R site (Fig. 8.101). The great quantities of imported ceramics from all the Eastern Mediterranean present here (see Appendix B), reflect the trade explosion that occurred during the LR period, and the role of the site as a main port of the island.

This flourishing situation seems to cease after the 7th c. AD. The settlement appears to have been abandoned during the MED period onwards. In fact, apart from a small OTT apiary identified on the hill of Tourli (U17), the next permanent human activity which takes place at the site is the small EMOD farm (Fig. 8.102). However, the site continues to be used in the Post-Roman times as port/anchorage of the island. This is attested, apart from the off-site MED pottery sherds, by the post-medieval travellers as well, who describe their arrival on the island at the port of Kalamitsa.

F. Functional analysis

It is logical for a port-site like S65, that the biggest percentage of the finds belong to the transport/storage vessel category. However, apart from the amphorae, a good number of table ware sherds have been also identified. Especially for the LR finds, for which we have detailed information, the transport/storage vessels occupy 85%. By excluding the body sherds from the calibration, apart from the dramatic decrease of finds, the percentage between table wares and transport/storage vessels is ideally balanced (Table 8.31). Apart from the number of sherds from imported amphorae, 14 fragments of imported fine wares were also collected, namely African Red Slip and Phocaean Red Slip Wares as well as an interesting piece of the so called *Athenian white painted ware.*

Regarding the off-site Post-Roman MED sherds, the majority belong to transport/storage vessels, while for the next residential component of the site, namely the EMOD farm, the finds are distributed between the first two functional categories (Table 8.32).

G. Final interpretation

S65 was the main port of the island during the R-LR period. The site reaches its maximum extent in the R period *c.* 4.25 ha in size. According to the data an-

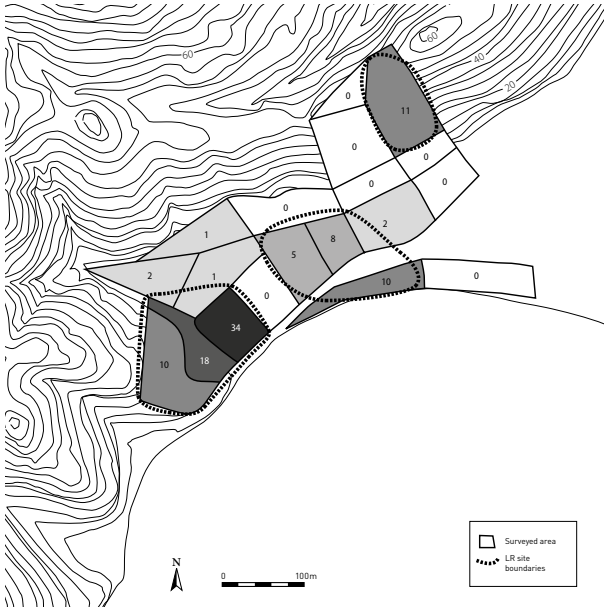


Fig. 8.101: S65, distribution of the diagnostic pottery of the Late Roman period, showing estimated boundaries of the LR site.

Fig. 8.102: S65, distribution of the diagnostic pottery of the Early Modern period, showing estimated boundaries of the Early Modern site.

	LR all sherds/ sum total: 100		LR RHBa/ sum total: 27	
Functional category	**Total**	**%**	**Total**	**%**
Transport/storage	85	85	13	48.1
Tablewares	14	14	13	48.1
Processing	1	1	1	3.7
Total	**100**	**100**	**37**	**100**

Table 8.31: S65, functional analysis of the Late Roman sherds (the 6 M-LR sherds included), for (i) all sherds and (ii) rims, handles and bases only.

alysed above, S65 was in this chronological phase an organised settlement with many buildings, some of them of a luxury level. This profile matches with the 'gateway town' theory of Wagstaff and Cherry, according to which, in the periods of external foreign domination (e.g. Roman Empire), small places like the Aegean islands, dominated by a source of political/military power, would serve as "an exploitable pool of materials, finance and/or labour", and thus "the tendency would be for a single large settlement to develop in a position where contact with the outside world would be as easy as possible...a large, primate, 'gateway town' dominating a number of lower settlements" (Wagstaff & Cherry 1982, 250).

This primary role of the site seems to have been maintained during the LR period as well. Although the site shrank to *c.* 3.1 ha, the site expansion in three extensive focus areas and the quantity and quality of the ceramics found, attest to a relatively rich settlement of special importance for the island.

After the 7th c. AD, the site seems to cease to be permanently inhabited. The settlement apparently is abandoned, and most probably, during the MED and OTT periods, the site is used only as anchorage. Finally, during the EMOD period, a small farm is settled at the area of the ancient site, exploiting the quite large, and apparently fertile, field.

EMOD sherds/ sum total: 11		
Functional category	**Total**	**%**
Transport/Storage	6	54.5
Tablewares	5	45.4
Processing	-	-
Total	**11**	**100**

Table 8.32: S65, functional analysis of the Early Modern sherds.

SITE 67 (S67) – SKLOUKA

A. Location details (Fig. 8.103, Fig. 8.104)

Surveyed July 2010, July 2012: ground visibility 0 – 10; average 7,8.

The site is located on the west coast of the island at Kalamitsa bay, on a promontory called Sklouka at the southern end of the beach of Kalamitsa. The site is developed on gently rising ground between a small

Fig. 8.103: S67, the site seen from the north.

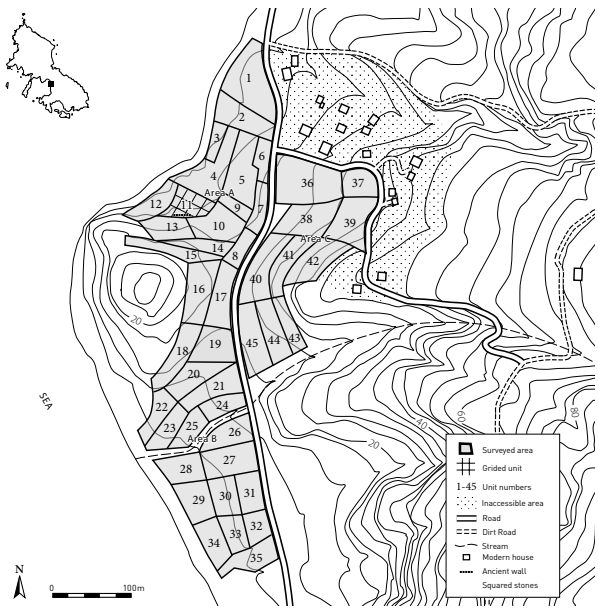


Fig. 8.104: S67, topographical map.

rocky hill to the west and smooth heights to the east. The site is reached by taking the main asphalt road leading from Kalamitsa to Tris Boukes and the southern part of the island. The asphalt road divides the site. In its western part a long R-LR wall of approximately 21 meters length was identified in U11 (see Appendix A, S67). The soil of the site is characterised generally as good, still cultivated with grain, sustained by the water streams falling from the mountainous area to the east.

B. The artefact trends and the structure of the site

Densities in sherds/ha:
On-site: min. 935, max. 7157, average 3269.
Halo: min. 528, max. 851, average 631.
Background: min. 53, max. 398, average 222.

The total surveyed area covered 49,271 m^2, in which 2542 sherds were counted during the first field walk. After the identification of the core of the site, a second gridded intensive count took place in the core U11, resulting in a number of sherds 3.7 times more than the first count. Using the number 3.7 as multiplier, I extrapolated the initial density values for the rest of the Units resulting in a total number of 9,409 sherds, and after the visibility correction I estimated the corrected densities per ha as shown in Fig. 8.105.

S67 is a site of *c.* 27,141 m^2 (*c.* 2.71 ha) maximum, a size which coincides with that of the GR-R component. As Fig. 8.105 and the impressionistic contour analysis of Fig. 8.106 show, the site presents two cores, one at its western side (Area A - U11), close to the long R – LR wall and a second one at the opposite side, on the eastern slopes (Area C - U41). Both Units present densities >5000. Around them a less intense on-site activity was identified, represented by pottery densities ranging between 2000 – 5000 sherds/ha. A slight anomaly to the aforementioned density ranges present the Units immediately below the road (U7, 8, 14 and 17), with densities between 1000 – 2000 sherds/ha. This drop in comparison to the other median on-site Units can partially be explained as being due to a possible distortion created by the modern debris released during the construction of the road.

East of the core Area C, there is a lack of data because of the modern building activity. It is not possible to know whether the site continues towards this direction as suggested by the high density values of

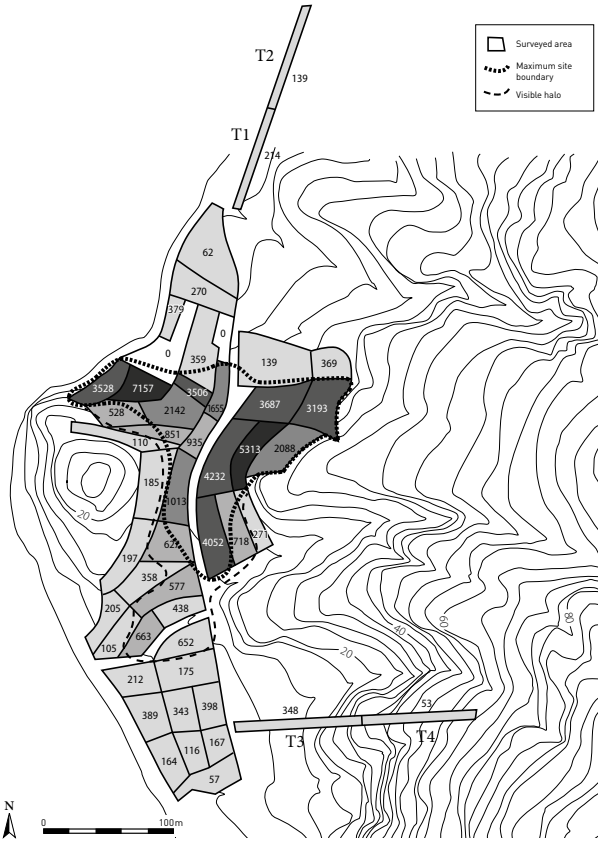


Fig. 8.105: S67, indication of the corrected densities per ha, showing estimated boundaries of the site at its maximum extent.

U39 and U42. Northwards the data indicate a sudden fall of the density values from approximately >3000 sherds at the north on-site front of the site, to <400. It is clear that here is located the boundary between the on and off-site area. Special mention must be made of the Units 4 and 6, where the 0 visibility resulted in no sherds identification at all.

A slightly more regular picture is found west and southwards of the core area: the densities on the slopes of the rocky hill fall to *c.* <200 indicating clearly the entrance to off-site space, while in Area B, the pottery density decreases much more gradually, from *c.* <700 to <100. After the four transects in July of 2012, I have finalised the values of the on-site area as *c.* >900, of the halo as <900 and of the background density around the site to <500 sherds/ha, estimating the boundaries of the site as indicated in Fig. 8.105. The finds of the components confirm the aforemen-

tioned suggestion, as in all the site's components (with primary the GR-R one), there is a significant drop of finds outside the aforementioned boundaries.

C. Sample fraction statistics

Of the 2542 sherds of the first raw count of the Units, 151 sherds were collected, thus 5.9%. This percentage diminishes to 1.6%, when comparing the 151 collected sherds with the 9409, which is the estimated pottery density of the Units (not v-c) lying on the field, after the extrapolation with the multiplier 3.7 (Fig. 8.107).

D. Finds statistics (for the catalogue of the collected finds see Appendix B):

The total of the finds is actually the sum of the registrations (Table 8.33). Thus we see that from the 9405 sherds (the estimated pottery density of the Units after the extrapolation with the multiplier 3.7/not v-c), I counted and registered 2542 sherds, thus 27%. Not all the registered ceramics have been collected, but only the LR-Post Roman sherds, leaving the rest on the field; thus from the 2542 finds I picked up 151, a number which corresponds to 1.6% of the total estimated density of the Units (not v-c).

More than half the amount of the pottery counted during the field walking was undiagnostic, a general characteristic of most archaeological surveys (Table 8.33, Fig. 8.108).The combination of the undiagnostic and GR-R sherds, create a noticeable imbalance between them and the pottery assemblage of the LR-plus periods, with the number of the former enormously larger than the latter (Table 8.33). However, a more detailed analysis of the data shows that this imbalance is not as large as it seems: taking the core U11 for example, we see that the identified GR-R ceramics were 60 (Fig. 8.109). GR-R is of course a very long period, during which the considerable discard of 60 sherds, hypothetically would correspond at say 15 sherds for each of the hypothetical chronological subdivisions (A, CL, HEL and R) of our broad GR-R. In the relevant map of the LR period (Fig. 8.110) we see that the respective number of sherds of the same Unit is 13, thus, almost identical to the number of the hypothetical distribution for each of the pre – LR periods.

This is of course a theoretical exercise. Several factors affect the pottery distribution, something which makes almost impossible regular pottery recovery on the field for every period. Some of the factors for this differential recovery between the periods, have been suggested by scholars to be among others, the differential consumption and discard of ceramics between periods, the variable diagnosticity between the pottery of different periods, or the contrast between the kinds of site use (Bintliff *et al.* 2007, 189-90). In one of these reasons we have to search the answer for the noticeably low pottery discard of the 19 finds of the MED site, which will be the subject of analysis further below.

E. Display of periods (Figs. 8.109 - 112)

During the GR-R period the site reaches its maximum extent (*c.* 2.71 ha; Fig. 8.109), being a large, apparently port-hamlet. Like in the discussion of the corrected densities, it remains the problem of whether or not the site continues westwards of Area C, because of the missing data. In any case, the site presents two cores identified in U11(Area A) and in U40(Area C). Around them a less intense on-site activity was detected. On the grounds of the corrected densities as well, the 7 to 10 finds are estimated as the visible halo of the GR-R site.

Period	Total	%
Undiagnostic	1617	63.6
Greco-Roman	774	30,4
M-LR	19	4.8
LR	104	
Post-Roman	2	0.07
LR-EBYZ	1	0.2
EBYZ	5	
M-LBYZ	15	0.5
OTT	1	0.15
OTT-EMOD	1	
EMOD	3	
Total	**2542**	**100**

Table 8.33: S67, statistics of the finds by period (Unit counts).

During the LR period the site shrinks, reaching the size of *c.* 1.7 ha (Fig. 8.110), still a large hamlet. The site now is mainly concentrated on the east slopes. U11 seems to retain its on-site activity like in the GR-R component. The problem of the abrupt end of the site alongside its northern side is more acute here, as the core of the site is identified at its northern edge (U38). The same applies for the possible continuation of the site eastwards, where there is a lack of data.

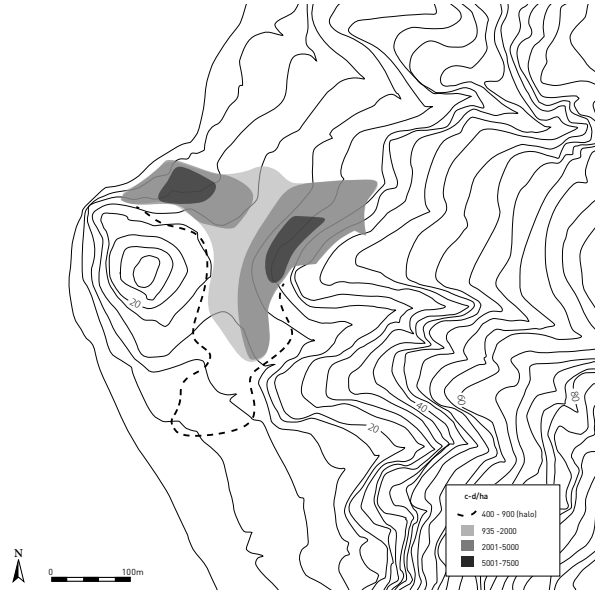


Fig. 8.106: S67, contour analysis of the site density, based on corrected densities per ha.

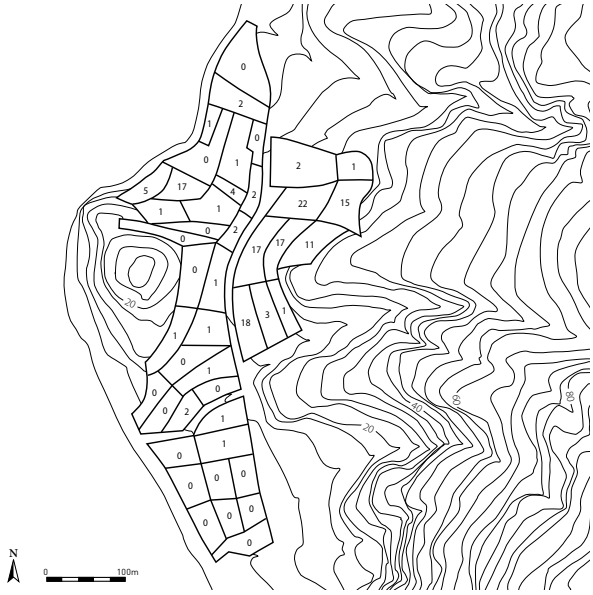


Fig. 8.107: S67, the number of sherds collected, by Unit.

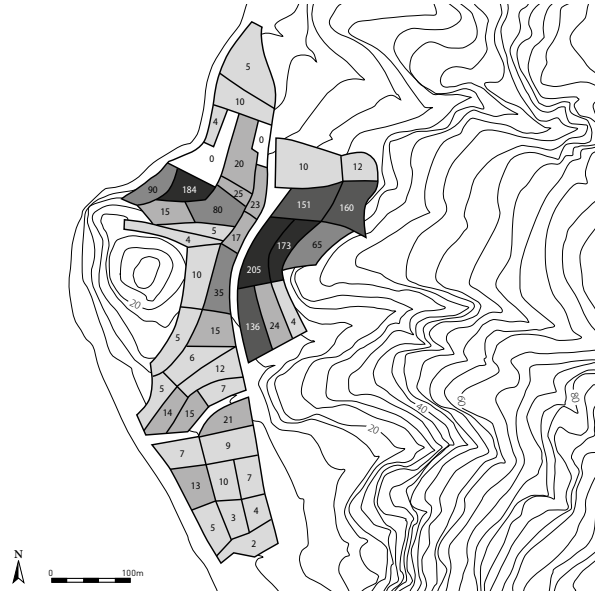


Fig. 8.108: S67, distribution of the undiagnostic pottery.

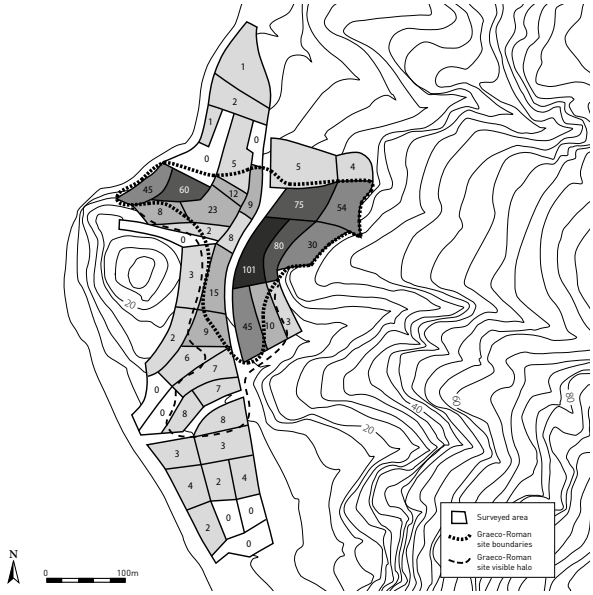


Fig. 8.109: S67, distribution of diagnostic pottery of the Greco-Roman period, showing estimated boundaries of the Greco-Roman site.

More problematic is the situation regarding the MED site. The 6 EBYZ sherds indicate a possible continuation of the site during this period (Fig. 8.111). This continuation is supported by the late dates of many of the LR ceramics, within the 6th and 7th c. (see Appendix B, S67). However, the loose distribution of the EBYZ finds, in combination with their functional category (all the 6 belong to amphorae vessels), create problems of interpretation of the EBYZ activity on the site.

The situation does not improve in the M-LBYZ period; 14 sherds only have been collected dated in this period, despite the revisiting on the site in an attempt to enhance the MED presence by a grab sample. Almost all the sherds have been identified above the road in Area C, confirming the abandonment of the coastal area (Area A) during this period. The small number of the finds and their loose distribution in a large area, has made it difficult firstly to distinguish if we have to deal with on-site material indeed, and if yes, where the boundaries of this component end (Fig. 8.112). These difficulties have been even more enhanced by the fact that almost all the sherds were parts of transport/storage vessels except for one cooking pot (see section F). The concentration of the aforementioned MED finds in Area C suggests the existence of a site of no more than *c.* 1.0 ha in size, of apparently non to semi-residential character.

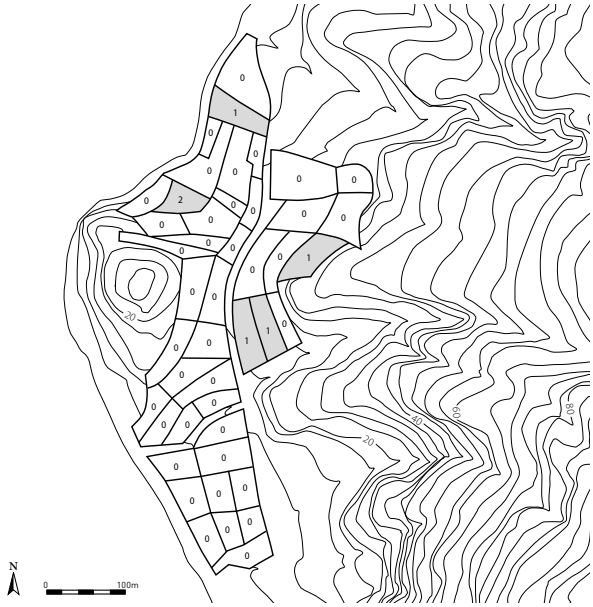


Fig. 8.111: S67, distribution of diagnostic pottery of the Early Byzantine period.

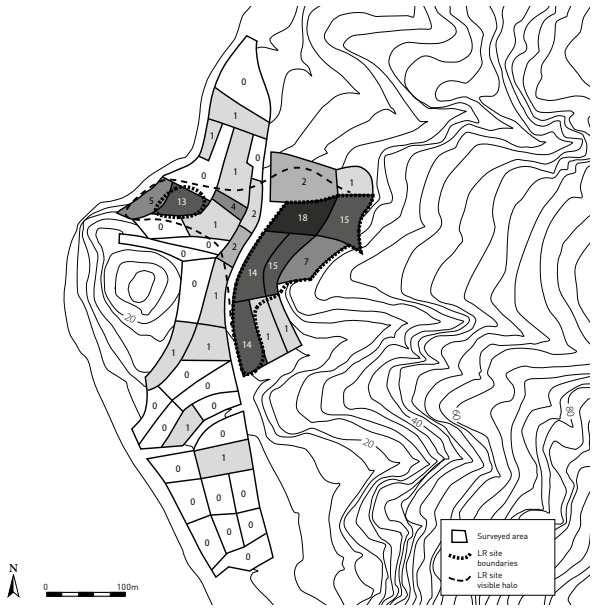


Fig. 8.110: S67, distribution of diagnostic pottery of the Late Roman period, showing estimated boundaries of the Late Roman site.

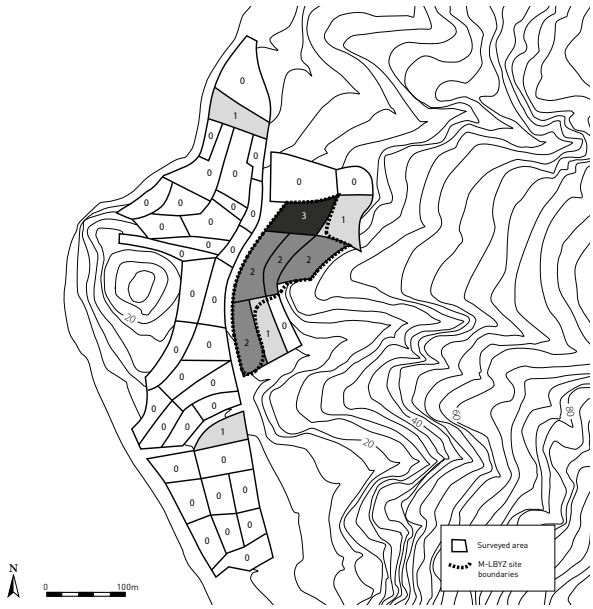


Fig. 8.112: S67, distribution of diagnostic pottery of the Mid-Late Byzantine period, showing estimated boundaries of the Mid-Late Byzantine site.

	LR all sherds/ sum total: 124		LR RHBa/ sum total: 54	
Functional category	**Total**	**%**	**Total**	**%**
Transport/storage	109	87.9	41	75.9
Tablewares	12	9.6	11	20.3
Processing	3	2.4	2	3.7
Total	**124**	**100**	**54**	**100**

Table 8.34: S67, functional analysis of the Late Roman sherds (the 12 M-LR sherds included), for (i) all sherds and (ii) rims, handles and bases only.

F. Functional analysis

Regarding the Greco-Roman period, taking as parallels the Keos and Boeotia surveys, which have proceeded in an overall detailed functional analysis of their data, we notice the following results: both projects attest a predominance of table wares, more than half of their samples for the CL – HEL period, a prevalence which declines during the R – LR periods, slightly at the beginning and more notably after. Food preparation also declines; their place is taken by the ever more prominent storage and transport vessel, which is going to dominate during the LR period (Bintliff *et al.* 2007, 4; Whitelaw 1998, 231-2). Turning now to our data, the figure for the GR-R finds is slightly different: here the table wares and processing vessels are fewer than the storage/transportation vessels, namely the amphorae. It is of course probable that the percentage of the transport vessels of the CL – HEL period is augmented by a large number of R amphorae sherds (in the wide Greco-Roman period of this research). Apart from this possibility, explanation for the prevalence of the transport/storage vessels could be a harbourage/commercial character of the site, located at the west coast of the island, well protected inside the Kalamitsa bay, and open to the trade routes of Antiquity.

Concerning the LR finds, not surprisingly, the transport/storage vessels dominate. By excluding from the calibration the body sherds and taking into account the rims, bases and handles only, we notice a slight decrease of the percentage of the transport/storage vessels (Table 8.34). This, although diminished, albeit existent, prevalence of transport/storage vessels must be correlated with the harbourage function of the site, still active during the LR period.

Concluding the functional analysis of our site, little can be said about the low activity of the MED period. The 6 EBYZ finds belong all of them to transport/storage vessels, rather comparable with the 14 M-LBYZ ones, where except from one cooking pot the rest belong to transport/storage vessels as well (Table 8.35). The complete lack of any other functional category, point to the M-LBYZ site probably as non- or semi-residential.

G. Final interpretation

S67 is a substantial rural, port-site, which reaches its maximum size in the Greco-Roman period, nearly 2.71 ha. In the LR period the site shrinks to *c.* 1.7 ha, having its core on the heights eastwards of the road (Area C), maintaining however, a small focus beside the sea. On the grounds of the finds, the site seems to present a port/trade character in the LR period as well. More problematic is the situation concerning the MED site, where the site seems to attest an EBYZ activity of inconclusive character, while a low and loose M-LBYZ pottery concentration identified eastwards of the road, represents at most a rural non to semi-residential site of no more than *c.* 1.0 ha in size.

M-LBYZ sherds/ sum total: 14		
Functional category	**Total**	**%**
Transport/Storage	13	92.8
Tablewares	-	-
Processing	1	7.1
Total	**14**	**100**

Table 8.35: S67, functional analysis of the Mid-Late Byzantine sherds.

SITE 68 (S68) – SOTERAS

A. Location details (Fig. 8.113, Fig. 8.114)

Surveyed July 2010, July 2012: ground visibility 3 – 10; average 8

The site is located on the western slopes of the mountainous area in the southern part of the island, above Kalamitsa bay. The site lies among EMOD huts (*konakia*) some of them still in active use, and the OTT – EMOD(?) church of Ayia Soteira, from which the area takes its name. Several Early Christian *spolia* built into the masonry of the present day small church, confirm the existence of a basilica in the area.

The site is reached through an arduous dirt road starting from Kalamitsa bay to the mountainous hinterland. The land is organised in terraces and until the EMOD period was intensively cultivated and plentifully watered by the spring beside the church. Today, as in the most of the Skyrian countryside, the area is completely uncultivated, used exclusively as pasture.

The surveyed area was expanded in a northwest – southeast direction following the contours and the terraces of the area. The survey took place between two groups of EMOD huts, an active one to the north and an abandoned one to the south. Around the active huts it was impossible to survey because of two wild shepherd dogs, a restriction that allowed me only to note the existence of two lime mortar walls visible on the ground of *c.* 3 metres length. The area around the southern huts was completely inaccessible because of the lush vegetation consisting mainly of brambles, growing rapidly because of the abandonment of the area and advanced by the abundant water supply of the adjacent spring. Despite these limitations, the archaeological investigation shows that the site seems to continue farther in both directions (see further below).

Fig. 8.113: S68, the site seen from the north.

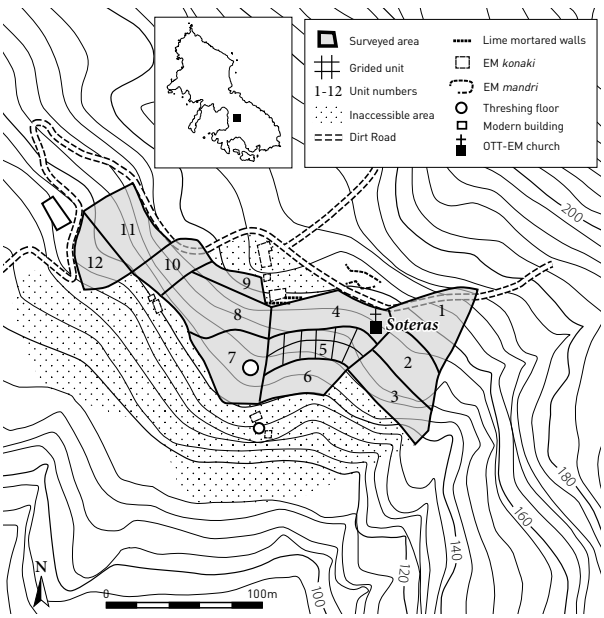


Fig. 8.114: S68, topographical map.

B. The artefact trends and the structure of the site

Densities in sherds/ha:
On-site: min. 5786, max. 32029, average 16184.
Halo: min. 220, max. 2680, average 1270.
Background: min. 100, max. 105, average 102.

The total surveyed area covered 15,500m^2, in which 1006 sherds were counted during the first field walking (raw count). After the second intensive count of the gridded U5 the result was 13.5(!) times more sherds than the first count. This big difference between the two counts, which exceeds the 2-3 times average of the rest of the 15 intensively surveyed sites, can be explained due to the high altitudinal difference among the terraces, and thus my not maintaining regular spaces in the back-to-forth surveying. Using the number 13.5 as multiplier, I extrapolated the initial density values for the rest of the Units resulting in a total number of 13,567 sherds, and after the visibility

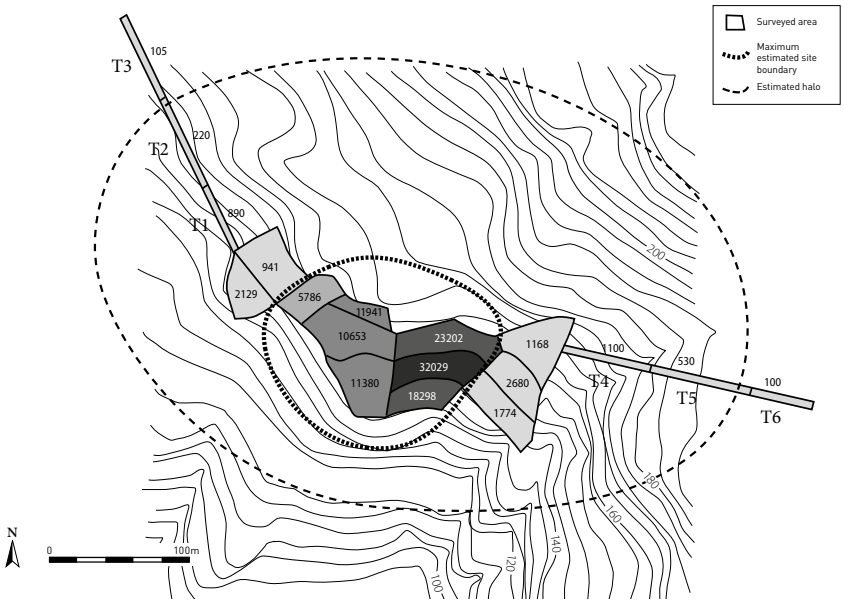


Fig. 8.115: S68, indication of the corrected densities per ha, showing estimated boundaries of the site at its maximum investigated extent.

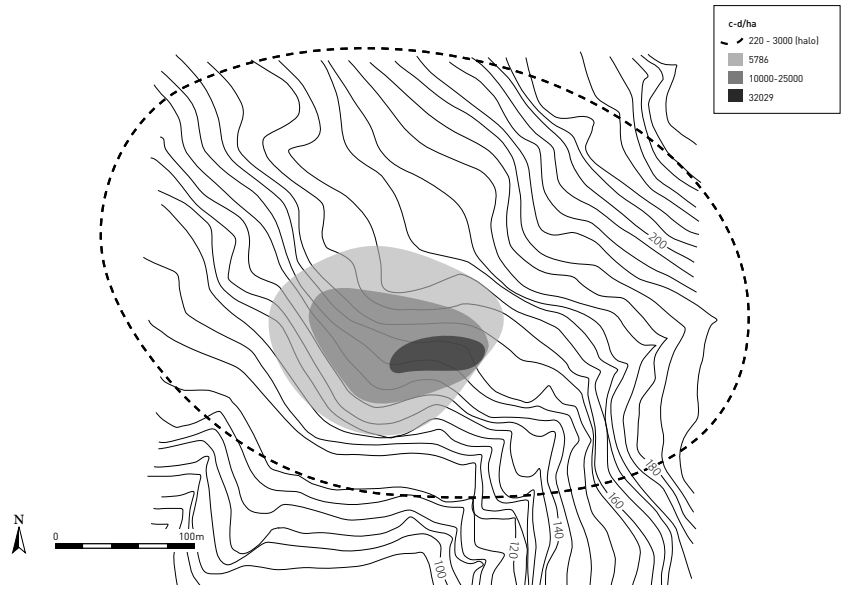


Fig. 8.116: S68, contour analysis of the site density, based on corrected densities per ha.

correction I estimated the corrected densities per ha as shown in Fig. 8.115.

The density values presented in Fig. 8.115, show S68 to be one of the most densely populated settlements of Skyros in Antiquity. The complete picture of the site structure is difficult to conceive because of the lack of data from the un-surveyed area north and south of the core, where the site partially continues to. However, this lack is significantly compensated for through the transects, conducted during the resurveying of the site in the summer of 2012. Thus, as Figs. 8.115-116 show, the core of the site is identified in the area around the church and in particular U5. The density there is estimated at >32,000, which is flanked to the north and south by an area with a density *c.* 20,000 sherds/ha. No data are available on the areas to the north and south of the core, but eastwards the density falls abruptly to 1000-3000 and then gradually from *c.* 1000 down to 100 sherds/ha in T6. Westwards the picture is quite different and the site seems to reach the level of 100 sherds/ha much more regularly. Thus, immediately west from the core the density values range among 10,000-12,000, then fall almost to the half value (U10), presenting after a drop of again the

half value of U10. Then, in the transects, the densities start from *c.* 900, reaching gradually the lowest value around the site (*c.* 100 sherds/ha).

It is clear from the above, that the picture we have of the site structure from east to west is complete. It is believed that the site boundary should be located somewhere in 3000-5000 sherds/ha density region. Speaking of Units, the site boundary should probably include (except from the core area of the Units 4, 5 and 6) the median Units 7, 8 and 9, including U10. This estimation agrees with the data from the finds of the components. In all the components of the site, the per period finds drop significantly beyond the aforementioned seven units, suggesting the components' boundaries (Figs. 8.119-122). Returning to the corrected densities, it is estimated that the values <3000 should reflect the halo of the site, apparently rich (according to the high on-site densities), while the values <200 should correspond to the background activity around the site, in accordance with the respective values found in the majority of the intensively surveyed sites on the island.

More problematic is the situation northwards and southwards of the surveyed area, where the site seems to continue. The site seems to have a longitudinal direction following the contours of the steeply sloping area, just like adjacent S70. Studying carefully the density values as shown in Fig. 8.115 and the scale of their decrease, we should not expect a large expansion in these directions. It seems that we lack from the map the more loose activity of the site, just caught at its west edge (U10). The complete aspect of the site structure should be like that presented in Fig. 8.116.

If the assumptions mentioned above are correct, S68 is a site of maximum size *c.* 15,000m^2 (*c.* 1.5 ha). This size corresponds to the GR-R component, the largest among the periods of the site. The large halo in comparison to other sites of the island could be explained due to the evidently high density of population that S68 should present.

C. Sample fraction statistics

Of the 1006 sherds of the first raw count of the Units, 114 sherds were collected, thus 11.3%. This percentage diminishes to 0.8%, when comparing the 114 collected sherds with the 13,567, which is the estimated pottery density of the Units (not v-c) lying on the field, after the extrapolation with the multiplier 13.5 (Fig. 8.117).

D. Finds statistics (for the catalogue of the collected finds see Appendix B):

The total of the finds is actually the sum of the registrations (Table 8.36). Thus we see that from the 13,567 sherds (the estimated pottery density of the Units after the extrapolation with the multiplier 13.5/not v-c), I counted and registered 1006 sherds, thus 7.4%. Not all the registered ceramics have been collected, but only the LR-Post Roman sherds, leaving the rest on the field; thus from the 1006 finds, 114 were picked up, a number which corresponds to 0.8% of the total estimated density of the Units (not v-c).

The majority of the finds were undiagnostic (Table 8.36, Fig. 8.118), while among the diagnostic pieces the GR-R sherds were almost two times more common than the LR and Post-Roman finds. This regularity seems to be normal in the 16 intensively surveyed sites. However, if we conduct the experiment of dividing the 291 GR-R sherds into say 4 equal groups (representing the G-A, CL, HEL and R periods), we can see that the hypothetical number for each individual period would be *c.* 72 sherds, a num-

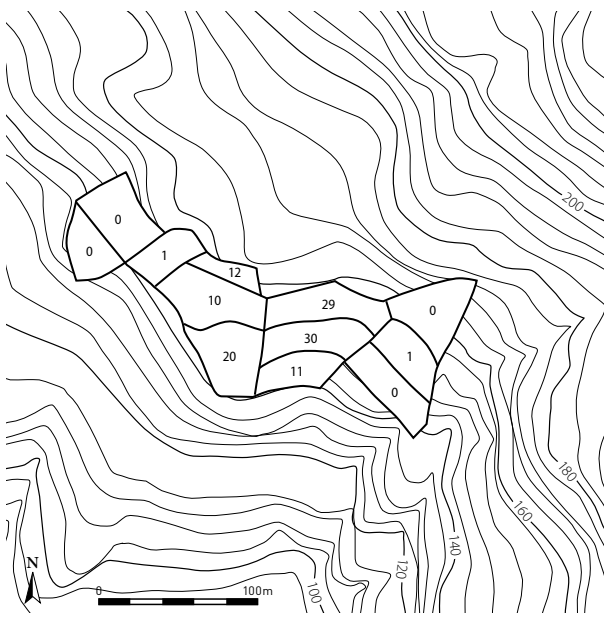


Fig. 8.117: S68, the number of sherds collected, by Unit.

Period	Total	%
Undiagnostic	600	60
Greco-Roman	291	29
M-LR	7	8.7
LR	81	
Post-Roman	2	0.2
LR-EBYZ	1	0.5
EBYZ	4	
M-LBYZ	6	0.7
LBYZ	2	
OTT	1	1.2
OTT-EMOD	1	
EMOD	10	
Total	**1006**	**100**

Table 8.36: S68, statistics of the finds by period (Unit counts).

ber that fits well enough with the 81 LR sherds found. As for the BYZ and OTT ceramics, the relatively low number finds is the result of the apparently non- or semi-residential use of the site during this period.

E. Display of periods (Figs. 8.119 - 122)

During the GR-R period the site reached its maximum area, *c.* 1.5 ha. As with the analysis of the corrected densities, the core of the site is located in U4 and U5, with a less intense occupation attested westwards (Fig. 8.119). In accordance with the distribution of the corrected densities, the diagnostic GR-R finds stop occurring abruptly westwards of U10 and eastwards of the core Units 4-6. The lack of data around this core area (within the transects only the density count was conducted), did not permit the identification of the GR-R halo.

During the LR period the situation remains more or less the same. S68 is still a thriving hamlet *c.* 1.3 ha, smaller in comparison to the GR-R site (Fig. 8.120). The LR component retains the structure of the ancient component, with the core located at its eastern side and descending activity westwards.

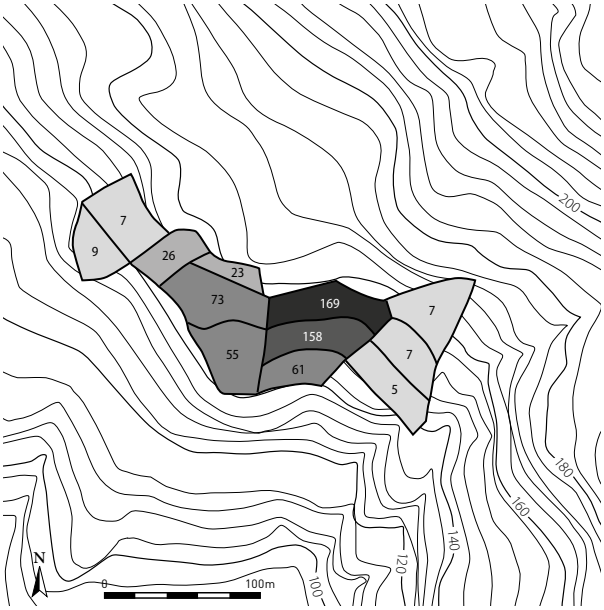


Fig. 8.118: S68, distribution of the undiagnostic pottery.

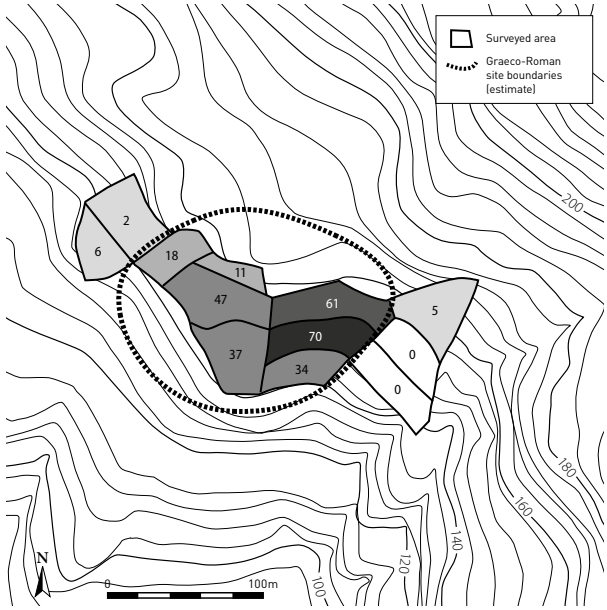


Fig. 8.119: S68, distribution of diagnostic pottery of the Greco-Roman period, showing estimated boundaries of the investigated Greco-Roman site.

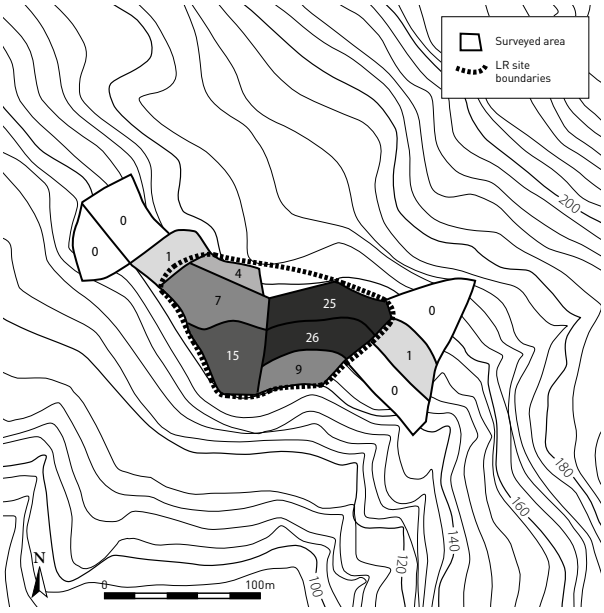


Fig. 8.120: S68, distribution of diagnostic pottery of the Late Roman period (the 7 M-LR sherds included), showing estimated boundaries of the investigated Late Roman site.

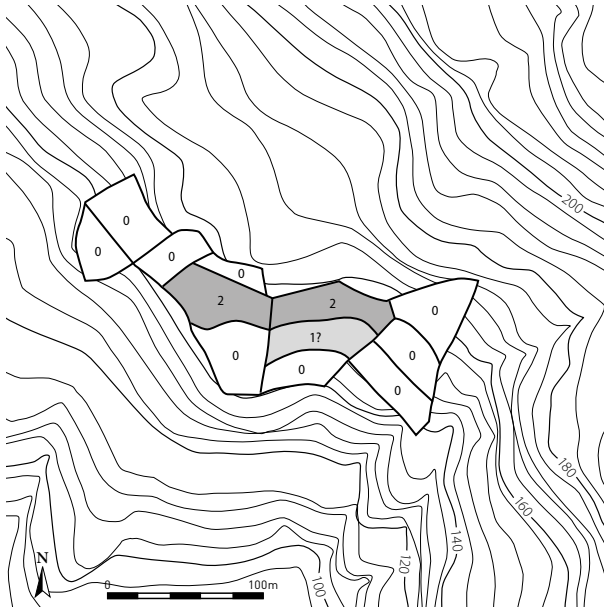


Fig. 8.121: S68, distribution of diagnostic pottery of the Early Byzantine period.

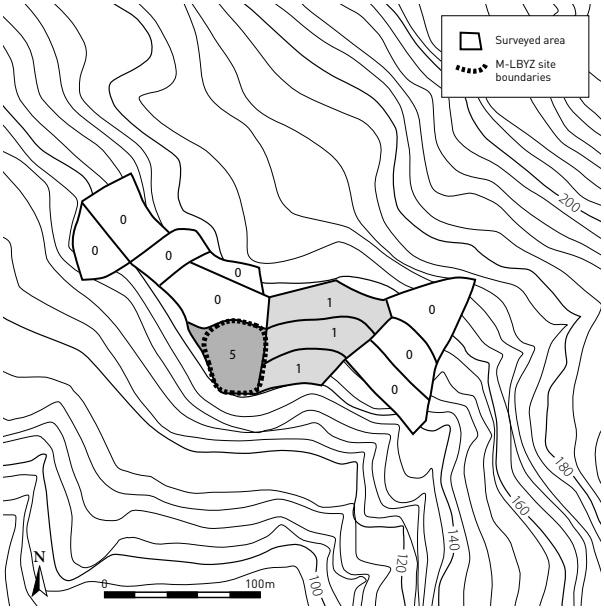


Fig. 8.122: S68, distribution of diagnostic pottery of the Mid–Late Byzantine period, showing estimated boundaries of the Mid-Late Byzantine site.

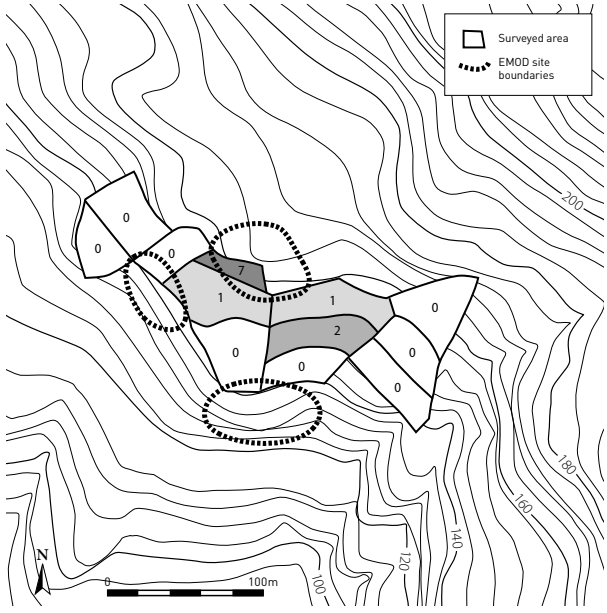


Fig. 8.123: S68, boundaries of the Early Modern site, based on the architectural remains (*konakia*).

S68 is among the few sites which presents a possible presence during the EBYZ period. Despite the low number of recovered pottery (4 definite EBYZ sherds and 1 possible), the presence of late forms of the LR material (e.g. late 6th – 7th c. table wares), supports this hypothesis. No certainty can of course be admitted about a permanent occupation during this period, considering that, apart from the low number of ceramics recovered, all of them belong to globular amphorae. However, all the EBYZ sherds were found on the focus area of the ancient and LR components (Fig. 8.121).

The site apparently continues through the M-LBYZ period, although in a non to semi-residential manner, considering the only 8 sherds collected, all of them of transport/storage vessels (see section F). In comparison to the LR component, the M-LBYZ is smaller, not exceeding 0.17 ha (Fig. 8.122). The MED component is located at the southern edge of the surveyed area, leaving doubts about the reliability of the data here presented. A possible continuation of the component southwards is suggested, though no survey took place there. This possible southward continuation, in combination with the relatively low pottery recovery within the surveyed area, could suggest that the core of the M-LBYZ site lies completely outside of the surveyed area, implying that the identified discards within it are better interpreted as forming the halo of the MED component. However, the counter-argument to this hypothesis is the fact that in none of the MED sites surveyed on the island has it been possible to find their relative haloes because of the scarcity of the finds; such identification here would come as a surprise.

During the OTT period the data do not permit any interpretation for a residential use of the site, at least not until the Late OTT period. On the contrary, it is only during the EMOD period when the site is essentially revitalised by the construction of several huts at the north and south edges of the ancient site, covering an area of c. 0.4 ha in size and used in a semi-permanent way (Fig. 8.123). The OTT-EMOD church of Ayia Soteira supplements the periodical activity on the site during this period.

F. Functional analysis

Although no GR-R pottery was collected from the site, according to the registrations the ceramics were roughly divided among table wares and transport/storage vessels, normal for a permanently inhabited hamlet.

As for the LR period for which we have more detailed information, there is a sharp difference between the transport/storage and the rest of the functional categories. This difference is decreased by the exclusion of the body sherds from the calibration (Table 8.37), but still, the transport/storage vessels remain *c.* 70% of the assemblage. This fact apparently represents the rural-agricultural character of S68 and its great demand for transport/storage vessels.

The MED finds (5 EBYZ & 8 M-LBYZ) belong totally to the transport/storage functional category. This fact, in combination with the low pottery recovery is indicative of a non to semi-residential usage of the site during this period. However, a reluctance to endorse this hypothesis must be maintained about the EBYZ period, where the scarcity of finds in the Aegean is the general rule and thus, the 5 finds here could possibly represent a permanently inhabited site indeed.

	LR all sherds/ sum total: 88		LR RHBa/ sum total: 29	
Functional category	**Total**	**%**	**Total**	**%**
Transport/storage	80	90.9	21	72.4
Tablewares	5	5.6	5	17.2
Processing	3	3.4	3	10.3
Total	**88**	**100**	**29**	**100**

Table 8.37: S68, functional analysis of the Late Roman sherds (the 7 M-LR sherds included), for (i) all sherds and (ii) rims, handles and bases only.

G. Final interpretation

S68 is a substantial rural site which reaches its maximum size of nearly 1.5 ha in the GR-R period, it being apparently a very densely populated large estate-hamlet. Its inhabitants would have lived by exploiting the land, supported by the spring and on pastoralism.

During the LR period, the site presents roughly the same figure, being a large estate-hamlet. Its size is slightly reduced in comparison to the GR-R, reaching *c.* 1.3 ha. The site should be equipped with an Early Christian church, as the relevant *spolia* incorporated into the masonry of the OTT-EMOD church attest.

S68 presents an activity during the EBYZ period but of an uncertain character and size. A similar picture is given for the M-LBYZ period as well, with 8 finds all of them from transport/storage vessels. Their relative concentration suggests a site of no more than *c.* 0.17 ha and probably of non to semi-residential character.

During the OTT period, any activity at the site would be seasonal, in relation to the OTT-EMOD church of Ayia Soteira. It is during the EMOD that the site presents a definite revitalisation, after the construction of three groups of huts with their auxiliary structures at the north and south edges of the ancient site, occupying an area of approximately 0.4 ha size. The usage of these huts was more or less like today, semi-permanent.

SITE 70 (S70) – DHOUNIA

A. Location details (Fig. 8.124, Fig. 8.125)

Surveyed December 2010, July 2012: ground visibility 4 – 9; average 5,9

The site is located on the western slopes of the mountainous area of the southern part of the island, above Kalamitsa bay. The site lies on a steep inclined area and is reachable by a bad dirt road starting from Kalamitsa. The site is located to the immediate north

Fig. 8.124: S70, the site seen from the south-east.

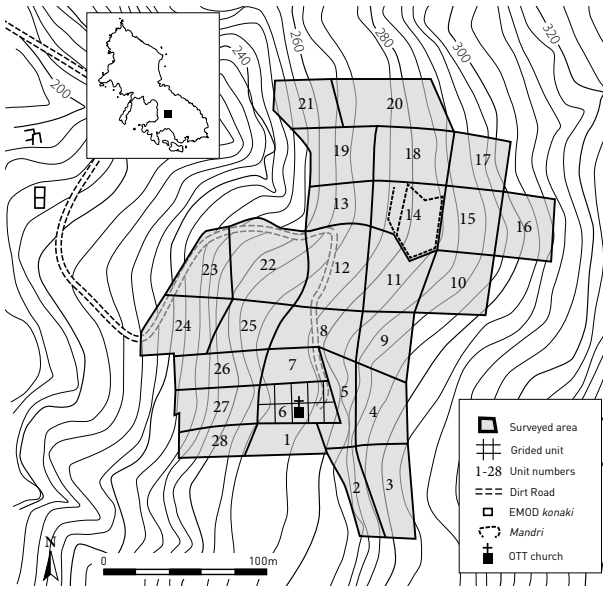


Fig. 8.125: S70, topographical map.

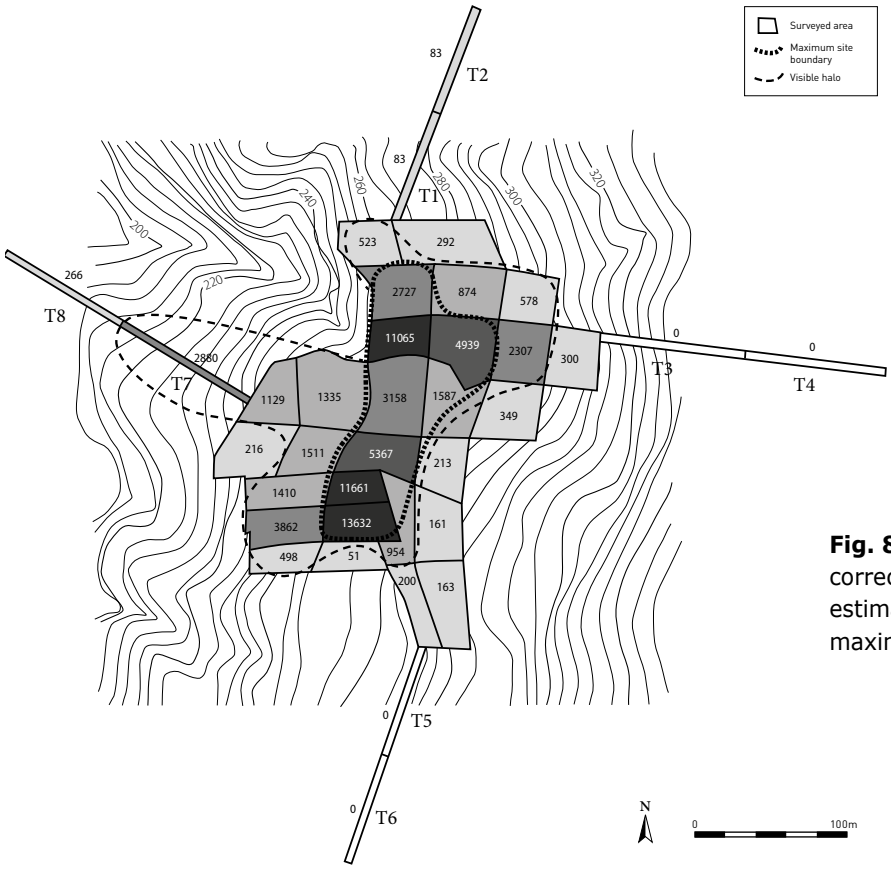


Fig. 8.126: S70, indication of the corrected densities per ha, showing estimated boundaries of the site at its maximum extent.

of the small rural church of Panayia, and has a longitudinal shape, following the contours of the land. The area is completely rocky and arid, used exclusively as pasture, an indication of the probable occupation of the inhabitants of the site as well. The site is adjacent to a rich water spring, the southernmost of the island, which helped support a permanent settlement in antiquity. The rockiness of the land and the very steep inclination, in combination with the very dense garrigue/maquis, made the time passed on this mountainous site arduous.

B. The artefact trends and the structure of the site

Densities in sherds/ha:
On-site: min. 2727, max. 13632, average 7507.
Halo: min. 498, max. 3862, average 1496.
Background: min. 0, max. 349, average 148.

The total surveyed area covered 37,444m^2, in which have been counted 1240 sherds during the first field walking (raw count). After the second intensive count of the gridded U6 the result was 5 times more sherds than the first count. It is clear that the extremely mountainous area has biased the first counting during the fieldwalking. Using the number 5 as multiplier, I extrapolated the initial density values for the rest of the Units resulting in a total number of 6200 sherds, and after the visibility correction I estimated the corrected densities per ha as shown in Fig. 8.126.

S70 is estimated as a site of *c.* 9751 m^2 (*c.* 0.97 ha). This size corresponds to the maximum on-site activity for all the periods attested in the field and apparently accumulative over the course of its occupation. The aforementioned size is slightly larger than that of the GR-R and LR components. This slight difference is the result of a shift of the M-LBYZ component in U14, where an abandoned fold of apparently such date lies (see section E).

The site has a longitudinal shape following the contours of the land. It presents clearly two foci at its north and south sides, namely at Units 6, 7 and 13

(Figs. 8.126-127). All three present densities >11,000. Between the two foci a less intense on-site activity with densities ranging between *c.* 3000 - 6000 sherds/ha was identified, while an even lower activity was identified at the northern edge of the site (U19) with values *c.* 2700 sherds/ha. North, east, and south of this core area the densities range between 500-2300, while with more distance they fall to <500. The three aforementioned density steps are considered as the respective divisions between on-site, halo and background areas of the site, northwards, eastwards and southwards. Thus, it is estimated that the on-site densities should begin from *c.* >2500, the halo from <2500, while the values <500 should correspond to the background densities around the site. Anomalies to this order present the halo-U27 and T7, whose high densities create an overlap between the on-site and halo values.

The figure presented westwards of the longitudinal core is different to the other site sides presented above. While at the north-west edge of the site the natural border of a cliff does not leave any possibility for an expansion of the site towards this direction, at west-southwest the densities are >1000 sherds/ha. More noticeable is the anomaly of U27 and T7 (3862 and 2880 sherds/ha respectively), whose values should declare them part of the on-site activity of the site. However, at a more careful inspection, it is clear that the augmented densities west of the longitudinal core are the result of the high inclination of the land in combination with the erosion of the soil which has caused the rolling of pottery sherds from the core area

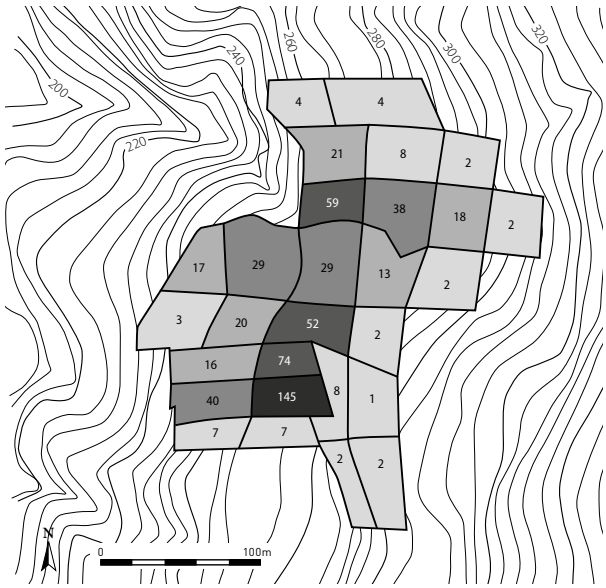


Fig. 8.128: S70, the distribution of the counted tiles.

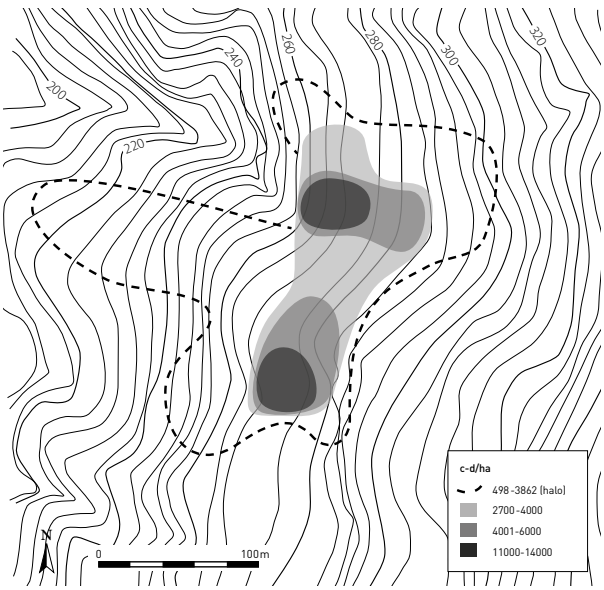


Fig. 8.127: S70, contour analysis of the site density, based on corrected densities per ha.

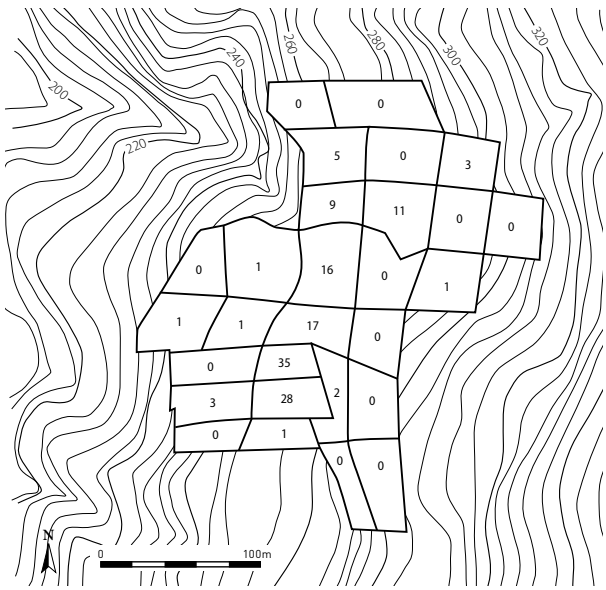


Fig. 8.129: S70, the number of sherds collected, by Unit.

immediately above. Indeed, in the field this phenomenon was obvious, while the pottery detected in these Units was much eroded and almost completely undiagnostic. On the contrary, the majority of the diagnostic finds of the GR-R, LR and MED components were concentrated in the aforementioned longitudinal and relatively flat area. The majority of the tiles was also identified at the same area, an indication of the buildings of the site (Fig. 8.128).

C. Sample fraction statistics

Of the 1240 sherds of the first raw count of the Units, 143 sherds were collected, thus 11.5%. This percentage diminishes to 2.3%, when comparing the 143 collected sherds with the 6200, which is the estimated pottery density of the Units (not v-c) lying on the field, after the extrapolation with the multiplier 5 (Fig. 8.129). Among these 143 sherds are 8 beehive sherds and 1 M-LBYZ sherd collected east of the surveyed area and 1 EMOD storage vessel fragment found in huts westwards of the site.

D. Finds statistics (for the catalogue of the collected finds see Appendix B):

The total of the finds is actually the sum of the registrations (Table 8.38). Thus we see that from the 6200 sherds (the estimated pottery density of the Units after the extrapolation with the multiplier 5/not v-c), I counted and registered 1240 sherds, thus 20%. Not all the registered ceramics were collected, only the LR-Post Roman sherds, leaving the rest on the field; thus from the 1240 finds 143 were picked up, a number which corresponds to 2.3% of the total estimated density of the Units (not v-c).

Again we notice the extremely high number of undiagnostic and GR-R finds (Table 8.38, Figs. 8.130-131). However, by doing the theoretical exercise of dividing the 306 GR-R sherds equally for the four groups which make up this large group (G-A, CL, HEL, R), we see that for each period *c.* 76.5 sherds are distributed, a number which is not too far from the 63 sherds collected for the LR period from the site (the 10 M-LR sherds included).

The site is among the most productive in MED pottery recovery, with 51 sherds, distributed between the Mid and the Late BYZ periods. Five sherds dated

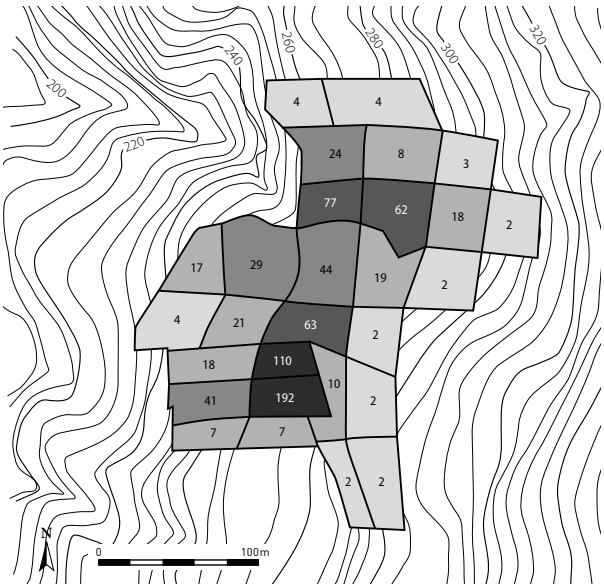


Fig. 8.130: S70, distribution of the undiagnostic pottery.

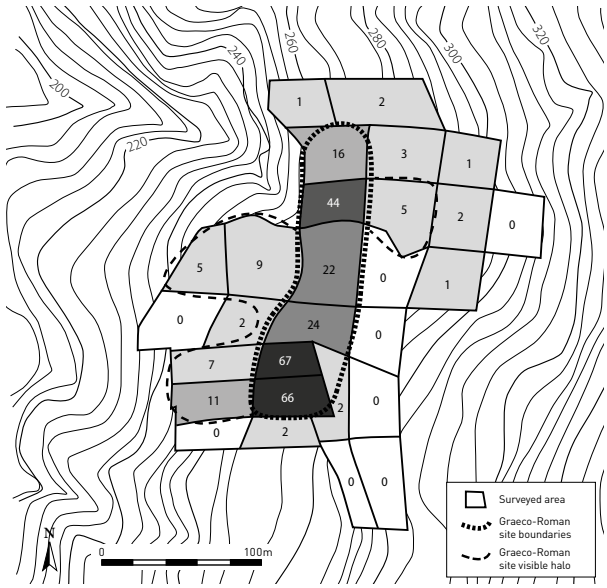


Fig. 8.131: S70, distribution of diagnostic pottery of the Greco-Roman period, showing estimated boundaries of the Greco-Roman site.

Period	Total	%
Undiagnostic	794	64.2
Greco-Roman	306	24.6
M-LR	10	5
LR	53	
Post-Roman	5	4.2
MBYZ	14	
M-LBYZ	35	
LBYZ	2	
LBYZ-OTT	3	0.7
OTT	6	
OTT-EMOD	8	0.9
EMOD	4	
Total	**1240**	**100**

Table 8.38: S70, statistics of the finds by period (Unit counts).

broadly to the Post-Roman period, leave hints about a possible higher number.

After the LBYZ period, the pottery recovery decreases sharply; the 6 OTT and the 3 LBYZ-OTT sherds distributed in the surveyed area hardly permits us to recognise a definite and permanent human settlement during this period. The same applies for the EMOD period as well, as the poor pottery recovery attests.

E. Display of periods (Figs. 8.131 - 135)

During the GR-R period S70 reaches its maximum extent, covering an area of *c.* 0.8 ha (Fig. 8.131). As in the discussion of the corrected densities (section B), the majority of the finds are concentrated in U6 and U7, while a secondary focus is identified at the N edge of the site (U13), indicating clearly two different foci at the north and south of the site. In these two foci a high tile concentration has also occurred, evidence of the areas where the buildings were located. A more loose on-site activity is attested between the two cores while finds between 5-9 should correspond to the visible halo of the GR-R site.

During the LR period the picture is more or less the same, with a site slightly shrinking away from its northern part, reaching an area of *c.* 0.65 ha (Fig. 8.132). No shift of the location is dictated, on the contrary, Units 6, 7 and 8 maintain their focus character. No visible halo can be discerned.

Regarding the M-LBYZ period the site does not exceed c. 0.57 ha, having two distinct foci, one at the core of the LR and GR-R components (Units 6 & 7), and a second one at the north-east (Fig. 8.133). It is the first extension towards this direction and coincides with a large dry-stone fold located at U14 dated in the M-LBYZ period, as the archaeological and historical evidence attests (for the historical information see Appendix A, S70).

The very low OTT pottery recovery hardly permits the identification of a permanently used residential site. It could be supposed that there existed a small farm around the church of Panayia of no more than *c.* 0.4 ha in size, probably of a seasonal character. In the OTT period the construction of the present small church took place, or the renovation of an older one of M-LBYZ chronology (see Appendix A, S70). As for the EMOD period, the site was definitely no more used permanently, as new huts were constructed some distance west of our site (indicated at the left margin of Fig. 8.125).

F. Functional analysis

Apart from the tiles, concentrated mainly at the two foci of the site, the majority of the GR-R pottery counted during the fieldwork was from table wares and transport/storage vessels, attesting in this way to the residential character of the site.

The LR finds were almost exclusively body sherds of transport/storage vessels (Table 8.39). The prominence of the amphorae in comparison to the rest of the finds remained even after the calibration of rims, handles and bases only. The low presence of fine table wares can be explained as being due to the rural character of the site, in contrast to the transport/storage vessels necessary for a pastoral/agricultural settlement.

The pastoral/agricultural character of the settlement is found even in the M-LBYZ period, when here also the storage/transport vessels occupy a large percentage of the finds (Table 8.40). A chafing dish sherd, reflects the dining habits of the period, even in rural sites like S70.

Finally, the functional analysis of the poor OTT finds (Table 8.41), indicates the periodical(?) usage

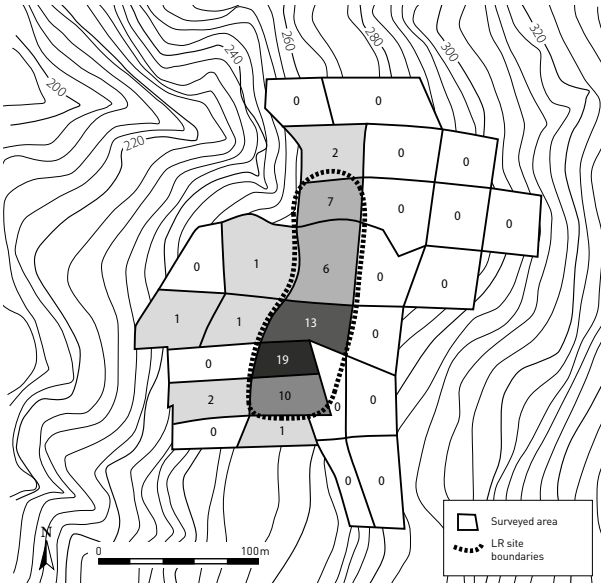


Fig. 8.132: S70, distribution of the diagnostic pottery of the Late Roman period (the 10 M-LR sherds included), showing estimated boundaries of the LR site.

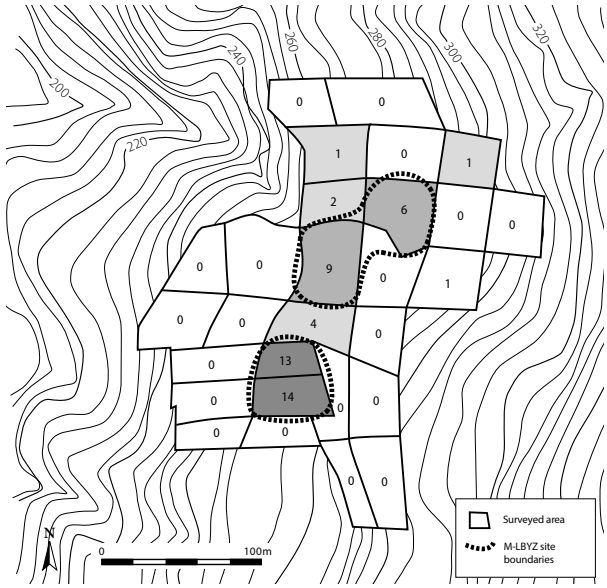


Fig. 8.133: S70, distribution of diagnostic pottery of the Mid-Late Byzantine period, showing estimated boundaries of the Mid-Late Byzantine site.

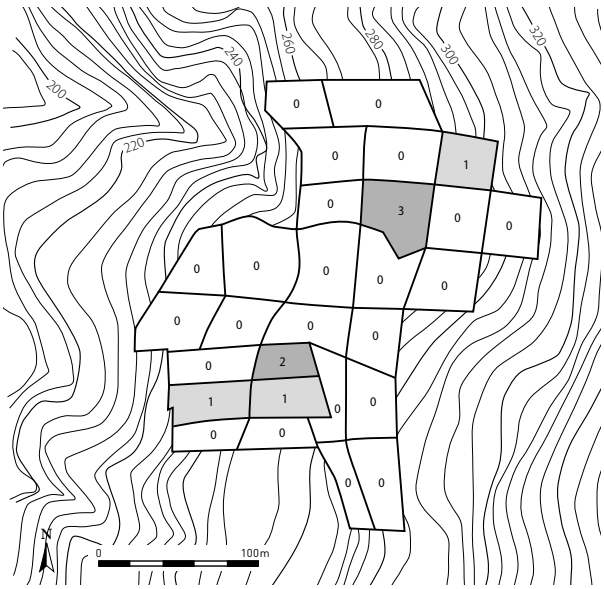


Fig. 8.134: S70, distribution of diagnostic pottery of the Late Byzantine - Ottoman period.

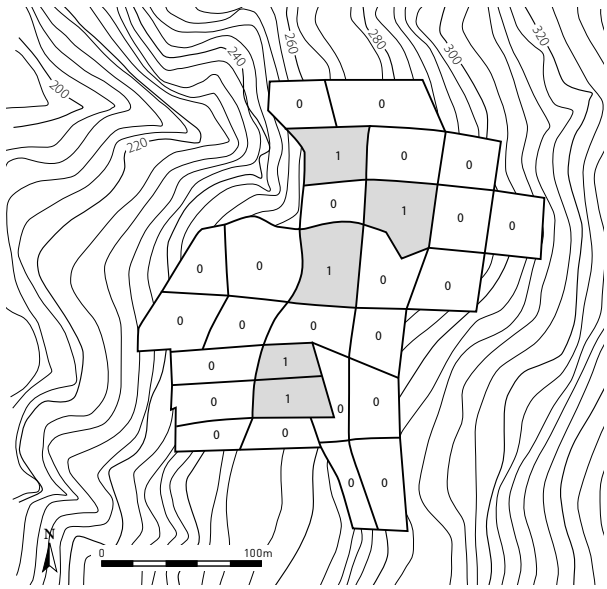


Fig. 8.135: S70, distribution of diagnostic pottery of the Early Modern period.

	LR all sherds/ sum total: 63		LR RHBa/ sum total: 12	
Functional category	**Total**	**%**	**Total**	**%**
Transport/storage	58	92	10	83.3
Tablewares	2	3.2	2	16.6
Processing	3	4.7	-	-
Total	**63**	**100**	**12**	**100**

Table 8.39: S70, functional analysis of the Late Roman sherds (the 10 M-LR sherds included), for (i) all sherds and (ii) rims, handles and bases only.

of the site, while the EMOD ones reflect in number and functional categories the off-site material of the EMOD inhabitants of the huts west of the site (Table 8.42).

G. Final interpretation

S70 is a substantial rural site which reaches its maximum size of 0.8 ha in the GR-R period, having two focus areas, at its north and south edges. In the LR period the site shrinks slightly to *c.* 0.65 ha, keeping the southern core of the GR-R component. Despite the massive transport/storage finds and the scarcity of table and processing vessels, the character of the site was probably still residential. During the M-LBYZ period, the site shrinks even more to *c.* 0.57 ha, corresponding to a middle sized farm, historically the possession of the monastery of Ayios Georgios at Chora (see Appendix A, S70). This farm, initially permanently inhabited, in the OTT period is most likely to have been only seasonally used, probably as a small farm not larger than 0.4 ha. In this period, the small church of Panayia is built, possibly replacing a M-LBYZ church. Finally during the EMOD period the farm is moved some distance west, outside the surveyed area.

	M-LBYZ sherds/ sum total: 51	
Functional category	**Total**	**%**
Transport/Storage	40	78.4
Tablewares	6	11.7
Processing	5	9.8
Total	**51**	**100**

Table 8.40: S70, functional analysis of the Mid-Late Byzantine sherds.

	LBYZ - OTT sherds/ sum total: 11	
Functional category	**Total**	**%**
Transport/Storage	5	45.4
Tablewares	6	54.5
Processing	-	-
Total	**11**	**100**

Table 8.41: S70, functional analysis of the Ottoman sherds (the 1 LBYZ-OTT sherd included).

	EMOD sherds/ sum total: 5	
Functional category	**Total**	**%**
Transport/Storage	3	60
Tablewares	2	40
Processing	-	-
Total	**5**	**100**

Table 8.42: S70, functional analysis of the EMOD sherds (the 1 OTT-EMOD sherd included).

SITE 75 (S75) – KOLIMBADA - MOUCHALA

A. Location details (Fig. 8.136, Fig. 8.137)

Surveyed April 2011: ground visibility 3– 10; average 3.

The site is located in the south-west part of the island, above Kolimbada bay. The site lies on sloping terrain, between the modern asphalt road Kalamitsa-Tris Boukes and the beach of Kolimbada. The site is easily reached by taking the dirt road starting from the asphalt, going down to the beach. At the highest point of the site area, approximately 25 metres below the road (toponym Mouchala), a small ancient tower is located (see Appendix A, S75). Lower to the tower, approximately 50 metres above the coast and close to an abandoned EMOD hut (*konaki*), an olive press has been identified.

Fig. 8.136: S75, the site seen from the east.

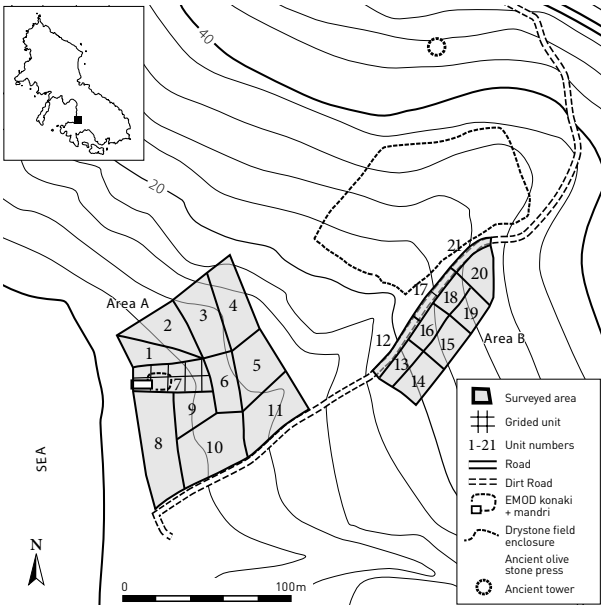


Fig. 8.137: S75, topographical map.

The land, despite the lack of water, is relatively good, and was until the EMOD period intensively cultivated. Today the dominant element is the maquis, covering the whole area, which is almost exclusively used as pasture.

The initial intention was to survey the whole area from the tower to the coastline, but the dense maquis did not permit it, as not only the visibility in the fields was almost zero, but also walking through it was almost impossible. Thus, a small part of the whole area was surveyed, missing, as we shall see below, much information regarding the structure of the site. Two 'windows' were opened, by investigating the area close to the beach and around the EMOD hut (Area A) and the area in the middle of the distance between the asphalt road and the coast, parallel and partially on the dirt road (Area B). In addition, during the documentation of the small tower, the place was extensively surveyed, with absolutely negative results concerning artefact recovery.

B. The artefact trends and the structure of the site

Densities in sherds/ha:
On-site: min. 974, max. 7178, average 3016.
Halo: min. - , max. 704 , average -.
Background: min. - , max. - , average -.

The total surveyed area covered 13,000m^2, in which I counted just 139 sherds during the first field walking. This noticeably low pottery recovery is the result of the very bad visibility, which was of a tolerant level only around the EMOD hut (Area A) and on the dirt road of Area B. The difficult circumstances under which the survey took place, had as a result my inability to maintain the proper distances during the survey, and consequently I left gaps. This suspicion was verified after the second intensive count of the core U7, where the number of sherds was 6 times more than the first count at the same Unit. Using the number 6 as multiplier, I have extrapolated the initial density values for the rest of the Units resulting in a

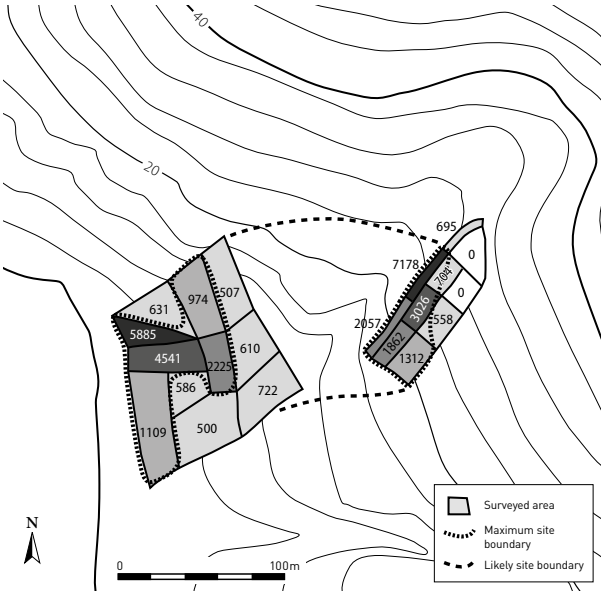


Fig. 8.138: S75, indication of the corrected densities per ha, showing estimated boundaries of the site at its investigated maximum extent.

total number of 834 sherds, but still, a relatively low number in comparison to the density values of other sites surveyed on the island. After the visibility correction I have estimated the corrected densities per ha as shown in Fig. 8.138.

Figs. 8.138 and 8.139 clearly indicate the lack of data. Although for survey Area A I managed to identify more or less the boundaries of one of the focus areas of the site, the same does not happen for the second focus in Area B, where towards almost every direction the data are incomplete. More precisely, we can notice two cores in both surveyed areas. In Area A U1 and U7 present densities >4000, while immediately to the east and south the values range between 950 – 1200 sherds/ha. Around this area the densities drop to <1000 sherds/ha. In Area B, U17 presents density >7000, while southwards the values slightly drop ranging between 1000-3000 sherds/ha. To the north-west the densities fall to <1000, while there are no data westwards where the site probably continues towards Area A. The starting point for the on-site area is estimated at the density level >1000. The distribution of the tiles as shown in Fig. 8.140 seems to confirm the two cores of the respective areas as the places where the buildings were located. It is evident that there is no clue about the density boundaries of the halo and the background activity. However, it seems that the halo area should correspond with the value <900 sherds/ha. In sum, the investigated site size reaches *c.* 5500m^2 (*c.* 0.55 ha). This size corresponds to the GR-R component, probably the only component of the site, except for the small EMOD farm.

C. Sample fraction statistics

Of the 139 sherds of the first raw count of the Units, 3 sherds were collected, thus 2.1%. This percentage diminishes to 0.35%, when comparing the 3 collected sherds with the 834, which is the estimated pottery density of the Units (not v-c) lying on the field, after the extrapolation with the multiplier 6 (Fig. 8.141).

D. Finds statistics (for the catalogue of the collected finds see Appendix B):

The total of the finds is actually the sum of the registrations (Table 8.43). Thus we see that from the 834 sherds (the estimated pottery density after the extrapolation with the multiplier 6/not v-c), I counted and registered 139 sherds, thus 16.6%. Not all the registered ceramics were collected, but only the LR sherds, leaving the rest on the field; thus from the 139 finds only 3 were picked up, a number which corresponds to 0.35% of the total estimated density (not v-c).

The majority of the registered finds were undiagnostic (Table 8.43, Fig. 8.142). The rest, apart from 3 LR sherds, were of the GR-R period and mainly CL-HEL. The low pottery recovery, as mentioned above, is apparently the result of the very bad visibility, but the almost complete lack of ceramics of LR-Post Roman period, suggest the exclusive GR-R character of the site.

Period	Total	%
Undiagnostic	101	72.6
Greco-Roman	35	25.1
M-LR	1	0.7
LR	2	1.4
Total	**139**	**100**

Table 8.43: S75, statistics of the finds by period (Unit counts).

E. Display of periods (Figs. 8.143 - 144)

S75 was almost exclusively a GR-R site. The very low visibility has resulted in a low number of GR-R finds, causing problems in the estimation of the relevant component. This estimation was made on the basis of the corrected densities. However, given that the site presents only a GR-R component, it is consequent that the ceramics creating the corrected densities presented in section B, should belong chronologically to

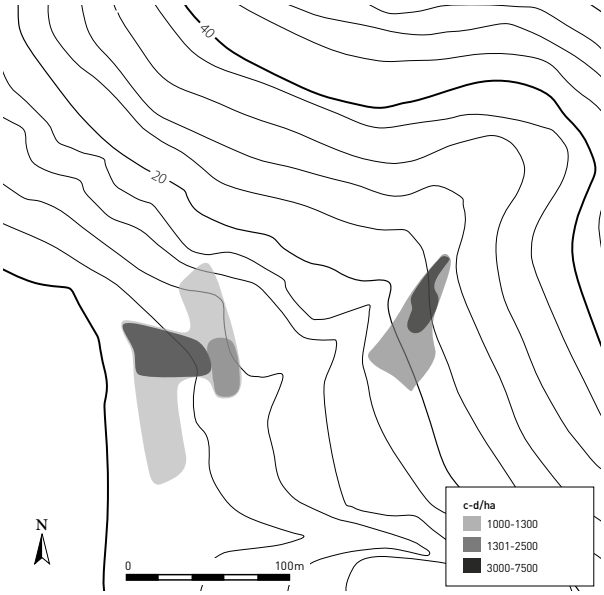


Fig. 8.139: S75, contour analysis of the site density, based on corrected densities per ha.

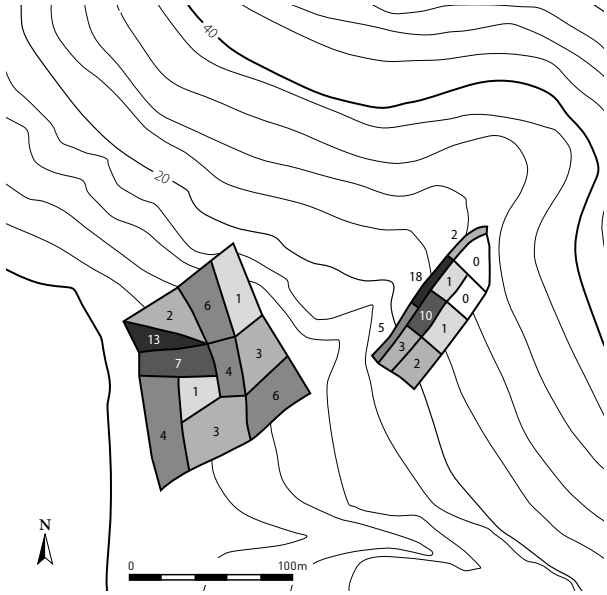


Fig. 8.140: S75, distribution of the counted tiles.

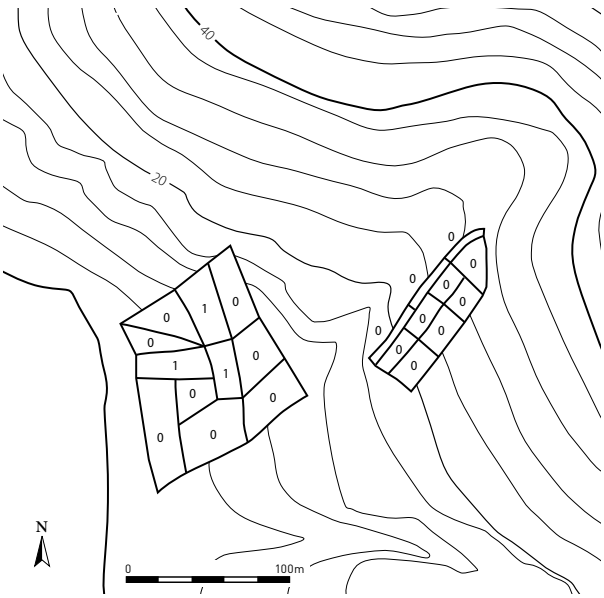


Fig. 8.141: S75, the number of sherds collected, by Unit.

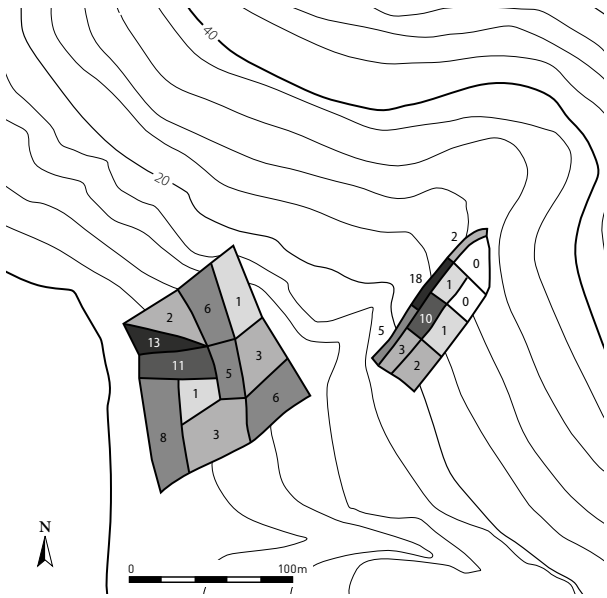


Fig. 8.142: S75, distribution of the undiagnostic pottery.

the aforementioned component. Thus, as in section B, we estimate the GR-R component as a site of diagnostic size *c.* 0.55 ha.

During the LR period the only archaeological evidence are 3 sherds, apparently off-site material. However, their position, in the core area of the GR-R component, in combination with the general low pottery recovery of the site, does not exclude the possibility of a minor LR site, even seasonal, located in the position of the core area of the ancient one. This possibility is supported by the fact that among the 3 sherds recovered, 1 is table ware and from the 2 transport vessels one is an African import.

After that, only during the EMOD period is there clear evidence for a human settlement of the site, by the construction of the hut and the fold beside the sea. The size of the EMOD site would not have been greater than 0.1 ha.

F. Functional analysis

The pottery was few and relatively worn. No fine pottery was found. From the just 3 LR sherds collected the two belonged to transport/storage vessels. The third was from a plain table ware.

G. Final interpretation

S75 is a substantial rural GR-R site of which *c.* 0.55 ha was investigated. The site presents at least two foci, one beside the sea and a second one higher up. The ancient farm was equipped with a small tower at its highest point, used occasionally, as storeroom or as refuge in case of emergency, an essential element for a remote settlement like S75, distant from the urban centre. Moreover, its high location, visible from all over the area could serve as a symbol to reflect the land occupancy to the spectator (see Chapter 10.2).

The 3 LR sherds, are probably off-site material. However, their position in the core of the ancient site, in combination with the general low pottery recovery and the kind of the finds does not exclude the possibility of a seasonal use of the site during this period.

No other archaeological evidence suggests any human activity in the sequent centuries until the EMOD period, when at the core of the ancient site there is constructed a small farm of no more than 0.1 ha in size.

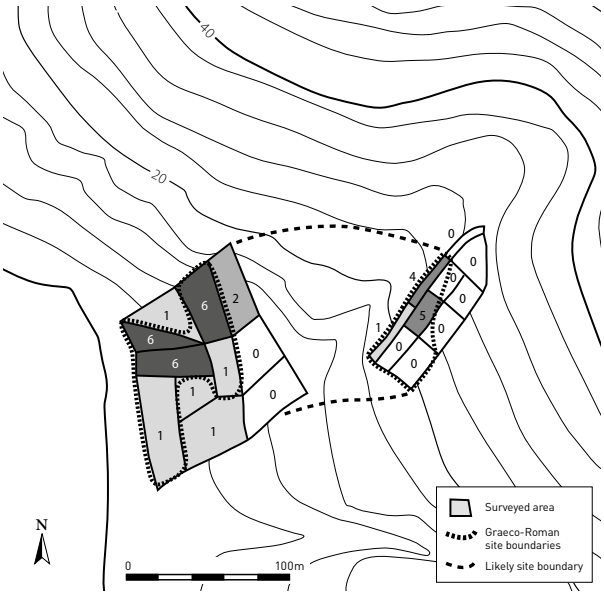


Fig. 8.143: S75, distribution of diagnostic pottery of the Greco-Roman period, showing estimated boundaries of the investigated Greco-Roman site.

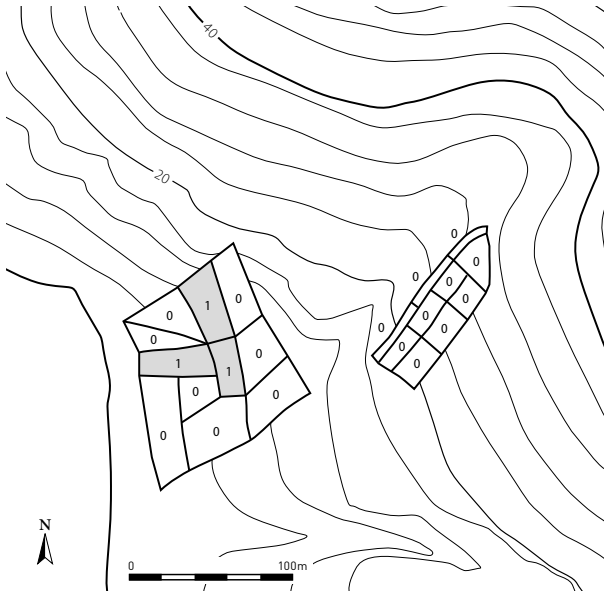


Fig. 8.144: S75, distribution of diagnostic pottery of the Late Roman period.

SITE 80 (S80) – MESADI

A. Location details (Fig. 8.145, Fig. 8.146)

Surveyed February 2011, June 2012: ground visibility 2 – 9; average 5,7

The site is located approximately 500 meters east of the crossroad to Kalamitsa, Tris Boukes and Renes. The site lies on an arid and rocky plain area on the western slopes of the mountainous southern part of the island, called by the locals *Mesadi.* The site is reached by a very bad dirt road starting from the aforementioned crossroad and leading to the plateau of Ari. This road was built on an old path, which actually should be one of the routes leading from the western edge of the mountainous area to its hinterland since antiquity. Today both the path and the dirt road have been replaced by the modern asphalt one, which reach the plateau of Ari through a circular direction. The area where the site lies is completely rocky and arid, used exclusively as pasture. Groups of prickly oaks moderate the aridness of the landscape. The rocky nature of the land in combination with the dense garrigue/maquis made surveying of the area difficult.

Fig. 8.145: S80, the site seen from the north-east.

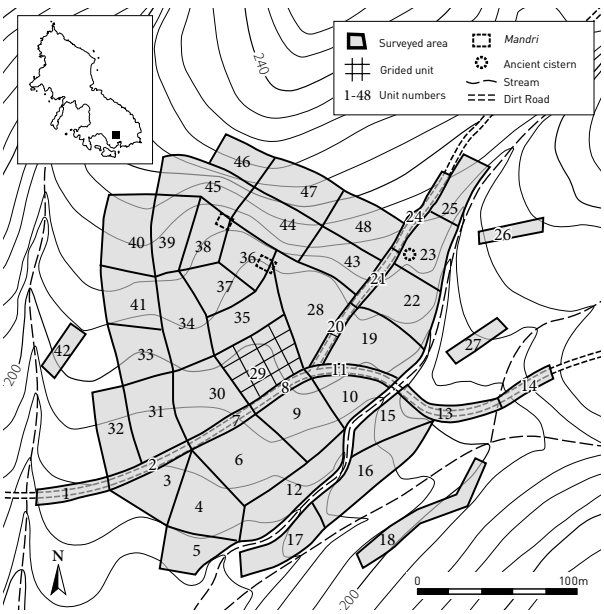


Fig. 8.146: S80, topographical map.

B. The artefact trends and the structure of the site

Densities in sherds/ha:
On-site: min. 4932, max. 18,837, average 11,618.
Halo: min. 1172, max. 5358, average 2876.
Background: min. 0, max. 1029, average 221.

The total surveyed area (excluding the transects) covered 49,271m^2, in which 1391 sherds were counted during the first field walking (raw count). From the first visit it was noticed that the dirt road passing through the site had a much better visibility, compared to the rest of the area obscured by the dense garrigue/maquis. After the experience of the previously surveyed sites, where a similar phenomenon had been observed, I proceeded with a further experiment at this site: in order to estimate as accurately as possible the visibility bias on the ground, I chose to create Units as homogeneously as possible in this respect. Thus, I avoided creating Units by mixing parts of the dirt road with the rest of the land, which presented a sharp visibility difference between them; on the contrary, I preferred to create seperate Units for the dirt road and the rest of the area (Fig. 8.146).

It was suspected from the beginning, that this high difference of visibility and size of the Units (of the dirt road and the rest of the area), would bias the results of the extrapolation by using a given Unit, chosen from the dirt road or from the rest of the area. Thus, in order to avoid this pitfall, I chose to examine two Units intensively, one with the higher density value at the dirt road, and a second one, with the higher density value for the rest of the area (Units 20 and 29 respectively). Indeed, after the second intensive count

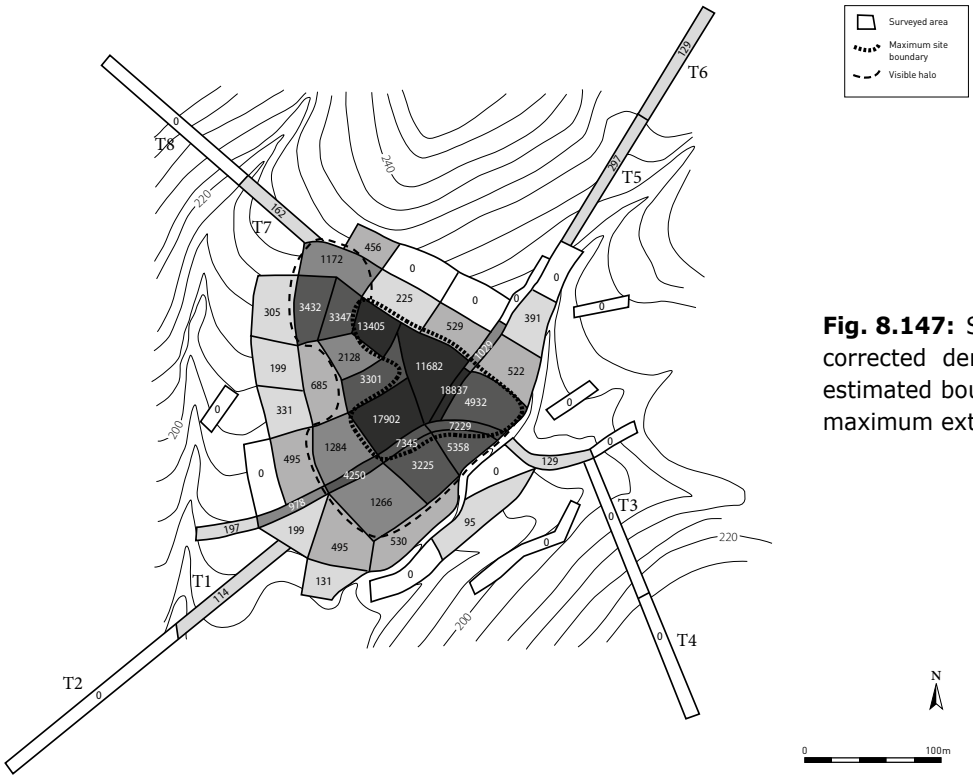


Fig. 8.147: S80, indication of the corrected densities per ha, showing estimated boundaries of the site at its maximum extent.

of the gridded Units the results were 3 and 6.2 times more sherds respectively. It is clear that the very bad visibility of the area outside the dirt road in combination with the stoniness of the land have severely biased the first counting during the field walking. Using the numbers 3 and 6.2 as multipliers for the small and the large Units respectively, I have extrapolated the initial density values for the rest of the Units resulting in a total number of 7553 sherds, and after the visibility correction I have estimated the corrected densities per ha as shown in Fig. 8.147.

S80 is estimated as a site of *c.* 7,300 m^2 (*c.* 0.73 ha). This size corresponds to the GR-R component, the period in which the site reaches its maximal residential extent. Indeed, the site seems to stop being a residential place after the LR period, while in the OTT period an extensive apiary was developed, creating difficulties in analysing the corrected densities and the boundaries of the older components. It is the nature of the apiary that frustrates any attempt to interpret the densities of the sherds in the logic of survey archaeology, precisely because the distribution of such vessels cannot fit with the mechanism of 'on-site', 'halo' or 'off-site'. Beehives can be equally scattered in a given area and consequently one beehive only is justified to be considered as an 'on-site area'. This is the case of S80; examining the distribution of the beehive sherds as shown in Fig. 8.154, I comment for example that the 1 sherd of U16 was actually a large part of a beehive, representing probably an entire vessel located there. The 1 sherd of U16, cannot be of course characterised as off-site material; but on the other hand if we check the corrected densities we notice that U16 gives the very low value of 95 sherds/ha (Fig. 8.147). Moreover, the 10 beehive sherds of U41, were probably belonging to one vessel (Fig. 8.154).

This phenomenon of course disarms the mechanism of interpretation of the different activity areas on the grounds of the corrected densities. Thus, if we would like to present the maximum size site and boundary of S80 including the apiary, basically we should include into the boundary all Units presenting beehive sherds, regardless of their corrected densities. However, this would create inconsistency with the way in which I have presented the rest of the 16

intensively surveyed sites and would bias the statistics regarding the on-site values for the Skyros survey. The chosen solution was to exclude the apiary from the on-site definition of S80 and treating as such only the residential components of the GR-R and LR site. For doing so, apart from the corrected densities, apparently augmented from the biasing carpet of the beehive sherds, I relied on the finds of the two components as well.

Having these considerations in mind, we can now proceed to the analysis of the structure of the site. Thus the core is identified in U20 and U29, with density values >17,000 (Figs. 8.147-148). A slighter activity is noticed northwards of this focus area with densities >10,000, while an even lower density is identified southwards of the core with values <10,000. In these Units several dry-stone walls and a quite large scatter of tiles have been noticed, indication of the building(s) of the site (Fig. 8.149).

It is clear that the inclusion of U19 (4932 sherds/ha) into the on-site area and the exclusion of the denser U10 (5358 sherds/ha) from it, has been done on the grounds of the GR-R finds, as a more reliable source for the case of S80. Thus, we notice in Fig. 8.152 that U19 has more than half the GR-R finds than U10, the finds of which seem to be incorporated into the halo of the GR-R site identified at its west side, with pottery recovery less than 15 sherds per Unit.

Returning to the corrected densities, we notice that the values fall abruptly north of the core. This break coincides with a natural border consisting of a longitudinal steep cliff, about 4 metres high. It seems

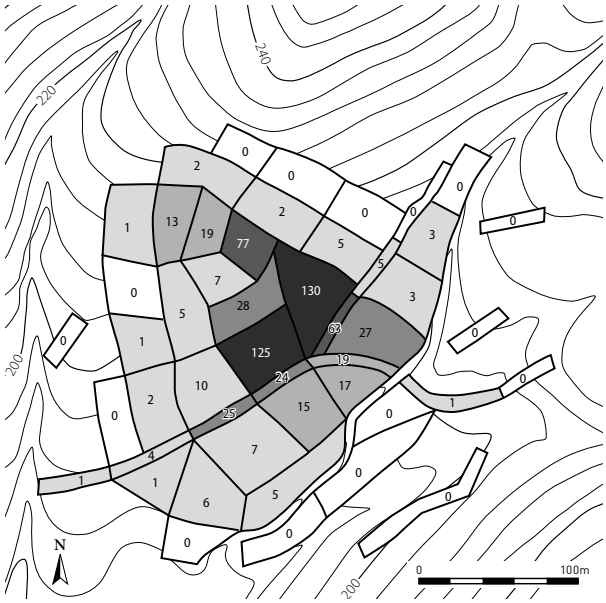


Fig. 8.149: S80, distribution of the counted tiles.

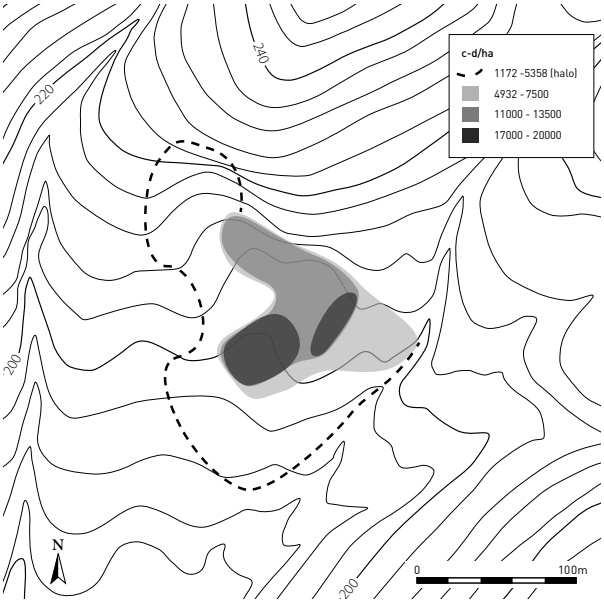


Fig. 8.148: S80, contour analysis of the site density, based on corrected densities per ha.

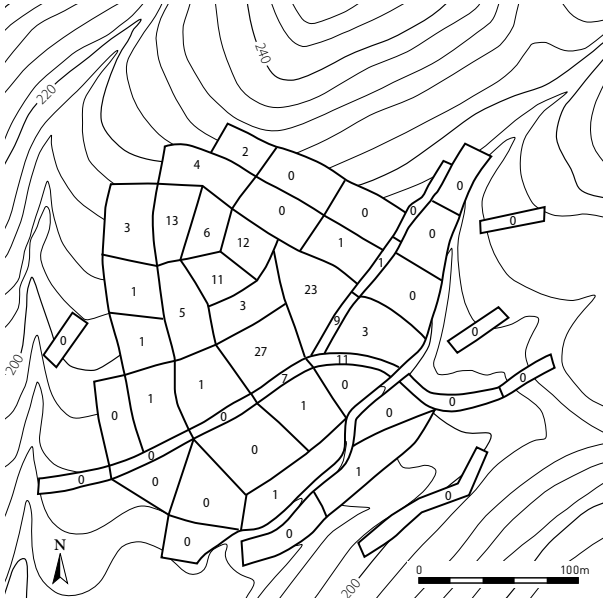


Fig. 8.150: S80, the number of sherds collected, by Unit.

that the settlement was established at that point, below the cliff, in order to be protected from the strong north-east winds blowing from the mountains. Indeed, this is the most protected spot in the open to all weather arid plateau. Similarly the abrupt fall of the values towards the south-east, coincides with a stream with a northeast-southwest direction, which actually was the natural border of the site in this direction.

The structure of the site westwards of the core presents quite a different figure. There, the values fall gradually down after approximately 100 metres from the core area (Fig. 8.147). In a zone of approximately 40-50 metres from the estimated site boundaries the density values range between 1000 - 5000 sherds/ha, while beyond this distance the values fall to <1000. The densities between 1000 – 5000 must reflect the halo of the GR-R component, represented in the relevant find distribution as well, while the values *c.* <1000 should reflect the background densities around the site.

Confirmation about the aforementioned assumptions came after the resurveying of the site in June 2012 through the eight transects around the site. All transects have been conducted at a distance of least 50 metres from the core area and apart from the null (0) value that four of them present, none of the rest exceed 300 sherds/ha. It is clear that all of them represent the background area around the site.

C. Sample fraction statistics

Of the 1391 sherds of the first raw count of the Units, 160 sherds were collected, thus 11.5%. This percentage diminishes to 2.1%, when comparing the 160 collected sherds with the 7553, which is the estimated pottery density of the Units (not v-c) lying on the field, after the extrapolation with the multipliers 3 and 6.2 (Fig. 8.150). In these 160 sherds are included numerous beehive sherds of the OTT apiary. As explained in section D, several sherds belonging clearly to the same vessel, have been counted as one. Thus, the number of the collected sherds in reality is larger than 160.

D. Finds statistics (for the catalogue of the collected finds see Appendix B):

The total of the finds is actually the sum of the registrations (Table 8.44). Thus we see that from the 7553 sherds (the estimated pottery density of the Units after the extrapolation with the multipliers 3 and 6.2/ not v-c), I counted and registered 1391 sherds, thus 18.4%. Not all the registered ceramics were collected, but only the LR-Post Roman sherds, leaving the rest on the field; thus from the 1391 finds 160 were picked up, a number which corresponds to 2.1% of the total estimated density of the Units (not v-c).

Again we notice the high number of undiagnostic and GR-R sherds (Figs. 8.151-152). By doing the theoretical exercise of dividing the 549 GR-R sherds equally in four groups which comprises this large group (G-A, CL, HEL, R), we notice that for each period there would correspond *c.* 137 sherds, thus almost double the number of the 77 sherds collected for the LR period from the site (the 3 M-LR sherds included). This difference suggests a predominance of the GR-R site in comparison to the LR one.

E. Display of periods (Figs. 8.152 - 154)

During the GR-R period S80 reaches its maximum extent of *c.* 0.73 ha (Fig. 8.152). As in the discussion of the corrected densities (section B), the core of the site is identified among the Units 20, 28 and 29, while a lower activity is detected around this focus with a number of finds which ranges from 30 to 50. Westwards of the core the low number of GR-R finds (<20), reflects the visible halo of the GR-R site, identified in the corrected densities as well.

During the LR period the site shrinks, occupying the core area of the GR-R component (Fig. 8.153). The on-site LR area should not overcome the bound-

Period	Total	%
Undiagnostic	682	49
Greco-Roman	549	39.4
M-LR	3	5.5
LR	74	
LR/Post-Roman	3	0.21
OTT (beehives)	79	5.6
Total	**1391**	**100**

Table 8.44: S80, statistics of the finds by period (Unit counts).

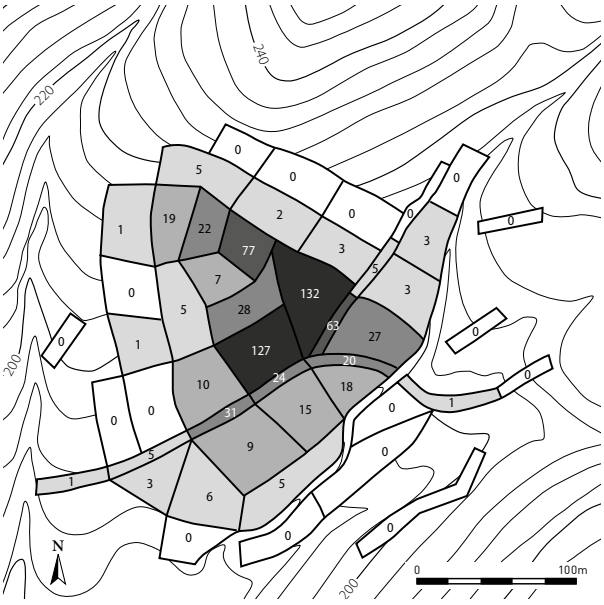


Fig. 8.151: S80, distribution of the undiagnostic pottery.

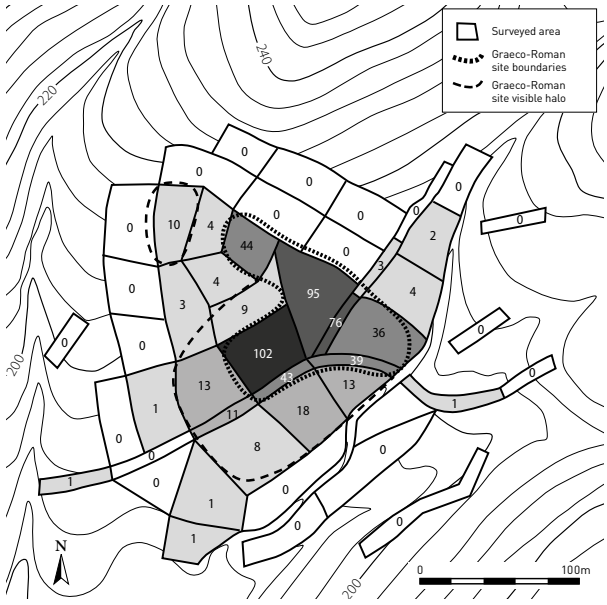


Fig. 8.152: S80, distribution of diagnostic pottery of the Greco-Roman period, showing estimated boundaries of the Greco-Roman site.

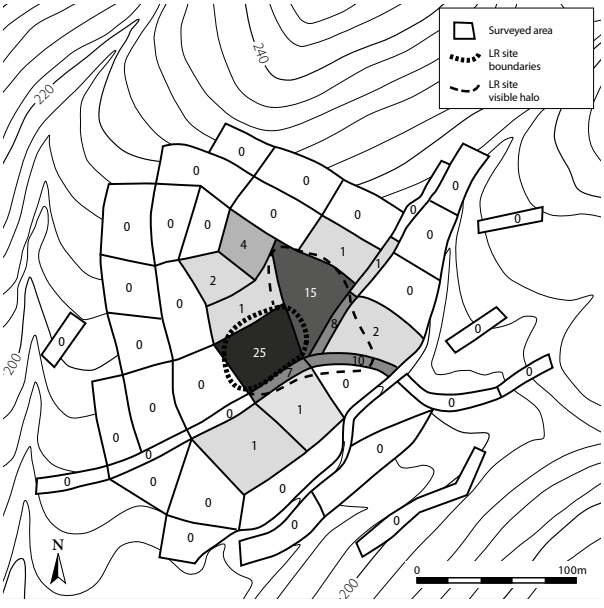


Fig. 8.153: S80, distribution of the diagnostic pottery of the Late Roman period (the 3 M-LR sherds included), showing estimated boundaries of the LR site.

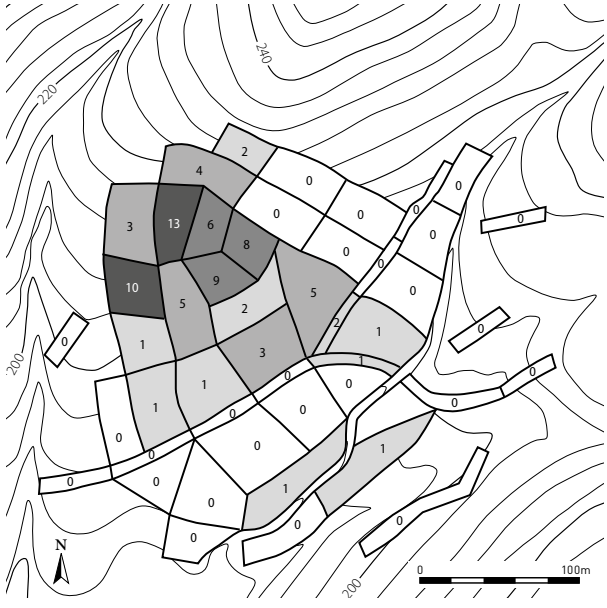


Fig. 8.154: S80, distribution of the Ottoman beehive sherds.

aries of the core U29 and thus should not exceed 0.2 ha in size. The area with approximately 7 to 15 LR finds is interpreted as the visible halo of the LR site.

The LR site seems to present a noticeable picture during the late centuries of the period. Based on the table wares, we notice that most of the African Red Slip and Phocaean Red Slip Wares consist of late forms; from the 11 table ware sherds dated precisely, 6 of them are dated to the late 6th – early 7th c., 2 to mid-late of 6th c., 2 to 6th c., and only one, between 425-500 AD (see Appendix B, S80). Thus, with every probability, the 'explosion', if we can use the term, for our LR site, should have been occurred after 500 AD.

After the 7th century, apart from two sherds which have been dated to "LR period or later", no evidence during the MED period is attested. These two "LR or later" sherds, could hint at an indication for an EBYZ presence at the site. This suspicion is supported by the aforementioned late phase of the LR site, suggesting a possible continuation further to the 8th century. In any case, after the LR period the only sure occupation of the site is during the OTT period, when an extensive apiary was established (Fig. 8.154).

F. Functional analysis

Although no pre-LR ceramics were collected, according to the registrations the majority of the GR-R ceramics (mainly HEL-R) belonged to plain table wares and storage/transport vessels. Especially prominent was the presence of R amphorae.

The more detailed functional analysis of the LR finds, indicates, as usual, the dominance of the transport/storage vessels in comparison to the remaining functional categories (Table 8.45).

As for the OTT non residential site, nothing more can be said except that all the 79 sherds collected belong exclusively to beehives.

G. Final interpretation

S80 is a substantial rural site which reaches its maximum size of 0.73 ha in the GR-R period. This large farm-estate is more evident during the HEL-R period. Probably during the R or LR period, a cylindrical cistern was constructed some meters north-east of the core of the site, for the needs of the inhabitants (Fig. 8.146 & Appendix A, S80).

In the LR period the site shrank to *c.* 0.2 ha, converted into a small farm. No shift is dictated; on the contrary the LR site developed at the core area of the GR-R component. The more detailed date of the fine table wares, suggests a peak of the site after 500 AD. Actually, the high number of imported fine table wares indicates the dining and drinking *koine* of the Mediterranean world during the LR period, as well as the vast trade routes of the time, reflected even in rural sites as the S80.

The 2 "LR or later" sherds collected, in combination with the attested late date of the LR site (surely active until the early 7th c.), gives a hint about a possible continuation of the site during the 8th c. However, no confirmation about an occupation of the MED period is attested. Only during the OTT period was an extensive apiary developed, without evidence about human settlement.

	LR all sherds/ sum total: 77		**LR RHBa/ sum total: 43**	
Functional category	**Total**	**%**	**Total**	**%**
Transport/storage	57	74	24	55.8
Tablewares	11	14.2	11	25.5
Processing	8	10.3	7	16.2
Other	1	1.2	1	2.3
Total	**77**	**100**	**43**	**100**

Table 8.45: S80, functional analysis of the Late Roman sherds (the 3 M-LR sherds included), for (i) all sherds and (ii) rims, handles and bases only.

SITE 87 (S87) – ARI

A. Location details (Fig. 8.155, Fig. 8.156)

Surveyed January 2011, June 2012: ground visibility 0 – 10; average 8.5

The site is located on the northern slopes of the plateau of Ari, above an abandoned EMOD hut (*konaki*) and folds and provides a magnificent view to the whole area. The site lies around and below a complex of GR-R architectural structures, namely the foundations of a tower with its auxiliary rectangular buildings and/or courts (see Appendix A, S87). Approximately 150 metres south-west, in the middle of the plateau a large cistern has been identified. According to the shepherd Dimitris Mavrikos, the cistern was equipped with stairs and he remembers lime mortar having been applied internally (pers. com. February 2011).

The land, as in the whole area of the southern mountainous part of the island, is completely rocky and arid, except for the plateau itself consisting of red soil. The 'field of Ari' as it is locally known, today is used exclusively as pasture, but until the EMOD period was cultivated with grain. There is still visible the large enclosure forming the boundaries of the field, for its protection from the numerous flocks pasturing on the extensive mountainous area.

Fig. 8.155: S87, the site seen from the west.

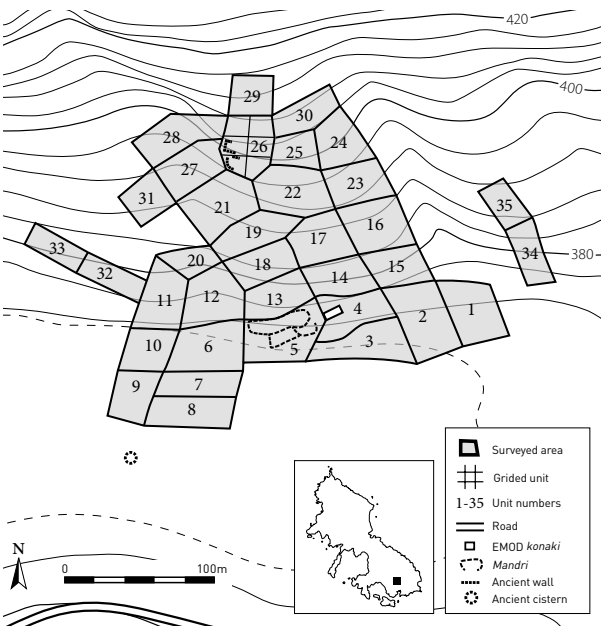


Fig. 8.156: S87, topographical map.

B. The artefact trends and the structure of the site

Densities in sherds/ha:
On-site: min. 1850, max. 5873, average 3704.
Halo: min. 231, max. 1347, average 597.
Background: min. 0, max. 168, average 60.

The total surveyed area (excluding the transects) covered 40,000m^2, in which 1281 sherds were counted during the first field walking (raw count). After the second intensive count of the gridded U26 the result was 1.7 times more sherds than the first count. Using the number 1.7 as a multiplier, I extrapolated the initial density values for the rest of the Units resulting in a total number of 2177 sherds, and after the visibility correction I estimated the corrected densities per ha as shown in Fig. 8.157.

S87 is estimated as a site of c. 10,000 m2 (c. 1.0 ha). This size corresponds mainly to the GR-R site which was by far its main component. Apart from the GR-R, a LR and an EMOD component were also identified, the latter creating problems in defining the (all periods) site size based on pottery densities alone. Furthermore, the EMOD site, consisting of a small hut and some folds, has been moved to the boundaries of the field, a bit lower in relation to the ancient site. The EMOD site has been located in the halo-zone of the ancient one (Figs. 8.156-157). Moreover, the corrected densities of the Units where the EMOD site lies are very low, a normal consequence considering

Fig. 8.157: S87, indication of the corrected densities per ha, showing estimated boundaries of the site at its maximum extent, and of the visible halo areas.

the low pottery-discard usually left by the EMOD sites in comparison to the ancient ones. In any case, the EMOD site, although probably seasonal, was active and could be characterised by all means as site proper: it had shelter and additional buildings. More than half a dozen EMOD finds have been identified, a result of the good diagnosticity which the EMOD finds offer to the surveyor (Fig. 8.164).

However the low corrected densities of the Units where the EMOD site lies, create problems for the language koine of the survey archaeologists, namely the counts of ceramics. Thus, including the EMOD site in our site size would mean including the low densities of the Units where the EMOD site lies in our on-site estimations, something which is actually misleading because in reality the low corrected densities do not represent the on-site area of the EMOD site but the halo of the ancient one. In other words, while pottery densities is a proper tool in identifying and understanding the structure of ancient and MED sites, the interpretation of the EMOD sites should not be based exclusively in such metrics.

The chosen solution was to include into the maximum site size the EMOD component and consequently to present in Fig. 8.157 the boundaries of the site at its maximum extent with the EMOD component included, but bearing in mind that these boundaries have not been identified according to the corrected densities only. Moreover, I decided not to include the corrected densities of the Units where the EMOD site lies into the on-site pottery consideration, because these values represent the reality of the ancient components only.

Thus, based exclusively on pottery densities, the core of the site is clearly located at the highest spot of the site where the ancient architectural structures lie. A second core is identified a bit lower in U19. Both areas present densities >5000 sherds/ha. Around these two foci, a more loose activity is recognised with densities *c.* 2000-4000 sherds/ha (Figs. 8.157-158). After these values, the densities drop abruptly to approximately <500 sherds/ha. This fall appears more gradual southwards, apparently the result of rolling sherds augmenting pottery densities, due to the ter-

rain's inclination towards this direction. Thus, in three Units (U13, U14 and U20) the densities are estimated around 1100-1400 sherds/ha. These values should be considered as the boundary where the halo of the site begins (*c.* <1500).

Resurveying the site through the six transects in June 2012 cleared the perspective on the boundaries between on-site, halo and background densities. As Fig. 8.157 show, T4 to T6 present 0 values, while T2 and T3, 32 and 35 sherds/ha respectively. It is clear that these values, close to the values of the extreme U1 and U2, represent the lower background densities around the site (just before 0). By contrast, a different view is given by T1 with its 824 sherds/ha, a value clearly belonging to the halo area. Maybe the cistern located there (see Fig. 8.156) and consequently a more intense activity, has resulted in a slightly augmented pottery discard in comparison to the regular background carpet around the site, which should be defined as *c.* <200.

C. Sample fraction statistics:

Of the 1281 sherds of the first raw count of the Units, 41 sherds were collected, thus 3.2%. This percentage diminishes to 1.8%, when comparing the 41 collected sherds with the 2176, which is the estimated pottery density of the Units (not v-c) lying on the field, after the extrapolation with the multiplier 3 (Fig. 8.160).

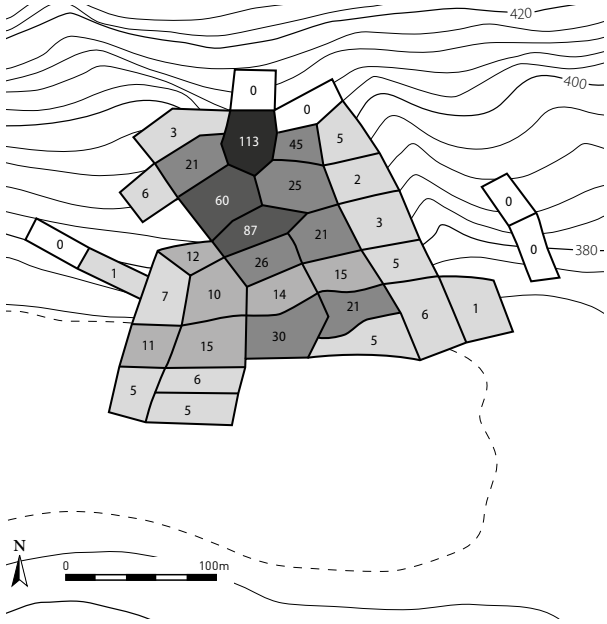


Fig. 8.159: S87, distribution of the counted tiles.

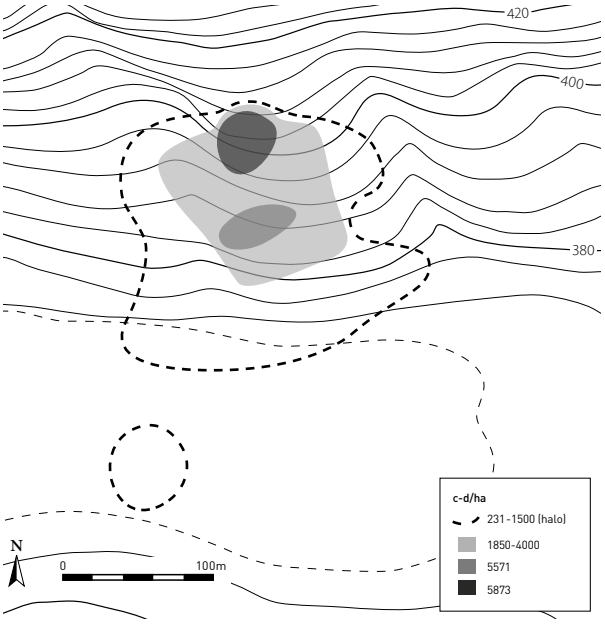


Fig. 8.158: S87, contour analysis of the site density, based on corrected densities per ha.

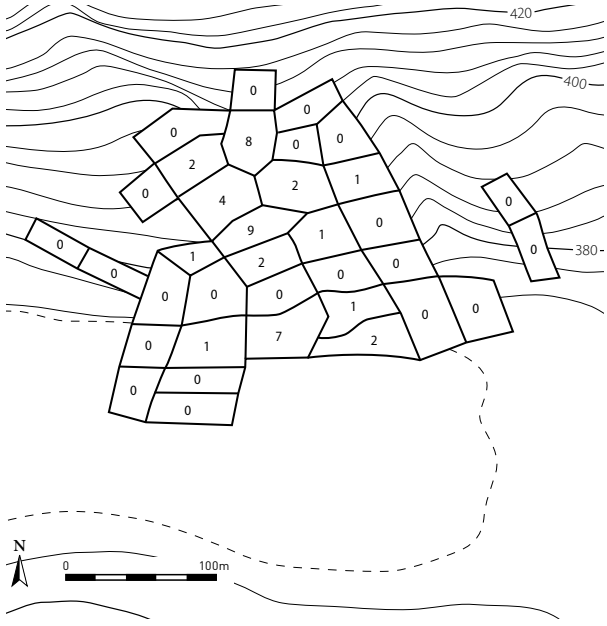


Fig. 8.160: S87, the number of sherds collected, by Unit.

D. Finds statistics (for the catalogue of the collected finds see Appendix B):

The total of the finds is actually the sum of the registrations (Table 8.46). Thus we see that from the 2176 sherds (the estimated pottery density of the Units after the extrapolation with the multiplier 3/not v-c), I counted and registered 1281 sherds, thus 58.8%. Not all the registered ceramics have been collected, but only the LR-Post Roman sherds, leaving the rest on the field; thus from the 2176 finds 41 were picked up, a number which corresponds to 1.8% of the total estimated density of the Units (not v-c).

Again the extremely high number of undiagnostic and GR-R sherds, which in sum occupy the staggering number of *c.* 97% of the pottery counted on the field, is noticeable (Table 8.46, Figs. 8.161-162). After the hypothetical division of the large group of the GR-R pottery into four subdivisions (representing the G-A, CL, HEL, and R period), for each group would correspond *c.* 156 sherds, a number 5 times greater than the 30 sherds collected of the LR period. These great differences represent the dominant GR-R phase of the site indeed. This fact is reflected in the maps of the components as well (section E). As for the 8 EMOD sherds collected, they represent the periodical activity of the small EMOD farm.

Period	Total	%
Undiagnostic	613	47.8
Greco-Roman	627	48.9
M-LR	1	2.4
LR	30	
E-LBYZ	1	0,07
OTT-EMOD	1	0,7
EMOD	8	
Total	**1281**	**100**

Table 8.46: S87, statistics of the finds by period (Unit counts).

*E. Display of periods (*Figs. 8.162 - 164*)*

The GR-R period has been, without doubt, the period with the most intense human activity at S87 (Fig. 8.162). This is reflected primarily by the finds and secondarily by the tower/structures at its higher point. The site reaches *c.* 0.78 ha in size, being interpreted as a large tower-estate, exploiting and controlling the large plateau of Ari. Two core foci are discernible at U19 and U26, already noticed in section B, the latter being the location of the tower-structure of the site. A slightly lower density is identified between the two foci (U22), while a more loose activity is detected around these three-core Units. It is clear that the exclusion from the GR-R site of the U13 and U4 (with 16 and 15 finds respectively), in contrast to U30, U18, U28 and U17 (with 14, 16, 18 and 21 finds respectively) which have been included, has taken place on the grounds of the corrected densities. Indeed, examining Fig. 8.157, we notice that the corrected densities of the latter are more than double the former. This of course regarding the GR-R finds means that the finds on the four, low-on-site Units should be partially the result of a low diagnosticity and that the aforementioned 'more loose activity' could not in fact be so striking. This last assumption is enhanced by the fact that the majority of the undiagnostic finds creating the high values of the corrected densities should belong to the GR-R site, given that after that component, only one more was active, and as we shall see immediately below, shrunken and possibly seasonal.

Thus, during the LR period the site shrinks, covering an area of *c.* 0.4 ha, interpreted as a small farm (Fig. 8.163). It seems that the LR site extends within the area of the GR-R core, and possibly, exploiting the still standing ancient buildings. As we shall see in section F, the functional analysis of the LR finds could even suggest a semi-residential site.

After the 7th c. AD, no human habitation activity, permanent or semi-permanent, is attested at the site, until the EMOD period, when a small farm, not exceeding 0.3 ha, is settled at the north edge of the field (Fig. 8.164). The small quantity of the pottery recovered, the small shelter with its fireplace and the fold beside, offer the total vision of the EMOD settlement.

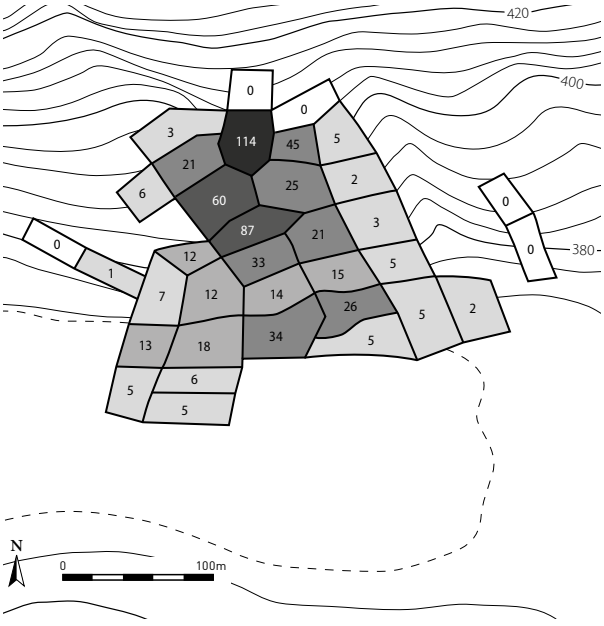


Fig. 8.161: S87, distribution of the Undiagnostic pottery.

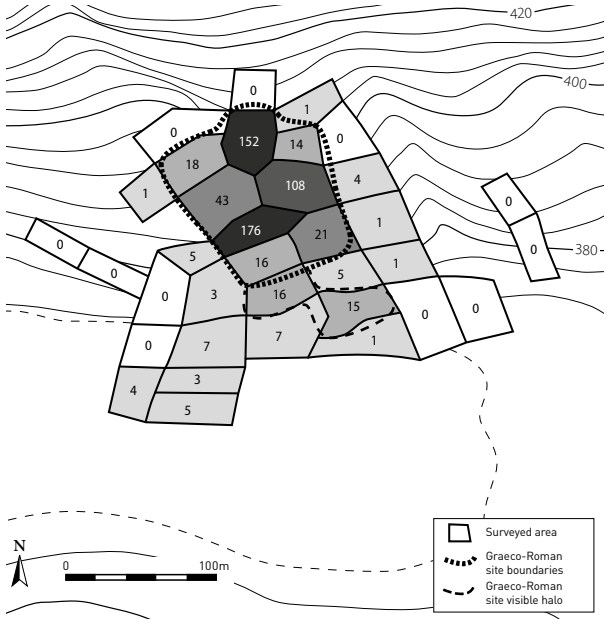


Fig. 8.162: S87, distribution of diagnostic pottery of the Greco-Roman period, showing estimated boundaries of the Greco-Roman site.

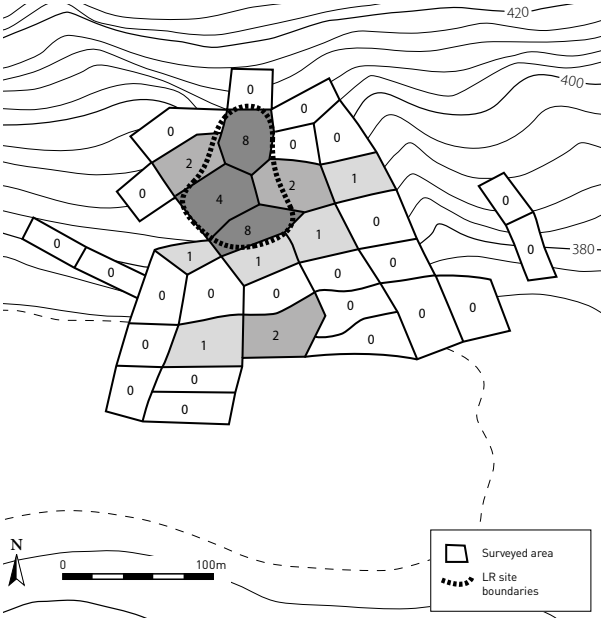


Fig. 8.163: S87, distribution of the diagnostic pottery of the Late Roman period (the 1 M-LR sherd included), showing estimated boundaries of the LR site.

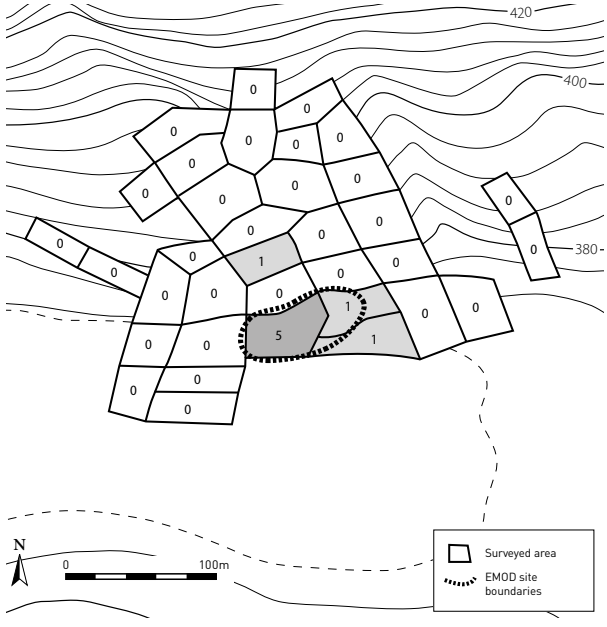


Fig. 8.164: S87, distribution of diagnostic pottery of the Early Modern period, showing estimated boundaries of the Early Modern site.

	LR all sherds/ sum total: 31		LR RHBa/ sum total: 5	
Functional category	**Total**	**%**	**Total**	**%**
Transport/storage	29	93.5	3	60
Tablewares	2	6.7	2	40
Processing	-	-	-	-
Total	**31**	**100**	**5w**	**100**

Table 8.47: S80, functional analysis of the Late Roman sherds (the 1 M-LR sherd included), for (i) all sherds and (ii) rims, handles and bases only.

F. Functional analysis

According to the pottery registrations, the functional analysis of the GR-R pottery counted on the field is quite balanced, mainly between table wares and transport/storage vessels, logical enough for a permanently residential settlement. This does not happen to the LR component (Table 8.47): from the 31 LR sherds collected (the 1 M-LR sherd included), 29 were from amphorae, with only two finds from table wares. Moreover, from the 28 amphora sherds, 25 were body sherds and thus, following the usual exercise (excluding from our calibration the body sherds), the finds decrease to the brink of their characterisation as representation of a 'site'.

The balance regarding the functional analysis of the pottery recovery returns centuries later, namely in EMOD period with the 8 finds collected distributed regularly among the functional categories (Table 8.48).

	EMOD sherds/ sum total: 8	
Functional category	**Total**	**%**
Transport/Storage	2	25
Tablewares	5	62.5
Processing	1	12.5
Total	**8**	**100**

Table 8.48: S87, functional analysis of the EMOD sherds (the 1 OTT-EMOD sherd included).

G. Final interpretation

S87 is a substantial rural site which reaches its maximum size of 0.78 ha in the GR-R period. This large agricultural estate was equipped with a tower and auxiliary buildings at the top of the site, offering the best sight to, and from the field, and thus servicing the necessary symbolical and practical needs for a rural, probably self-administered ancient estate; namely the control of the area, the safe storage and refuge in case of emergency (see Chapter 10.2).

The site declined to a small farm during the LR period (*c.* 0.4 ha), possibly semi-permanent. The inhabitants of the LR site were probably exploiting the still standing GR-R structures. The living sources of the small farm would have been, as in the previous period, pastoralism and the cultivation of the wide plateau.

During the EMOD period, a small semi-permanent farm is settled at the northern margins of the field, some distance below the ancient site. The farm, not exceeding 0.3 ha, was equipped with a small shelter and folds, reflecting the living sources of the inhabitants. It is noticeable that, according to local information, the ancient cistern in the middle of the field was still in use during the EMOD period.

Chapter 9
The long-term urban centre of Skyros – Chora (S01)

(Note: Toponym and topographical references mentioned in this chapter are found in the map of Chora Fig. 9.2).

The site of Chora is located on a large hill on the north-east side of the island, above the beach of Magazia-Molos (38º54'20N – 24º34'05E). The settlement has been primarily developed on a very steep rocky hill of 187 metres above sea level and approximately 0.85ha in area, which comprises the ancient acropolis/medieval Kastro. Later the settlement expanded immediately north of the hill. The primary motive for this expansion northwards was to gain access to the desirable but limited gentle terrain found solely in this area, despite the fact that this expansion also exposed the inhabitants to the bitter boreal winds of the Aegean. Indeed, the eastern and western sides of the acropolis fall very steeply into the sea and to a ravine respectively, while the steep rocky hill of Fourka at the south of the acropolis was inadequate for the development of a large settlement.

Furthermore, the necessity for more space obliged the inhabitants to expand gradually their settlement on a gently descending terrain to the west-southwest (Fig. 9.1).

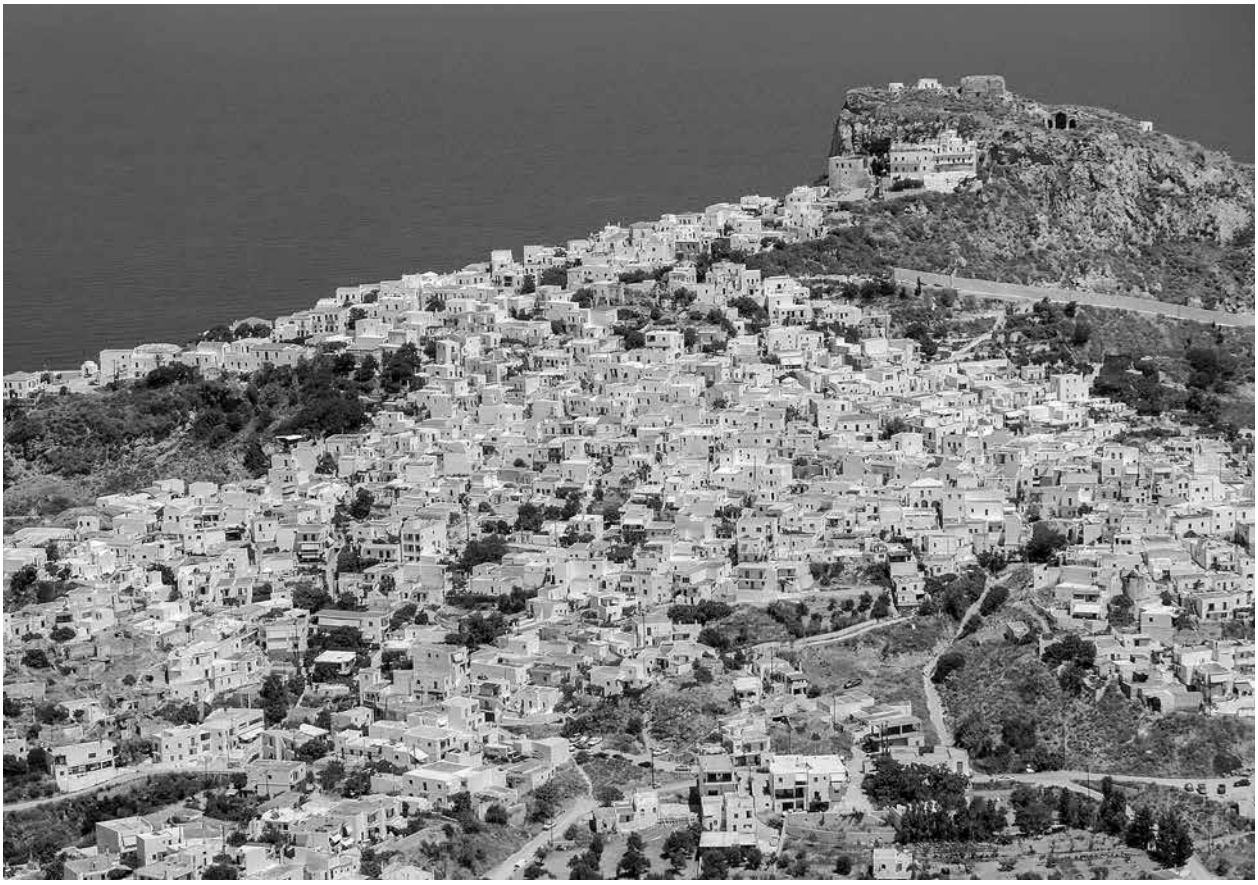
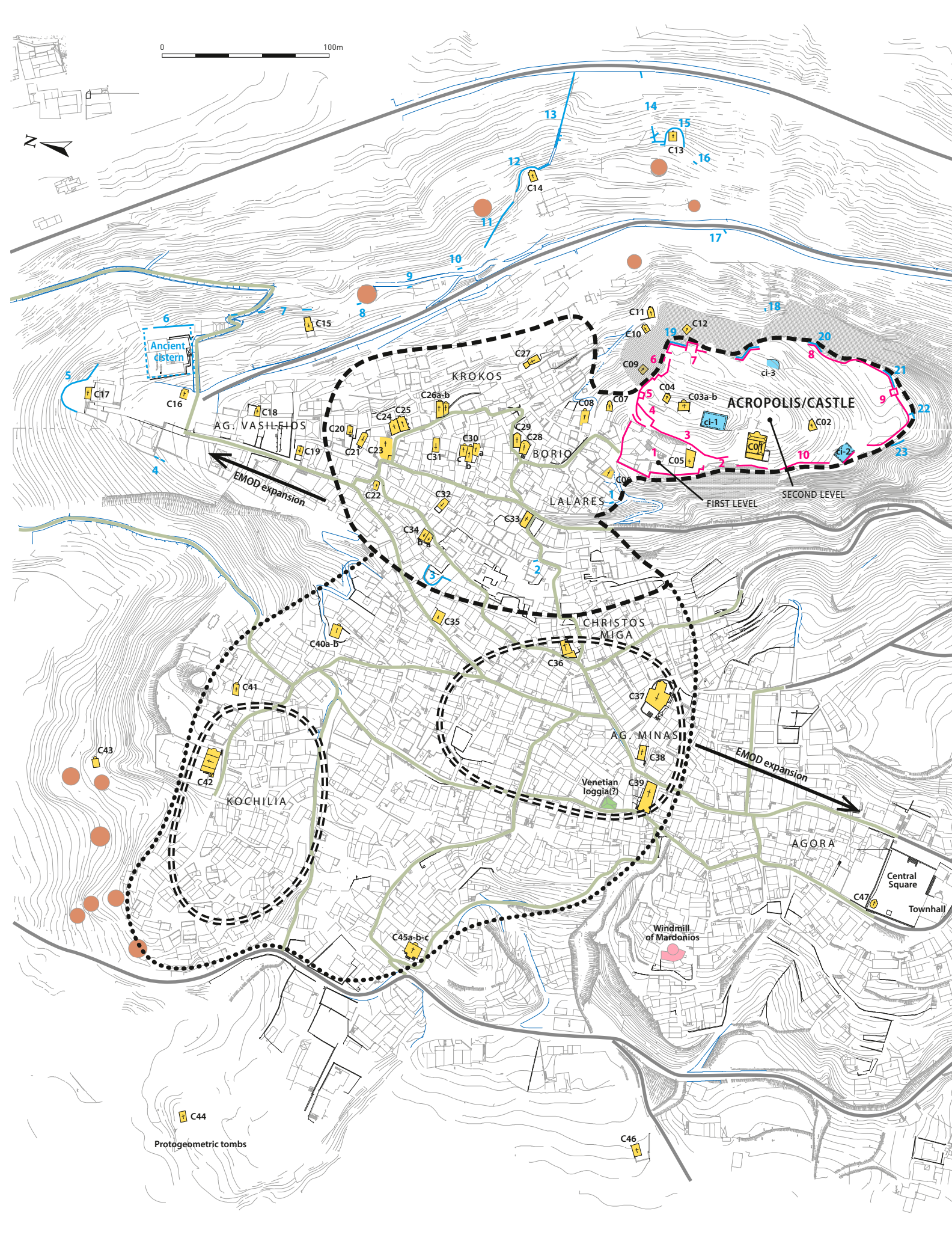


Fig. 9.1: View of Chora from the west (courtesy of Skyros Aeroclub).


0
100m
N
Ancient cistern
C15
C16
C17
C18
AG. VASILEIOS
C19
C20
C21
C22
C23
C24
C25
C26a-b
KROKOS
C27
C28
C29
C30
C31
C32
C33
C34
BORIO
LALARES
C08
C09
C10
C11
C12
C13
C14
C07
C04
C03a-b
ACROPOLIS/CASTLE
ci-1
ci-2
ci-3
C01
C02
C05
FIRST LEVEL
SECOND LEVEL
EMOD expansion
CHRISTOS MIGA
C35
C36
C37
C38
C39
AG. MINAS
Venetian loggia(?)
EMOD expansion
AGORA
Central Square
C47
Townhall
Windmill of Mardonios
C40a-b
C41
C42
C43
KOCHILIA
C45a-b-c
C44
Protogeometric tombs
C46

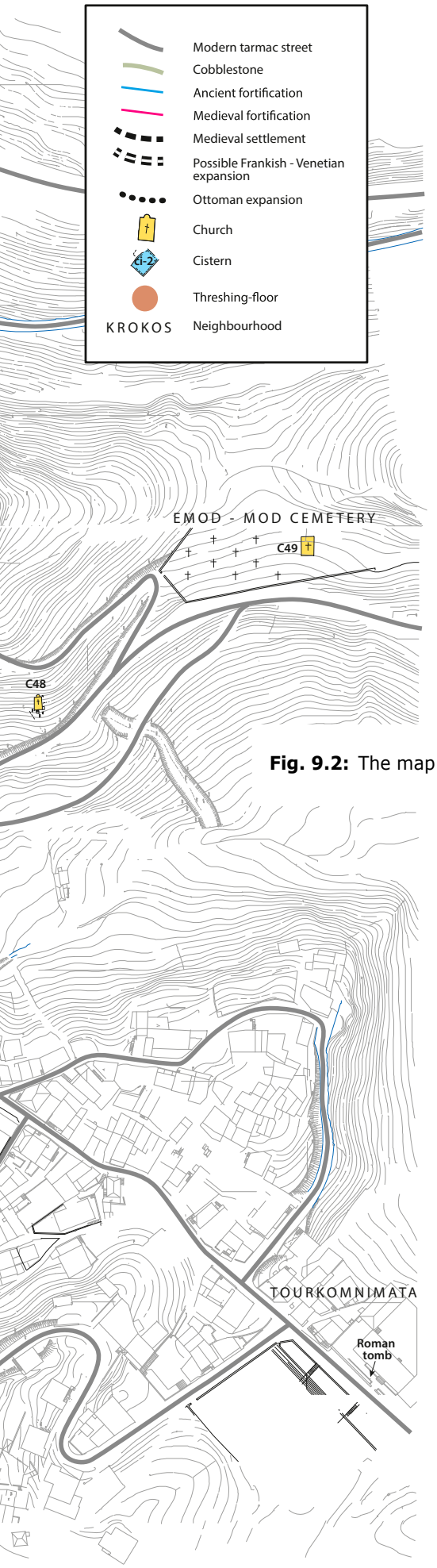


Fig. 9.2: The map of Chora.

The development of the site as the chief settlement of the island, despite the drawbacks of the relative exposure to the north and the lack of safe anchorage, has been dictated by a series of factors the site had in its favour. First and foremost was the ideal protection which the very steep cliff provided; second, the proximity to a plentiful water supply provided by the Kifisos river and the spring of Anavalsa some metres west of the settlement, and thirdly the fertile lands in the vicinity, namely the plain of Kambos lying immediately north and the gardens alongside the Kifisos river. Moreover, the location of S01 approximately halfway between the two major valleys of Kalikri and Trachi (7 and 11 km respectively), probably promoted the use of the site as a 'central place' for market facilities and so on, considering the ergonomics of the ancient world (see Chapter 10).

9.1 PREHISTORIC AND EARLY IRON AGE DATA

The continuous use of the settlement up to the present day and the lack of new construction and attendant rescue excavation, has left little data covering the ancient periods. However, the site is assumed to have been occupied since prehistoric times. This assumption is primarily indicated by a group of five Mycenaean chamber-tombs published by Theocharis in 1945-47, located in the ward of Krokos at the eastern side of Chora, close to the Kastro (Fig. 9.3).[1] Moreover, 100 Mycenaean vessels were accidentally found in graves in the surroundings of Chora (S04, S06, S07, S10, S11 and S17). The find spots have been interpreted as cemetery areas belonging to the Mycenean settlement located at the acropolis. Parlama (1984) cites two cemetery areas associated with the settlement of Chora: one at the north consisting of sites S10 and S11 (the main necropolis of the settlement from the Prehistoric to the Roman period) and one at the south consisting of sites S04, S06 and S07.

During the early Iron Age the site presents a similar to the Prehistoric period pattern. The settlement was probably on the acropolis and the cemeteries were located away from the hill (Sapouna-Sakellaraki 2001-02, 164, 188). Few finds have been

1 The tombs were initially identified by Kostas Faltaits, as Theocharis himself admits (Theocharis 1945-47, 7, n.2). The tombs have since been lost, as in his publication Theocharis does not provide their exact location.

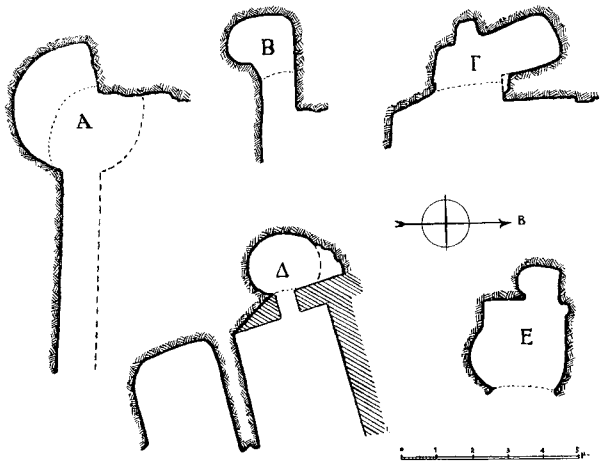


Fig. 9.3: The five Mycenaean chamber-tombs at *Krokos* area (after Theocharis 1945-47, 8, fig. 10)

identified on S01 itself; some sherds on the acropolis and two Protogeometric tombs in the north-west districts of Chora at the site of Alonia (Sapouna-Sakellaraki 2001-02, 164 and 167). However, the extensive Geometric and Archaic cemetery developed on the plain area immediately north of Chora (S10, S11, S12 and S13), has led Sapouna-Sakellaraki to suggest that indeed the settlement to which the cemetery belonged, should be associated with an early Iron Age settlement on the acropolis. To this settlement must be connected the late Archaic temple at the top of the hill of Fourka, immediately south of the acropolis (S05). Polygonal-like masonry on the acropolis' fortification (segment 20) might reflect an early Iron Age wall (see below).

9.2 CLASSICAL – HELLENISTIC DATA

The archaeological evidence for the Classical-Hellenistic *Polis* centre of Skyros is richer than the preceding periods. Apart from several incidentally found fragments of inscriptions, sculptures and architectural *spolia* (accommodated in the local Archaeological Museum), the more characteristic evidence for that period are the robust fortifications of the outer city and of the acropolis.

The fortifications

The ancient fortifications of Skyros were studied in the beginning of the 20th century by Fredrich and Deffner, who both concentrated mainly on the external wall. Their conclusions were published in 1906 and 1925-26 respectively. The purpose of my fieldwork was to up-date the old data.

While the acropolis' ancient wall has barely survived, the external one is still more or less preserved. Apart from the curtains, the wall was equipped with four massive semicircular towers, one at its west, a second at its north and two more at its eastern side. Both the acropolis and the external wall are constructed from light brown local limestone blocks, the rock that makes up the Kastro. Apparently the blocks were extracted on the spot where they were required; a common phenomenon in ancient fortifications (Winter 1971, 77). The blocks range from 2.00x0.95x0.65 metres at the biggest tower of the north side, to 0.60x0.50 metres for the curtains. Large blocks of 1.10x0.60 have been noticed in the curtains as well. Regarding the style of the construction, Scranton mentions two types ranging from irregular trapezoidal verging on irregular ashlar, to isodomic and pseudo-isodomic ashlar (Scranton 1941, 169, 177, 180, 182). In sum, the style of the fortifications can be characterised as isodomic to pseudo-isodomic coursed ashlar, with quarry to hammer faces.

The circuit of the external wall can be traced with relative ease. Starting from the western side, the first definite trace is the western tower, the so called *pergos* (segment 3). The western tower is the only one among the four that is located in a zone intensively occupied by the subsequent settlement and thus it suffers from the modern houses attached to it. The semicircular tower is 9 metres in diameter. From its southern side starts a part of the curtain approximately 5 metres long, vertical to the tower. South of the tower the wall has been totally obscured by the modern town, but undoubtedly would have run south-east in direction meeting the acropolis' fortifications, more or less there where later the basic gate of the medieval Kastro was constructed. South of this spot the inclination becomes quite steep, making any join with the acropolis' walls impossible. Two blocks of the ancient wall, one lying on a courtyard and a second built into the masonry of an old house (segments 1 and 2) indicate roughly the aforementioned hypothetical junction.

Proceeding in a clockwise direction, from *pergos* the wall should follow a more or less straight course meeting the northern tower, *paleopirgos*, by

far the most robust and impressive tower of the four (*c.* 18 metres diameter; segment 5) (Fig. 9.4). Despite the lack of *in situ* remains of the wall on this side, the fact that the wall should be located alongside the edge of the natural cliff between the two towers, and the two large blocks left on the western edge of Brooke square (segment 4), leads me to the aforementioned conclusion.[2] It is interesting to note the location of the two towers (segments 3 and 5) at the most vulnerable points of the fortification towards these directions. Both towers have been constructed on the only two gentle paths which the potential attackers would have used in order to reach the fortified city and the acropolis.

From *paleopirgos* the wall follows a south-east direction, passing a couple of metres below the archaeological museum and the church of Ayios Konstantinos (C15). From that point onwards, the east side of the wall shapes a noticing eastward projection towards the sea. This was done for the creation of the main gate of the fortification as close as possible to the sea. The north and south side of this projection have been equipped with two robust semicircular towers, located approximately in the middle, between the starting point of the projection and the gate (Fig. 9.5).

Thus we see that after segments 8, 9 and 10, the wall turns towards east (segment 11) to meet first the tower of Ayia Paraskevi (segment 12) and then to continue towards the sea (segment 13). Segment 11 is the best surviving part of the curtains, 3 to 5 metres in height. The tower of Ayia Paraskevi and the curtain eastwards are well preserved too. There has also been identified a postern of 1.50 metres in width. Lower (segment 13), the height of the surviving curtain is barely that of one block.

The south side of the projection is less preserved. Apart from the well preserved tower of Ayios Nikolaos (segment 15) and the curtain north-east of it, where a similar to the aforementioned postern has been identified, the course of the wall can be traced by sporadic in-situ blocks (segment 14 & 16).

Regarding the gate, no trace of it survives today and actually neither Defner in 1925 was able to identify. However, Fredrich in his 1906 plan of the wall, at the eastern end of our segments 13 & 14, cites two rectangular towers apparently the towers of the main gate of the fortification. Fredrich does not provide figures of the find and notes that the towers were preserved at the height of just two blocks at that time (Fredrich 1906, 265). Despite the fact that the reliability of the information cannot be checked by surface

Fig. 9.4: View of Chora from the north: at the top the rocky ancient acropolis/medieval castle, with its medieval robust fortified entrance at the right. In the middle, below the houses, the north tower of the classical external wall of the ancient *Polis*-centre (*Paleopirgos*, segment 5) (courtesy of Skyros Aeroclub).

Fig. 9.5: The classical external fortification and the acropolis from the north-east. The two eastern towers (Ayia Paraskevi and Ayios Nikolaos, segments 12 and 15 respectively). Between them part of the curtain is discernible (segment 13).

2 Both Fredrich and Defner present in their plans an angular course of the wall connecting *paleopyrgos* and *pergos*. However, this contradicts the aforementioned geomorphology of the area. Besides, both scholars do not support their proposition with any evidence.

investigation alone, we can presume that Fredrich is correct. At this spot (on the tarmac street) a large amount of rectangular blocks are gathered belonging apparently to the towers of the gate. Apart from that, a gate would be reasonably expected at that distance from the semicircular towers.

More difficult is the tracing of the wall south of this gate-projection and particularly the junction of the external wall with the acropolis. Specifically, only a small part of wall approximately 4 metres long having a northeast-southwest direction has been identified, next to the Brooke square road (segment 17). This probably suggests that the external wall should meet the citadel wall more or less at the centre of the acropolis, exploiting a projection of the natural rock towards the east. Indeed, the southern half of the eastern side of the acropolis presents apart from a steep, a negative inclination as well, which would make it very difficult to join the two walls. Additionally, fieldwork on the steep rocky east slopes below the acropolis, identified rectangular carvings on the bedrock probably from the foundations of the wall (segment 18).

Regarding the acropolis, the ancient fortifications are preserved mainly on the eastern and southern sides. Segments 19, 20 and 21 have been used as a base for the installation of the medieval fortification (Fig. 9.6). In segment 20 two different phases of the ancient fortification are noticed: one polygonal-like and one apparently posterior, pseudo-isodomic ashlar. Noticeable are the remains of a five metres wide rectangular bastion identified at the southern edge of the acropolis (segment 22) (Fig. 9.7). Reasonably, the defenders of the acropolis had positioned a tower at its most vulnerable spot, at the lower and less steep side of the rock, which had no external wall.

The last trace of the ancient acropolis' wall of this clockwise journey is found at its south-west side (segment 23). The medieval fortification is located a couple of metres inwards in respect to the ancient one, apparently the result of the numerous geological collapses that have occurred at the west side of the acropolis for centuries, obliging the inhabitants to place their walls more eastwards.

Chronology of the fortifications

Except from a trace possibly representing an Archaic(?) acropolis wall (segment 20), undoubtedly the fortifications of the *Polis* centre described above were executed during the Classical period, a time when the city obtained an organised and mature plan. A series of arguments support this dating: first and foremost the existence of the external wall enclosing the outer city, a characteristic of post-Archaic fortifications (Winter 1971, 54). Second, the provision for a water supply within the fortified area in case of siege: more precisely, Fredrich in his plan indicates a large cistern located at the north edge of the outer fortified city, beside *paleopirgos,* there where today lies the archaeological museum. The large cistern, apparently contemporaneous to the fortifications, was located at

Fig. 9.6: Part of the classical fortification on the east side of the acropolis on which the post-Roman walls were erected (segment 19).

Fig. 9.7: The south bastion of the classical fortification of the acropolis (segment 22).

the lower side of the fortified city against the walls, in order to be easily filled. [3]

Apart from the cistern, the watering system of the ancient centre is attested by the existence of subterranean aqueducts, probably of Classical-Hellenistic date.[4] The most characteristic example of them is the locally known *spilia tou andrioti,* a couple of metres west of the tower of Ayia Paraskevi (segment 12). This tunnel, carved into the bedrock, is *c.* 0.80 metres wide, 1.20 metres high and a man can crawl approximately 20 metres into the tunnel, before the way is blocked by fallen rocks.

Apart from the existence of an external wall and the care given to the water supply placement, evidence for the relatively mature date of the walls is the special attention that the ancient military engineers paid in order to ensure that the fortified city had access to the sea, as insurance against a prolonged blockade. This is an element added to the fortifications after the beginning of the 5th c. BC (Winter 1971, 298).

Finally, both the walls of the acropolis and especially the external one, have been equipped with robust towers at the vulnerable points of the fortifications and near to the gate, as well as with posterns of mainly military character in order to enable the defenders to sally out to suddenly attack their enemies (Winter 1971, 234-5).

All these data indicate a mature military architecture with experience of a developed siege-craft, occurring in the area of old Greece after the Persian wars. The two scholars of the beginnings of the 20th century who studied the fortifications of Skyros, suggest a chronology within the 4th c. BC. Fredrich believes that the Athenians fortified the city between 355-338 in their efforts to stop the expansion of Philip II (Fredrich 1906, 270-1), while Defner places the operation a bit earlier, between 370-356, connecting it with the re-conquest of the marine primacy in the Aegean by the Athenians after the battle of Naxos in 376 BC (Defner 1925-26,167).

However, it is true that an earlier date within the 5th c. would not be ruled out. In contrast to the aforementioned scholars, Scranton dates the Skyrian fortifications to around 450 BC. It seems very logical for the Athenians to have fortified the newly conquered island (by Kimon in 475 BC), in the advent of the more and more visible explosion of the Peloponnesian war. In fact, during the *Pentekontaetia* before the Peloponnesian war, secure barriers and new outposts were an absolute necessity not only for the Athenians but for their enemies as well (Winter 1971, 56-7). A great number of ancient fortifications in Greece are dated to these years. The necessity for rapid wall constructions (like those of the *Pentekontaetia*), led to the abandonment of the polygonal and generally time-consuming masonry styles. Instead, simpler but still very strong styles were adopted, such as the trapezoidal and ashlar, which in turn became the standard type from the 5th c. onwards (Winter 1971, 304). Moreover, the coarse style of the Skyrian walls, in combination with the loose distribution of the towers, only in the vulnerable points of the fortification rather than in more regular intervals as usually occurred during the 4th c. (Winter 1971, 154), support their chronology within the 5th c. BC.

Some thoughts on the population of the Polis centre

"Ascertaining the likely extent of occupation in any particular period does not, in itself, allow a direct conversion from inhabited area to population" (Whitelaw & Davis 1991, 279). Despite this warning, studies on the Greek city-states have managed to obtain a more or less standard estimate on the populations of the Greek *poleis* (urban centre and territory). It is generally accepted that 150 persons per ha is realistic assumption, or even a minimum average of population density during the Classical period (Hansen 2006, 79, 82).

Wagstaff and Cherry (based on Thucydides), estimate that the population of 5th century Melos (the entire island) was maximally 3000 individuals (Wagstaff & Cherry 1982, 145). Moreover, Cherry and Sparkes estimate that the walled area of the *Polis* centre was *c.* 15 ha (Cherry & Sparkes 1982, 56). Implementing the number of 150 persons per ha to the walled are, the result is 2250 individuals for the urban centre alone. Furthermore, by adopting Hansen's assumption, i.e. that *poleis* with a territory of up to 200

3 No evidence of that cistern is visible today, but oral sources confirm that it was found during the construction of the museum in 1961. Strangely enough this important find is not mentioned in the *Archaiologikon Deltion*.

4 "The maintenance of such cisterns and pipelines in good condition would have been a large undertaking, but was eminently worthwhile from the military viewpoint. It was only with the advent of the *pax romana* that the cities of the hellenistic world could afford the luxury of aqueducts above ground" (Winter 1971, 53).

km^2 (like Melos), concentrate two-thirds of their population within the urban centre (Hansen 2006, 80), we can estimate the total population of Melos to have been *c.* 3375 individuals. This number is not too far from the evidence provided by Thucydides.

Regarding Skyros, unfortunately the only evidence of the size of the ancient town is the remains of the fortifications. The walled area covers *c.* 7.0 ha. Applying again the assumption of the 150 persons per ha to the walled area of the town of Skyros, it results in *c.* 1050 inhabitants. This number must be conceived as an approximation as it is known that the walls of the ancient city centres were not necessarily the frames into which the cities were fitted. In many cases defensive reasons would have obliged the military architects to include within the fortifications tracts of land in order to reinforce the defensive line with some natural features, which thus were never occupied with buildings (Winter 1971, 111-2). This could for example be hypothesized for the area of the gate between the two eastern towers of the Skyrian fortification.

Furthermore, it is known that the walls of the ancient city centres were not necessarily the boundaries of the habitation areas. For example Whitelaw & Davis estimate the population of the *Polis* centre of Koressos in Keos (one of the four city-states of the island), to have been between 900 to 1200 inhabitants, distributed in an area of *c.* 18 ha inside and outside the fortifications (Whitelaw & Davis 1991, 278, 280). Concerning the urban centre of Skyros, based on the evidence of the later periods I guesstimate a minimum extramural area of approximately 3.0 ha, and thus I consider the total occupation area of the town as *c.* 10 ha. The 7.0 to 10.0 ha occupation area corresponds to an estimated population of *c.* 1000-1500 inhabitants of the urban centre of Skyros and hence a total island population *c.* 1600-2250 persons.[5]

9.3 ROMAN – LATE ROMAN DATA

After the robust evidence of the Classical fortifications, the available data for Roman-Late Roman Chora deteriorates again to sporadic sculpture fragments and architectural *spolia,* accommodated in the local museum or distributed in several spots of the settlement. It is worth to mention the early Roman sarcophagus lying until recently in the episcopal church on the Kastro (C01) (now in the archaeological museum of Skyros; Lazaridis 1971, 279) and a rich in finds tomb found in 2003 in the yard of the elementary school (Karapaschalidou 2008).

The scarcity of the finds makes difficult to ascertain whether a possible movement of the island's centre took place. S65 presents a dynamic role as the island's central port during the Roman times, but in any case does not exceed 4.25 ha in size. Thus, despite the lack of evidence I maintain that S01 remained the central settlement of Skyros.

As for the Late Roman period, the sketchy archaeological evidence is restricted to architectural *spolia* from Early Christian basilicas and some late antique domestic sculptures exposed in the archaeological museum (concerning the sculptures, it is not certain that they are all from Chora). I have reasons to believe, however, that S01 remained the principal settlement of the island. The historical note of the existence of a bishopric already since the 4th c. AD indicates a noteworthy population on the island, apparently concentrated in S01 (Chapters 2 & 11). Moreover, the Early Christian *spolia* of Chora are gathered close to and on the Kastro, suggesting roughly the location of the churches, apparently within the ancient political and religious centre of the acropolis.

9.4 POST-ROMAN DATA

From the medieval times onwards the chief settlement of the island acquires gradually the character of a typical Aegean Chora. After the Late Roman period the residential sites of the countryside are sketchy, a phenomenon apparently interpretable as the result of the population's concentration into the central settlement (Chapters 12, 13). As a matter of fact, Chora remained not only the largest, but most uniquely the only large settlement of the island until the modern era. Characteristically the locals refer to it as *to chorio* (the village), which underscores the lack of any other alternative settlement.

It is evident that the settlement changed its shape and size in order to follow the population fluctuations. As in ancient times, Post-Roman Chora consisted of the castle and the extramural settlement. As we shall see below, in a gradual process the inhabitants moved

5 The total population of Skyros is estimated according to the theory that small-middle size *Poleis* up to 200 km2 (like Skyros) should concentrate two-thirds of their population within the urban centre (Hansen 2006, 80); see Chapter 10.

further away from the castle to the south-western slopes of the hill.

According to the historical data, the population of the island as a whole from the late 15th until the 19th c. ranged from 1200 at its lowest in 1470 AD, to 2200 souls at its peak in the late 16th c. We assume that Chora accommodated the majority of the population. Towards the end of the 19th c. and the beginnings of the 20th, the island population almost doubled, reaching more than 3000 souls (Chapters 2, 3)**.** Still, Chora was the main settlement of the island. For the accommodation of almost double the number of people in comparison to the Ottoman and Medieval periods, the Early Modern Chora underwent an expansion westwards and southwards from the old nucleus of the acropolis and its surroundings. For a better spatial analysis of this process and the presentation of the archaeological remains a separate discussion for the castle and the extramural settlement follows below.

9.4.1 The castle (Fig. 9.8)

The castle is approximately 1.0 ha in size and consists of two levels: the larger on the top of the steep rock (the main castle) and a robust fortified entrance at the lower level on the north-west side of the rock (the present day area of the monastery of St. George). A passage starting from the entrance and having a south-east direction connects the first with the second level of the castle.

The present appearance of the castle (and more specifically its fortifications), is generally considered to be Frankish-Venetian. This idea is attributable to the travellers Sauger and Tournefort (17th-18th c.), who both mention repairs of the fortifications of the castle undertaken by the ninth duke of the Archipelago, Niccolò III dalle Carceri 1371-1383 (in Antoniadis 1977, 100 and 133). This information was repeated by scholars creating the misleading idea that the totality of the present fortifications date to the Frankish-Venetian period (namely Konstantinidis 1901, 103; Graindor 1906, 56; Papageorgiou 1909, 103; Antoniadis 1995b, 55; Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997a, 16). Although

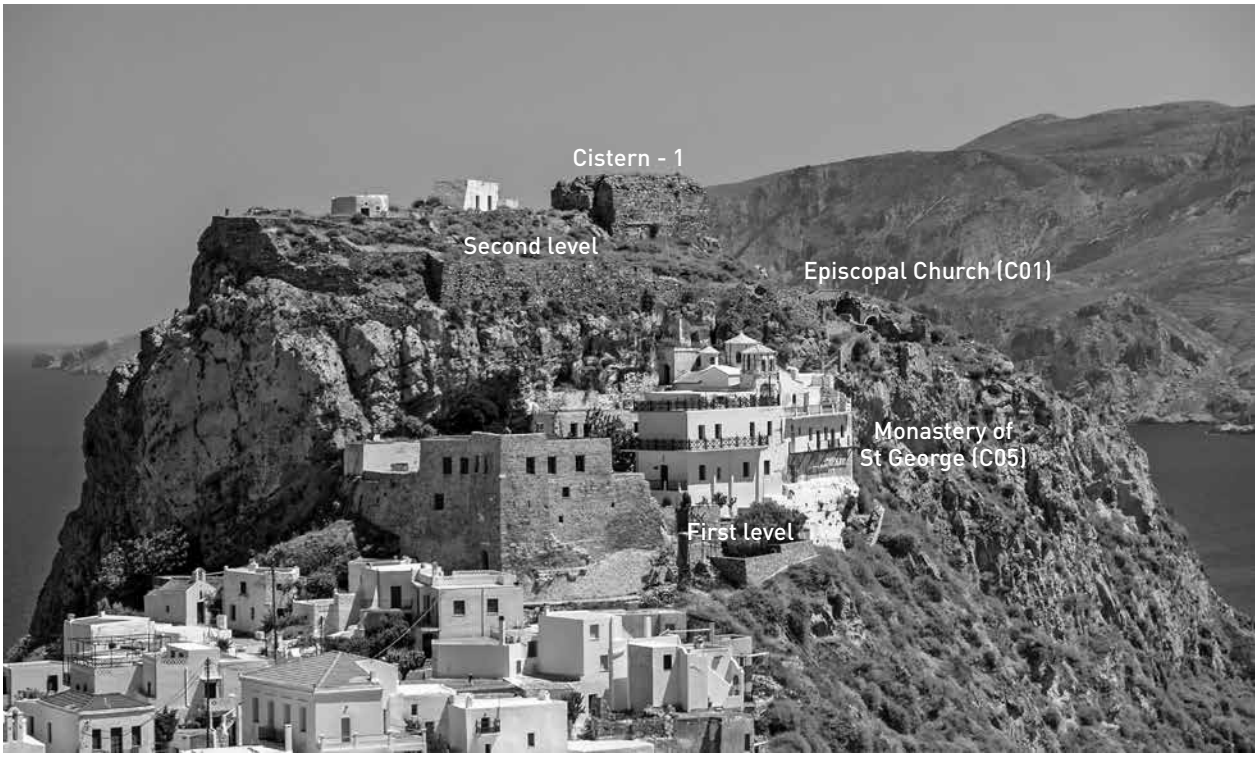


Fig. 9.8: View of Kastro from the northwest (courtesy of Skyros Aeroclub).

interventions during the Frankish-Venetian period certainly occurred, this Frankish-Venetian emphasis underestimates the undoubtedly intense activity at the castle (concerning the medieval period) since the Mid Byzantine era.

The castle was the bishopric seat of the island since the late 9th c. (if not earlier since the Late Roman period), as the securely dated episcopal church attests (Appendix C, C01). The castle would certainly have been the seat of the Byzantine political authorities as well. It can be conjectured that the *archon* of the Byzantine nautical base of Skyros established himself in the central settlement of the island (Chapter 2). A number of people (guards, laymen) would have lived in the castle as well. Furthermore, it is presumed that the authorities of the island were in a fortified area as well. Actually three inscriptions confirm the existence of a fortification since the Mid Byzantine period: the first inscription is incorporated over the central gate of the castle and is related to work done by a certain *Georgios*: *διὰ τοῦ σεβαστοῦ Γεωργίου το[ῦ…]* (Fig. 9.9). The article in genitive which follows the name suggests a surname continuation, lost at the time of the incorporation. The second was collected by Evangelidis (1918, 44) at the top of the castle close to the cistern 1 (Ci-1) (today in the archaeological museum of Skyros), which refers to a tower of an official *sevastos Chameas*: *Πύργος σεβαστοῦ τοῦ Χαμέα* (Fig. 9.10). The third is located in a secondary context on a bench in the first level of the castle and supplements the other two regarding the person which they mention. The inscription refers to a work executed by an official (*sevastos*) called *Georgios Chameas*: *[…]διὰ τοῦ σεβαστοῦ Γεωργίου τοῦ Χαμέα* (Fig. 9.11).

None of the inscriptions are located *in situ,* but from the three (apparently contemporaneous) we learn that a certain *sevastos Georgios Chameas* conducted an extensive building (apparently fortification) programme on the castle. *Sevastos* was a Byzantine title widely used in the 11th-12th c., after the titles's reform by Alexios I Komnenos, conferred on the nobility, primarily relatives of the Komnenian dynasty (Kazhdan *et al.* 1991, 1862). The term *sevastos* appears still in the 13th-14th c., occupying a low rank. However, the fortification programme of Skyros to which the three inscriptions are referring, cannot be attributed to a *sevastos* of the 13th – 14th c., when the island was to all intents and purposes under Frankish control. It is thus apparent that the three inscriptions

Fig. 9.9: The Byzantine inscription incorporated in second use over the central gate of the castle.

Fig. 9.10: The Byzantine inscription referring to a tower on the castle, of a certain *sevastos Chameas* (Archaeological museum of Skyros).

Fig. 9.11: The Byzantine inscription of sevastos Georgios Chameas, incorporated in second use into a bench of the tunnel leading from the first to the second level of the castle.

mentioned above are related to an extensive and costly fortification programme occurring on the castle of Skyros during the Mid Byzantine period, as part of the intense contemporary activity which the Komnenoi carried out across the empire.[6]

In the Frankish-Venetian period the castle maintained the role it had in the previous centuries. The Frankish lords and later the Venetian Rectors who replaced the Byzantine officials, were apparently established on the castle. A small number of people are also expected to have lived within the castle, among them the Catholic bishop, who for a certain period was probably established on Skyros (see Chapters 2, 12). Archaeologically detected traces from this period can be identified in a building phase of the old episcopal church (Appendix C, C01), in two cisterns and to the numerous fortification repairs (see below). A stone-plaque with the emblem of Venice (the lion of St. Mark), today located in secondary use outside the castle, should initially belong to a Venetian building outside or possibly within the castle (Fig. 9.12).

In the Ottoman period the castle knew an intensive use, but slightly different in respect to that of medieval times. Although the castle remained the base of the bishop, and perhaps the temporary seat of the representatives of the central administration who periodically visited the island, it had a semi-permanent role for the rest of the population of Chora. Almost all the people lived now in the extramural settlement, only using the castle in case of emergency. For that reason they maintained a second house in which they could stay for several months, or maintained storerooms in which they could keep their goods. It is conceivable that in order for all the people to have a second house in the restricted space of the castle, these houses were quite small. Many Skyrians maintain even today the contracts of their ruined possessions.

In 1776 Gouffier stated that "*Although their houses lay on the slopes of the mountain* [the castle] *almost until down the beach, every one of them has on the top a second house where he withdraws in case of emergency and where maintains their precious things*" (in Antoniadis 1977, 152). Moreover, in 1806 William Leake notes that on the castle there are

Fig. 9.12: Stone plaque with the emblem of Venice (the lion of St. Mark), built in second use into the masonry of a house outside the castle at the upper level of the settlement. It was apparently first used in a Venetian building or the fortification wall of the castle.

"*many houses today abandoned, except from that of the bishop and some storerooms where the rich maintain their goods when they are threatened by pirates or other illegal Turk sailors"* (in Antoniadis 1977, 159). Fiedler provides a similar reference in 1835 (in Antoniadis 1977, 177).

The castle saw extensive building activity during the Ottoman period, despite its semi-permanent use. Changes included numerous rough restorations of the fortification walls, three new chapels, numerous houses, as well as the extension of the monastery of St. George.

After the death of the last bishop of Skyros in 1837 and the collapse of his church in 1841, the castle was totally abandoned except for the first level where the monastery of St. George was located. The new chief see of Skyros was then built lower down, outside the castle, where the settlement knew further expansion during the Early Modern period.

6 The surname Chameas appears early in the sources without contradicting in this way a Mid Byzantine date for Georgios Chameas of Skyros. The Chronicle of Theophanes refers to a certain *protospatharios* Stefanos Chameus (in Kazhdan & Ronchey 1999, 387).

9.4.2 Description of the architectural remains of the castle

First level - present day area of the monastery of St. George (segment 1) (Fig. 9.14)

The first level of the castle is an almost triangular area of *c.* 0.13 ha, defined by a robust fortification equipped at its north-west angle with a tower-gate (Figs. 9.13-14A). There the main entrance to the castle is located, from which a cobblestone road with south-east direction connects the first with the second level. The original date of the construction is not certain, but its present aspect is the result of numerous repairs.

In any case we can distinguish a medieval date for the lower levels of the tower-gate built with large stones and brick. Over the gate is located the aforementioned byzantine inscription of Georgios Chameas (Fig. 9.9), apparently in secondary use because the phrase is not completed and the masonry presents a unity without traces of restoration after a possible collapse of the third plaque of the inscription. This of course suggests a posterior date of execution, perhaps during the Frankish period, or in any case an extensive restoration of the Byzantine tower during those times.[7] The medieval masonry seems to continue up to the second floor, which is equipped with five embrasures. Above this level the third floor seems to be an Ottoman repair as attested by the small irregular stones with the lack of bricks and the large openings.

Extensive repairs have been identified to the east and south of the tower. Between the north-west angle and the west present day buildings the curtain has partially collapsed. Southwards, the curtain is incorporated into the western compartments of the monastery of St. George. The external surface of the wall is completely covered by recent plaster, but the numerous embrasures located in the lower levels suggest a medieval date of this levels (higher levels supplemented by Ottoman repairs). The south-west angle of the wall preserves more or less its original height reaching externally *c.* 9-10 metres (Fig. 9.14E). The south side especially, which is not covered with plaster, resembles in masonry technique the north tower-gate.

Fig. 9.13: The north-west robust fortified entrance of the castle (segment 1, A).

The area inside this triangular fortification outline described above, is today dominated by the monastery of St. George, patron saint of the island. The monastery complex consists of the church (Fig. 9.14F), its narthex immediately north (Fig. 9.14G1-2), two-floor and three-floor auxiliary buildings flanking the west medieval curtain (Fig. 9.14D, H respectively), some more supplementary buildings at the north-east (Fig. 9.14G3-5), and finally, the recently named *archontariki* (guesthouse) at the medieval tower-gate (Fig. 9.14A). The present passage to the top of the castle, starting from the tower-gate, after a couple of metres passes through a tunnel that goes under the west side of the church.

While the monastery today leaves one with the impression of an extensively planned complex, it is actually the result of the expansion of the monastery into the area of the medieval fortification, a process that occurred gradually from the late 16th century onwards. Originally the area was but a robust fortified entrance of the medieval castle, which of course encircled within its wall the already existent and initially much smaller in size monastery complex. A historical coincidence enhanced the monastery expansion into taking over the entire area: the departure of the Venetian authorities from the island, in the late 16th c. (Chapter 2), and the economic flourishing that the monastery of St. George undergoes from 1289 onwards, the year when it becomes *metochi* of Megisti Lavra of Mount Athos. With the departure of the Venetians, the monastery is then the new 'master' of the

7 Similarly in second use is the Roman(?) sculptured lion located above the inscription.

place, taking gradually under its possessions all the area of the originally medieval entrance.

It is characteristic that as late as the 17th c. the monastery bought houses from the locals, located immediately north of the church (Fig. 9.14G1), in order to purchase the necessary space for the construction of the narthex (Konstantinidis 1981-82, 53; Gounali & Kantzos 2003, 11). Indicative of how much later the present status of the total occupation of the area by the monastery took place, is the fact that still in 1901 the guardian of the castle (*kastrofilakas* or *portaris*), used to live beside the central gate of the castle (the present so-called *archontariki*), in order to guard the possessions of the Skyrians, who still at that time used to keep their goods in their small second houses within the castle (Konstantinidis 1901, 132). As Konstantinidis attests, the guardian was paid annually by the Skyrians. It is apparent that the central tower-gate of the castle, long-term base of the guardian(s) of the castle, in the late 19th c. had nothing to do with the monastery.

In the summer of 2012 a rescue excavation discovered part of an older church dated probably to the late 13th century (Fig. 9.14C; see more in Appendix C, C05). The old church was more eastwards in respect to the present one and approximately a metre lower. Even if we hypothesize that the old church was of the same size as the present, then this would not exceed in length the point of the west columns of the present church. If this is the case, then there would be no reason for the existence in the 13th century of the tunnel through which passes the present road to the castle. This was necessary only after the construction of the subsequent larger church, which reached the eastern wall of the western monastery buildings.

Actually the western buildings, which for the greater part preserve architectural phases of the Ottoman period with numerous Early Modern repairs, would have been in existence already in the medieval period. It is difficult to accept that such a high curtain as indicated by the north-west and south-west angles could have stood without buildings to support it internally. On the contrary we should expect buildings along the walls, whose terraces would constitute the wall walk of the fortification wall. One of them is preserved with repairs immediately south of the tower-gate (Fig. 9.14O).

Moreover, at approximately 7 metres height in the south-west angle of the curtain, is a fireplace incorporated into the medieval masonry (Fig. 9.14E). The fireplace is now based on the terrace of the two-floor Ottoman building of the monastery. This means that even if the fireplace is an Ottoman addition to the medieval wall, this still indicates the existence of a third floor dated in the medieval or more possibly in the Ottoman period, which was encircling the present church of St. George from the west, concealing it from the settlement, opposite to todays situation.

Some years after the departure of the Venetian authorities from the island, the monastery executed a general building programme. This included first of all the construction of a new church dated according to inscription in 1599-1602 (Fig. 9.14F; Appendix C, C5), the restoration of the medieval building immediately west (Fig. 9.14D), and the new systematization of the passage leading to the upper level of the castle through a tunnel.

From the 17th up to the 20th century several buildings supplementary to the monastery were gradually constructed northwards (Fig. 9.14G1-4, H), occupying the previously free space, replacing the original medieval fort-buildings, or replacing the medieval and/or Ottoman houses of the locals. In fact there are references in the local historical archive from the late 16th century up to 1800 AD, of houses in this area called in the sources as *Provakas* or *Porvakas* (Antoniadis 1990, docs 10, 37,149; for the toponym see Antoniadis 1990, 25, n.3; Perdika 1940, 24 and 73). In the late 19th c., after the death of the last castle-guardian (*kastrofilakas* or *portaris*), whose seat was in the medieval north tower-gate (Perdika 1940, 24), the building was abandoned and subsequently occupied by the monastery, which has become ultimately the master of all the first level of the castle.

The passage from the first to the second level of the castle (segment 2) (Fig. 9.14)

The situation of the area nowadays is severely disturbed in comparison to that of the medieval period. After the tunnel the present passage follows an abrupt zigzag and highly inclined path on the edge of a cliff with negative inclination. The passage is extremely narrow; a horse/donkey would only be able to pass with difficultly. This path is surely not the original access to the castle. The older situation of the area is reconstructed by several sources, presented immediately below.

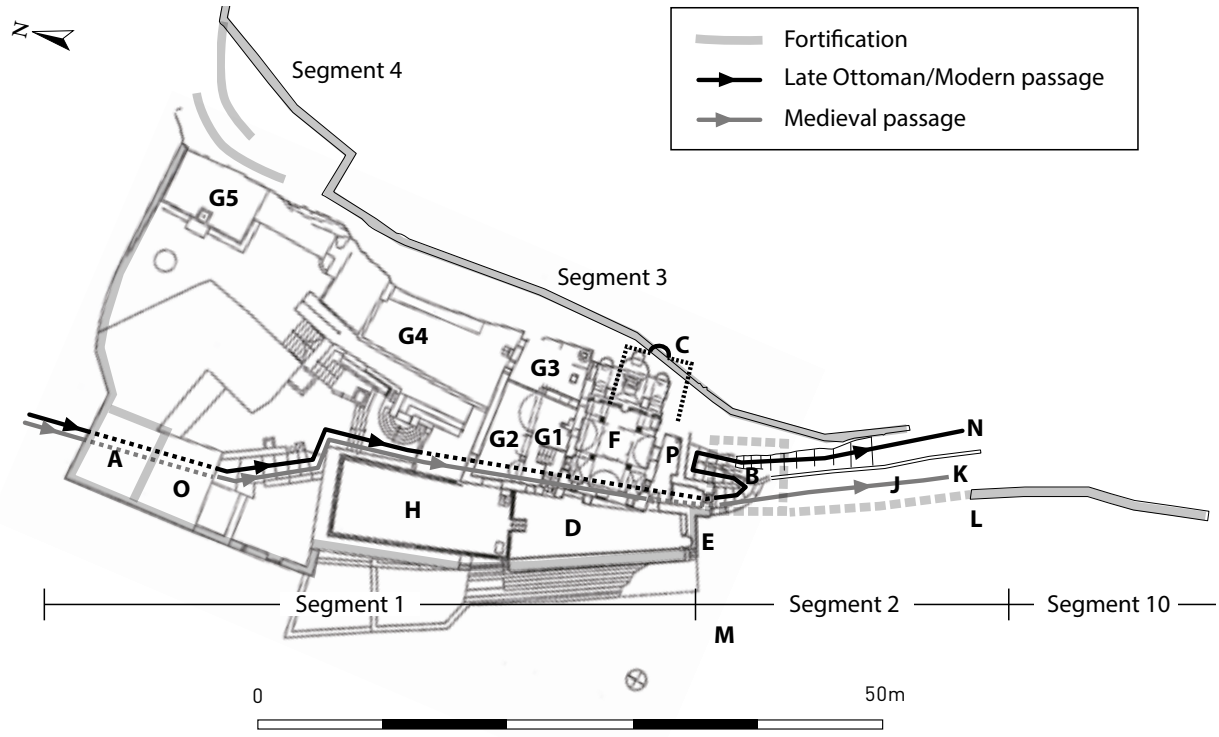


Fig. 9.14: Plan of the first level of the castle.

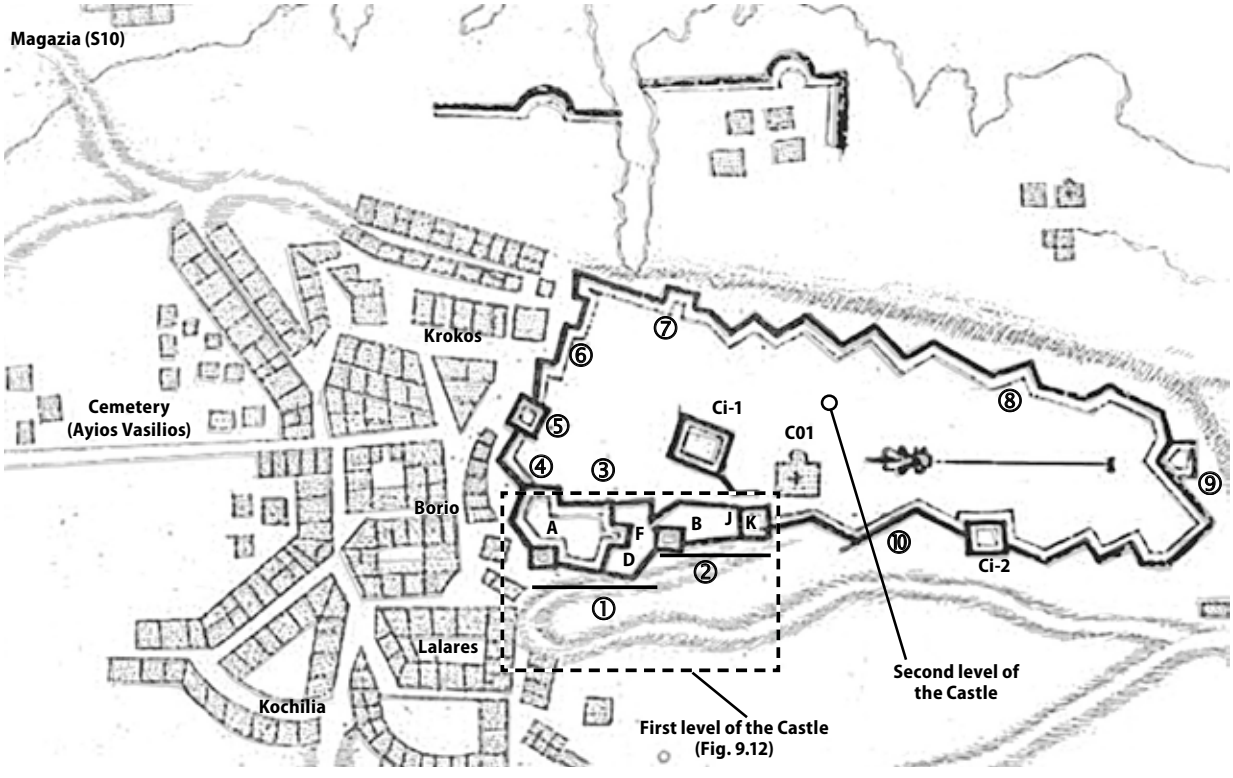


Fig. 9.15: Plan of the castle and Chora by Coronelli (*c.* 1685/95).

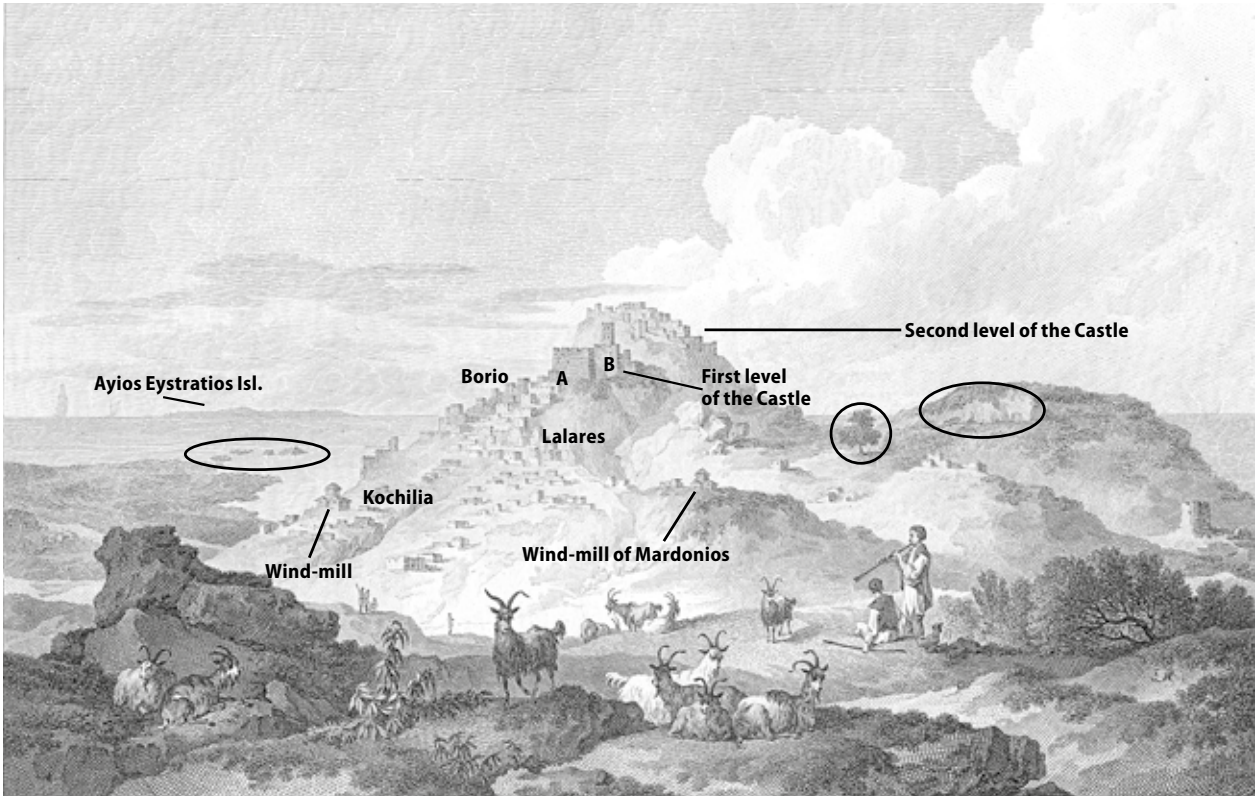


Fig. 9.16: Panoramic view of Chora from the south-west, by Gouffier (1776).

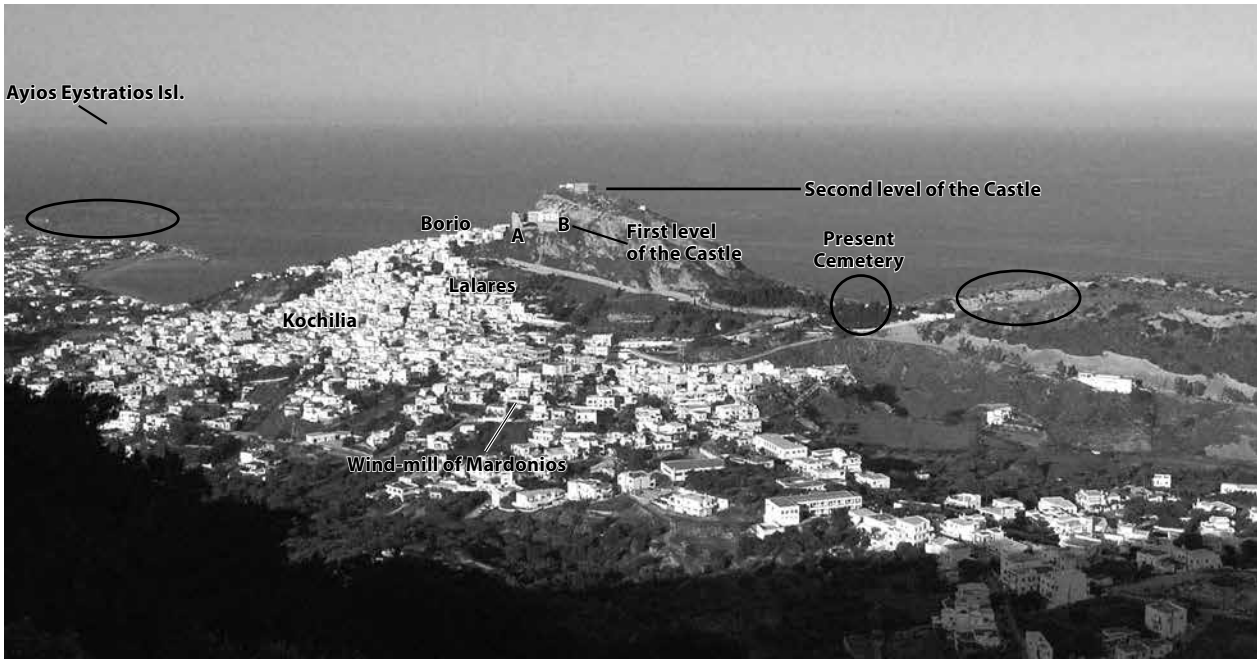


Fig. 9.17: Present panoramic view of Chora from the south-west.

Coronelli in his unique plan of the settlement (1685/95 AD) provides invaluable topographical information regarding the first level of the castle (Fig. 9.15). He draws accurately the north tower of the main gate, the internal large courtyard and the wall walk, the monastery of St. George (without the group of the north-west building constructed afterwards), the west buildings attached to the curtain (belonging probably at that period in the monastery as well), between the east and west buildings the entrance of the tunnel and at the southern exit of it one more tower, large in plan like the north tower (Fig. 9.15B). Interestingly enough in both towers Coronelli depicts their wall walk/ramparts. After the south tower Coronelli depicts a curtain with embrasures, flanking a straighter and wider, in comparison to the present, passage to the castle. The passage and the curtain reach southwards a large rectangular construction, probably related to a monumental gate.

Gouffier in his panoramic south-west view of Chora (1776 AD) provides a detailed figure of the lower level of the castle (Fig. 9.16). He depicts a block of walls crowned with ramparts. The monastery of St. George is correctly not visible because of the western medieval curtain, standing at its full height and encircling the monastery complex at that time. The north tower-gate is not discernible from the west curtain, because of its being the same height with the medieval curtain. But interestingly enough, at the south end of the curtain he depicts a robust, quite high rectangular tower, located at the same spot where Coronelli puts his second southern tower (Fig. 9.16B). Furthermore, we can distinguish at the upper-right of that tower an ascending wall, leading to a rectangular structure, apparently the passage to the castle and a monumental gate at the top of it.

None of the structures attested by the travellers exist today. Two alternatives possibly explain their absence: either the aforementioned structures have collapsed into the cliff, or both of the travellers' images are un-realistic. Apart from Coronelli who, as widely known, had access to the Venetian state-archives and used to copy official plans of the Serenissima, the credibility of Gouffier is easily tested by comparing his image with a recent photograph of Chora taken more or less from the same point of view (Fig. 9.17): Apart from the similarity of the geomorphology in general, Gouffier puts correctly the small rocky islets at the north-east of the settlement (top-left of the figure); he even locates behind them (just discernible) Ayios Eystratios, an island *c.* 38 nautical miles distant from Skyros, visible only under appropriate weather. Moreover, he depicts in detail the steep rocks of the hill of Fourka south of the castle (right) and the wind-mills of Chora, the right one standing to this day (right).[8]

A detail worth mentioning indicates the accuracy of Gouffier: the Skyrian scholar Konstantinidis at the beginning of the 20th century informs us that the present cemetery of the settlement, south of the settlement on the hill of Fourka, was transferred from its older location north of Chora around 1840 (Konstantinidis 1901, 77). According to Konstantinidis the new cemetery was established on a site with the toponym Velanidia (oak tree), although no explanation for such a toponym can be found today. Looking at the image of Gouffier, we can easily detect the location of the present cemetery; no sepulchre can be identified of course, as at the end of the 18th c. the cemetery was still located at the north of Chora. Instead, we can observe quite a big tree, safely interpreted as an oak, giving the explanation for the cemetery's toponym at the time of Konstantinidis (Figs. 9.16-17). From the evidence presented above, we can assume that the figure of Gouffier is quite realistic and correct. We have no reason to doubt about the elements he is providing.

It seems then that the three structures mentioned above (the robust south tower, the old road and the monumental structure interpreted as a gate at the top of it) were in existence until the late 18th c. and collapsed afterwards. For the scholars familiar with Skyros this is a not a strange scenario, knowing the geology of the rock of the Skyrian castle. In fact the west face of the rock suffers from continuous landslides the last of which occurred very recently, in 2001. Actually the aforementioned reconstruction provided by the travellers is confirmed by archaeological evidence as well:

On the steep western slopes below the spot under discussion, lies a robust block of several metres in length and width (Figs. 9.14M & 9.18) (measures of the block were impossible to take due to the block's inaccessibility). The block was probably the lower part of a structure because it is a discernible part of

8 The left one in the district of Kochilia is today collapsed, but was standing until 1909; it is depicted in the lithography panorama of Chora presented in the book of Papageorgiou (see Fig. 9.26).

foundation at its bottom. The masonry style of the block is identical to the medieval *in situ* parts, suggesting a contemporary chronology. The block does not seem to be missing from any preserved part of medieval wall, belonging apparently to a robust structure today lost.

The closer *in situ* part of the medieval fortification wall of the upper level of the castle (Figs. 9.14L & 9.19), is approximately two-three metres outside (westwards) of the modern passage and is interrupted by a collapse. The direction of the wall, the remaining part of which is now hanging over the cliff, appears to have been north, towards the supposedly lost tower.

Beside the aforementioned part of wall, on the edge of the cliff, is preserved the eastern part of a gate for a road with a north-south direction (Figs. 9.14K & 9.20). There survives the eastern post equipped with two iron hinges for the accommodation of the door and the beginning of an arch. Clearly, both the road and the rest of the gate have collapsed and the remains of the latter hang over the cliff. It is apparent that the collapsed road was the original one to the castle, and that the remains of the gate belong to the monumental gate-structure depicted by Coronelli.

Until some decades ago at the top of the present passage to the castle there was preserved a monumental gate, today collapsed (Figs. 9.14N & 9.21). This gate is not to be confused with that one described above. The gate (K) was approximately two metres west and *c.* a metre lower than the gate (N). The latter is clearly adjusted to the present road to the upper level of the castle, supposedly here of post-late 18th century. However, from the old photographs the collapsed gate seems to have many similarities in construction technique with the adjacent Frankish/ Venetian fortification wall (e.g. plaster), suggesting a relevant chronology. In this case, the present passage to which the gate (N) definitely fits should be already existent in the Frankish-Venetian period, but not the central one connecting the lower with the upper level of the castle. That use was served by the aforementioned collapsed road between the tower (B) and the gate (K), parallel but on a lower level to the present. If not then for that purpose, what was the use for the second higher road and gate? This could be explained only as a direct connection to and from the monastery of St. George, the entrance to which during the Frankish-Venetian period should be located somewhere in point (P).

Fig. 9.18: Collapsed block of medieval fortification.

Fig. 9.19: Collapsed part of wall, which originally was continuing northwards towards the likewise collapsed south tower of the fortification.

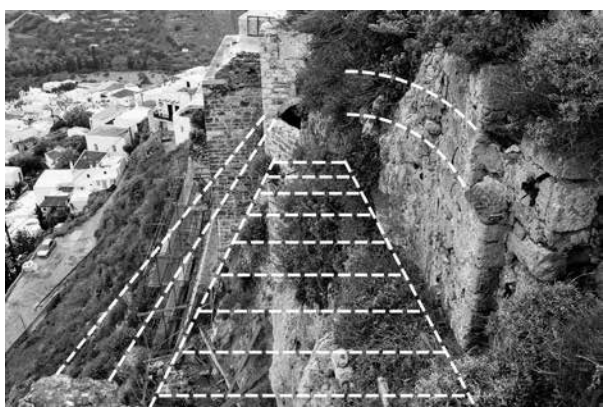


Fig. 9.20: Part of a collapsed gate of a lost road with north-south direction; the original passage connecting the first with second level of the castle.

Second level – Main castle: The fortifications

Generally all the walls are built from local stones (tufa, brown limestone and sandstone), with bricks roughly implemented. Sporadic *spolia* supplement the picture. Three rough different styles of execution can be detected: the first consists more or less of rectangular stones and bricks connected with lime mortar, the second is characterised by thick lime mortar or even plaster covering almost all the surface of the wall (apparently used for the protection of the not-of-the-best quality local stones from erosion), and the third, is actually a dry-stone wall built by undressed stones connected with the local blue-like soil called *melagki.* The first should roughly correspond to a Byzantine or Frankish date, the second to a Frankish-Venetian or even Ottoman date and the last one is attributed to the later Ottoman rough repairs.

However, the thing becomes complicated by the fact that in several walls of the 'first style', can be discerned fragments of plaster, suggesting that originally the surface of the walls were completely covered, like those of the 'second style'. Moreover, the 'first style' cannot be attributed to one period only, as several fragments of this style have been detected at different heights. Thus the absolute chronology on the grounds of the masonry style is very risky, obliging the use of relative dating based primarily on the position of each fragment in respect to the other.

In any case we can use the late 17th century as *terminus ante quem* for the sum of the fortifications today visible (except from some very rough later repairs), duo to their depiction in the plan of Coronelli, which presents a remarkable correspondence with my observations.

Segment 3 (Figs. 9.14 & 9.22): Starting from the walls above the monastery of St. George, I consider the south part from undressed stones, to be of Ottoman date, because of their placement on a collapse which probably was responsible for the destruction of the late 13th century church and the construction of the present in 1599-1602 AD (see Appendix C, C5). A join help us distinguish this part from the rest at the north, on which can be identified several chronological phases. The higher part preserves at some point a thick lime mortar. I could consider this part as Venetian or even Ottoman while a lower projected wall fragment without thick mortar and with plenty of bricks is medieval (Byzantine?).

Fig. 9.21: The west side of the *Katholikon* of the monastery of St. George and part of segment 2 in 1950. At the right the gate (today collapsed) of the present road to the castle (N) and part of a collapsed wall (L) which originally was flanking an older passage to the castle (K), lower to the present one (V. Papaioannou, archive-courtesy Benaki Museum, B9851).

Segment 4 (Figs. 9.14 & 9.23): Northwards the wall turns abruptly inwards. Lower are identified two more fragments of walls: one in the middle which is regularly tied eastwards with a wall fragment with lime plaster on it; and even lower a second isolated wall fragment with abundant brick. The angle is clearly attested in the plan of Coronelli. If we consider then the late 17th c. as *terminus ante quem* for the highest present wall, then the middle one with the plaster could be considered Frankish(?).The lowest, if not Frankish, of earlier date in respect to the middle one, it could constitute an example of the Mid Byzantine fortification of the castle. It seems that due to a collapse of the north-west angle of the castle, the successive builders have preferred to retrieve the fortification by construction further upwards.

Segment 5 (Figs. 9.2 & 9.15): Moving to the top north of the castle and examining the plan of Coronelli, we notice that it depicts a strong tower-like struc-

ture. Examining the area I identified on the ground the foundations of at least two walls constructed by stones connected with lime mortar shaping a rectangular structure. The discernible length of the walls is 3.30 and 2.50 metres respectively and their width 0.55 metres. This structure can be interpreted as a tower-bastion of medieval date. Indeed the location offers an impressive view northwards which apparently was used for the control of the north side of the settlement.

Segment 6 (Figs. 9.2 & 9.24): The north-east angle of the fortification consists of a split wall, the result of the different chronological phases of execution, due to the continuous retreat of the walls inwards. Coronelli presents a remarkable accuracy in this segment. He even depicts in detail the north-east bastion clearly visible today, which more probably must be considered of medieval date.

Segment 7 (Figs. 9.2 & 9.15): A similar correspondence with Coronelli is identified by turning eastwards. There survives a part of Classical fortification (classical segment 19), over which was based a medieval one with many Ottoman repairs. A rectangular bastion is discernible incorporating into its masonry ancient rectangular stones and a part of a monolithic column.

Segment 8 (Figs. 9.2 & 9.15): Southwards of segment 7 the area presents severe erosion. The continuous alcoves and protrusions of the rock have obliged the builders to follow a snake-like wall, as Coronelli attests. Above the Classical trace an extensive dry-stone wall apparently of Ottoman date is identified. It is difficult to discern a medieval trace.

Segment 9 (Figs. 9.2, 9.15 & 9.25-26): The south side maintains the best preserved medieval walls of the castle, which for the most part are erected on the ancient fortification walls of the acropolis. The wall is mostly covered with lime plaster, especially on the lower levels which present a scarp-like shape. Both characteristics suggest a Frankish-Venetian date of execution. Moreover, at the south-east side we identify a tower-bastion being projected from the wall of 5.00x5.00 metres. The tower is accurately depicted by Coronelli, who indicates its wall walk and ramparts. The tower was necessary for the defence of the most

Fig. 9.22: Fortifications of the upper level (Segment 3)

Fig. 9.23: Fortifications of the upper level (Segment 4)

Fig. 9.24: Fortifications of the upper level (Segment 6)

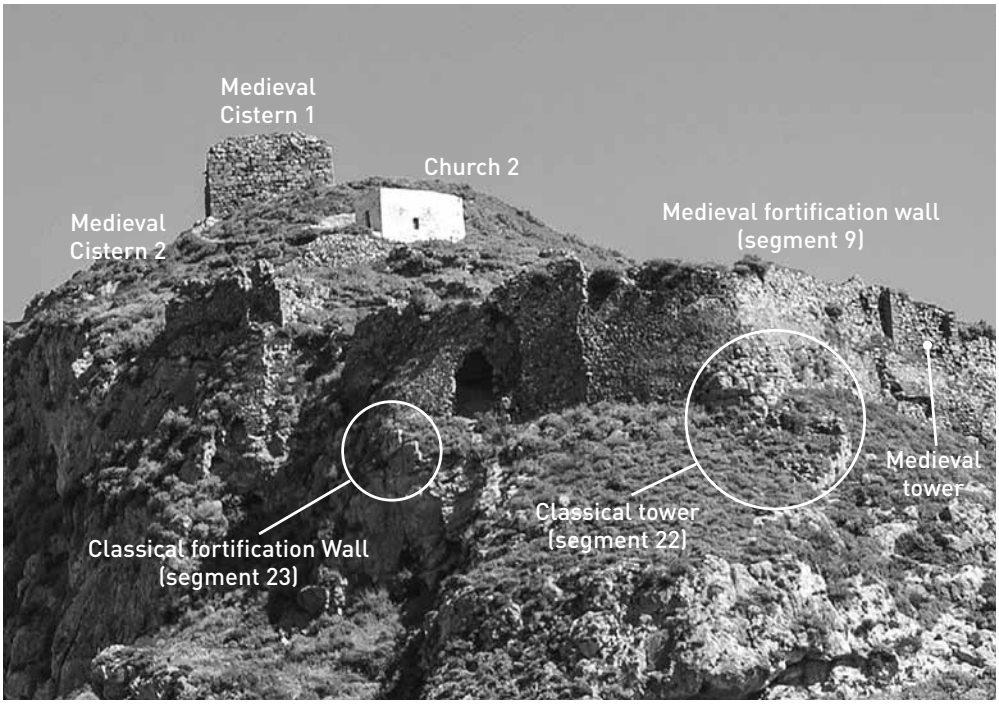


Fig. 9.25: General view of the castle from the south (in conjunction with Fig. 9.1).

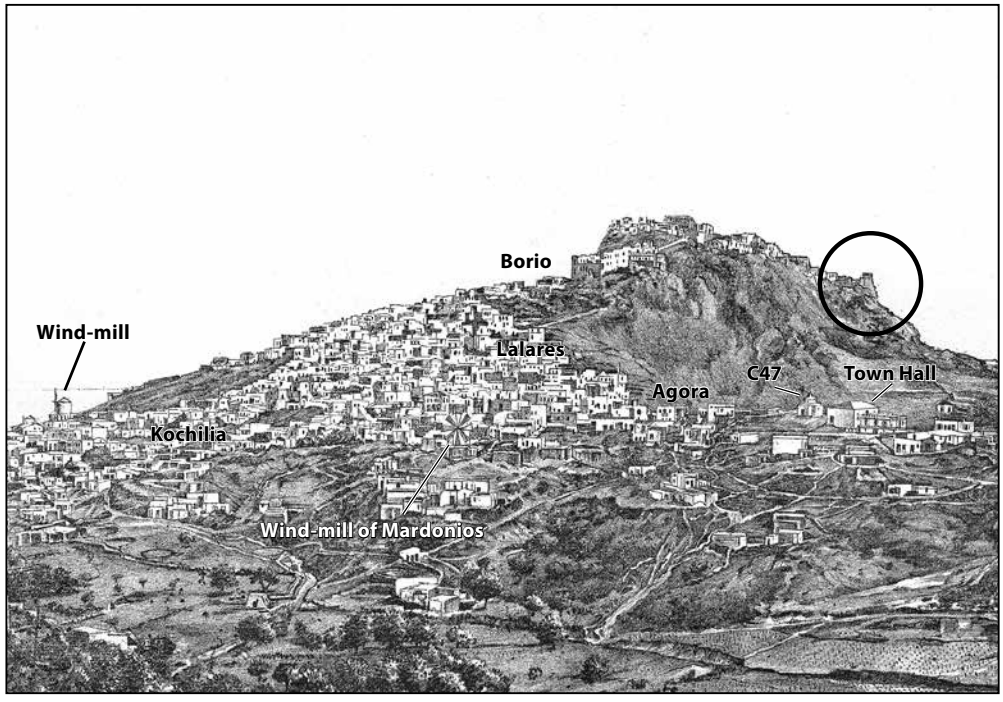


Fig. 9.26: Lithography panorama of Chora from the west, in the early 20th c. (after Papageorgiou 1909). The south medieval tower of the castle (segment 9) was then still standing.

vulnerable point of the castle, the lowest and less steep south side. As we have already seen, the vulnerability of the south side was already noticed since the Classical period and was dealt similarly by constructing a tower (Classical segment 22). The tower was standing until 1909 as it is clearly depicted in the lithograph panorama of Chora provided by Papageorgiou (Fig. 9.26).

Segment 10 (Figs. 9.2 & 9.27): This side of the castle suffers by continuous landslides. However, there is preserved a particular fragment of wall, in a scarp-like shape crowned with *cordone* (beside the collapsed gate-K). The upper part with the *cordone* is today collapsed but at the beginnings of the century was still in situ. The external surface is covered with plaster. This in combination to the wall typology should date the fragment to the Frankish or more likely Venetian period.

Fig. 9.27: Fortifications of the upper level (Segment 10) as preserved in 1932, with the Monastery of St. George in the background. At the up right of the wall the Venetian-Ottoman gate today collapsed (P. Papachatzidakis; archive-courtesy Benaki museum, ΦΑ.2.5824).

Second level – Main castle: The cisterns

Cistern 1 (ground floor of a tower?) (Fig. 9.2, Ci-1; Figs. 9.8 & 9.28): This is a robust barrel-vaulted construction of 15x9.5 metres, built from local limestone and tufa connected with lime mortar. Its preserved maximum height reaches approximately 7 metres at the north-west angle. The walls of the building are extremely thick, ranging from 1.60 to 2.00 metres. The interior is divided in two longitudinal apartments through four pointed arches based on three rectangular pillars. Hydraulic mortar is applied to all the surfaces, the pavement included. The pavement is inclined towards the south-east corner where a cavity concentrated the liquid. The collection of the water was possible through a rectangular opening at the south-east side of the terrace, above the cavity. The opening at the north-west corner which permits entrance today is a posterior intervention.

Two interesting elements have to be noted regarding this cistern: a) its location at the top of the castle means only the rain water collected in the terrace would flow into it, which bearing in mind the big size of the structure would create problems for filling it adequately; b) the very thick walls seem useless for a ground floor building; on the contrary they could be explained for the support of at least one more floor.

In fact the main function of the building was probably not as a cistern. The present cistern is probably the preserved part of a grander tower which dominated over the castle and the settlement.

Instructive for the original figure of the Skyrian building is the tower of St. Omer in Thebes built in the second half of the 13th c. (Fig. 9.29). It is almost rectangular reaching 15 metres length like the tower of Skyros. It has extremely thick walls for the support of the second floor and is separated in two vaulted apartments. By raising the vertical walls of the Skyrian building one would realise the similarity with the tower of Thebes.

This similarity, in combination with the pointed arches of the Skyrian cistern, suggests that the monument of Skyros is of Frankish date. In fact, the construction of an at least two floor tower at the top of the castle would be very much in accordance with the feudal customs of the western lords prevalent in the Aegean, according to which the tower was functioning mainly as a symbol of their dominance. The positioning of a tower at the top of the Skyrian castle

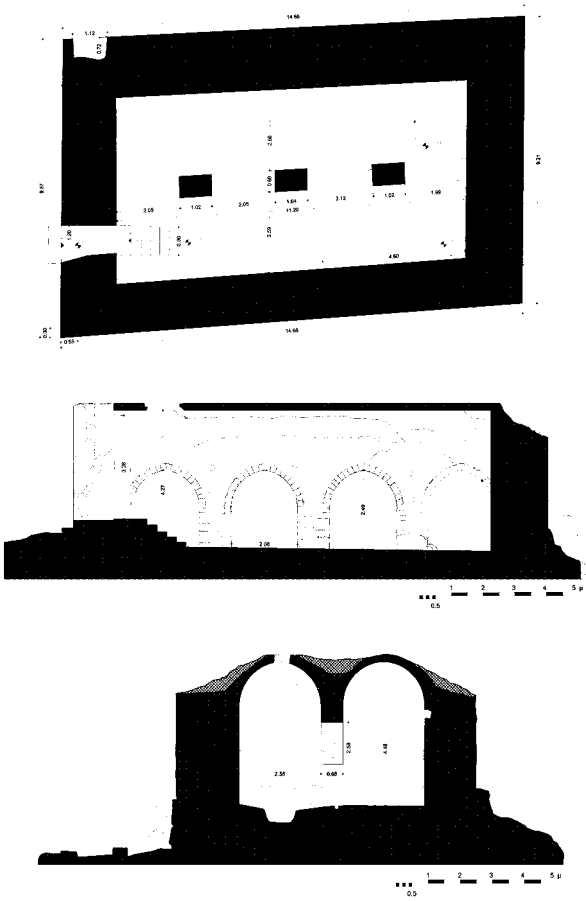


Fig. 9.28: Plan and sections of the Cistern 1 (I. Antoniadis & K. Stamatiadou; archive-courtesy 23rd Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities).

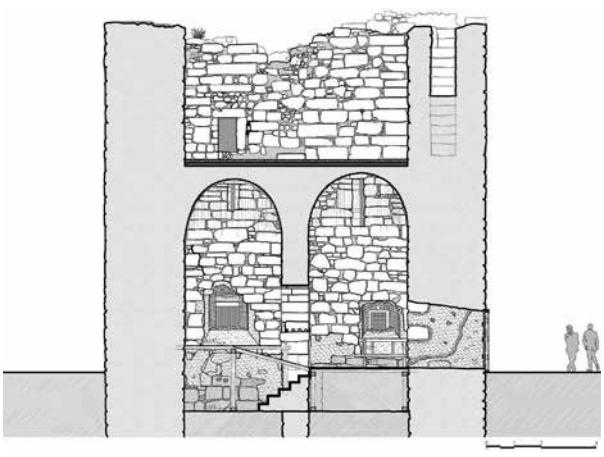


Fig. 9.29: Tower of St. Omer, Thebes; N-S section (Y. Kourmadas; archive-courtesy 23rd Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities).

would make ubiquitous the symbolic presence of the Italian lords and of their power over the island. Even today, the existing ground floor of the building is extremely imposing regardless of where the viewer is standing.

However, the Byzantine inscription of the tower of *sevastos Chameas*, found by Evangelidis next to the building (Evangelidis 1918, 44), does not exclude the possibility of an initially Mid Byzantine tower, repaired during the Frankish period.

Coronelli includes of course the dominant building in his plan, depicting it in the same manner in which he presents the rest of the towers. Finally, it is interesting that in the local historical archive there is a document of 1616 mentioning a house 'close to the palace' (*ὀσπίτιον εἰς τὸ Κάστρος εἰς τὸ παλάτι*) (Antoniadis 1990, doc. 17). It is difficult of course to identify the reference with the tower-cistern, but we could suppose that not many buildings on the castle would be so grand to be named as such. It is quite probable that during the early 17th c. the memory or even the building itself would allow such a terminology. Gouffier in his late 18th c. view of Skyros does not depict the supposed tower at the top of the castle, possibly collapsed by that time.

Cistern 2 (Fig. 9.2, Ci-2; Figs. 9.30 & 9.31): Cistern 2 is located at the western edge of the castle. Its western wall is the western fortification wall of the castle as well. The south wall of the cistern is now almost entirely collapsed. Cistern 2 is a barrel-vaulted building of approx. 8x6 metres, constructed of local limestone and tufa connected with lime mortar. A (probably pointed) arch with east-west direction (today partially collapsed), supported originally the roof. Hydraulic mortar is applied to all the internal surfaces. The opening of the north wall belongs to a later chronological phase than the original monument, when the building was no more used as a cistern.

Cistern 2 is included in the plan of Coronelli (Fig. 9.15). The Italian traveller depicts the building with wall walk at its top, suggesting that except for the cistern, the building originally was also used as a tower-bastion of the fortification of the castle. Parts of the north and south walls of the building which continue above the level of the roof seem to support this supposition.

Concerning the chronology of the monument, both the masonry technique (similar to the other two

medieval cisterns), and the inclusion of the building in the medieval fortification plan of the castle, indicate a similar date. Furthermore, the possibly pointed arch suggests a chronology in the Frankish-Venetian period.

Cistern 3 (Fig. 9.2, Ci-3; Fig. 9.32): A third cistern is located at the eastern slope of the castle. Its west side is buried in the ground while its two visible angles are not rectangular but curved. It is 9.00x4.70 metres and its height 4.00 metres. The internal surfaces seem to be covered with hydraulic plaster like the other two. The masonry is very similar to that of the other two cisterns (dressed and undressed local stones connected with lime mortar and abundant use of bricks).

Cistern 3 is not depicted by Coronelli in his plan and this could suggest a posterior date of execution. Nevertheless, we should bear in mind that Coronelli copied a Venetian plan which was focused on the fortifications of the castle rather than the rest of the structures. It is very characteristic to note the abstract way in which the settlement is depicted in the plan compared to the very detailed manner in which the fortifications are presented. Actually the only structure that the Italian traveller depicts on the castle itself except for the fortifications is the episcopal church. The other two cisterns presented are not conceived mainly as such, but rather as towers/bastions and for that reason depicted. Thus, although the lack of the structure from the plan of Coronelli suggests an Ottoman chronology, it has more probably a medieval date of execution, i.e. Frankish or even Byzantine.

Second level – Main castle: The houses (Fig. 9.33)

As mentioned above, the castle of Skyros is a large ruin-field of collapsed walls belonging to hundreds of houses mainly dating to the Ottoman period. The wild vegetation and the piles of stones do not permit detailed observations, let alone the identification of housing structures belonging chronologically in the pre-Ottoman periods. In any case, almost the totality of the structures are very small rectangular rooms of *c.* 3x4 metres destined to accommodate an entire family for a brief period in case of siege, or to keep the goods of a household based permanently on the extramural settlement. Low benches, fireplaces and large storage jars placed into the ground, supplement the image of these quite modest structures.

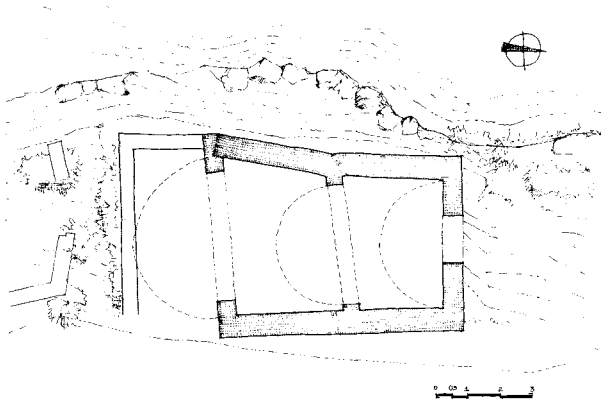


Fig. 9.30: Plan of the western cistern of the castle; Ci-2 (S. Papazoglou).

Fig. 9.31: Internal view of the western cistern of the castle (Ci-2).

Fig. 9.32: The eastern cistern of the castle (Ci-3).

9.4.3 The ceramic finds of the castle

The intense activity of the castle until the late Ottoman period has had as a result the dominance of later ceramics to those of the earlier periods. From the 13 grab collected sherds from the first level, three only can be dated between the 13th – mid 16th century, while the rest are of Ottoman chronology. Similarly, on the second level, from the 117 sherds collected only 25 are of Mid-Late Byzantine/Frankish-Venetian date (see Appendix B, S01).

9.4.4 The extramural settlement (Fig. 9.2)

It is clear that for any attempt at the identification of the settlement evolution, apart from the archaeological data, it is inevitably required to obtain the support of the historical and other sources as well, such as the archives, the travellers' accounts, old photographs etc. This has been done in the discussion presented below, using the most helpful in this respect non-archaeological sources, namely the local historical archive and four invaluable 'visual' sources: the plan of the settlement made by Coronelli in 1685-1695, the panoramic figure of Chora provided by Gouffier in 1776, a photograph of the settlement published by Friedrich in the *Athenische Mitteilungen* in 1906, and finally the panorama of Chora presented by Papageorgiou in 1909.

Starting with the photograph of Fredrich, we can obtain invaluable information about the north boundary of the medieval-Ottoman settlement. Fredrich's photograph is taken from hill of Themis opposite to Chora hill (Fig. 9.34). We can easily identify the north Classical tower of *paleopirgos* at the top left of the figure (segment 5), but above that, by contrast with the present state in which the houses reach almost until the edge of the ancient tower, we notice a building gap. The only structure identified is the church of Pente Martires (C19), easily identified by its dome. The first houses appear several metres upwards, estimated to lie in the area of the churches C20-C21.

Fig. 9.33: South view of the castle in the early 20th c. The numerous ruins of the Ottoman houses are clearly seen (archive-courtesy Benaki museum, M.3984).

The uninhabited area around C19 is attested by the historical sources as well. The area bears the toponym *Ayios Vasileios* (the name of a church once existing in the area), and is widely known as the place of the old cemetery of the settlement before the new cemetery was established in the south of the castle in 1840 (Konstantinidis 1901, 77). The movement was necessary in order for the cemetery to be closer to the Early Modern settlement developing on the western slopes of the hill. In the local Ottoman archive there is a reference to the sale of a grave in *Ayios Vasileios* in 1653 (Antoniadis 1990, doc. 27). Moreover, some decades ago eight graves have been found in front of Brooke square at approximately one metre depth (Choremis 1972, 352).

No alteration of the Early Modern settlement in respect to the medieval and Ottoman one is identified eastwards. The presentday houses at the edge of *Krokos* neighbourhood, coincide probably with those of the previous centuries. The oldest reference of houses in the local historical archive is in 1616 (Antoniadis 1990, doc. 17).

The area northwards of the castle, between the neighbourhood of *Krokos* and the cemetery of *Ayios Vasileios*, undoubtedly was the core of the medieval (and older) settlement of Chora. It is referred to in the local historical archive as *Emborios* or *Borio* already since 1539, one year after the Ottoman occupation of the island (Antoniadis 1990, docs 2-8, 31, 39, 50, 83, 125, 141, 143, 151). The neighbourhood immediately outside the castle is still called with the latter name, representing correctly the medieval settlement. The term is of course a direct reference to similar medieval settlements of the Aegean (e.g. *Emborios* at Chios, or *Exomburgo* at Tinos).

The situation is hazier regarding the boundary between the medieval and Ottoman settlement westwards of *Borio*. In any case the nearby neighbourhood of *Lalares* should be active since medieval times. The

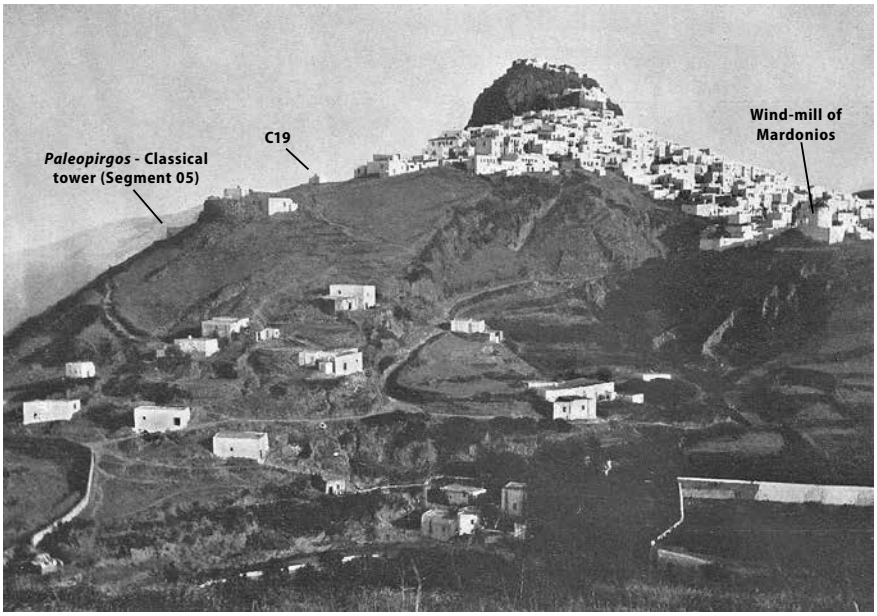


Fig. 9.34: View of Chora from north in 1906 (after Fredrich 1906, fig. 2).

references to houses at *Lalares* in the local historical archive are among the oldest, after those of *Borio*. The first mention is dated 1562 (Antoniadis 1990, doc. 9). Westwards of *Lalares* there is no clue about a possible medieval settlement block. The adjacent church of Christos tou Miga (C36) is dated in 1638 (Appendix C), while the oldest reference there in the local historical archive is 1659 (Antoniadis 1990, doc. 29). Similarly, the church of Eleimonitria (C37) can be dated in the 17th c., while Ayios Minas (C38) in the 18th c. (Appendix C). However, the date of the churches cannot be a definite for or against argument for the existence or not of the area westwards of *Lalares* in medieval times. Nobody could deny that the recognised Ottoman date is related to a posterior intervention to an older church. Besides, almost all the churches within the definite medieval neighbourhood of *Borio* are similarly of Ottoman date.

In any case, we could accept as approximate boundaries of the medieval settlement the areas of the castle, *Borio* and *Lalares,* if not one historical fact would complicate things: there is a strong local oral tradition, claiming that during the Frankish period, after the establishment of the catholic bishop at the old episcopal church of the castle, the orthodox bishop was transferred to the new church of Ayios Ioannis at *Kochilia* (C42) (Papageorgiou 1909, 128).[9] We have seen in Chapter 2 that a catholic bishop was probably established on the island (at least for a certain period of time during the Frankish-Venetian period), and in this chapter, that indeed the 9th century episcopal church of the castle presents an architectural phase probably dated in the Frankish period (see more in Appendix C, C01). Subsequently, it could be supposed that if indeed a catholic bishop arrived on Skyros, he would establish himself in the old episcopal church, bearing in mind the central role of the castle as the seat of the political and ecclesiastical authorities of the island. It seems logical then that the orthodox bishop transported his base to another location. Despite the Ottoman date for the church of Ayios Ioannis at Kochilia (Appendix C, C42), this is not an essential argument to question the oral tradition. Nobody could deny that the present church is a renovation or even replacement of an older one. In fact, in the presbyterium of the present church has been identified a bishop's throne, incorporating Early Christian *spolia*. This construction seems to copy the already 'archaic' synthronon of the 9th c. episcopal church of the castle. Moreover, it is very characteristic that after the final collapse of the episcopal church on the castle in 1841, to which had returned the orthodox bishop during the Ottoman period, movable parts of the church (e.g.

9 Papageorgiou actually states that in his times the house of the orthodox bishop was lying in ruins beside the church of Ayios Ioannis (Papageorgiou 1909, 128).

ambo, templon, icons etc.) were moved to the church of Ayios Ioannis (C45) and Melikarou (C39), apparently the old bishopric seat during the Frankish-Venetian period and the new metropolitan church of the Early Modern settlement respectively (Papageorgiou 1909, 128).

It seems then that after the expulsion of the orthodox bishop from his seat on the castle, a new location should be found for the erection of a new episcopal church, as the rest of the churches, packed in the medieval settlement were apparently too small. This place of course could be found only in the free space outside the settlement, while its location far and lower from the castle would demonstrate spatially the primacy of the Catholic Church against the orthodox within the new political system.

The erection of a new orthodox episcopal church apparently functioned as a pole of attraction for the locals. It is probable then, that apart from the old core of the settlement at the north of the castle, a second focus began to function in the area of *Kochilia* already since the Frankish-Venetian period (Fig. 9.35). In any case this new neighbourhood should not be large, as in the panoramic image of Gouffier in the late 18th century, the houses identified in this location are quite few (Fig. 9.16).

Besides the neighbourhood of *Kochilia* there is a second problematic point concerning the development of the medieval settlement: among the requests of the Skyrians to the Venetian *Consiglio* in 1515 was for the loggia of the lower settlement (*la loza del borgo de sotto*), to be open to all the people except when the Rector collected taxes (in Antoniadis 1995c, 88). No reference about the exact location of this loggia is provided except for the general description of 'lower settlement'. There is only one portico today preserved in the lower part of the settlement (Fig. 9.36) below the church of Melikarou (C39). Of course it could be supposed that the Venetian loggia has today collapsed and that preserved today is of Ottoman date. However, the north arches of the existing loggia are quite different to the rest suggesting a different architectural phase. By contrast to the others which are semicircular, the north ones are pointed and preserve the slots of the centring. It could be suggested that the first phase of the building was of Frankish-Venetian date, quite probably that referred to in the request of 1515, and after a partial collapse was restored at a posterior date.

The possible Venetian date of that portico would be very important evidence for the development of the settlement. Because even if this loggia would be expected to be outside the settlement serving as market place or, as attested in the request, for the Rector's tax collection, it should however be somewhere in the entrance/margins of it and not completely isolated. This consequently would suggest that the area westwards of *Lalares* should be active already since the Venetian period.

In any case, this area is definitely active during the Ottoman period. This is attested by the aforementioned image of Gouffier (Fig. 9.16), as well as by the 17th-18th century churches of Christos Miga (C36), Panayia Eleimonitria (C37) and Ayios Minas (C38) (Appendix C). The expansion was necessary initially due to the rise of the population during the early Ottoman period. I remind the reader that during the first census, immediately after the Ottoman occupation of the island in 1539/40, Skyros had approximately 1550 souls, while in 1569/70 the population rose to *c.* 2200 people (Chapter 3). Later, although the population decreased, the expansion was anyway necessary due to the movement of the people from the castle to the extramural settlement as a permanent place, leaving the former for periodical use in case of emergency.

A complete figure of the settlement during the Ottoman period we can get from the plan of Coronel-

Fig. 9.35: The neighbourhood of *Kochilia* around the church of Ayios Ioannis (C42) in 1932, possibly in existence already since the Frankish-Venetian times. (P. Papachatzdakis, archive-courtesy Benaki museum, ΦΑ.2.6191).

li (late 17th century) (Fig. 9.15). Despite its abstract style of execution, we can easily identify the neighbourhoods of *Borio, Krokos, Lalares, Kochilia,* as well as the last Ottoman addition at the south-west of the settlement around the churches of Eleimonitria and Ayios Minas. Moreover, we can notice a basic road-axis, and particularly a central road of north-south direction, starting from the castle and leading to the cemetery of *Ayios Vasileios* and outside the settlement. Furthermore, we note a few buildings, of apparently agricultural character outside the settlement, eastwards of the castle, close to the Classical fortification wall. Finally, at the top left of the plan we notice a small nucleus of buildings which can undoubtedly be identified with the commercial installation of *Magazia,* definitely in existence with such a role in 1609 (Antoniadis 1990, doc. 15; see Appendix A, S10).

In the Early Modern period the settlement knows a first significant change in respect to its medieval aspect. The rise of the population which for the first time exceeds 3000 people (Chapter 2), creates the need for a farther expansion southwards, favoured by the fact that there was no need for the people to be close to the castle (Fig. 9.26). In addition to this there is the development of the commercial zone of the settlement maintained until today, the *Agora*. At the southern end of it will be constructed a new large square (the central one of the island), according to the urban models of the new Greek state. The square will be accompanied by the town hall.

Moreover, released from the restricted space and open to the influence of the new Greek state, the upper class of the island will proceed to the construction of the first urban-like mansions, characterised by their big size, the tile-roofs and the western type of furniture (Chapter 13). Given the amount of space needed for the construction of such big houses, absent in the old core, the necessary land is found mainly in the area of the old cemetery of *Ayios Vasileios*, which offered plenty of space after the relocation of the cemetery in 1840 to the south of the castle (see above). Some *archontika* occurred in the neighborhood of *Borio* as well, after the necessary negotiations among the inhabitants for the purchase of the plot.

The location of the *archontika* was needed on the upper levels of the settlement, as this was always the neighbourhood of the upper class of Skyros. There was their square (*Sarous*), their church (Archontopanayia, C23) and their main road (*Megali strata*); there was the base of the *proestoi* during the Ottoman period (Konstantinidis 1901, 127) (Fig. 9.37). Their movement in the lower free levels of the settlement would come in contradiction with the spatially expressed, social hierarchy (see Chapters 2, 3). Actually during this period we can notice the fully developed spatial hierarchy of the population according to their social status, a phenomenon which of course had its roots in the Ottoman or even medieval times (Fig. 9.38) (Zarkia 1991; Arnaoutoglou 1982; Faltaits 1973d, 102-9).

Fig. 9.36: The (considered) Venetian loggia from the west. Worth noticing the pointed left arc compared to the semicircular arcs on the right, the latter a result of Ottoman repair.

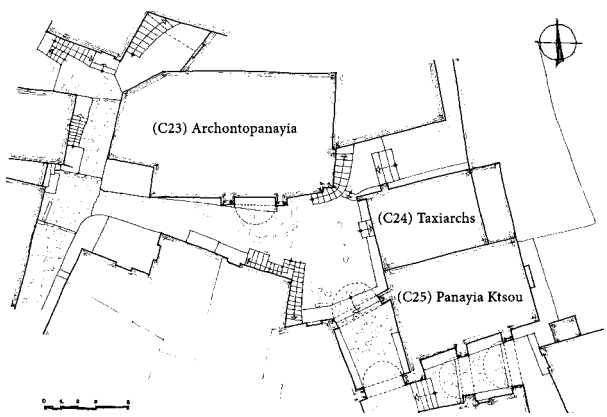


Fig. 9.37: Topographical plan of the *Sarous* square at the upper level of Chora; centre of the upper class of the island in the Ottoman period (S. Papazoglou).

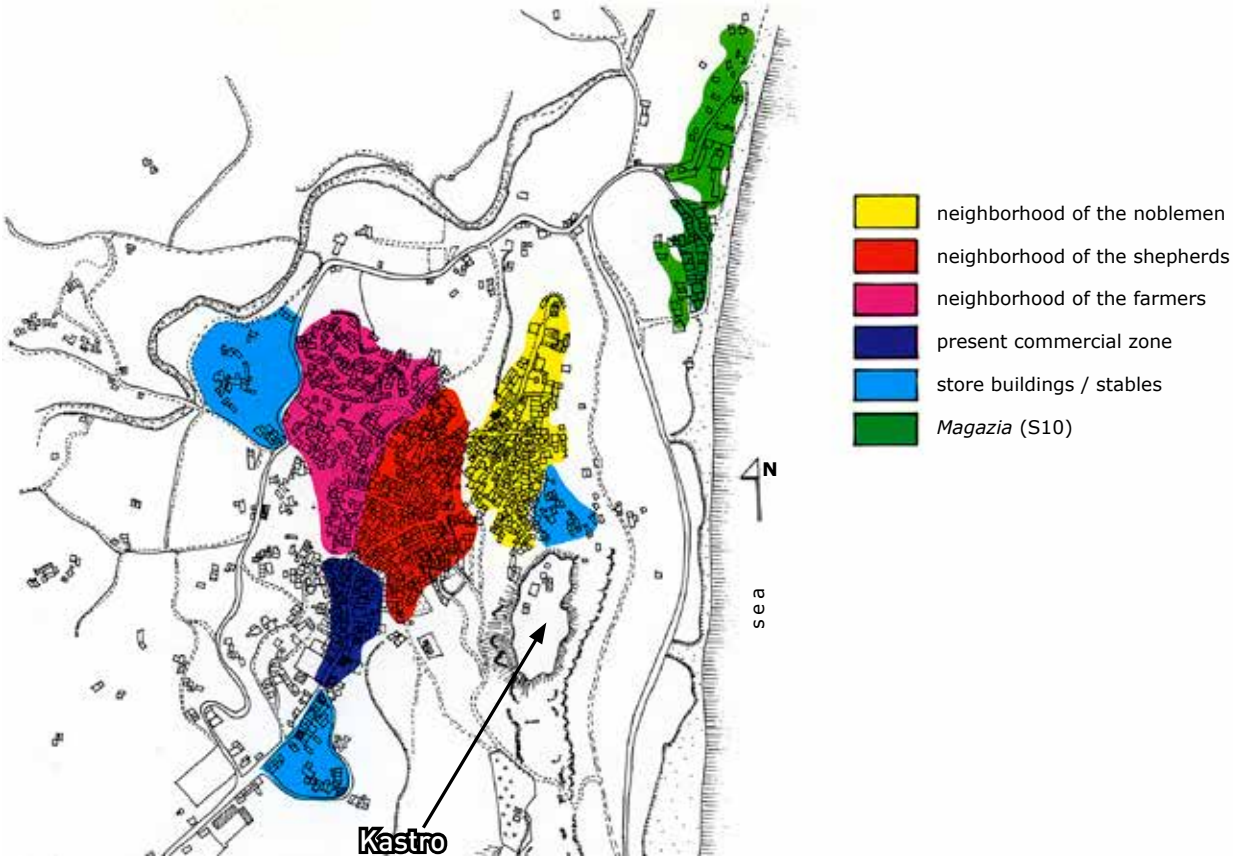


Fig. 9.38: Spatial hierarchy of the people according to their social/professional status in Early Modern Chora (after Arnaoutoglou 1982, 14, fig. 7).

PART 4

Interpretational Synthesis

This last part of the thesis is the 'heavy' section, in which an attempt is made at a synthesis of all the archaeological data gathered by this research. A reconstruction of the history of the island is here endeavoured, but on this occasion narrated from the archaeological point of view. This reconstruction is presented in four general chronological divisions: Greco-Roman (grossly 7th c. BC – 3rd c. AD), Late Antique and Early Middle Ages (4th – mid 9th c.), Mid-Late Byzantine/Frankish-Venetian (mid 9th c. - 1538 AD), and Ottoman-Early Modern (1538-1950 AD). The chronological boundaries of these divisions follow conventionally the local historical periodization. The transition from the Late Byzantine to the Ottoman period, for example, is not placed in the milestone year of 1453 that is commonly used in general archaeological or historical manuals, but in the year 1538, a time when the island was actually occupied by the Ottomans. Consequently, the Venetian period (1453-1538) is discussed together with the previous Byzantine/Frankish, as a more homogeneous period with respect to the Ottoman, as after 1538 the island underwent radical changes at a political and social plane. This note is of special importance for the reader concerned mainly with the material evidence presented below. It happens, for example, that ceramics dated in the early 16th c., and thus considered 'Ottoman' in the general archaeological manuals, will here be discussed in the chapter of the Mid-Late Byzantine/Frankish and Venetian Skyros.

A separate discussion of the Ottoman and Early Modern periods, although clearly justified by the radical political change of the island from 1830 onwards, is not done for specific archaeological reasons, in that although in some categories of the material evidence the identification between the two periods is diagnostic (e.g. ceramics), in other domains this is almost impossible (e.g. architecture). Given, as we shall see below, the primary role of the architectural evidence in the detection of the Ottoman and/or Early Modern rural 'sites' (see Chapter 13.1), their difficult chronological diagnosticity would create problems in the separate discussion of the settlement pattern, which in any case appears to not present any significant difference before and after 1830. In fact significant change, not only in architecture and settlement pattern but also in the daily life of the island, occurred later, from the 1950s-60s onwards (opening of car-roads, construction of the water-system, advent of cement, plastic, tourism etc.).

This study is focused on Late Roman and Post-Roman times. However, the transition from the ancient to the medieval world, regarding especially the territorial behaviour of the communities on which survey-based studies like the present are focused, can be done only through the examination of the ancient period as well. The solution chosen here was the study of Greco-Roman Skyros in a more extensive manner in comparison to later times, in order to function primarily as background for the following discussions. The focus was naturally on the topographical issues as these are attested through the survey. Thus the first part of Chapter 10 is dedicated to the settlement pattern of Greco-Roman Skyros, while the next two are representative windows of the two general worlds which this long period of time consists of: the single towers of Skyros regarding the Greek, and the marble quarries regarding the Roman. The selection of these two characteristic topics for a more profound analysis was done because both subjects, as we shall see below, are not irrelevant to the settlement pattern and territorial behaviour of Greco-Roman Skyros. Finally, both the Greek towers and the Roman quarries offer insights into general issues such as land use, economy and connections of the island in these two periods of time.

Chapters 11 to 13 analyse the focus point of this study, namely Late Roman and Post-Roman Skyros. The structure of the three chapters is more or less the same, analysed broadly in a tripartite basic theme-axis: settlement pattern, architecture and art (when possible), and material culture. At the end of every chapter a concluding paragraph summarizes the data provided, and attempts to put Skyros in context. Particular reasons have of course dictated some individual alternations. Thus Chapter 11, dedicated to the Late Antique and Early Middle Ages, starts with an introduction needed in order to explain why these two historical periods, usually separated in the literature, are treated within the same chapter. It follows the settlement pattern of the island, succeeded by an exercise in the per century picture of the settlement sites of Skyros in the aforementioned centuries. This is done in order to better analyse this long period of time and for investigating the phenomenon of the 'shiny' Late Roman period versus the 'dark' Early Middle Ages usually attested in the Aegean archaeological record. Finally the penultimate section of the chapter before the summary examines the two kinds of material evidence available on the island from this period, namely the pottery and the architectural sculptures of the Early Christian basilicas. The inclusion of the last-named in the material evidence discussion is justified by the fact, that not a single example of ecclesiastical (let alone domestic) building of this period is visible on Skyros today, permitting a relevant discussion for architecture and the inclusion of the architectural sculptures in this section. On the contrary these ecclesiastical sculptures are actually 'off-site' *spolia* distributed all over the island and thus by necessity treated here as 'material evidence'.

Chapters 12 and 13, dedicated to the Medieval and Ottoman-Early Modern periods are more homogeneous. After the presentation of the settlement pattern, both provide evidence for the ecclesiastical architecture of the island. For the Ottoman-Early Modern period especially, the surviving examples permit discussion of the vernacular architecture as well. The material evidence that follows is here restricted to the domestic material culture only, as monumental elements (e.g. sculptures) are included in the discussion of architecture. However, while for the medieval period the only available material category was the ceramics, in the Ottoman-Early Modern period the data were much more plentiful in several other categories besides pottery, where actually an adequate treatment exceeded the possibilities of this study. Thus an introduction is inserted there to introduce the manner of analysis for all the material categories of this period. The data for all these subjects were gathered not only by archaeological survey but also through individual investigation of private collections.

Finally, Chapter 14 is dedicated to general conclusions. This chapter does not examine matters already examined in the summaries of the previous per period chapters, but examines in a long-term perspective two issues on which this study has particularly focused, namely the settlement system and the connections that Skyros maintained with the Aegean and its broader geographical context.

Chapter 10
Greco – Roman Skyros

10.1 SETTLEMENT PATTERN AND TERRITORIAL BEHAVIOUR

The majority of the sites identified by the Skyros survey belong to the Greco-Roman period. This is the period that provides the richest set of data to all the regional surveys of Greece, particularly in reference to the Classical. The following pages will present the settlement pattern and the territorial behaviour of the sites during this long period of time. It goes without saying that this presentation will be fragmentary, due to the treatment of this long period of several centuries as a whole. If for example one of the caveats of regional survey is the difficulty in recognizing whether some sites grouped in a given period were synchronous, it is conceivable that using a longer time period will increase the potential for such deviations in regard to the entire Classical antiquity of the island.

However, it is my conviction that the changes which the majority of the rural sites on Skyros underwent, in the long-term perspective, were mainly in their size and function, according to the socio-economical factors of each period, rather than in their location. The rugged physical landscape of the island constrained human installations in determined, exploitable and fragmented geographical zones. The change consisted mainly in the nature of the human installations accommodated in every geographical unit, alternating from hamlets to farms or small huts, from permanent residences to seasonal and so on, with the rural sites remaining more or less in the same place perpetually. This is the reason why the settlement pattern presented below, although fragmentary, nevertheless is indicative of the territorial behaviour of the settlement sites of the island, during the vast Greco-Roman period.

The figure that Skyros presents during Classical antiquity is one common to the majority of the Aegean islands: an urban centre located eccentrically in the north-east side of the island and small rural installations usually not more than 4.0 ha, distributed in the countryside (Fig. 10.1). Apart from the city-centre of approximately 10 ha in size, two small villages are identified located in the largest fertile plains of the island: S33, at the valley of Trachi of *c.* 3.13 ha in size and S65, at the valley of Kalikri of *c.* 4.25 ha. Both villages are in a considerable distance from the urban centre, 11 and 7 km respectively. The rest of the sites, consist of small family-farms or larger farms-hamlets, in any case rarely larger than 1.0 ha.

The majority of the sites are on the coast. Moreover, the survey was most successful in the north-west side of the island (in the wide area of Oros cape) and in the valley of Kalikri. The almost blank areas in the centre of the north part of the island and the east side of the south, both mountainous parts of Skyros, apart from the indeed likely lesser distribution of human installations there, undoubtedly are the result of my incapacity to investigate the specific areas in an as intensive manner as the rest of the survey (see Chapter 5).

Recent historical and archaeological research on the territorial behaviour of the ancient cities and their countryside help us understand better the case of Skyros. In 1970 Vita-Finzi & Higgs introduced to the archaeological world to the technique of 'site catchment analysis', according to which for settlements reliant on agriculture, a maximum territorial radius of 5 km was proposed, corresponding to approximately 1 hour walking, beyond which the time taken to travel seriously hindered efficient exploitation of resources (Vita-Finzi &Higgs 1970; Bintliff 1994, 207-8). The 5 km territorial radius found more ground through the studies of Ruschenbusch on the classical Aegean 'Normal Polis' (Ruschenbusch 1985). Most recently, Mogens Hansen's Copenhagen Polis Project has suggested that for poleis-states up to 200 sq. km, the territorial radius of the urban centre could reach even 8 km, meaning that people could walk (or ride a donkey) less than 2 hours max., to go to and from the fields (Hansen 2006, 93). However, intensive study in Classical Greece and particularly on the regions of Boeotia and Attica, has shown that mature systems of villages and towns gravitate around a territory of

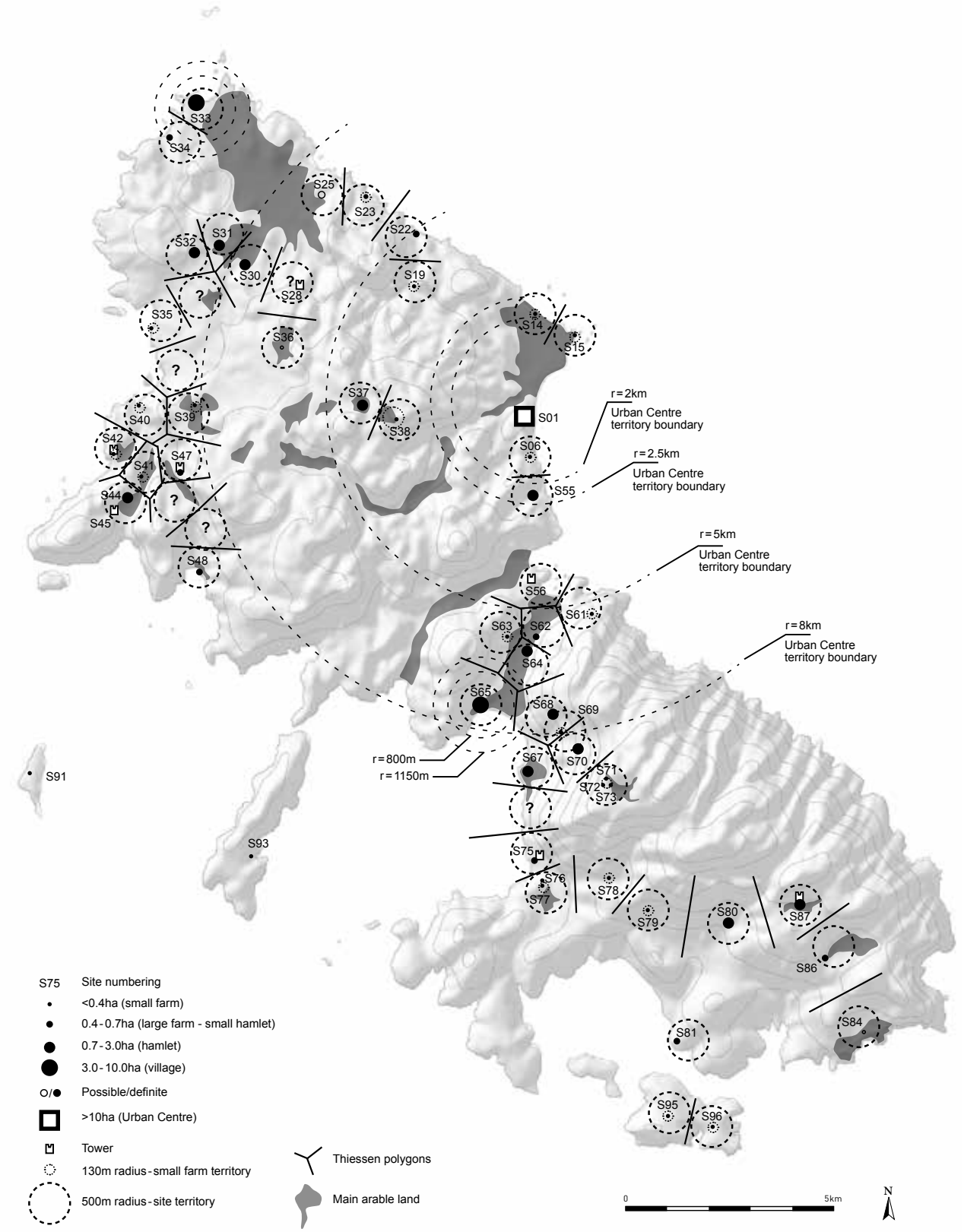


Fig. 10.1: Map showing the Greco-Roman settlements sites of the island with their plausible territories, against the main arable land.

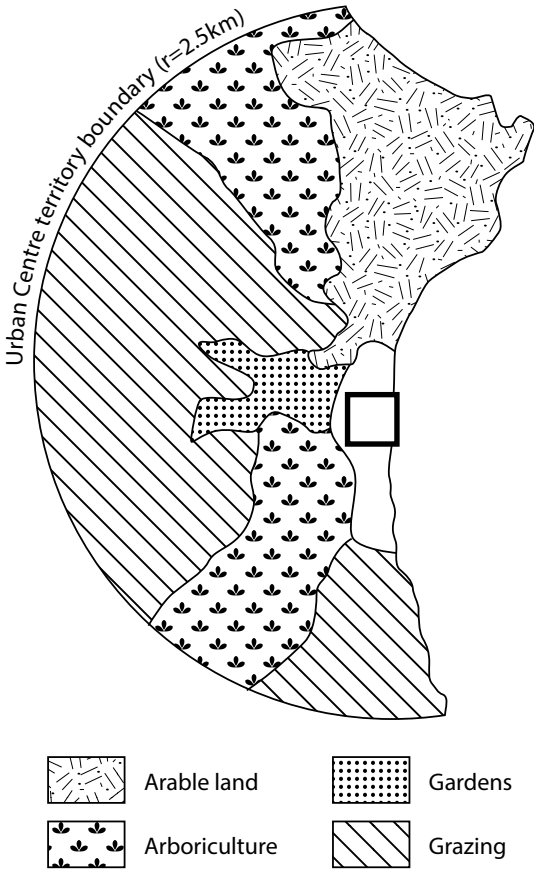


Fig. 10.2: Plausible site territory of the ancient urban centre of Skyros (2.5 km r.), against the Early Modern land-use of its surroundings.

2.5 km radius, thus approximately a walking time of thirty minutes (Bintliff 1994, 215-6 and 233).

Applying these three models to the small town of Skyros, we can notice several interesting cases for the settlement patterns of the island. Starting with the smaller radius of the 2.5 km suggested by Bintliff, I can say at the outset that this radius coincides with the natural borders which enclose the natural environment of Chora to this day: the plain of Kambos lying at the north of the settlement, the arboriculture slopes of Melakta and Mesochora at the north-west, the mountainous area of Mavrounas at the west and the gardens alongside Kifisos river, part of the plain of Ferekambos southwest of the ravine of Kifisos and the gently descending slopes towards Chora of Apatsini, dedicated to arboriculture as well (Fig. 10.2). We notice that the sites identified within this sphere are few, and this lack of sites is not because of a possible incapability of the survey to find them. Moreover, of these few sites, S06 is characterised as a possible site, while S15 seems to be a small settlement connected with the tufa quarry operating there. The two remaining definitely permanently inhabited sites, namely the small farm of S14 and the hamlet of S55 are both located at the margins of the 2.5 km radius. Actually it can be proposed regarding the latter, that the exploitation of the quite fertile land within the ravine where S55 lies, surrounded by heights and thus approached by the urban inhabitants with more difficultly (considering the marginal distance from the urban centre), resulted in the establishment of a permanent human settlement of approximately 1.27 ha in size, interpreted as a satellite hamlet of the urban centre.

Furthermore, shortening the catchment radius for the urban centre of Skyros to approximately 2 km, would put S14 and S55 immediately outside the urban radius, defining the boundaries of the town by the peaks of the surrounding hills. The urban territory in this guise would take on the shape of an amphitheatre, having as its focus the urban centre, albeit a bit asymmetric towards the south.

In any case, the inner urban territory of Skyros seems to be within the 2 - 2.5 km radius. Beyond this distance the rural sites increase significantly, especially after the 5 and 8 km distance from the urban centre. However, the fact of the gradual site increase beyond the 2.5 km does not necessarily mean that the 5 and even 8 km radii are 'false' urban territories, as the human installations within these radii, possibly of permanent character for the intensive exploitation of the land, did not exclude the agro-pastoral activities undertaken by urban residents; activities which may not have taken place on a daily basis. I have been personally informed by farmers and shepherds that they, until a few decades ago, used to commute on a daily or so basis to the valley of Trachi or Kallikri or rarely even to the south mountainous part of the island, by foot or on donkey. So, rather than trying to identify the 'correct' urban radius in the sense of a strict boundary of the town territory, it would be more correct to approach all the three aforementioned radii as thresholds for different scales of agro-pastoral activities for the urban residents; from more intense close to the settlement, to less intensive in longer distances, with the inhabitants of the rural sites to play the primal role in the latter.

The location of the two Greco-Roman villages (S65 & S33) on the margins or immediately outside the radii of 5 and 8 km, supplement the need for intensive cultivation of the most fertile zones of the island, slightly touched by the urban residents, extended in 5-7 and 7-11 km distance from their base respectively. Actually, the triangular position of the two valleys and the urban centre, with the latter being in the middle distance between the valleys, and in immediate proximity with the third valley of the island (Kambos), could even constitute one of the reasons for the development of S01 as the 'central place' of the island.

The pattern and territorial behaviour of the rural sites is better understood implementing a complementary technique borrowed from Geography, Thiessen Polygon analysis: "Thiessen analysis is a simple method for suggesting plausible boundaries between territories of settlements considered originally to have been of comparable status, and operates as follows: connecting lines are drawn faintly between each contiguous settlement, then bisected, with strongly emphasized lines being drawn at right angles to the bisection points; these lines at right-angles to connecting lines are then extended until they bisect each other, thus creating polygonal cell walls around each settlement - the Thiessen Polygons. On the reasonable principle that a boundary between two communities of comparable status is more likely to be at a midpoint between these settlements than close to one particular community, these midpoint cell walls are taken as approximations to actual territorial divisions" (Bintliff 1999, 519).

In Bintliff's above description of Thiessen analysis, the prerequisite for its application is the comparable status of the settlements. In the case of Skyros, nearly all the rural sites are small family farms or slightly larger settlements, such as large farms-hamlets, making it possible to apply Thiessen analysis (the distortions occurred in the two villages will be discussed further below). However, apart from the comparable status, the successful implementation of the Thiessen polygons presupposes the total knowledge of all the settlements on a geographical area, as missing sites could lead in misleading results. To avoid this peril, given the big gaps of sites in large territories of Skyros, I have started the exercise in the northwest part of the island, in the wide area of Oros, where the area has been investigated at a sufficiently intensive level.

The first thing that can be noted, is that the notional site boundaries of the Thiessen polygons, coincide precisely with very clear natural borders. For example, between S44 and S48 the point of separation is the height of Thalia, between S44 and S41 the shortest point of the slopes which divide the plateaux of Aliko with that of Chartsa, between S41 and S42 the height-border of Anezi, between S42 and S40 the height of Vytina, between S41 and S47 the height of Alassi and so on. It seems that in every piece of agricultural land in this rugged terrain, human installations had been established apparently exploiting the land, without ignoring the agro-pastoral symbiosis.

Furthermore, after implementing the polygons, it was possible to estimate a catchment of 500 m radius for the sites' territories, which fits precisely within the walls of the Thiessen cells. The distortion between S44 and S48 can be explained by the poor land, apparently used for grazing on the heights of Thalia and Oros, which was probably exploited by the adjacent sites. Of course the sites are not centred in the middle of their territory, but usually off-centre, something very common, as settlements used to be located on the slopes of a plain and so on, exploiting the natural defensive position this allows (Bintliff 1994, 209). The establishment of a site catchment of *c.* 500 m radius enables us to identify the amount of sites missing in the survey. Thus we note that in the area between S47 and S48 two more settlement sites could fit, for which we do not have archaeological evidence available. Nevertheless, the early modern hamlet at the south side of the plateau of Kouthros and the early modern small farm a bit further south, at Meledianika, could reflect two ancient predecessors. Moreover, S35 located between the group of sites of the area of Oros and that of S28-S32, enable us to hypothesise two more sites flanking it from north and south. The southern one, interestingly enough would coincide with the early modern and contemporary hamlet of Atsitsa, leaving again hints about an ancient predecessor of the modern settlement, while the north should exploit the arable land of the plateau of Maniati kambos. Likewise, the identification of an isolated tower (S28) eastwards of the hamlet S30 could suggest a settlement site related to the tower, not identified until now.

It is clear that no Thiessen polygons have been implemented among the urban centre and the small sites around it, as their statuses are not comparable. Basically, the majority of the territory of the small farms in the surroundings of the urban centre, could be exploited by the urban residents. An interesting case is the plausible boundary identified by the Thiessen polygons between S06 and S55, coinciding with the 2 km radius of the urban centre. Likewise, the 500 metres radius of S38 coincides westwards with the end of the 2.5 km radius territory of the urban centre.

The application of Thiessen polygons to the valley of Kalikri has presented quite a regular figure. A plausible 500 m territory radius of the sites has been similarly identified. One more settlement could be reconstructed at the north side of the valley, possibly related to the isolated tower S56. However, a relevant adjustment to the model must be implemented in order to explain the anomaly occurring among S65 and its surroundings. In more detail, the distances between S65 and the adjacent S63, S64 and S68 sites are greater than 500 m, and thus for all four sites the 500 m radius territories for each site do not fit the projected Thiessen boundaries. However, S65 was a village of *c.* 4.25 ha, second in size order settlement of the island, after the urban centre. It is logical that its territory would be significantly larger than those of the farm and the hamlets around it. An exercise for the catchment territory of the village could be implemented by extending its radius further than the 500 m. By expanding it to 800 m, the territory would reach the Thiessen walls, and prolonging it approximately 300 metres further, it would reach 500 m catchment of S63-S68. In fact I believe that the aforementioned suggestion must be very close to the ancient reality, with a radius territory of the village S65 around 1150 m, suggesting that approximately the 1/3 of the valley of Kalikri was intensively exploited by the village residents. Actually, I could implement the *c.* 1150 m radius territory of S65 to the second village of the island located at the north edge of it. S33 undoubtedly should be the chief settlement on the area of Trachi valley and should exploit the majority of its agricultural land. The plausible 1150 m radius would 'render' to S33 approximately 1/3 of the valley and its catchment would stop precisely on the large farm of S34, which could be interpreted as a satellite settlement to the village.

Returning to the sites of the valley of Kalikri and particularly those at the foot of the south mountainous part of the island, we notice a slight anomaly caused by the small farm of S69, located between the hamlets S68 and S70 and consequently overlapping their 500 m territories. The area is characterised by the numerous springs. In actual fact the majority of the springs of the island are found in this location. Apparently the abundance in water supply here triggered a much more intensive exploitation of the area by the relevant human installations.

In the south part of the island the figure of the catchments of the identified sites is less precise than that of the north part of it. Indeed, the 500 m radius territory rarely coincides with the Thiessen walls, because of the long distances between the settlements. This of course could suggest missing sites, not only in the blank zones at the north-east and south-west of it, but also alongside the series of the identified sites as well, like that probably located between S67 and S75. Indeed, the existence of one of the major springs of the island at this place enhances the hypothesis of a settlement site there, related to the ancient structures identified at the spring (see Appendix A, S74). Nonetheless, there is a second explanation for this distortion, equally plausible: the majority of the settlements of the south part of the island were mainly pastoral herder sites. Indeed, five sufficient plateaux are recognised in the mountainous mass (Tsorous, Vokolinas, Ari, Artemisi and Aragades). In all the five plateaux, human installations are located for the apparent exploitation of the land, not excluding an agro-pastoral symbiosis. The rest of the sites, settled in a completely arid area can be interpreted exclusively as pastoral herder sites. Now, it has been suggested that pastoral communities have larger territorial radii than farming communities, reaching 7.5 km at maximum (Vita-Finzi & Higgs 1970; Bintliff 2006, 13-14 and 1999, 506). This fact could suggest a larger catchment territory than the 500 m for the sites of the south part of the island. Regardless of the agricultural exploitation of the south plateaux by their relevant sites and the number of 'hidden' settlements on the north-east side of the mountainous area, it could be suggested that the identified installations presented a pastoral activity extended several km in the northeast mainland of Kochilas, according to the model of the pastoral communities of early modern times.

A final clarification is needed regarding the sizes of the site catchments: it has been argued that the likely size of a 'hoplite' landholding (the essential defence force of the city-state) is guesstimated in approximately 5.4 ha (130 m radius) (Jameson 1978; Bintliff 1994, 227-8; Alcock *et al.* 1994, 148). This size would give 100% arable land to the 'hoplite' and would provide him with the adequate resources for his family, plus the purchase and maintenance of the necessary armour for service to the city state (Bintliff 1999, 535). It is common in the historical and archaeological research of the classical Greek landscape, to recognise these 'hoplite' landholdings in the numerous family-farms identified in the countryside. The implementation of the 5.4 ha (130 m radius) as the site territory for the small farms of Skyros, would slightly alternate the conclusions presented above. However, the 5.4 ha territory must be conceived as an inner, minimal catchment of carrying capacity of a given small site and not as its outer catchment within which the members of the specific community would perform their agro-pastoral activities (grazing, woodland exploitation etc.), which in the case of Skyros, but also of Boeotia, are identified by the Thiessen polygons (see Bintliff *et al.* 2007, 140, fig. 9.7).

Some thoughts on the population

Regarding the population of Greco-Roman Skyros little can be said. The examination of the Greco-Roman period of the sites as a whole does not provide information about the possible site size and consequently on the number of their inhabitants. Moreover, it would be extremely unsafe to assume that all sites were contemporaneous in all or in one of the sub-periods of this long period of time. Additionally, we cannot be certain that all detected sites were permanent human installations, a matter which has been outlined many times regarding the small settlements on the ancient Greek countryside (Osborne 1985, 120 and 126; Cherry *et al.* 1991, 335 and 337). However, the identification of haloes[1] around many of these sites enhance the supposition of their use at least for long periods of time, but without knowing exactly to which period these haloes belong, they are of little help.

In any case any estimation of population on the basis of the surveyed sites would be misleading. It is indicative that the total area of the Greco-Roman sites outside the urban centre is estimated at *c.* 35 ha. If in theory all of them belonged to the same period, say the Classical, and were assumed to be all permanent residences, then by adopting the more or less acceptable population estimate for ancient Greece of 150 persons per ha (Hansen 2006, 82; Whitelaw & Davis 1991, 280), this would result in a countryside population of 5250 inhabitants! Now, accepting that approximately two-thirds of the population of the ancient City-states up to 200 sq. km were living within the urban centres (Hansen 2006, 80; Bintliff 2006, 16; Cherry *et al.* 1991, 337), the aforementioned number of the countryside would lead to more than 10.000 inhabitants within the urban centre of Skyros (!), a settlement of approximately 7-10 ha in size during the Classical period.

The reality of course was very different and the population of the entire island during the Classical period should be much lower, ranging between 1600-2250 inhabitants. The only guides for this guesstimate are the occupation area of the urban centre of *c.* 7-10 ha and the attendant 1050-1500 residents, numbers which in their turn could suggest approximately 550 - 750 residents in the countryside, always on the grounds of the aforementioned supposition regarding the population distribution between city and country.

10.2 THE TOWERS OF SKYROS

One of the most characteristic archaeological traces of Aegean classical antiquity are the single towers, scattered across the countryside of the majority of the Aegean islands and on some mainland areas such as Attica, Euboea, Corinthia, Argolid and Megarid. Especially the islands of Sifnos, Keos, Andros, and Thasos maintain the primacy in number and/or magnificence of their towers (Cherry *et al.* 1991, 285).

The date of these structures is generally very vague, ranging from the late Archaic to early Hellenistic periods (Cherry *et al.* 1991, 291; Osborne 1986, 168). The low height of their preservation (usually a little above the foundations) and the basic nature of the masonry do not leave many possibilities for their precise chronology on the grounds of masonry style. In addition, the lack of excavations makes it difficult to relate the structures with the scattered material around it: "early material might well reflect use of a site prior to the construction there of the tower, while later finds

1 For the meaning of the term in this context see Chapter 6.

may have been deposited even after the structure had become non-functional" (Cherry *et al.* 1991, 291). Similarly vague is their functional interpretation. As Osborne states for the case of Thasos, (corresponding well enough with the situation occurring in the majority of the islands): "the variety of type and situation... for the Thasian towers does not encourage the belief that their existence can be accounted for by any single explanation" (Osborne 1986, 173). However, the usual interpretation for their function is their association with agricultural lands and estates, providing storage and protection of the goods and at the same time defense against robbers (Young 1956, 141-3; Cherry, *et al.* 1991, 293; Osborne 1986, 173-4). To this we should add the symbolic use of these towers for prestigious display of the landowners (Bintliff 2012, 307; Lohmann 1993).

Skyros was not as fortunate as other islands to receive the attentions of scholars meticulously studying their towers. Mayer (1893) mentions 12 towers, without providing information about their exact location, let alone plans. Some years later, Friedrich (1906, 287) provided a simplified plan of an (uncertain) tower in Ayios Fokas (here S49), referred by Young in his 1956 paper (Young 1956, 146, n. 47). Sporadic mentions of Skyrian towers are found across the literature (e.g. Defner 1926-28; Parlama 1984).

During the survey seven towers of the twelve mentioned by Mayer have been identified, eight if we include the inconclusive structure drawn by Fredrich. During fieldwork, a great effort was made to clear the structures of vegetation (in some cases even from the devastating cedar trees) as to be able to draw them[2]. In the next pages the results of this study will be presented; the purpose being the update of the bibliography with the hitherto unpublished single towers of Skyros and the contribution to the interpretation of the phenomenon of the single towers in the Aegean context in general. No effort will be attempted for a more precise date of the structures other than the general late Archaic - early Hellenistic.

Archaeological context of the towers (Fig. 10.3)

All the Skyrian towers are rounded, constructed from large limestone blocks, many of which more than 1-2 metres long and 0.50 metres high. All of them are poorly preserved, a little higher than their foundations. The diameter of the towers varies from 4.90 m (S28) to slightly more than 10 m (S56) (Table 10.1).

The towers of Skyros can be divided in two categories (Table 10.2): a) isolated aceramic towers, deprived of courts and supplementary constructions, with a settlement some metres away and b) towers with ceramic evidence, courts and supplementary constructions, erected within a human settlement. It is true that from the four towers of the first category only in two was a human settlement identified a small distance away, but I have reasons to believe that this is a result of the extensive method of the survey and that close to the remaining two should lie human installations, until now unidentified.

Tower	Diameter
S28 (Trapezi)	4.90
S42 (Pyrgos Papazoglou)	Inner: 7.80; outer: 25.0
S45 (Aliko)	8.0
S47 (Pyrgos Koutsi)	8.30
S75 (Mouchala)	9.0
S87 (Ari)	9.50
S56 (Stroggili)	10.40

Table 10.1: The diameter of the seven Skyrian towers in ascending order.

Category A	Category B
S28 (Trapezi)	S42 (Pyrgos Papazoglou)
S45 (Aliko)	S47 (Pyrgos Koutsi)
S75 (Mouchala)	S87 (Ari)
S56 (Stroggili)	

Table 10.2: The towers of Skyros divided in two categories: a) isolated aceramic towers, deprived of courts and supplementary constructions, with a settlement some metres in distance and b) towers with ceramic evidence, courts and supplementary constructions, erected within a settlement.

2 The plans of the towers have been made by the colleague in the 23rd Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities, architect Yorgos Kourmadas, during our campaign in August of 2011. The clearance from the vegetation took place by the personnel of the 23rd Ephorate, after relevant permission by the Greek Ministry of Agriculture.

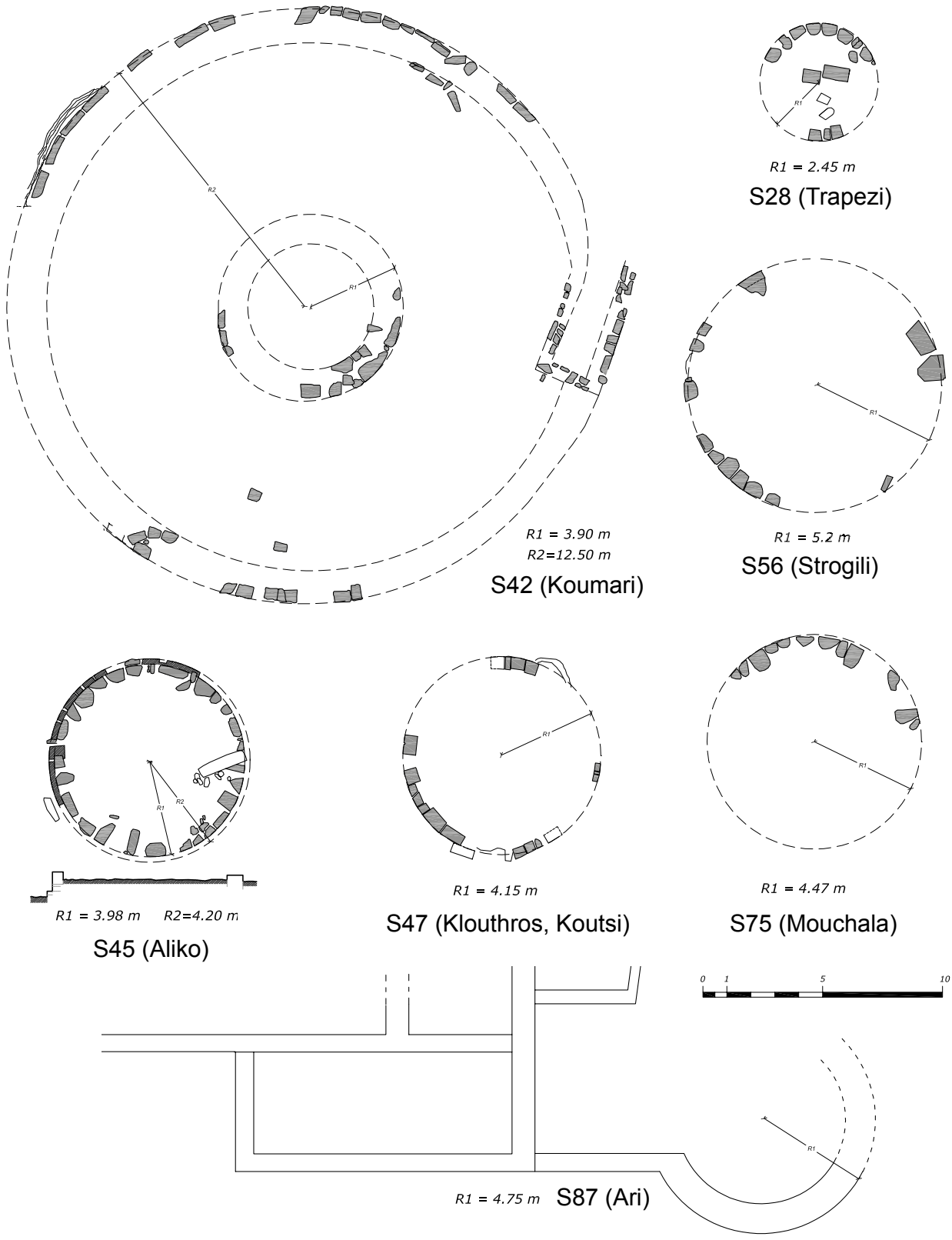


Fig. 10.3: Plans of the towers of Skyros (Y. Kourmadas).

I can say at the outset that the aforementioned categorisation is not tied to the size and the quality of the structures: the biggest tower (S56) belongs to the first category, while the second in size is part of a hamlet. Furthermore the well executed tower S45 belongs to the first category, while the likewise well constructed towers S42 and S47 are part of settlements.

Regarding the second category it is interesting to note S87 (Ari), where the tower seems to take the very corner of a court, similar to the towers of Kaminorokhaïko and Avatsinia of Thasos (Osborne 1986, 169). Even of greater interest is the case of S42 (Pyrgos Papazoglou) where the tower is equipped with a rounded wall-court of 25.0 metres diameter. The external wall is preserved only at the height of the foundations, but its original appearance would have been of a considerable height. In addition, the external wall was equipped at its west side with a strongly fortified gate. We should envisage the apparently modest buildings erected between the two strong walls and the defence of the external one from the terraces of the houses. In fact no other structure has been noticed outside the external wall. The figure would be concluded by imagining the tower in the middle to be higher than the external wall and the buildings in between. I have not been able to see the plan of the tower of Thymonia on Thasos, but I believe that the similar large diameter of *c.* 20 m (Osborne 1986, 168) could possibly belong to a comparable external court-wall and not to the proper tower, as it would be very difficult for such a large building to be roofed.

The location of the towers (Fig. 10.1)

All the towers are set at a considerable distance from the urban centre and the two Greco-Roman villages. In addition, all of them stand beside agricultural land: S56 is located on the hill of Strogili, above the north side of the valley of Kalikri, at approximately 4 km from the urban centre; S28 on the fertile south slopes of the valley of Trachi in *c.* 6 km distance from the urban centre; S42 on the west height of the plateau of Koumari, S44 on the south slopes of the plateau of Aliko, S47 on the west height above the plateau of Klouthros and S48(?) on a small height above the small plain of Ayios Fokas; all the three (or four) in the broader area of Oros cape, are located at more than 8 km distance from the town, which is considered to be the maximum radius territory suggested in the bibliography for urban centres of up to 200 sq. km *poleis*-states (see above). Finally, two more are located at the south part of the island: S75 on the top of the gently sloping terrain of Kolimbada bay, in 10 km distance from the urban centre and S87, on the east slopes above the plateau of Ari, 13 km from the town. Apart from the kilometrical distance, the towers seem to be even more isolated in relation to the main settlements of the island, because of the rugged terrain and particularly the mountainous masses extending in the centre of the north part of the island and over the whole area of the south.

Much discussion took place regarding the location of the island towers in respect to the sea and their probable interpretation as lighthouses or coastal watchtowers. First of all, as Cherry *et al.* rightly note (1991, 291-2): "few can possibly, by the very nature of the [island] environment, be far from the coast". However, for the case of Skyros, except for S56, located on a hill-promontory between two gulfs, the rest do not occupy the best positions for the aforementioned functions: S48 and S75 are close to the sea but not on the promontories of the bays which should be expected of lighthouses or even watchtowers. S42 and S45 have visibility to the sea but are well above it; they could work very well as watchtowers but not as lighthouses. Finally the remaining three (S28, S47 and S87) are completely inland, having nothing to do with the sea.

Conclusions – Interpretation

The towers of Skyros are robust constructions whose nature was of course to function primarily as strong-rooms and/or watchtowers.

All of them are related to agricultural land and to a rural installation. Some of them are part of the building-structures of these installations and some others are a bit isolated, some metres distance from the settlement.

The position of the tower in relation to the settlement is dictated by the geography of the area: the tower is located usually on a height in order to control the surroundings and particularly the weakest point from which the eminent threat could come. If such a location can be found close to the agricultural land, then the tower and the settlement coincide. If not, the settlement is located close to the plain and the tow-

er on a suitable strategic position, in which case the use of the tower is very limited as their aceramic evidence attest. For example, the hamlet of Aliko (S44) lies at the edge of the plateau without visibility to the surrounding area. The tower related to the settlement (S45) is located on a hill south to the settlement. From this position it has an uninterrupted view to the plateaux of Aliko and Chartsa, and at the same time controls the bay immediately below. On the other hand, on the adjacent plateau of Koumari, the settlement and the tower coincide. Actually the tower was probably the house of the inhabitants, as the location suits both functions: it is beside the agricultural land and at the same time offers an uninterrupted view to the whole plateau and the east heights in front and the west coast immediately below. The same holds for S87, where the settlement and tower are located immediately above the plateau controlling the whole area.

It is clear that the towers of Skyros have not a particular association with the sea as a whole, except possibly from S56. They are related to the rural settlements and orientated to their possible threat. If this threat is possible to come from the sea -and this is the case for the coastal settlements- then yes, they control the sea as well.

It is unknown whether the towers were used as refuge for the inhabitants of the related settlements in case of emergency, or only as strong-rooms protecting the goods. It is impossible to know whether these structures could accommodate the totality of the inhabitants of the related settlements.

In any case "the single towers make manifest the considerable insecurity and need for self-help in the countryside", as "those who lived in the town were protected by walls built for the common defence, from common funds, on common initiative. Those who lived in the country enjoyed no such public protection" (Osborne 1987, 67).

The towers of Skyros are erected not only in order to hold watch but also in order to be watched. An observatory or storeroom could be constructed without such monumentality. Their prominent locations in combination with the impressive of the construction, apart from the security function, were a means of social display, apparently of the rich landowners (Bintliff 2012, 307; Lohmann 1993). According to Osborne (1987, 67) the landowners "who built towers usurped for themselves the protective role which communal decisions assumed in the town". Actually close parallels for these rural towers would be the numerous medieval towers of Greece used mainly for social display, as symbols of the possession of the given land or as storerooms, rather than for their strategic position and military use. Moreover, they recall the medieval castles of Ireland, which quite ironically attracted attacks only due to their presence, exactly because it was known that they were places in which the goods were kept (Lock 1995, 79). As Osborne again notes "the landowner who chose to build a strong-room of these proportions was clearly saying something about what he had to protect when he spent his money so conspicuously" (Osborne 1987, 67).

10.3 THE ROMAN MARBLE QUARRIES

The island of Skyros was one of the most important sources of white and polychrome marbles in the Roman world. Especially the latter, known as *breccia di Settebasi* and *semesanto* (as commonly referred to from post-medieval times onwards), were among the most sought after polychrome stones of the Roman period, with a wide distribution throughout the Mediterranean (Fig. 10.5 - Fig. 10.6)[3]. The stone is referred to by Strabo as *Ποικίλη λίθος τῆς Σκυρίας* (IX, 437), which according to him were among the first polychrome stones which gradually replaced the use of white marbles during the times of Augustus.

Numerous ancient quarries are located alongside the west coast of Skyros and on the adjacent islets, mentioned or briefly studied by scholars at the beginning of the 20th century (Fig. 10.4). However, a more intensive archaeological and archaeometric study of the Skyrian quarries and their products was carried out recently by specialists, while the largest quarries of the island were briefly published. In particular, the study of the *breccia di settebasi* and *semesanto*, has been summarized in a recent contribution by Lazzarini (2007). Further, the white marbles of almost pure calcite, fine-grained and of very good workability, were studied petrographically and isotopically by

3 The names *breccia di Settebasi* and *semesanto* were given to the stone by the roman marble workers of the post-medieval times, who used to find the stone in the villa of Septimius Bassus in Via Latina, where was abundant. The workers gave the name to the stone inspired by the name of the ancient owner of the building-source. *Semesanto* is a variety of the *breccia di settebasi*, the visual similarity of which with a medicine used in Rome from the 17th c. onwards, gave the name to the stone (Lazzarini 2007, 161).

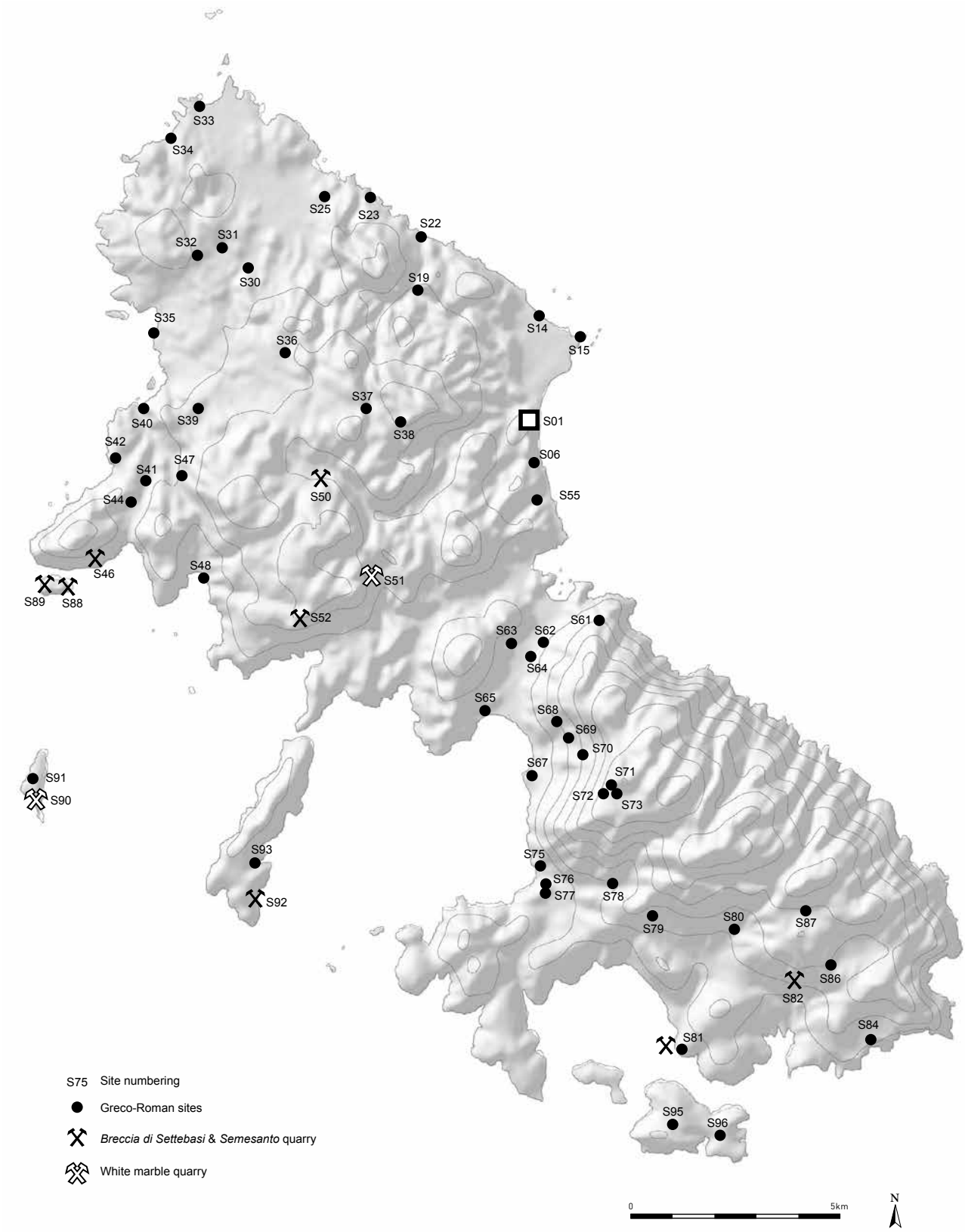


Fig. 10.4: Distribution of the marble quarries on Roman Skyros.

Lazzarini and Cancelliere (2000), who limited their investigation to the major exploitation site of Lakous/ Kolones (S51) in the northern part of the island[4].

The figure that the Roman marble quarries of Skyros present, is the usual one in the Aegean area: amphitheatric, with wide central areas for the elaboration and stockpiling of the material, traces of heavy pick on the quarry-faces, plenty of debris, abandoned blocks and columns, some of them cut with a pendulum saw, and numerous rectangular small sockets of 20x20 cm on the natural rock, for the movement of the material using stakes. Moreover, of special interest is the identification of such small sockets or abandoned blocks close to the shore, which indicate the shipment location[5].

The chronological range of the quarries

All recent scholars agree on the starting point of marble exploitation: while the white marble seems to be locally used already since the Classical-Hellenistic times, the extraction of the breccia started probably in the 1st c. BC (Lazzarini 2007, 162)[6]. In fact, traces of the stone have been found in the pavement of the *Ludus Magnus* in Rome, re-dated to 50 BC (Guidobaldi & Salvatori 1988, 174).

The situation is a bit confused regarding the date of the cessation of the exploitation: all recent scholars argue that during the Late Roman period only the white and not the breccia was extracted (Lazzarini 2007, 164; Bruno 2002, 33; Lazzarini & Cancelliere 2000, 57). The basis for this supposition was found on the edict on prices of the emperor Diocletian in 301 AD, where the *marmor scyreticum* is listed at the rather cheap cost of 40 denarii per cubic foot (Gnoli 1988), strange for the polychrome stones of the time. Lazzarini & Cancelliere gave two explanations for that: "The low price may be explained by the fall in the cost of marble that occurred in Rome in the 4th c., following the considerable stockpiling of marbles at the *statio marmorum* of Ostia...Another explanation is that the price did not refer to the breccia (which in theory should have been more expensive, at least 150 denarii, like other decorative stones such as the very similar *marmor lucullaeum*...), but to the white

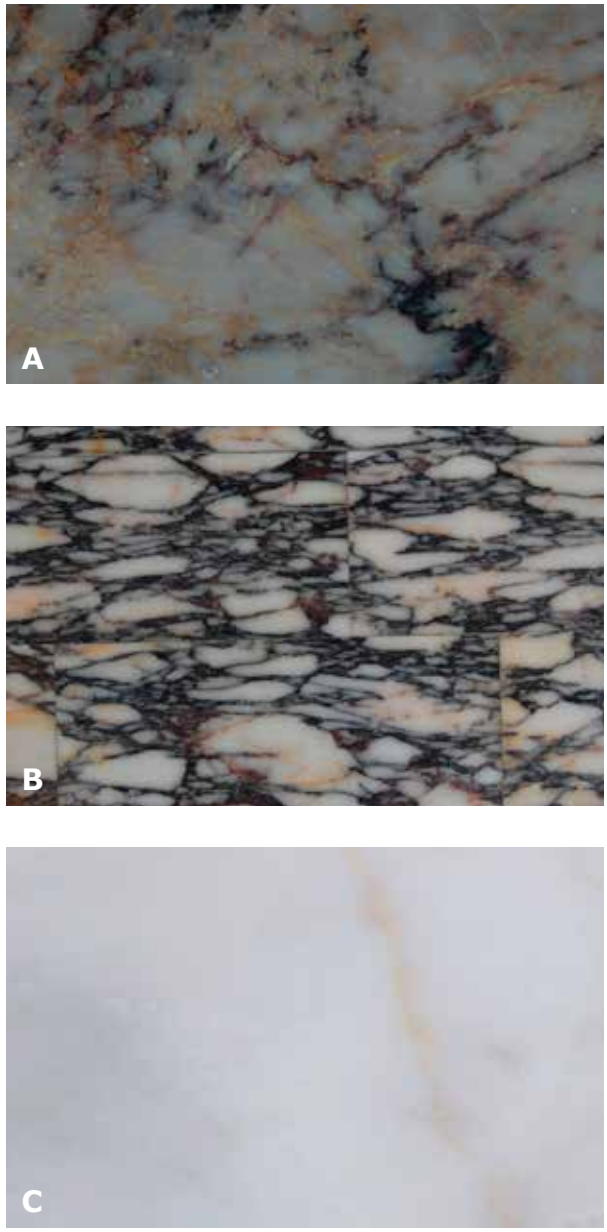


Fig. 10.5: Types of skyrian marble. A: breccia di settebasi , B: semesanto, C: white 'true' marble.

4 The up to date bibliography on the Roman marble quarries of Skyros and their products can be summarised in chronological order as follows (excluding the simple mentions about the existence of quarries on the grounds of other scholars): Karambinis & Lazzarini forthcoming; Lazzarini 2007, 161-81; Bruno 2002, 27-35; Lazzarini & Cancelliere 2000, 49-62; Lazzarini 1999, 64-9; Lazos, Petiniotis & Stefoulis 1989, 3-20; Melentis 1973, 302-3; Dworakowska 1972, 7-20; Defner 1923, 102-16; Dubois 1908, 129-30; Philippson 1901, 115-6.

5 See more for each quarry-site in Appendix A.

6 The evidence from Strabo (IX, 437) that the *ποικίλη λίθος* was already known at his time, called as such "by the Greeks", presupposes the extraction of the material even earlier, perhaps during the Hellenistic times, something which is in accordance with the identification of late Hellenistic pottery at the breccia-quarry site of Tris Boukes (S81), see below.

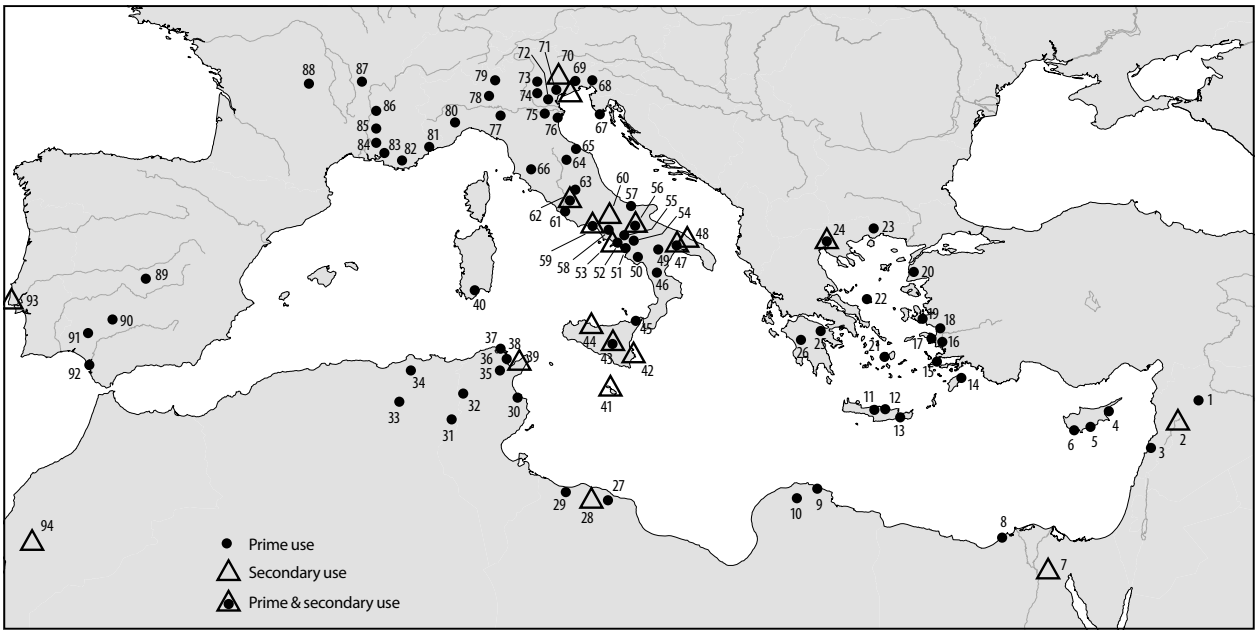


Fig. 10.6: Distribution map of the breccia di settebasi and semesanto in the Mediterranean (redrawn after Lazzarini 2007, 165, fig. 12).

[1.Palmira 2.Damascus 3.Tyrus 4.Salamis 5.Kourion 6.Paphos 7.Cairo 8.Alexandria 9.Apollonia 10.Cyrene 11.Gortyn 12. Chersonesos 13.Praisos 14.Ialysos 15.Kos 16.Iasos 17.Pithagorion (Samos) 18.Ephesos 19.Teos 20.Alexandria Troas 21.Paros 22.Skyros 23.Philippi 24.Thessalonica 25.Corinth 26.Olympia 27.Leptis Magna 28.Tripoli 29.Sabratha 30.Leptis Minor 31.Timgad 32.Dougga 33.Djemila 34.Ceasarea 35.Uthina 36.Carthage 37.Utica 38.Thuburbo Maius 39.Tunis 40.Nora 41.Rabat (Malta) 42.Syracuse 43.Piazza Armerina 44.Palermo 45.Taormina 46.Sibari 47.Taranto 48.Brindisi 49.Melfi 50.Ravello 51.Amalfi 52.Pompei 53.Naples 54.Ercolano 55.Oplonti 56.Reccelleta del vescovo 57.Chieti 58. Santa Maria Capua Vetere (Capua) 59.Mondragone 60.Caserta vecchia 61.Ostia 62.Rome 63.Tivoli 64.Arcinazzo Romano 65.Urbino 66.Cazzanello 67.Medulin – Vizula 68.Aquileia 69.Concordia Sagittaria 70.Treviso 71.Quarto d'Altino 72.EsteO 73.Verona 74.Montegrotto 75.Faenza 76.Rimini 77.Piacenza 78.Cremona 79.Brescia 80.Serravalle Scrivia 81.Nizza 82.Riez 83.Arles 84.Aix-en-Provence 85.range 86.Vaison-la-Romaine 87.Autun 88.Puy de Dome 89.Toledo 90.Cordova 91.Italica 92.Medina Sidonia 93.Lisbon 94.Marrakesh].

marble" (Lazzarini & Cancelliere 2000, 57). The second explanation has prevailed, triggering the supposition of the ceasing of breccia extraction during Late Roman times and the interpretation of all the breccia pieces in Late Roman buildings as of secondary use.

However, such a supposition is here considered quite unsafe. Ironically enough, it is in a building contemporaneous to the edict, and moreover related to the Diocletian, the baths of the so-called palace of Diocletian in Leptis Magna where a dozen columns of *breccia di settebasi* are found, apparently in primary use (Fig. 10.7). Furthermore, in a second monumental building of the 4th c. AD, the baths of El Bass in Tyre, columns of *breccia di settebasi* are found again (Lazzarini 2007, 163). Besides these structures, the breccia is identified in numerous Late Roman buildings (e.g. Early Christian basilicas), but interpreted by the scholars as of secondary use; an interpretation that inevitably creates doubts whether this assumption is based on archaeological evidence or on the aforementioned prejudice.

More evidence comes from the source of the material, Skyros itself. At the breccia-quarry site of Tris Boukes (S81), a human settlement of *c.* 1.5 ha has been identified, apparently related to the function of the quarry. Interestingly enough, the settlement was active from Late Hellenistic until Late Roman times. The location of Tris Boukes is very rocky and arid, and very remote from the rest of the contemporaneous human settlements of the island. Thus, if the Late Roman component at Tris Boukes was a 'remnant' only of the Early-Middle Roman times without any connection with the marble quarry, we should expect to find relatively modest archaeological remains, as this settlement could not develop either agricultural potential or a trade-harbour role for the needs of the island. On the contrary, the Late Roman settlement at Tris Boukes presents a relatively thriving

Fig. 10.7: Columns of breccia di settebasi in the so-called palace of Diocletian in Leptis Magna (L. Lazzarini).

picture which cannot be connected with a hamlet of shepherds or fishermen (see Appendix A, S81); thus, marble-working should be the term to characterise economic life at the Late Roman site of Tris Boukes.

Regarding the ownership-authorization of the quarries, the only indication available is the inscription identified by Bruzza (1870) on a Skyrian block at the *Marmorata* in Rome, where he read "*sub cura Sergi Leg. XV*", a block quarried thus under the administration of a centurion, suggesting an Imperial ownership and/or control of the quarries.

The impact of the quarries on the settlement pattern of the island

It has been generally noted that after the Greek *Polis* loses its independence, the link between its urban centre and countryside is broken (Cherry *et al.* 1991, 340). This of course cannot be visible in the case of Skyros, as the survey has treated the Greco-Roman period of the island as a whole. However, it is evident that the Roman marble quarries triggered the creation of new settlements (permanent or seasonal) and have affected the settlement pattern of the island. Apart from the site of Tris Boukes (S81) mentioned above, two more settlements have been identified, on the islet of Rinia (S91) and on the islet of Balaxa (S93), apparently related to the function of the quarries. Similar small settlements should have existed on the islet of Koulouri and close to the quarry of Aliko as well. Considering the ergonomics of the ancient world this hypothesis finds support.

Nevertheless, the islet-quarries and the settlements associated with them should be of seasonal and not of permanent character. The rocky and arid places, the lack of basic commodities such as cultivated land, in combination with the exposure of the inhabitants to all weather conditions, in fact does not allow permanent human occupation on such small islets. In addition, the lack of safe anchorages would not permit an easy shipment of the material during the winter months, let alone communication by sea during this time. This of course does not pertain to inland settlements related to the quarries, such as that of Tris Boukes (S81), where the size, the functional analysis of the finds and the provision for water supply through a large cistern, implies a permanent use. In any case, during the Roman period the west coast of the island seems to present an increased activity.

The island of Melos bears some fruitful parallels to Skyros. Furthermore, let's borrow the settlement model Wagstaff and Cherry (1982, 250) designed for Melos incorporated into a large social and economic system like that of the Roman Empire: "Under such circumstances, Melos is most likely to have been dominated by a source of political and/or military power outside the island, and its main role for that source of power would have been as an exploitable pool of materials, finance and/or labour...The tendency would be for a single large settlement to develop in a position where contact with the outside world would be as easily as possible..., a 'gateway town' dominating a number of lower order settlements".

It is easy to fit the aforementioned model of Melos to Skyros and to recognise the "exploitable pool of materials" to the marbles. Furthermore, I consider the "gateway town" of Skyros the village S65 at Kalamitsa bay and secondarily the hamlet S67, at the same gulf. By contrast with the old urban centre of Skyros, which in any case should have continued to be the primal settlement of the island, the two settlements of Kalamitsa, located in the largest and safest natural harbour of Skyros and their vicinity to the 'industrial zone' of the marble quarries, would perfectly serve a gateway role. Indeed, although both sites are active during the Classical-Hellenistic times, during the Roman period present a peak in size and in pottery imports. Moreover, the two sarcophagi of *Lapis sarcophagus* stone identified at S65 (see Appendix A, S65), are of a type found mainly in the Aegean and the Eastern Mediterranean, geographical areas which have constituted the clientele of Skyrian marble during the same period.

Chapter 11
Skyros in the Late Antique and Early Middle Ages (4th – mid 9th c. AD)

11.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter discusses two usually separated historical periods, entitled in the recent archaeological literature as Late Roman and Early Byzantine respectively. My reasons for grouping these two periods is that I believe a common treatment of the two better highlights the factors behind the sharp transition (often attested in the Aegean) between the Late Roman and Early Byzantine: namely the thriving record for the Late Roman against the 'dark' for the Early Byzantine.

Furthermore, the chronological boundary between these two periods is located somewhere in the 7th century AD, a time when a series of radical changes identified by both historians and archaeologists signal the transition from the ancient to the medieval world in the eastern part of the former Roman Empire: territories which have been for centuries the core of Greco-Roman civilisation, namely Syria-Palestine and North Africa were lost forever to a new lead player in the Mediterranean, the Muslim-Arabs. The new administration system of the *Themata* first makes its appearance in this century (Treadgold 2002, 132). Economic structures change significantly from previous forms (Laiou 2002, 8), and trade contacts decline gradually at a local/regional level (Wickham 2005, 709, 717 and 785).

Partially as consequence of the aforementioned transformations, from the late 7th c. onwards a gradual change in the material culture of everyday life took place, namely the ceramics: the fine red slip wares of the big production centres of north Africa and western Asia Minor/Phocaea, seem to almost disappear from the (interregional?) markets somewhere toward the end of the 7th century (Wickham 2005, 785; Vionis *et al.* 2009, 159).[1] Plainer wares then prevail, mainly local/regional imitations of the old red slip tradition,[2] while the fine ware-demand was now covered by the capital, but this time through new forms and the technique of glazing. Furthermore, the transport/storage vessels, also undergo a similar transition concerning their distribution patterns and their shapes, though in keeping however, with the tradition of the previous centuries (e.g. the post-LR1 and post-LR2 globular amphorae; Hayes 1992,71-3; Poulou-Papadimitriou 2001, 243-5; Arthur 1998, 168-9; Wickham 2005, 785-9).

Moreover, in the sphere of religion, at the beginnings of the 8th c. the Empire submerges in the serious crisis of the *iconoclastic* controversy. Only by the middle of the 9th c. does the Byzantine Empire emerge out of this dispute. The effect this had on the perception of images was significant, with as a result making icons one of the most characteristic elements of Byzantine art (see Kitzinger 1954 and 1955).

Finally, in the realm of ecclesiastical architecture, the experiments of the Justinian period combining the basilica with dome, although they will never find their equal in the successive centuries, the type will gain more and more ground, eventually becoming the norm during the 7th and 8th centuries. This led after gradual architectural elaborations to the crystallisation of the Byzantine church type from the 9th c. onwards, that of the cross-in-square with dome (Gkioles 1992, 13).[3] In short, from the 7th c. onwards the Byzantine Empire obtains gradually its medieval characteristics.

1 However, the third big centre of Cypriot Red Slip Ware/Late Roman D continues its production into the 8th c. and most possibly beyond (Armstrong 2009).The same post-7th c. production is hypothesised for several other - more regional - red slip production centres such as that of Sagalassos. As Vionis *et al.* put it "the debate on the post-seventh century continuation of the red-slipped tableware tradition has recently been opened" (2009, 160; see below).

2 These ceramics were already present in the previous centuries but subordinated by the dominance of the big centres.

3 It has to be noted that simpler basilica construction continued to be built, especially in rural districts (Bouras 2006).

The periods before and after the late 7th century are very characteristic for their sharp contrast in the archaeological record: the former is ubiquitously and plentifully attested both in the urban centres and the countryside, in a scale comparable only with that of the Classical age. The latter is connected with an almost absolute archaeological darkness (apart from the churches, in any case fewer in comparison to the previous and successive periods). This contradiction was previously interpreted as a reflection of a thriving period before the end of the 7th c., and of a period of devastation for the people of the Empire after the end of it, connected with the Slavic and Arab penetrations into the Empire's territory.

However, despite the undoubtedly significant changes that affected the structures of the Empire from the 7th c. onwards, recent studies tend more and more to interpret the aforementioned contradiction of the archaeological record, not as the representation of a thriving and disastrous situation of the eastern Mediterranean respectively; but rather as a result of an undoubtedly poorer and simpler economy and system of exchange after the 7th c. The situation is even more aggravated by the little archaeological knowledge concerning the local/regional ceramic productions which dominate between the late 7th-9th c., the similarity of which with artefacts of the previous and successive centuries make them very easily slip to the respective 'dominant' and more well studied periods (Poulou-Papadimitriou 2001, 231).

Finally, the striking contradiction between the periods before and after the late 7th c. is artificially stressed by their disproportional chronological division. Historians put the conventional barrier between them in the end of the reign of Heraclius in 641 AD (e.g. Mango 2002), or at its beginning in 610 AD (e.g. Christofilopoulou 1996,1998), or even earlier at the late 6th century (e.g. Gregory 2005). Archaeologists on the other hand, following the material culture changes as a criterion for their conventional division, they put the boundary in the end of the 7th c., a time when, as mentioned above, the dominant until then African and Phocaean red slip wares seem to cease from the markets, as well as the majority of the forms of the Late Roman amphorae (Wickham 2005, 785). This allocates almost four centuries to the first period (4th - 7th c.) , while to the second (late 7th - mid 9th c.) only one and half, leaving consequently to the latter less space for archaeological evidence in general by period discussions (e.g. 'Late Roman' or 'Early Byzantine'). In any case, the result of the aforementioned points is well known: sketchy archaeological evidence between the late 7th - mid 9th c., characteristic 'downs' on the archaeological maps and consequently the emergence of the 'dark age' phenomenon.

Considering the aforementioned difficulties, it is normal that archaeological surveys which are based on surface finds, are in an extremely difficult situation to track any artefact safely dated to 8th - 9th c. (e.g. Bintliff 2000b, 42; Bintliff 1996, 3; Koukoulis 1997, 93). Skyros survey was no exception: I can say at the outset that 13 sherds of globular amphorae, distributed in four sites with strong previous occupation, are the sketchy attested remains of the human activity of the island during the 8th - early 9th c. This is in striking contradiction with the thriving figure that Skyros presents in the previous centuries.

In order to examine the situation on Skyros at this time, I will next turn to a presentation of the settlement pattern of the island according to the survey data, based obviously on the 4th - 7th c. evidence. The 13 'Early Byzantine' finds, firstly all of them are from amphora vessels and thus could not in themselves be interpreted as evidence of a definite settlement occupation, and secondly, they are distributed across four sites with strong 'Late Roman' presence, a fact which does not imply a possibly different settlement pattern after the terminus of the late 7th c.

However, in order to offer a clearer view of the long 'Late Roman' period and for making it more visible that the absence of 'Early Byzantine' finds does not reflect absence of human activity as well, but rather archaeological inability to identify it, I present my data by century, on the basis of finds dated in a single century or in a range of two-three centuries only. I exclude here from my discussion the possibly misleading finds broadly dated as 'Late Roman'. This, firstly because the 'Late Roman' finds, which could range from the 4th to the 7th c., are usually 'unfairly' confronted versus finds dated in one and half centuries only and thus enhancing misleading generalisations regarding the 'thriving' and 'devastated' situation before and after the 7th c. respectively. Secondly, because they contain the peril of a post-7th c. chronology, due to their great similarity (especially when talking about small surface fragments) to finds of the 8th-9th centuries (e.g. LR2 and post-LR2 globular amphorae). Through this exercise we are going to

see that the 4th c. for example, is almost equally absent in much the same way as the 8th. Actually, by analysing the available data of other surveys, we notice that this phenomenon is not particular to Skyros; yet the 4th c. is not characterised as 'dark' as the 8th c. in the literature. The apex of the 'Late Roman' phase of the island is identified in the 6th and 7th c., which stands in striking contradiction with the lack of data for the 8th c.; a contrast so stark that it is difficult to accept the absence as representative of the real situation.

11.2 SETTLEMENT PATTERN

The general pattern that the island presents during the 4th - 7th c. is similar to its forebears (Fig. 11.1 - Table 11.1). That a relative slump is visible in the data is apparently due to the disproportional time span between the vague Greco-Roman with the Late Roman period (i.e., the ill defined Greco-Roman encompasses approximately ten centuries in contrast to the four centuries making up the Late Roman). Actually,

Site	Greco-Roman	Late Roman
S01	10.0 (urban centre)	10.0? (urban centre)
S06	0.4? (small farm)	0.4 (small farm)
S14	0.1 (small farm)	0.1 (small farm)
S15	0.2 (small farm)	0.2 (small farm)
S18	-	<0.4 (small farm)
S19	0.1 (small farm)	0.1 (small farm)
S22	0.6 (large farm – small hamlet)	0.6 (large farm – small hamlet)
S23	0.26 (small farm)	0.26 (small farm)
S25	0.5 (small farm)	-
S29	-	<0.4 (part of a villa?)
S30	1.0 (hamlet)	1.0 (hamlet)
S31	2.5 (hamlet)	2.5 (hamlet)
S32	1.0 (hamlet)	1.0 (hamlet)
S33	3.13(village)	1.34 (hamlet)
S34	0.7 (small hamlet)	0.7 (small hamlet)
S35	0.2 (small farm)	-
S36	Small (<0.4) (small farm?)	<0.4 (small farm?)
S37	2.0 (hamlet)	2.0 (hamlet)
S38	0.26 (small farm)	0.26 (small farm)
S39	Small (<0.4) (small farm)	-
S40	0.3 (small farm)	0.3 (small farm)
S41	0.25 (small farm)	-
S42	0.04 (small farm)	-
S44	2.16 (hamlet)	0.5 (large farm – small hamlet)
S47	0.7 (small hamlet)	-
S48	0.75 (hamlet)	0.17 (small farm)
S55	1.27 (hamlet)	1.0 (hamlet)
S61	0.3 (small farm)	-
S62	0.5 (large farm)	0.5 (large farm)
S63	0.13 (small farm)	-
S64	1.19 (hamlet)	0.5 (large farm)
S65	4.25 (village)	3.1 (hamlet)
S67	2.71 (hamlet)	1.7 (hamlet)
S68	1.5 (hamlet)	1.3 (hamlet)
S69	0.4 (small farm)	0.4 (small farm)
S70	0.97 (hamlet)	0.65 (small hamlet)
S71	0.3 (small farm)	-
S72	0.1 (small farm)	-
S73	0.1(small farm)	-
S75	0.55 (large farm)	-
S76	0.1 (small farm)	-
S77	0.15 (small farm)	-
S78	0.4 (small farm)	0.4
S79	0.3 (small farm)	-
S80	0.73 (hamlet)	0.2 (small farm)
S81	1.5 (small – related to quarry)	1.5 (small – related to quarry)
S84	Small (<0.4) (small farm?)	-
S86	0.5 (large farm)	0.5 (large farm)
S87	1.0 (hamlet)	0.4 (small farm)
S91	0.1 (small farm)	0.1 (small farm)
S93	0.1 (small farm)	-
S95	0.2 (small farm)	-
S96	0.1 (small farm)	-

Table 11.1: Settlement site evolution from the Greco-Roman to the Late Roman times.

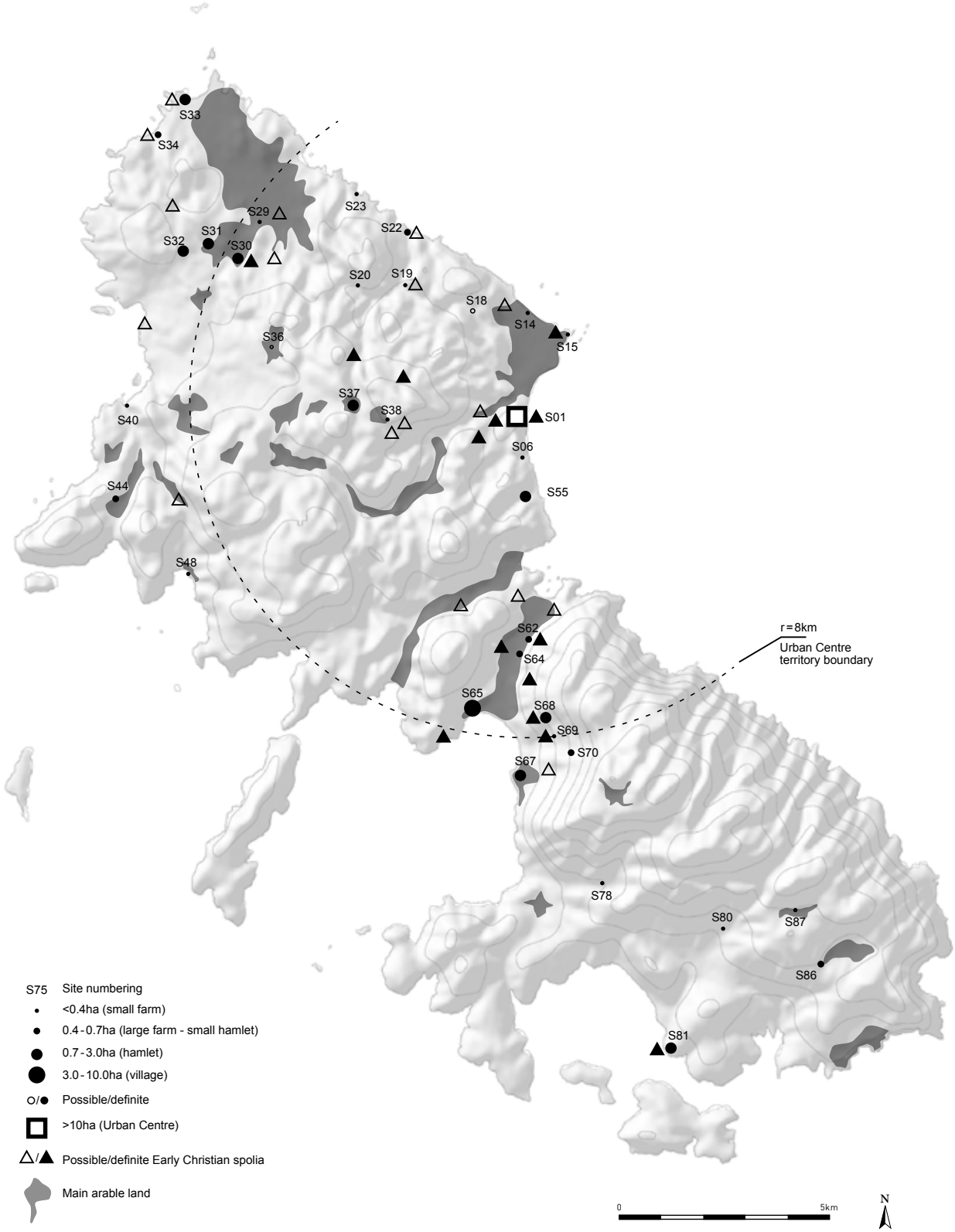


Fig. 11.1: Map showing the Late Roman settlements sites of the island and the distribution of the Early Christian *spolia*, against the main arable land.

the majority of Greek surveys, after the apex of the countryside during the Classical epoch, attest a drop during the Late Hellenistic and Early Roman period (*c*. 200 BC - 300 AD), followed by a noticeable recovery during the Late Roman times (for a review see Alcock 1993, 33-40).[4] Although it is difficult to prove this for Skyros, my empirical experience suggests a similar scenario.

In any case, no significant shift of settlement pattern was detected for the Late Roman settlement sites. On the contrary, almost all of them are located on previous Greco-Roman settlements. Only two sites are identified in new locations. 21 sites maintain the same size as that of the Greco-Roman period, 11 are active but shrunk, while 18 are abandoned during the Late Roman period. The most striking difference occurred at the south part of the island, where a series of farms disappeared from the map. Equally significant change is identified at the west part of the island, the area of Oros cape. From the numerous Greco-Roman farms and tower-farms scattered on the several plateaux, only S40 and S44 maintain their position.

Slump on a lesser scale occurred in the valley of Kalikri, where the farms of the north end of the valley disappear. However, the south and more important sites around the bay of Kalamitsa maintain their status, apparently due to the great agricultural potential of the land close to the south springs and close to the harbour.

Regarding the Greco-Roman urban centre of Skyros (S01), although the only archaeological evidence pointing to the Late Roman period are the Early Christian *spolia* scattered in several churches, we have no reason to believe that the urban centre stopped playing the same role as before, especially when no evidence is available showing the rise of a new dynamic centre. On the contrary, the two Greco-Roman villages (S33 and S65) shrank to hamlets during this period.

The only 'socially elevated' identified site is S29 at the large valley of Trachi, at the north part of the island. The only data available come from an old rescue excavation (see Appendix A), but the bath recovered there suggests a possible villa. The rest of the sites have to be interpreted as farms or slightly larger installations, which in any case would be bound to the land. Like in the Greco-Roman period, the focal points of the majority of the sites during the Late Roman period were the three fertile valleys of Trachi, Kambos and Kalikri.

Concerning the permanent or seasonal character of the settlement sites, the only criterion available is the functional analysis of the finds, divided across three categories: table wares, kitchen wares and transport/storage vessels (mainly amphorae). It is generally accepted that the more representative among the three functional categories is exhibited by the pottery assemblage, the more likely that the represented site had a permanent residential character. Regarding the extensively surveyed sites, during the grab sample collection, special attention was paid to targeted sampling which would include, wherever possible, all three functional categories. In the majority of the sites this has been more or less achieved, thus indicating that the majority of the sites were inhabited permanently or semi-permanently.

The picture becomes clearer when we examine the 14 intensively surveyed sites containing Late Roman material. From the 14 sites, eight have finds from all the three functional categories, while the remaining six contain ceramics belonging to only two functional categories (Fig. 11.2).

It is logical that the pottery quantities among the functional categories are not equilibrated. The major ceramic vessel of the period, the amphora, dominates, while the table wares and kitchen wares are significantly less represented. In any case these results are normal, in accordance with the rest of the Greek archaeological surveys regarding this period. Moreover, in the majority of the sites there is a consistent analogy among the three functional categories, something that implies that this is the surface archaeological figure representative of residential rural sites. It is only with difficultly that we could conceive of the imported fine wares (which are the majority of the table wares found at the sites), belonging to installations of a seasonal character.

The strikingly higher number of artefacts recovered in S33, is indicative of the special role the site held already since Greco-Roman times. In fact, although shrunk in size during the Late Roman period, the site maintained a relatively intense human

4 However, these ups and downs have been recently criticised as results partially of a bias effect, caused by the high diagnosticity that the Classical and Late Roman finds offer to the surveyors, by contrast to the relatively undiagnostic Late Hellenistic – Early Roman ones (Pettegrew 2007). This argument reminds us the 'shiny' and 'dark age' phenomenon occurred between the Late Roman and Early Byzantine periods.

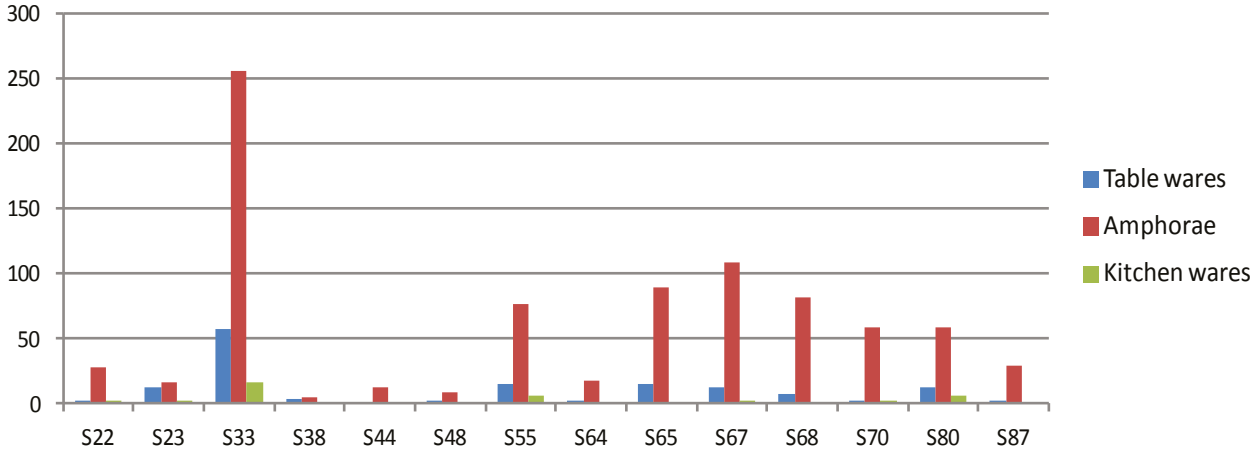


Fig. 11.2: Distribution of Table wares, Amphorae and Kitchen wares in the 14 intensively surveyed sites with material dated between the 4th and 7th c.

activity. Accordingly, the rich material (especially amphorae) of S65 and S67, located at the entrance of Kalamitsa bay probably is related to the harbour activities at the sites, apparent since the Greco-Roman period. Interestingly, although S67 is more or less half in size in comparison to S65, it presents a richer recovery of amphora and kitchen wares.[5]

11.3 PER CENTURY SPECULATION

Analysing the sites on the basis of the more precisely dated finds (in a single century or in overlaps ranging from two to maximum three centuries), we have a more objective figure of the 'ups' and 'downs' that the island underwent from the 4th to the mid 9th c. From this exercise we notice that the pinnacle of the sites' presence falls in the 5th but mainly in the 6th and 7th c. (Fig. 11.3). The 4th is significantly weaker, while the 'dark' 8th and 9th c. abruptly fall in comparison to the fecundity that the 7th century presents.

Furthermore, by examining the number of the finds in order to avoid misleading affects caused by the previous exercise,[6] we note that the aforementioned phenomenon is even more increased (Fig. 11.4).

In fact, the 4th c. is barely attested by less than ten overlapping sherds dated to the 4th - 5th c. Like in the per century site distribution, here again the apex of the finds occurred in the 5th and mainly in the 6th and 7th c. Actually the quantitative difference between the core 6th and 7th c. in comparison to the previous and successive centuries is even sharper. Quite interesting is the dive in find number occurring from the 7th to the 8th c.

Putting these data on the map I can shape the settlement pattern of the island per century (Fig. 11.5). Dynamic sites with intense human activity since the Greco-Roman have the longest duration. No specific geographical preference-pattern of the sites can be dictated per century.

Regarding the 8th-9th centuries especially, although their finds consist solely of amphorae and thus only with difficulty could be used to indicate a definite permanent occupation, their presence in four sites with strong 7th c. evidence, indicate a human activity on these four sites in the Early Byzantine period as well. Furthermore, if these finds are possibly related to permanent settlements, then the 'flight to the mountains' pattern, usually suggested for Early Byzantine Aegean, was not prevalent in this case, as three of the four possible Early Byzantine sites are coastal.

The transition from the 7th to the 8th c. merits some further summarizing comment. The striking slump observed between these two centuries, is un-

5 However, the relatively low find recovery of S65 could be explained by special biasing survey phenomena (see Appendix B, S65).

6 For example the 4th c. finds are few, but distributed across many sites augment (artificially) the number of sites with relevant evidence. I remind here that the definite 'Late Roman' sites have been identified as such not only on the grounds of the few precisely dated finds but with the assistance of the vaguely dated 'Late Roman', which actually were the bulk of the relative finds.

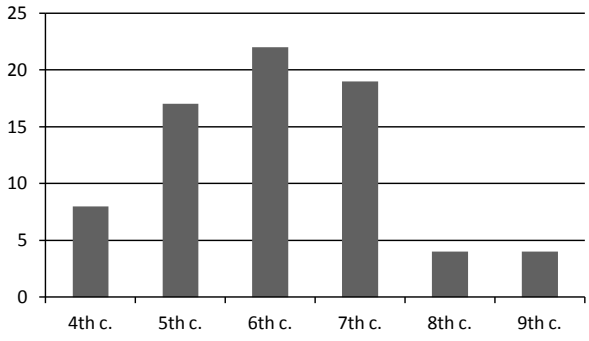


Fig. 11.3: Number of sites per century, based on finds dated in a single century or in overlaps of 2-3 centuries.

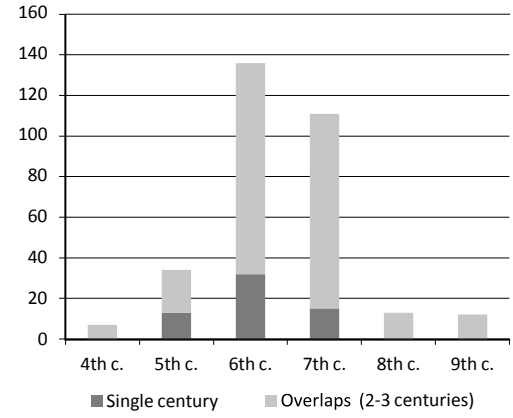


Fig. 11.4: Number of finds dated in a single century or in overlaps of 2-3 centuries.

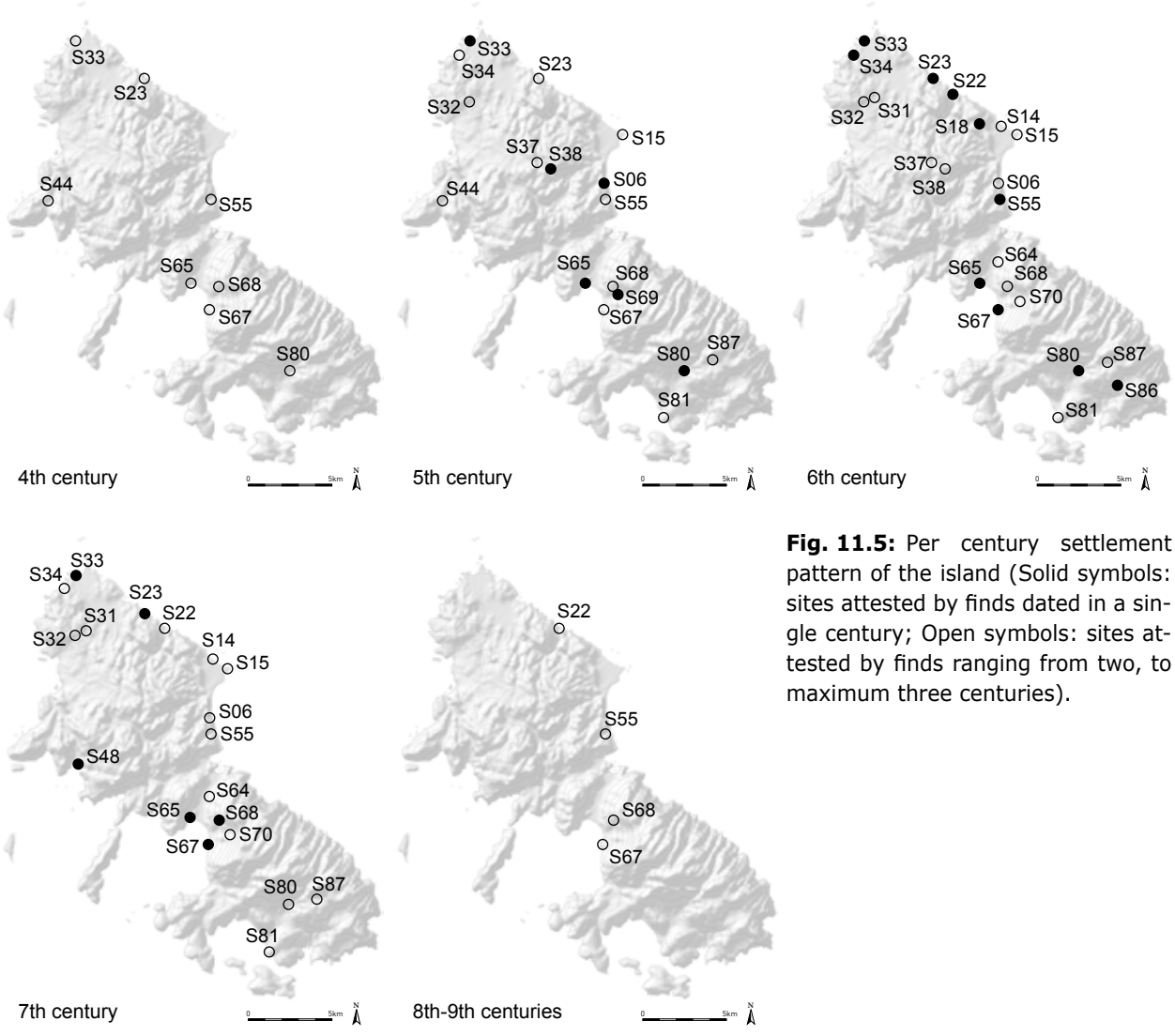


Fig. 11.5: Per century settlement pattern of the island (Solid symbols: sites attested by finds dated in a single century; Open symbols: sites attested by finds ranging from two, to maximum three centuries).

likely to represent the real situation. The chronological analysis of the sites and finds presented above indicates a thriving picture during the 7th c. Similarly the African and Phocaean Red Slip Wares imports on the island reach their peak during the 6th and 7th c. (Fig. 11.6). Such a slump could be explained only by population demise, which apparently is not the case. By contrast, as mentioned above this must be interpreted as an archaeological inability to detect artefacts dated within the 8th and early 9th century. We can then assume that more than the four Early Byzantine sites identified are hidden in the Skyrian landscape. Naturally the best candidates are the primarily 7th c. sites, as the definite archaeological evidence of the 8th - 9th c. was detected in sites with strong 7th c. presence.

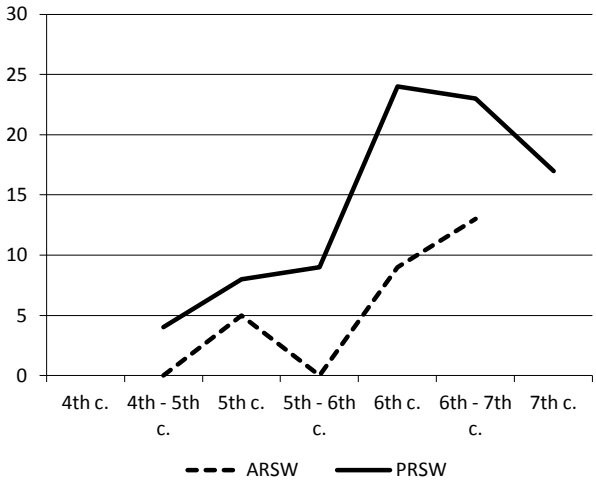


Fig. 11.6: Quantitative evolution of the ARSW and PRSW imports on Skyros, during the AD 4th to 7th c. (based on Hayes 1972 chronologies).

11.4 DOMESTIC MATERIAL CULTURE: POTTERY

(Note: The following discussion is based on an article in preparation by Philip Bes and me regarding the Late Roman pottery of Skyros (survey assemblage). The study of the material took place in three campaigns in September 2010, May 2011 and January 2013. The detailed typological and fabric analysis of the Skyrian material and its comparison with other assemblages presented below, is based on Philip Bes' expertise. The same applies for the frequent references to Late Roman ceramics of Boeotia, in the study of which Philip Bes is also involved in).

The volume of material presented below represents the volume of pottery imported to Skyros. The imported item could be the substance contained in these ceramic vessels (e.g. oil or wine transported in amphorae), or the ceramic vessels themselves (e.g. table wares, kitchen wares, or even empty amphorae for local exports or other uses). Local products, although they can be inferred, have not been securely identified (the earliest date for local pottery production identified by my macroscopic study is possibly the Late Byzantine period). In any case, it seems that Skyrian pottery demand during this period was almost totally met by imports.

The imported pottery apparently gives clues to direct or indirect connections between the island and the production centre of each pottery group. Moreover, it is widely known that major ports used to serve as large trade-stations for inter-regional markets, from which smaller, more isolated places like Skyros, obtained their goods. In this respect, the relation of Skyros with some pottery production centres must be conceived as indirect. On the other hand, the location of the island, in the centre of the Aegean and on the trade-route of North Africa-Constantinople and of the East-West coast of the Aegean Sea, makes it difficult to view the island as an 'isolated' place. In fact, its location could indeed facilitate a direct link between Skyros and several known production centres. (Table 11.2 and Table 11.3 gather the basic information about the two main categories of the pottery assemblage, namely the table wares and the amphorae).

11.4.1 Aegean imports

Phocaean Red Slip Ware/Late Roman C

As one could expect for an island located in the central Aegean, the Aegean Sea was the area in which Skyros sustained the most intense social and trade connections. In fact, the majority of the ceramic imports came from the Aegean. First of all, western Asia Minor (area of Phocaea, Pergamon, Gryneion, Sardis, Ephesos etc.) was the source of the main tableware identified on the island, namely the PRSW/

Class/Production	Form	Chronology	R	B	H	BS	Total	%	% Total
ARSW	Stamp 27 & 75 (Hayes 67)	400-450 (Hayes 1972)				1	1	0.60	17.37
	Hayes 69/70	400-450 (Hayes 1972)	1				1	0.60	
	Hayes 84	440-500 (Hayes 1972)	1				1	0.60	
	Hayes 87A	450-500 (Hayes 1972); ? (Bonifay 2004, 173-5)	1				1	0.60	
	Hayes 61B/87A?	(Middle quarters of the) 5th century?	1				1	0.60	
	Hayes 91B/C	500-525 (Hayes 1972)	1				5	2.99	
	Hayes 99A/99A?	510-540 (Hayes 1972); 475-575 (Bonifay 2004)	2				2	1.20	
	Hayes 99C	560-620 (Hayes 1972); 575-700 (Bonifay 2004)	1				1	0.60	
	Hayes 99	510-620 (Hayes 1972); 475-700 (Bonifay 2004)		1			3	1.80	
	Hayes 104A	530-580 (Hayes 1972); 475-675 (Bonifay 2004)	2				2	1.20	
	Hayes 104C	550-625 (Hayes 1972); 525-675 (Bonifay 2004)	1				1	0.60	
	Hayes 104	530-625 (Hayes 1072); 475-675 (Bonifay 2004)		1			1	0.60	
	Hayes 105	580-660 (Hayes 1972); 575-650 (Bonifay 2004, ST57A), 575-670 (Bonifay 2004, ST57A-B)	4	2			6	3.59	
	Hayes 105/89-90	Late Roman?	1				1	0.60	
	Hayes 108/96?	6th-7th century?	1				1	0.60	
	Unidentified	-	2	3		2	1	0.60	
Phocaean LRC	Hayes 1A	375-425 (Hayes 1972)	2				2	1.20	60.48
	Hayes 1B	400-475 (Hayes 1972)	1				1	0.60	
	Hayes 1A/B	375-475 (Hayes 1972)	1				1	0.60	
	Hayes 2A	370-425 (Hayes 1972)	1				1	0.60	
	Hayes 3B/C	425-500 (Hayes 1972)	1				1	0.60	
	Hayes 3C	425-500 (Hayes 1972)	4				4	2.40	
	Hayes 3C/E	425-525 (Hayes 1972)	1				1	0.60	
	Hayes 3D/E	475-525 (Hayes 1972)	1				1	0.60	
	Hayes 3E	475-525 (Hayes 1972)	4				4	2.40	
	Hayes 3E/F	475-550 (Hayes 1972)	2				2	1.20	
	Hayes 3F	500-550 (Hayes 1972)	16				16	9.58	
	Hayes 3F/H	500-600 (Hayes 1972)	3				3	1.80	
	Hayes 3H	525-600 (Hayes 1972)	4				4	2.40	
	Hayes 3F-10A	Mid- to late 6th century?	1				1	0.60	
	Hayes 3H/10A	525-625 (Hayes 1972)	2				2	1.20	
	Hayes 4	425-450 (Hayes 1972)	1				1	0.60	
	Hayes 10A	575-625 (Hayes 1972)	14				14	8.38	
	Hayes 10B	575-625 (Hayes 1972)	2				2	1.20	
	Hayes 10A/B	575-625 (Hayes 1972)	1				1	0.60	
	Hayes 10B/C	575-675 (Hayes 1972)	4				4	2.40	
	Hayes 10C	600-675 (Hayes 1972)	15	2			17	10.18	
	Motif 66/67	440-580 (Hayes 1972)				1	1	0.60	
	Motif 70	450-475 (Hayes 1972)				1	1	0.60	
	Unknown	ca. 350-675/700		15		1	16	9.58	
LRC	-	ca. 350-675/700	1	1			2	1.20	1.20
Çandarlı Ware/PRSW	-	Roman imperial		2		1	3	1.80	1.80
Athenian Painted Ware	Bowl	c. 250-400/425	1				1	0.60	0.60
Eastern Aegean?	-	Late Roman?	1				1	0.60	0.60
LR2-related (FABS 7, 8B, 8D)	Jug/Basin	(Mostly) 5th century?	1	2	1	2	6	3.59	3.59
Plain Ware Jugs	Jugs	Late 6th-late 7th (Vroom 2005, 44-5, fig. 7.2)		2			2	1.20	1.20
Unidentified	-	-	12	7		3	22	13.17	13.17
Total	**-**	**-**	**116**	**38**	**1**	**12**	**167**	**100.00**	**100.00**

Table 11.2: Attested table wares of the Late Antique period of the island (c. 4th - 7th c.).

Production	Type/Class	Chronology	R	B	H	BS	Total	%	% Total
Aegean	LRA 2	Late 4th-first half 7th (Pieri 2005, 86-89, also on 4th-century predecessors); Early 4th-7th (Southampton)	30	2	81	556	669	70.13	76.00
	LRA 3	Mid- 4th to early 7th (Pieri 2005, 95-99); Late 4th-late 6th (into 7th)? (Southampton)			5	3	8	0.84	
	Samian?	Late Roman? (Pieri 2005, on LRA 2, 3 and 8)			4	18	22	2.31	
	Samian?/LRA 3?	Late Roman? (Pieri 2005, on LRA 2, 3 and 8)			1	9	10	1.05	
	Agora M237/Samos Cistern Type	Late 3rd-7th (Pieri 2005, 133, 135); 4th to 5th (M237; Southampton), 6th to 7th (Cistern Type; Southampton)				2	2	0.21	
	Cretan?	Mid- to Late Roman?			1		1	0.10	
	Saraçhane 35?	Late 7th - early 9th (Hayes 1992, 71; Vroom 2005, 61)			2		2	0.21	
	Saraçhane 44?	Late 7th - early 9th (Hayes 1992, 71; Vroom 2005, 61)			1		1	0.10	
	Unidentified Globular amphorae	Late 7th - early 9th (Vroom 2005, 61)			10		10	1.05	
African & Tripolitanian	Spatheion (?) (incl. 1 possible Nabeul)	Late 4th-7th (Bonifay 2004, 474); Late 4th-late 7th (-early 8th?) (Southampton)			2	3	5	0.52	4.30
	Africana Grande?	Mid-2nd to 4th (Bonifay 2004, 474); 2nd into early 4th? (Southampton)			1	1	2	0.21	
	Africana IIIC/Keay 25.2?	5th (Southampton; Bonifay pers. comm.)	1				1	0.10	
	Keay 34?	Late 6th-7th (Bonifay 2004, 475); (5th-)6th to 7th (Southampton)	1				1	0.10	
	Keay 36B?	(Late 4th-) 5th (Southampton; Bonifay pers. comm.), possibly into the 6th (Keay 1984, 245)	2				2	0.21	
	Keay 56/57 (Nabeul)	Second half 5th-first third 6th (Bonifay, pers. comm.)				1	1	0.10	
	Keay 61A (Tripolitanian?)	7th (Bonifay 2004, 474); Mid-5th to 7th (Southampton)			1		1	0.10	
	Unidentified	-			3	25	28	2.94	
Eastern Mediterranean	LRA 1	Late 4th to late 7th (Pieri 2005, 71); (Mid-)4th to late 7th (Southampton)	3		10	23	36	3.77	4.51
	LRA 4	4th-late 7th/early 8th (Pieri 2005, 111); 4th to 7th (Southampton)			1	1	2	0.21	
	LRA 7?	late 4th-8th (Pieri 2005, 131); Late 4th to 7th/8th (Southampton)				1	1	0.10	
	Palestinian?	Late Roman?				1	1	0.10	
	Levantine?	Late Roman?				3	3	0.31	
Black Sea /Aegean	Zeest 80	Late 2nd-3rd (Riley 1979, 188); 1st to 6th (Southampton)			4	28	32	3.35	3.46
	Knossos 39	Mid-2nd (and on?) (Hayes 1983, 166)	1				1	0.10	
Unidentified	-	-			15	109	124	13.00	13.00
Total	**-**	**-**	**38**	**2**	**142**	**784**	**966**	**101.26**	**101.26**

Table 11.3: Attested amphorae of the Late Antique - Early Middle Ages of the island (c. 4th - mid 9th c.).

LRC; nearly all in fact originate in the Phocaea workshops.[7] No less than 101 fragments of this category were found during the survey (*c*. 60.5% of the tableware count; with 85 fragments identified typologically). This makes PRSW/LRC about 3.5 times more common on Skyros than its main competitor, namely ARSW (see Table 11.2 and Fig. 11.6).

The presence of PRSW/LRC on Skyros is continuous typo-chronologically (Fig. 11.9). Earlier forms of Hayes' typological repertoire are not very common, which conforms well to broader trends: outside the Aegean, Hayes forms 1 (*c.* 375-475) and 2 (*c.* 350-425) did reach distant destinations, including sites in the Levant, yet this distribution pattern was quantitatively thin (Hayes 1972, 459-60, compare maps 14 and 15). The wide variety of keeled rims of Hayes form 3, and the difficulty of unambiguously applying Hayes' classification as such, is reflected by identifications such as form 3B/C, 3D/E etc. The common presence of Hayes form 3F matches that seen elsewhere, and is indicative of the prominence of PRSW/LRC in 6th-century distribution patterns throughout the Mediterranean. The two stamped crosses found, Hayes motifs 66/67 and 70 are also not uncommon (Hayes 1972, Motif 66 (*c.* 470-580) or 67 (*c.* 475-525): 363, 365, fig. 78; Motif 70 (*c.* 475-525): 365, figs. 78-79).

Moreover, Hayes form 10 is very popular (38 out of a total of 80 rims), particularly Hayes form 10C (17 specimens), that represent the last stage of the distribution of PRSW/LRC. This dominance of the latest forms of PRSW/LRC over the handful or so of latest ARSW forms sets Skyros apart from, for instance, the patterns observed in central and southern Greece. There, from *c.* AD 550 onwards, PRSW/LRC still arrived at many sites but it was ARSW that regained the first place on the consumer market for imported quality tablewares.[8] This is thought to generally reflect the axis Africa Proconsularis-Constantinople which came about following the foundation of the latter as the 'new' Rome in 330, and which was revitalised after the Byzantine reconquest under Justinian (see below).

Furthermore, three fragments (1.8% of the RBHS table- and plain ware count) could be attributed to either Phocaean LRC or Çandarlı Ware. This reflects Hayes' original observation that, at least macroscopically, the distinction between these two wares cannot always be made, especially with undiagnostic fragments or certain ring bases (Hayes 1972, 369). Finally, a single tableware fragment with a highly micaceous fabric that recalls Eastern Sigillata B or Late Roman Amphora 3, was tentatively attributed to an eastern Aegean source (Ladstätter & Sauer 2005).

Athenian White-Painted Ware

Apart from western Asia Minor, sporadic tableware imports from the other side of the Aegean used to reach the island as well, namely Attica. This is represented by a single, particularly nice fragment collected, decorated with concentric circles and curving lines, applied with whitish paint. The fragment probably belongs to the so-called *Athenian White-Painted Ware*, dated from the second half of the 3rd c. until the early 5th c. AD (Hayes 1972, 407-8; Reynolds 2004, 225 and 247, fig. 13.17) (Fig. 11.9.10).

Unidentified table-wares probably of Aegean origin

Moreover, two small unidentified but characteristic groups of tableware fragments should probably be of Aegean origin: the first group consists of 22 fragments in total (13.17% of the tableware count), tentatively classified as Late Roman (Fig. 11.10). This classification mostly stems from shape and decoration, features that both connect well with contemporary wares (body and base sherds are subsequently attributed by fabric). Most of these fragments share a fabric that is very fine and compact, light brown in colour and hard-fired. Most are manufactured with care, displaying sharp profiles, although the battered surface of one piece suggests it was not very well fired (Fig. 11.10.1). Actually, the fabric, finish and shape of this fragment bears close resemblance to a group of fragments identified among the survey pottery from Tanagra in Boeotia that, in turn, recalls features of Egyptian Red Slip Ware A (Hayes 1972, 387-8). If this is true it is obvious that the given fragment does not belong to this (probably) Aegean group of uniden-

7 Over the past years it has become increasingly clear that PRSW/LRC was not only manufactured at Phocaea (modern-day Foça in western Turkey), but that several other centres in western Turkey were producing morphologically similar table-wares, such as those mentioned above (Vaag 2005; Ladstätter & Sauer 2005; Rautman 1995).

8 Among the unpublished finds from the Boeotia Survey, studied by Philip Bes and Jeroen Poblome, thus far no PRSW/LRC Form 10 has been identified, whereas late forms of ARSW (e.g. 105) are quite common, particularly at Tanagra in eastern Boeotia. For the reasons behind this differentiation between Skyros and Mainland Greece see below, 11.4.4.

tified table wares. This group further contains basins or deep, straight-sided bowls, as well as a single fragment of a closed vessel with a partly combed surface. Argos, Antikythera and perhaps Ephesos are among the probable findspots and provide a further contextualisation for this particular class of Late Roman tableware.[9]

The second unidentified but probably Aegean group consist of six fragments (3.6% of the RBHS tableware count) of jugs and basins that link up rather well with a common LRA 2-fabric. Last, two fragments (1.2% of the RBHS tableware count) are tentatively attributed to a class of small jugs, termed 'Plain Ware (small unglazed jug)' by Vroom (2005, 44-45, fig. 7.2).

Cooking Wares (Fig. 11.11)

In the course of the survey a total of 50 fragments was collected that, based on fabric and/or morphology, could be attributed to cooking wares. Forty-eight fragments belong to closed cooking vessels, two fragments could be identified as lids. Generally, with regard to fabric and/or shape this group does not immediately betray features that suggest a non-Roman chronology, yet the dating of the fifteen body fragments should remain tentative. The remainder (rims, handles) is more confidently attributed to the Mid- and/or Late Roman periods, even if their fragmentation does not allow us to reliably take this further.

The fragments show a wide variety in macroscopic fabric composition, which suggests a fairly broad range of sources and possibly rules out a local production of cooking wares during this period. Regrettably, only one fragment came in an identifiable fabric. It belongs to a group of cooking wares in (a) highly micaceous fabric(s) whose source is presumably to be sought in western Turkey. At Corinth, this ware was coined LR *micaceous Aegean ware* (Slane & Sanders 2005, 255-6, n. 21), and it is a rather common appearance in central Greece during the Late Roman period (Bes forthcoming).

Late Roman Amphorae 2

Aside from the table wares, the Aegean was undoubtedly the main source for the transport/storage vessels found on the island as well. Particularly LRA 2 dominates the picture accounting for 70 % of the amphorae remains found (Fig. 11.12). Although the undisputed prevalence of this amphora in the Late Roman Aegean, its impressive dominance in the Aegean landscape, as well as in our case on Skyros, is also enhanced by a survey biasing effect, namely its easy diagnosticity in the field due to its characteristic combing (see Pettegrew 2007). Actually the different styles of combing on the shoulder appear to be chronologically significant, even if this is not undisputed (Karagiorgou 2001). Horizontal combing is associated with Pieri's LRA 2A in Gaul, dated to between the later 4th and the first quarter of the 6th c. (Pieri 2005, 86). Again in Gaul, from the mid-6th century onwards Pieri noted that wavy combing was frequent (thus not exclusive) on his LRA 2B (Pieri 2005, 88). Although still an open matter, here we follow this rough chronological guideline.

However, Slane and Sanders' comment that "[a] study of LR Amphora 2 is badly needed because the name has been applied indiscriminately to amphorae of varying sizes, shapes, and fabrics" and "[c] learly, considerably more caution needs to be used in identifying this type, both in the Aegean and in the west" (Slane & Sanders 2005, 286-7, n. 63), could well apply to (some) fragments from Skyros as well, especially since it concerns material collected from the surface. Small handle fragments or bodies without combing, for example, could indeed imply a typological differentiation. Moreover, the fabric-variation of Slane and Sanders' argument is also attested on the island, as six fabric groups were identified here through our macroscopic analysis (FABS 7-12 of Appendix B). This variation could indeed imply not only different production centres of LRA 2, but actually different types of amphorae as well.

FAB 7 probably matches the 'classic' lime-and-mica fabric (Slane & Sanders 2005, 287, n. 65; Pieri 2005, 92). FAB 8 actually consists of four sub-fabrics, FAB 8A-D, and with circa two-thirds these make up the majority of the Skyrian group. These four sub-fabrics resemble one another quite closely in granulation as well as the presence of small to tiny grit and lime. However, the reason for making the dis-

9 Aupert 1980, 416 and 418, nos. 124-6, fig. 35; Quercia *et al.* 2011, 57, 70-1, no. 28, fig. 4 (?); Ladstätter 2010, 102; Ladstätter & High 2010, 171, K 783, Tafel 217, there termed "Mäandertalsigillata" and apparently exclusively of 7th-century date, which as such could very well fit the latest ARSW and PRSW here. The fabric, however, of the Skyros fragments does not favour an Ephesian/Maeander Valley provenance.

tinction is the small/tiny, flat shiny inclusions (mica), which ranges from 'common' (FAB 8A) to mica-dusted (FAB 8D). FAB 9 through 12 are not particularly common; FAB 10 might be similar to Reynolds' LRA 2E (2004, 232). Worth mentioning is FAB 11, under which several fragments are grouped that bear very close resemblance to the orange and purple colour of Kapitän II, but lacks the coarse- and grittiness that is generally observed on the latter.

Late Roman Amphora 3/Samian?

Further attested, though merely a token presence, are two fragments of the generic class of Agora M237/ Samos Cistern Type. Slightly more common is LRA 3 (eight fragments), and a related group, thought to originate from Samos or its region (32 fragments; identified mainly on the grounds of Reynolds' fabric description 2004a, 233).

In more detail, 22 fragments have been tentatively classified as Samian. However, none of these fragments exactly matches Reynolds' description. A number of our fragments contains some very fine lime(stone) and a few have one or two large flakes on their surface of what has the appearance of (micaceous) schist. Also, different styles of ribbing were noted in our group. The colour range is not strictly red-brown, but may vary towards more light and orange hues, in fact not unlike light-coloured variants of the Samos Cistern Type (Pieri 2005, 132). Still, most do not possess the very typical soapy feeling of the 'classic' LRA 3, nor the colour range particular to that class. A few pieces appear slightly overfired, exposing a smooth, slightly shiny, compact surface. The considerable variation here discussed, strongly suggests that their identification as 'Samian' remains tentative. Yet, ten fragments diverge from the above, and do possess the more soapy texture of LRA 3. These also never attain the colour range of LRA 3; a tentative identification as 'Samian/LRA 3' is proposed.

Early Byzantine Globular Amphora

Thirteen handle fragments are tentatively identified belonging to a post-LR 2 amphora group (post 7th c. AD), generally referred as Early Byzantine globular amphorae (Vroom 2005, 60-1; Wickham 2005, 785) (Fig. 11.13). This broad category includes several types of vessels produced probably in the Aegean (Poulou-Papadimitriou 2001, 245-6; Arthur 1998, 169). The best typological representation is provided by the excavations at Saraçhane in Istanbul (Hayes 1992, amphorae 29, 32-42). Actually two fragments from Skyros resemble the Saraçhane 35 type, while one appears to be very close to Saraçhane 44. Four fabric groups have been distinguished macroscopically in the Skyrian assemblage, indicative of the different types/production centres which this generic amphora category includes (FABS 29-32 of Appendix B).

Furthermore, bearing in mind the aforementioned warning of Slane and Sanders for LRA 2, and the fact that the Skyrian assemblage concerns material collected from the surface, nobody could actually deny that some of the body fragments, here postulated as LRA 2, could actually belong to the similar globular amphorae dated after the second half/end of the 7th c. into the 8th c. AD.

11.4.2 Black Sea/Aegean imports

Amphora Zeest 80 (Fig. 11.14)

Possible connections of the island with the Black Sea region are attested with the identification of 33 fragments of Zeest 80, a large, globular amphora with robust, ridged handles and rather coarse fabric.[10] The manufacturing origin(s) of Zeest 80 has/have not been determined yet, and for this reason we prefer to put both its supposed areas of origin. The first one, the (northern) Black Sea is supported by Reynolds, on the grounds of the fabric association of the Zeest 80 with the Kapitän II (Reynolds 2010, 90). Others disagree, however, suggesting an Aegean (Bezeczky 2013, 149-50), or an even more generic eastern Mediterranean source. Additionally, this type's date range is also not yet clearly determined but does appear to extend into the Late Roman period.

Three fabrics were discerned macroscopically, which again only laboratory analyses can negate or confirm (FABS 17-19 of Appendix B): most common is the sandy, gritty fabric (FAB 17), orange-brown in colour, with abundant inclusions. The handles in this fabric usually have a grey core, a feature also noted

10 The term 'globular' used here has nothing to do with the Early Byzantine globular amphorae mentioned above.

at Tanagra and Hyettos (Boeotia) (Bes forthcoming). The other two fabrics in which this amphora type occurs mostly show the same range of inclusions as the first, yet FAB 18 appears to lack mica. Also, the amount of inclusions in FAB 18 and 19 is higher, as far as the naked eye allows observing this with such generally coarse fabrics. Possibly, all three fabrics derive from the same general source area, wherever that may be, with (minor) observable differences explained by a different compositional development and/or the adding of temper by the potter.

11.4.3 Eastern Mediterranean imports (Fig. 11.15)

Late Roman Amphora 1

The eastern Mediterranean imports are much less attested than the Aegean ones. Of the amphora fragments, some 43 (4.5% of the amphorae count), originate from the Levantine coast, Egypt and Cilicia. Among these, LRA 1 is the most common, with 36 fragments. LRA 1 was in fact produced at a number of places: in Cilicia, on Cyprus and further west along Turkey's southern coast (e.g. Kos; Poulou-Papadimitriou & Didioumi 2010), and was the commonest transport vessel of Late Antiquity, reaching also many sites in the western Mediterranean, even up to southwest Britain (Pieri 2007, 612). In fact, the regional dispersion of the manufacture of LRA 1 is possibly reflected among the, admittedly, very small collection from Skyros: six fabrics could be identified macroscopically (FABS 1-6 of Appendix C). Despite the fact that understanding of its typo-chronological development is growing, in light of the fragmentary state of the evidence presented here no attempt was made to morphologically sub-classify the LRA 1 fragments.

Late Roman Amphora 4/Levantine-Palestinian amphorae/ Late Roman Amphora 7

Palestinian amphorae are also rather common in a Mediterranean-wide distribution. Two LRA 4 fragments are identified among the collected pottery (Pieri 2005, 101-14). This amphora was manufactured at a number of sites in southern Israel, being traditionally associated with Gaza and its hinterland.

A single fragment is possibly a Late Roman amphora from Egypt, identified as LRA 7. Egyptian amphorae of Late Roman date are uncommon outside of Egypt, though examples did even reach Britain during this period (Pieri 2005, 128-32). In any case, the aforementioned table ware fragment of possible Egyptian origin enhances slightly that country's contribution to the islands' imports (see above). Finally, a further four amphora fragments are tentatively considered to have a generic Levantine-Palestinian origin.

11.4.4 African imports

African Red Slip Ware

Approximately one-third of the total amount of the table-wares is taken up by products originating from Africa Proconsularis - Tripolitania, making the region the second highest producer of fine tableware found on Skyros, after the dominant PRSW/LRC (see Table 11.2 and Fig. 11.6). Twenty-nine fragments of ARSW were identified, mostly in D-fabric(s); 22 of which could be identified typologically. Almost all typological identifications (Hayes forms 67, 84, 87A, 91, 99, 104 and 105) are commonly attested at Late Roman sites elsewhere (Hayes 1972, Bonifay 2004) (Fig. 11.16).

A gradual reduction in African tableware imports occurred towards the middle/end of the 5th c., after which they regained ground around the early 6th c., the century in which import of African tablewares reached its peak (Bes & Poblome 2009) (Fig. 11.6). This trend possibly reflects the severed connections between the Byzantine heartland and North Africa after the Vandal conquest and their revitalisation after the Byzantine re-conquest under Justinian.

As for the general quantitative underrepresentation of ARSW in comparison to PRSW/LRC, this supports Abadie-Reynal, suggesting the former to be connected with a long-distance route Africa Proconsularis-Constantinople, including only the major ports, while PRSW/LRC is more of a local commercial good, circulating from harbour to harbour, including of course the capital (Abadie-Reynal 1989). This could explain the wide distribution of ARSW at sites close to major ports (e.g. Methana or Boeotia close to Corinth; Bowden & Gill 1997, 89), and the (more)

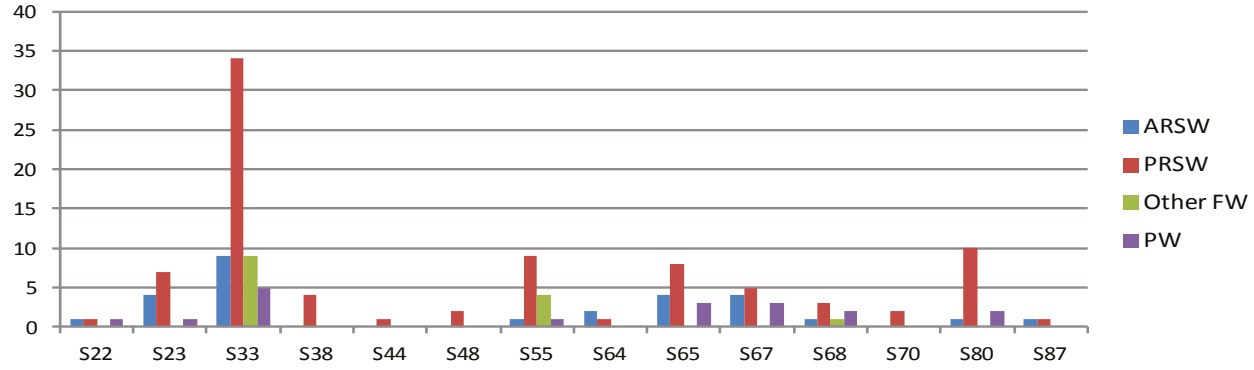


Fig. 11.7: Distribution of the Tableware groups on the 14 intensively surveyed sites with LR material.

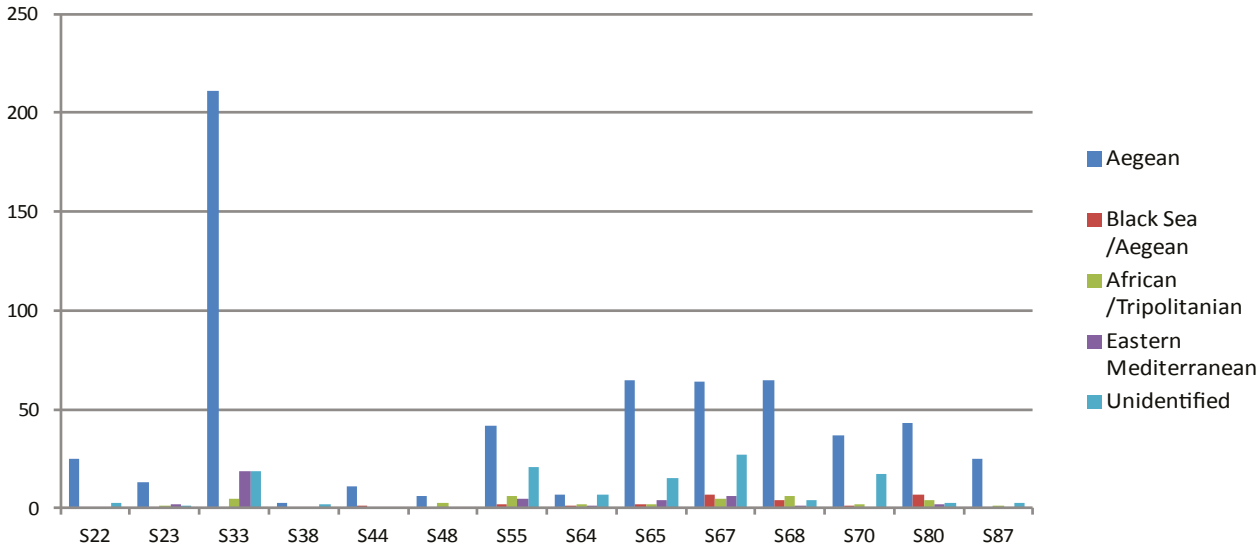


Fig. 11.8: Distribution of the Amphora groups on the 14 intensively surveyed sites with LR material.

limited distribution to places distant from them (e.g. Skyros or Antikythera; Quercia *et al.* 2011, 9, table 2).

African amphorae [11]

Apart from the table wares, North African imports are supplemented by 42 amphora fragments (4.4% of the amphorae RBHS count) (Fig. 11.17). These fragments share a number of general characteristics, including the saline-water finish that resulted in creamy, yellowish-whitish or greyish surfaces, and an orange, pinkish to brick-red colour range. Some fragments also bear the highly characteristic vertical tooling marks (*steccature*), where excess clay was cut away, leaving a (sometimes roughly) facetted surface. Though most share the features mentioned above, macroscopic differences allowed us to distinguish four fabrics in the field, mostly based on the amount and nature of the inclusions (FABS 13-16 of Appendix B). Also some considerable typological variety was noted within this relatively small yet significant group: several Keay-types (common types such as 34(?), 36(B), 61A and 62D) and a handful of spatheion fragments (several subtypes are probably represented).

11 Philip Bes and I are grateful to Michel Bonifay, who kindly offered his expertise in improving the (typological) identification of fabric and type within our group of African amphorae. However, options should be kept open since the identifications were made through available profile drawings and pictures.

11.4.5 Intra-regional distribution of ceramic patterns

The examination of the distribution patterns of the aforementioned pottery categories on the island, could offer a clearer view of the settlement sites' function and contribute to understanding of the island's intra-systemic relations. The two different survey systems applied (extensive, collecting grab-sample and intensive, with much more systematic and richer pottery collections), does not permit comparison of the data of all the sites as a whole. This exercise can be implemented using only the intensive survey sites as case studies. Moreover, this can be done using the most indicative tools for comparison, namely the groups of table wares and the groups of amphorae. In the first case, Fig. 11.7 shows the distribution of ARSW, PRSW/LRC, other Fine Table Wares, and Plain Table Wares on the 14 intensively surveyed sites with Late Roman material.

Apart from the quantitative differences, something which has primarily to do with the intensity of human activity at every site, the first observation we can make is the presence of PRSW/LRC at all sites. ARSW is second, being present at ten of the fourteen sites. Other Fine Table Wares have been found at only three other sites, while Plain Table Wares were attested at eight sites. No specific pattern can be detected in the tableware distribution, regardless of the geographical location of the sites (coastal or inland, north or south). The greater scarcity of other fine wares (besides PRSW/LRC and ARSW) and of plain wares, can be partially explained due to survey biasing effects, namely their more difficult diagnosticity against the 'glistening' PRSW/LRC and ARSW. The last two wares appear to have been distributed to all the residential sites upon their arrival to the island's ports. This is of great importance, as it attests that access to finewares had not only the elite but all social classes. This will change later (especially during the Ottoman and Early Modern periods) when, as we shall see below, finewares were concentrated only in the elite houses of the nucleated settlement of Chora.

A similar figure is presented by the amphora distribution (Fig. 11.8). Apart from the impressive dominance of Aegean amphorae, identified at all these sites, no specific pattern was detected in the other, longer-distance imports. Both the African and Eastern Mediterranean amphorae for example occurred at coastal and inland sites, if of course we can use the latter term for an island of 215 square kilometres. Actually this is the answer for the indifferent distribution patterns of the ceramics, and even if self-evident, this is the conclusion of the present exercise: once the imported pottery reached the island, it was easily distributed to almost all the sites. Perhaps in a larger island territory such as Crete or Peloponnese such patterns could be discernible, but in a small island like Skyros this was not the case.

11.5 OTHER MATERIAL EVIDENCE: THE EARLY CHRISTIAN ARCHITECTURAL SCULPTURES (Fig. 11.18a-b)

The Christianization of the island seems to have happened relatively early for the Greek territory. Already in the 4th c. the island appears to be a bishopric under the jurisdiction of the Metropolis of Corinth. Historical sources refer to bishop Eirenaios (*Ireneus ab Acaia de Sciro*), participating in the Ecclesiastical Synod of Serdica in 343 AD (Feder 1916, 138). However, the archaeological evidence for these Early Christian centuries of the island is sketchy. In contrast to other Aegean islands, Skyros does not have any definite Early Christian basilica, which is apparently the result of the lack of excavations. Only two possible Early Christian churches are recorded, the first in S33 supposedly replacing an ancient temple, and the second one in S48 (see Appendix A).

However, many more should exist, as attested by the numerous early Christian *spolia* scattered all over the island. The majority of them are incorporated in the masonries of Ottoman-Early Modern small countryside churches, or more often lie in their courtyards. Comparing the distances between the *spolia* and the Late Roman sites we can guess the locations from which the pieces (if not *in situ*), have been transferred. At least one basilica should exist in the area of the Kastro as attested by the numerous *spolia* built into the medieval fortification, or reused in the *katholikon* of the monastery of Ayios Georgios (Appendix C, C05) and the episcopal church of the 9th c. (Appendix C, C01). Especially in the last monument two early Christian closure posts have been reused as branches of the bishop's throne in the apse of the presbyterium (Fig. 11.18b.11), while a fold capital has been incorporated into the screen of the 9th c. church

(today at the church of Panayia Melikarou, see Appendix C, C39). A second identical fold capital lies in the courtyard of the monastery of Ayios Georgios, suggesting its common provenance with that of the church of Melikarou, from a monument inside the Kastro (Fig. 11.18a.7a-b)

Column bases, column and mullion capitals, imposts, doorframes, closure posts and rarely closure panels are the most commonly occurring Early Christian architectural pieces. The heavy whitewash covering the majority of them does not help making observations regarding the style and chronology. However, what can be determined from the diagnostic pieces is that, similar to the pottery, the majority of them belong to a relatively late date. A few pieces could be of the 5th c., but the majority of them are datable from the 6th c. onwards.

The material of the diagnostic pieces is usually white or grey marble (with at least one piece being Proconnesian)[12], or limestone. It was not possible to identify macroscopically whether the white-grey marble is local. However, definitely scarce is the occurrence of local polychrome marble (*breccia di settebasi*), except from several columns and bases (of Roman or Late Roman date). This must be explained not due to the hypothesised cessation of the stone-extraction during Late Antiquity (see Chapter 10.3), but because of its difficult workability in elaborate sculptures due to its vein heterogeneity. For the same reason the stone was rarely used in elaborate pieces even during Early Roman times, destined mainly for columns and investment/pavement plaques (Lazzarini 2007, 164). Moreover, in Late Antique times there was a general preference for the white-grey marbles/stones over the polychrome ones for elaborated architectural sculptures, for both practical (difficult workability) and aesthetic reasons (Orlandos 1954, 275).

The decorative motifs of the Skyrian pieces follow the trends of central and southern Greece: acanthi, free crosses, water-leaves, fleuron, vine sprouting leaves and grapes, fish scale and geometric patterns, etc. (see Sodini 1977). Likewise, it is in central and southern Greece where we should search for the workshops of the majority of the pieces found on Skyros, with a few exceptions. The decorative agenda, the quality of execution, in combination with the quality of the material, provide clues about the production centre of the pieces: central/interregional or local/regional. Of course there is always the question between the local/regional provenance or the later date for pieces less accurately executed. The piece of Proconnesian marble for example, with its good execution, attests to a central workshop, probably the island of Marmara itself (Fig. 11.18a.8). Similarly the provenance for a central workshop is suggested for the two-zone Corinthian and the two fold capitals (Fig. 11.18a.5, 7), or the doorframes with the vine sprouting leaves. More rural execution is represented by the two posts from Loutro (Fig. 11.18b.12), or the chancel panel (Fig. 11.18b.9). A special case is the Ionic capital from Kareflou (Fig. 11.18a.6), whose naive execution, definitely not of ancient times, probably has to do with a late date of the piece within the 7th or even the 8th c., connecting it with some 'dark age' groups of southern Greece, such as those of Tegea or Messene (Penna *et al.* 2008). Apparently it is not a coincidence that at the same site (S22) I identified pottery of 7th - 9th c. (see Chapter 8 and Appendices A, B, S22).

11.6 SUMMARY - CONCLUDING REMARKS

As a first general note that can be made about Skyros during the Late Antique-Early Middle Ages is the impression of a relatively thriving island during this period, which is attested in both the settlement pattern and material evidence. Upon a more thorough inspection, however, the flourishing situation identified by this research, is constrained primarily to the 6th-7th centuries and to a lesser extent, the 5th. The 4th century is slightly touched, while the 8th and early 9th are (as is commonly found in the Aegean archaeological record) 'dark'. Nevertheless, the intense activity that the island presents in the 6th and 7th centuries, implies a continuation of this flourishing(?) human activity on the island throughout the post-7th century period. Perhaps, a continuation on a lesser scale compared to the previous centuries, or in any case not so 'dark' as has been archaeologically detected, which was not detectable mainly due to the undiagnosticity of the relevant archaeological materials, an incapacity which generally characterises Aegean studies as a whole for this chronological period.

12 The identification of the stone as Proconnesian was done by L. Lazzarini whom I kindly thank.

Concerning the settlement pattern, no shift was detected in comparison to ancient times, as almost all of the Late Antique sites are placed on older Greco-Roman settlements. It was maintained that the ancient *Polis* centre most probably continued to be the chief settlement of the island, despite the insufficient archaeological evidence to support this conclusion, except from the Early Christian architectural *spolia* of Chora, belonging apparently to more than one Early Christian basilica. The continuation of the ancient *Polis* centre as the urban centre of Skyros was mainly assumed due to the lack of another dynamic centre identified in the countryside, which supposedly would have replaced the old chief settlement.

However, it is true that the majority of the archaeological evidence for this period come from the countryside. In fact the natural harbour of Kalamitsa seems to obtain from the Early Roman period onwards a key role for the island, destined to make the contact of Skyros with the outside world as easy as possible; in short it becomes the 'gateway town' of the island (Wagstaff & Cherry 1982, 250; Hirth 1978). Moreover, plenty of human installations were distributed in the countryside, functioning, as the plenty of ceramic imports attest, into a wide inter-systemic network. Finally, the intense human activity in the countryside is also confirmed by the numerous Early Christian *spolia* identified all over the island, belonging apparently to a significant number of churches.

This sharp difference between the scarce archaeological evidence of the town and the abundance of them in the countryside, must be firstly explained due to the continuous use of the town till today, which consequently does not permit the identification (by surface survey) of archaeological evidence for the ancient periods; in fact, even for the Classical period, if we exclude from the evidence the *Polis* centre fortifications, what remains is basically nothing. However, this different archaeological picture between town and countryside in Late Roman Skyros, could be also an indication of a different (in comparison to the Classical age), type of relation between the chief settlement and the countryside, according to which the countryside maintained its flourishing situation, while the town diminished in importance.

From the 1st century BC onwards the island lost its *Polis*-State status (even if subservient to Athens), and it was incorporated into the Roman Empire. After that time the new administrative point of reference of the island was now outside Skyros, resulting, as noted similarly for Keos, in the link between the old centre and the countryside to be broken (Cherry et al. 1991, 340). Concerning the Late Roman period in particular, urban decline and explosion of rural sites is a phenomenon generally attested in Greece. Many ancient Greek cities became during these times village-like and rural, with agoras taken over by industrial workshops, burials etc., and little sign of secular investment. Only the Christian church is an element of new construction (Bintliff 2012, 352, 360-3). On the contrary, the explosion of the rural sites is connected to the significant role which Greece acquires after the final fall of the Western part of the empire, the florescence of the Eastern Roman provinces, and the creation of the new capital of Constantinople, converting Greece into the heart of empire (Abadie-Reynal 1989). Great Eastern cities, such as Constantinople, Antioch and Alexandria, and the frontier armies, needed great amount of food and other materials, and thus the explosion of the rural sites in Greece is attributed to a great extent to commercial estates servicing these needs (Bintliff 2012, 352). This in its turn triggered the development of a wide trade network. The picture we have for Skyros in the Late Roman period seems probably to be in accordance with the aforementioned suggestions.

Let us now focus on the aforementioned wide trade network system of the Late Roman period (active at least until the end of the 7th century), and on the incorporation of Skyros into that network. As we saw above, the dominant archaeological evidence from this period on the island are the (imported) amphora fragments. This phenomenon is the norm in the Aegean. In fact, it is generally noted that in contrast to the ancient and medieval periods where the table wares play the first role in the archaeological record, in Late Roman times the amphora vessels dominate. This prevalence, although disputed as partially a survey biasing effect (Pettegrew 2007), was interpreted as result of the growth of the commercialised economy of the Roman Empire, where saleable rural surpluses required transport vessels for their distribution in the regional or interregional markets (Bintliff *et al.* 2007, 41; Abadie-Reynal 1989). The similar presence of plenty of imported amphorae on Skyros indicates of course the island's incorporation in this intense trade system. The imported amphorae were apparently used for the importation of foreign goods on the island, or

vice-versa for the exportation of local materials in the markets. In both cases the substance transported in those vessels can only be roughly estimated.

The production centres of the amphora vessels and the rest of the ceramic finds attested on the island indicate the trade connections of Skyros with the rest of the world. Skyros island, in the centre of the Aegean and on the trade-routes between North Africa-Constantinople and between the East-West coasts of the Aegean Sea, had developed direct or indirect connections with a multitude of sites from the central and eastern Mediterranean. The analysis of the ceramics showed that Aegean sites were the most prominent trading partners, followed by those of North Africa and Eastern Mediterranean, while a possible (indirect?) contact is suggested to Black Sea.

Furthermore, apart from the ceramics, the Early Christian architectural sculptures indicated the connection of the island with the largest centre of this craft at that period, namely the islet of Prokonessos in the Sea of Marmara. Moreover, the stylistical analysis of the decoration of these sculptures betrays an intense connection between the island and the workshops of central and southern Greece.

Comparing the aforementioned figure of the island of Skyros with three indicative Aegean frameworks compatible to Skyros, namely Keos, Methana and Antikythera, we see many similarities. The survey evidence of Northwest Keos suggests a thriving situation on the island during the Late Roman period (Cherry *et al.* 1991, 327 ff.). The settlement system of Keos during this period was characterised by a primary centre located at Ioulis, dispersed rural residences, and specialised harbour facilities possibly at Otzias (Cherry *et al.* 1991, 465-6, table 22.2). Moreover, although the statement of the survey directors that 'the finds of the 4th to 6th centuries are numerous' (Cherry *et al.* 1991, 344), more careful inspection of the chronological sequence of the most 'trustworthy' finds of that period in general, namely the Phocaean and African Red Slip Wares, does not coincides exactly with the aforementioned state: the 4th century is almost absent; the majority of the finds is found in the 5th and mainly 6th century, while 7th century forms of both wares are also noticeable (Cherry *et al.* 1991, 353-4, table 18.1). Furthermore, the quantitative distribution between these wares, with the Phocaean to be almost double in number than the African one, in combination with the predominance of the Late Roman Amphora 2 among the rest of the transport vessels, suggests that Keos had access to an 'Aegean-based' trading system similar to Skyros.

Late Roman Methana presents a similar picture (Bowden & Gill 1997, 84-91). The urban centre of Palaiokastro continued to be the largest site on the peninsula, connected to the harbour of Vathy, with a corresponding intensification of the countryside through small and medium-sized sites (Bowden & Gill 1997, 88). The archaeological data suggest that Methana flourished from the early 5th and through the 6th century, although the 7th century is also noticeably present (Bowden & Gill 1997, 90). The primacy of the African Red Slip Ware in comparison to its 'competitor' from western Turkey, indicates that Methana were involved in a different trading system than that Skyros and Keos were part of. As mentioned above, African Red Slip Ware was probably connected with a long-distance route Africa Proconsularis-Constantinople, including only the major ports, while the Phocaean Red Slip Ware is considered to have been more of a local commercial good, circulating from harbour to harbour, including of course the capital (Abadie-Reynal 1989). Methana, very close to one of the most important transhipment points of Peloponnese (Corinth), was apparently affected by this trade route.

The third example is the small island of Antikythera, situated along key shipping lanes, between the Peloponnese and Crete and between the Adriatic and Aegean Seas. Antikythera is a special case, as the ancient town of the island (kastro) was destroyed in 69-67 BC by Creticus Metellus in his anti-piracy campaign (Bevan & Conolly 2013, 135). After that time the human activity on the island is, archaeologically, of low-visibility or hidden, but in Late Roman times Antikythera is very flourishing (Bevan & Conolly 2013, 143-9). The centre of the Late Roman settlement pattern of the island was on a large village south of the modern town of Potamos (which apparently replaced the ancient Kastro), connected with the Potamos harbour, the importance of which grew in comparison to the old harbour at Xeropotamos (connected with Kastro). Apart from that, a range of larger or smaller agriculturally oriented settlements were identified, housing no more than a few families each. The ceramic finds of Antikythera survey suggest that this thriving picture is slightly detectable in the 4th century; it is in the 5th and mainly 6th and early 7th centuries where the majority of the finds are dated

(Quercia *et al.* 2011). An interesting detail is a significant number of unidentified red-slipped sherds (over 20% of the fine ware assemblage), the shape, surface treatment and fabric of which are similar to the late forms of African Red Slip (104,105), Phocaean Red Slip (10), and Cypriot Red Slip Ware (9,10) (Quercia *et al.* 2011, 57). Finally, although at the south-west margin of Greece, the pottery assemblage of the island suggests economic and cultural links with the Aegean and eastern Mediterranean, as emphasised by the prevalence of Late Roman Amphora 1 and mainly 2, as well as of the Phocaean Red Slip wares scoring in the 58% of the total fine ware assemblage in comparison to the 18% of its 'competitor', the African Red Slip (Quercia *et al.* 2011, 62).

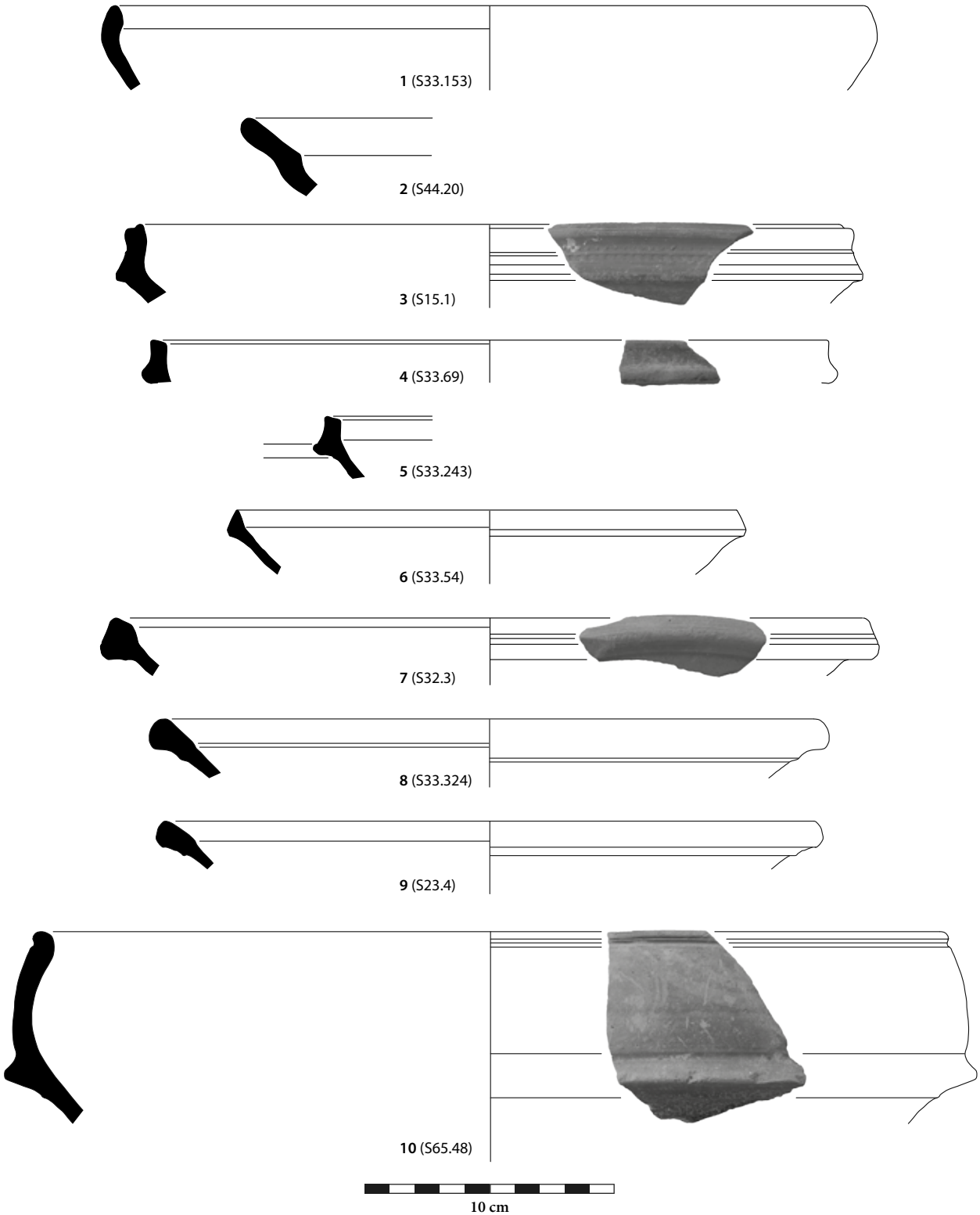


Fig. 11.9: Aegean imports: Identified fine table wares (1-9: PRSW, 10: Athenian white painted ware). [1:Hayes' form 1A, 2: F.2A, 3: F3B/C, 4: F.3C, 5:F.3F, 6: F.3H, 7: F.10A, 8: F.10B, 9: F.10C]

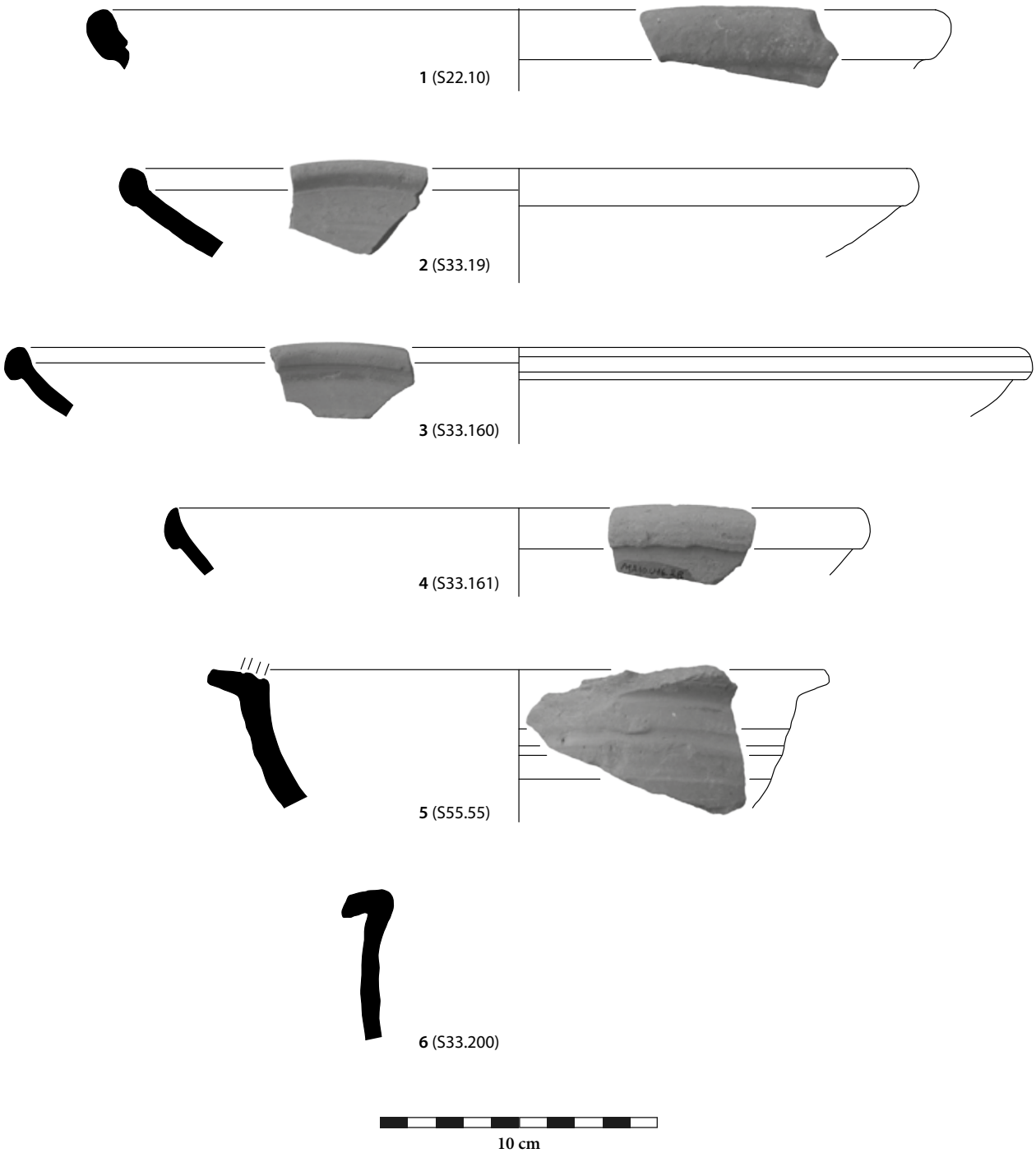


Fig. 11.10: Unidentified fine table wares probably of Aegean origin.

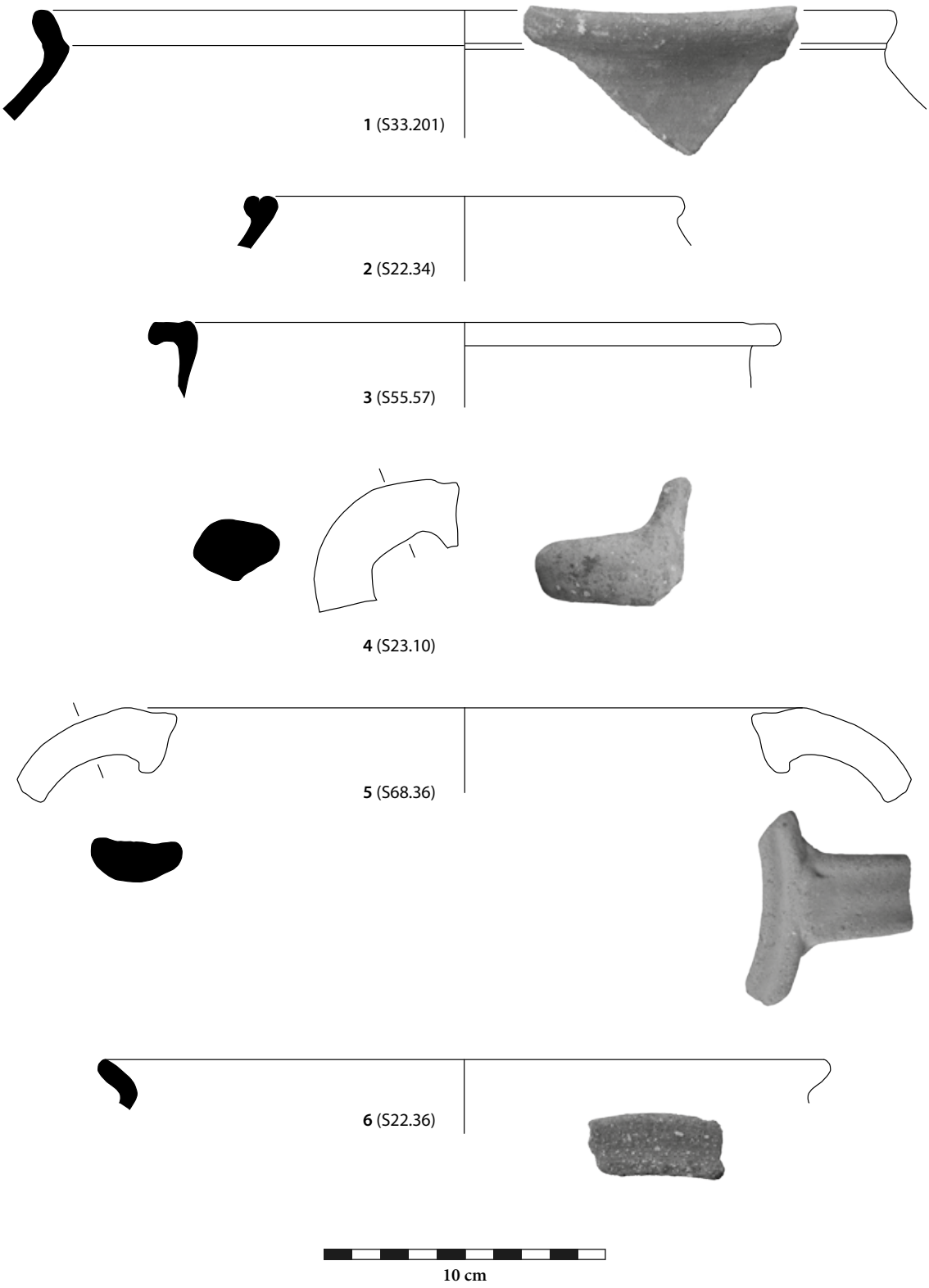


Fig. 11.11: Unidentified kitchen wares probably of Aegean origin.
[1: FAB 20, 2-3: FAB 21, 5: FAB 22, 6: FAB 28]

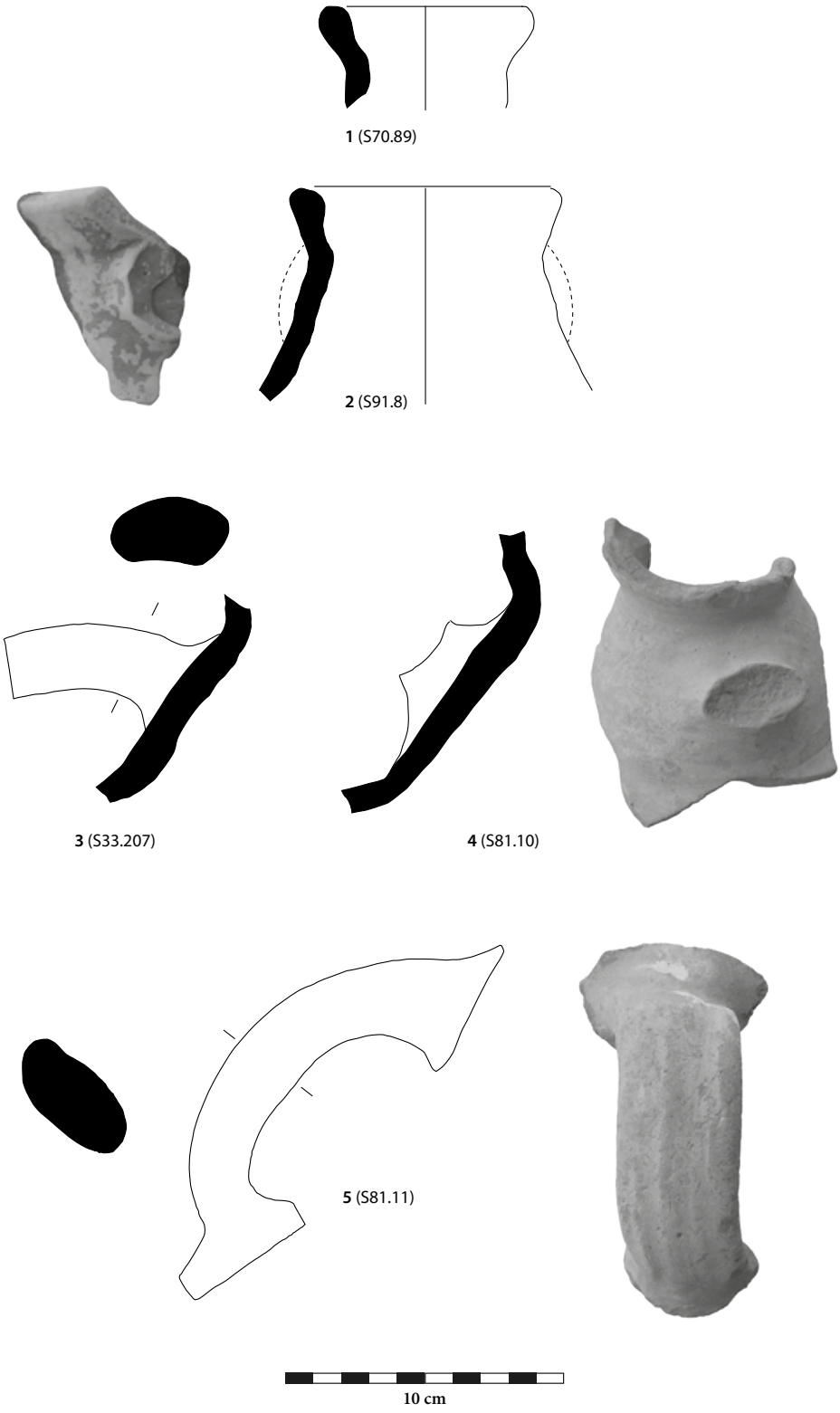


Fig. 11.12: Aegean imports: Late Roman amphorae 2.
[1: (fractional) FAB 10, 2: FAB 11, 3-4: FAB 8A, 5: FAB 8C]

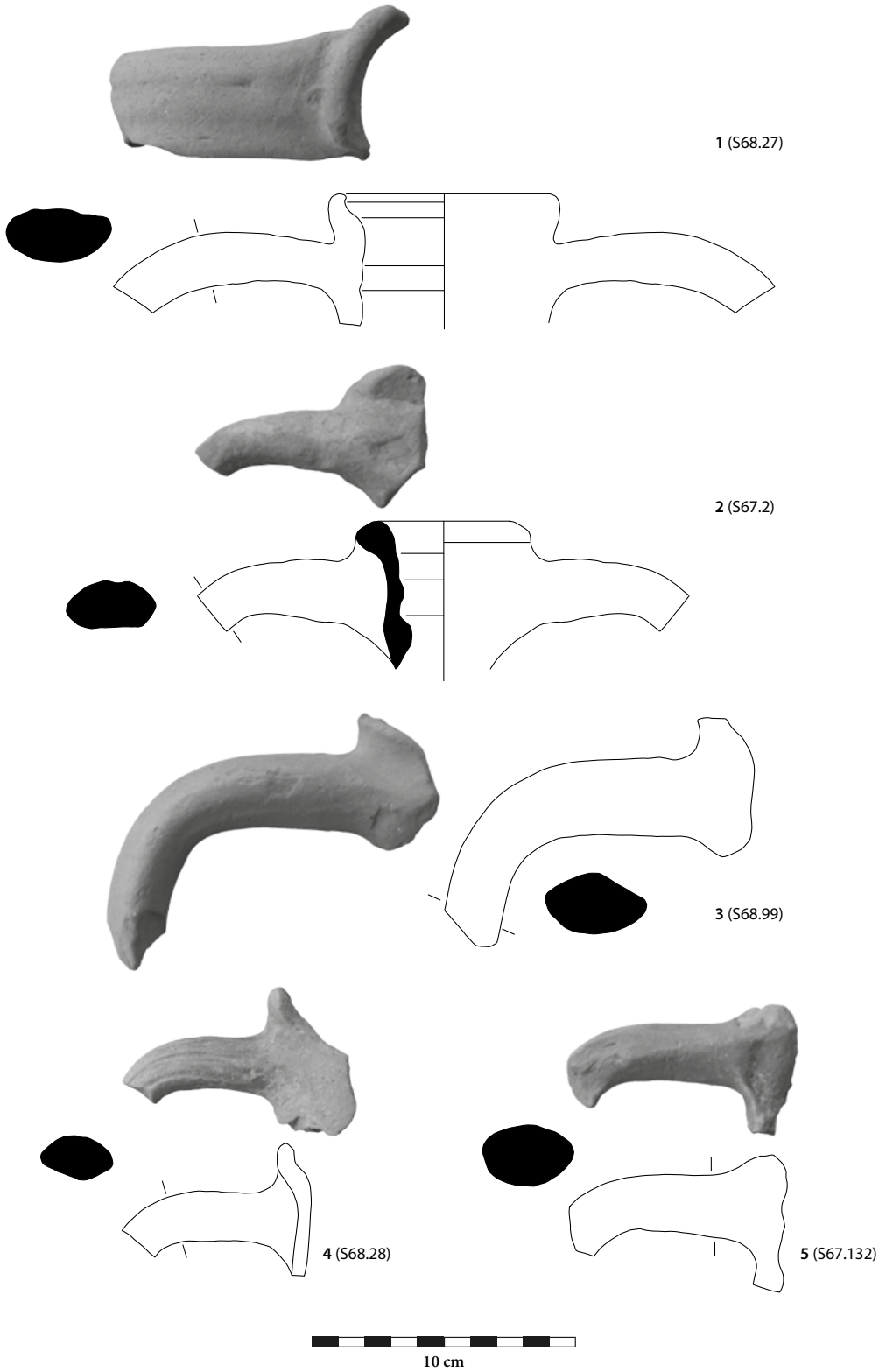


Fig. 11.13: Imported 'Early Byzantine globular amphorae', probably of Aegean origin. [1: FAB 30, 2: FAB 32, 3,5: FAB 29, 4: FAB 31]

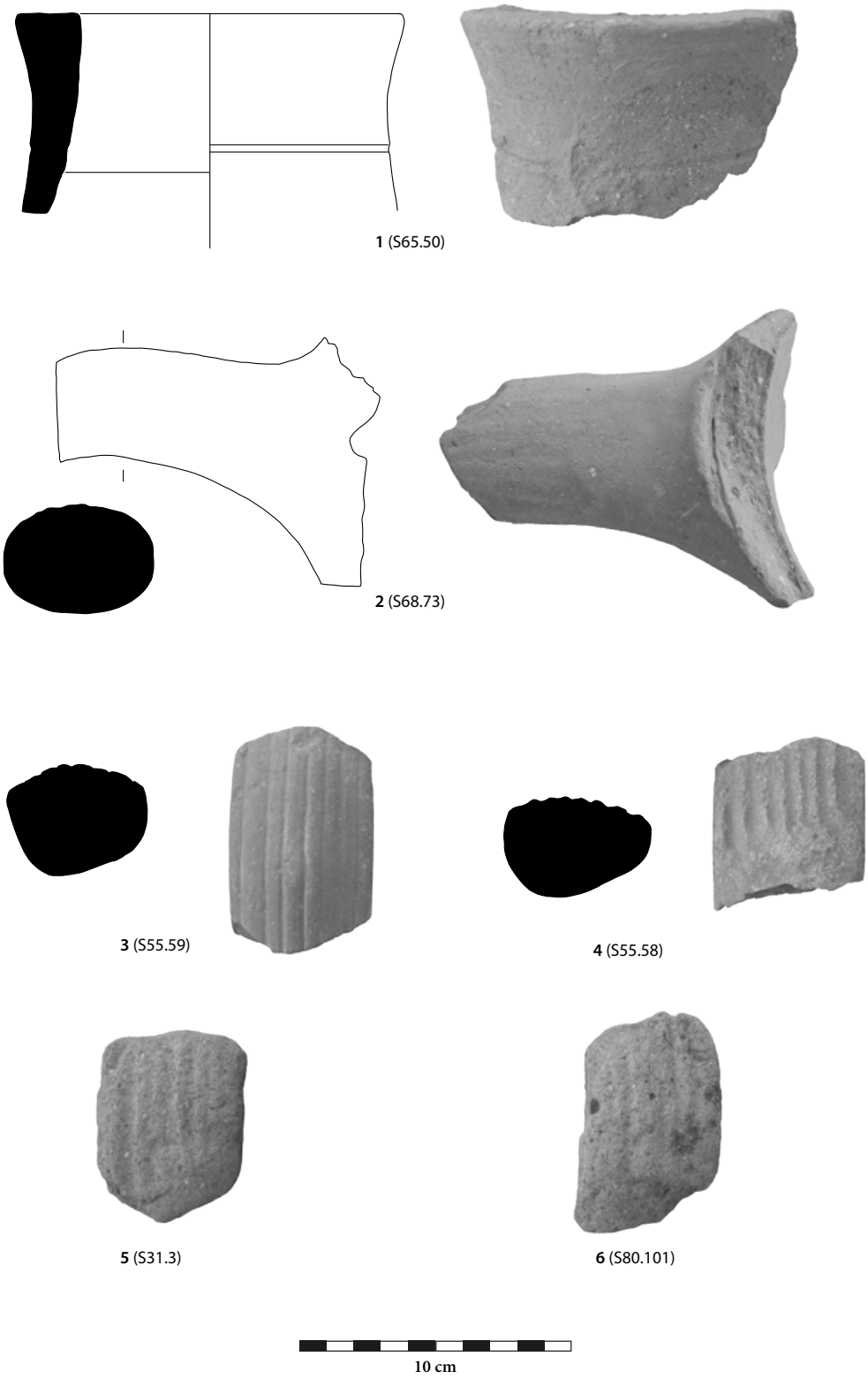


Fig. 11.14: Black sea/Aegean imports: Amphora Zeest 80
[1: FAB 19, 2-4: FAB 17, 5-6: FAB 18]

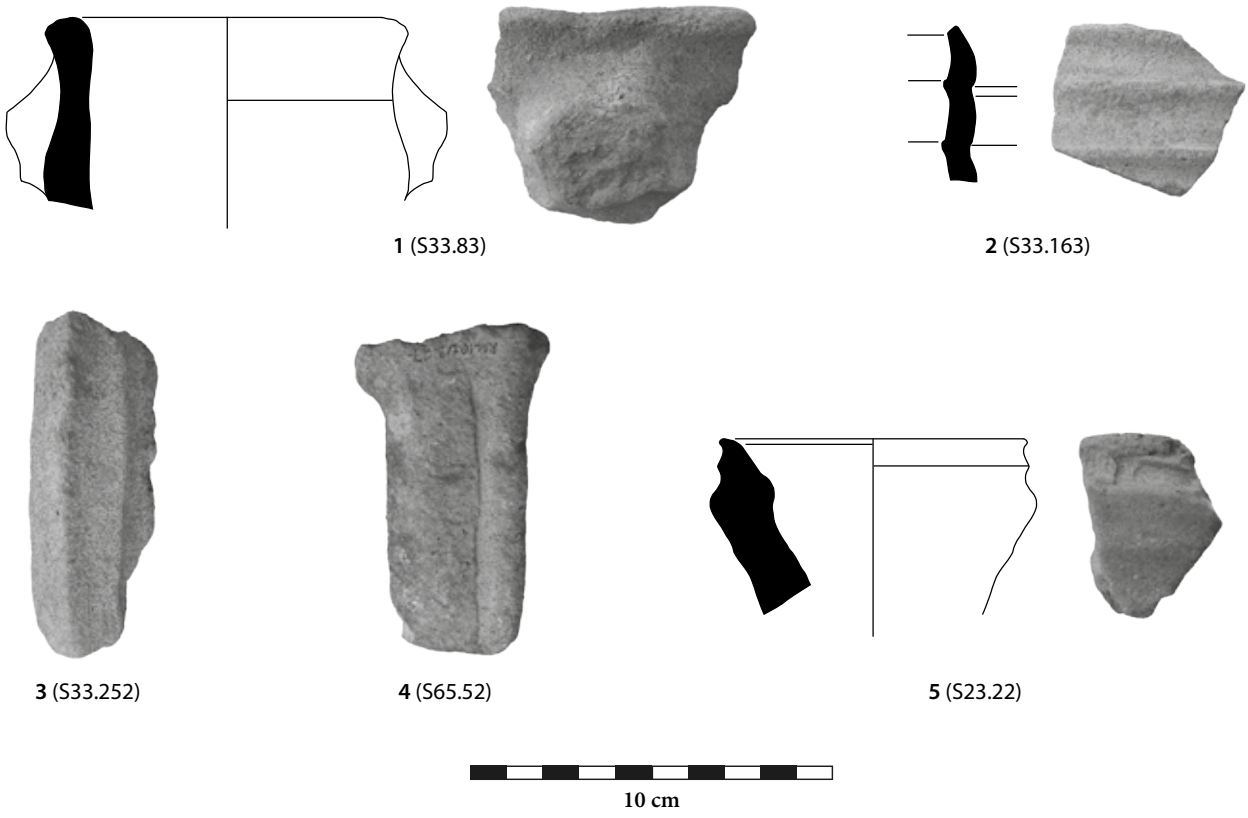


Fig. 11.15: Eastern Mediterranean amphora imports (1-4: LRA 1, 5: Levantine). [1,3-4: FAB 1A, 2: FAB 3].

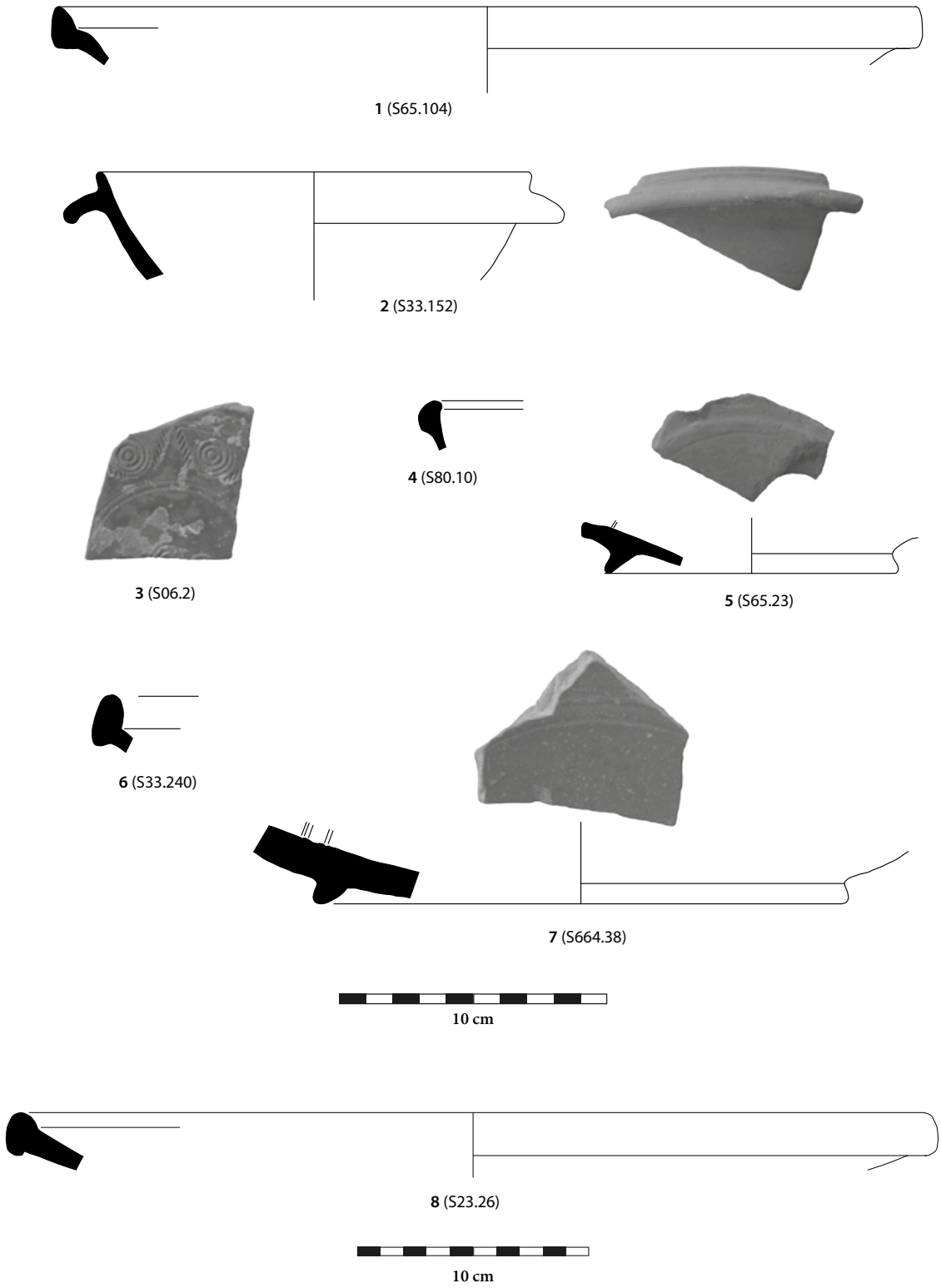


Fig. 11.16: Imported African Red Slip Wares.
[1: Hayes' form 87A, 2: F.91B/C, 4: F.99A, 5: F.99, 6: F.104A, 7: F.104, 8: F.105].

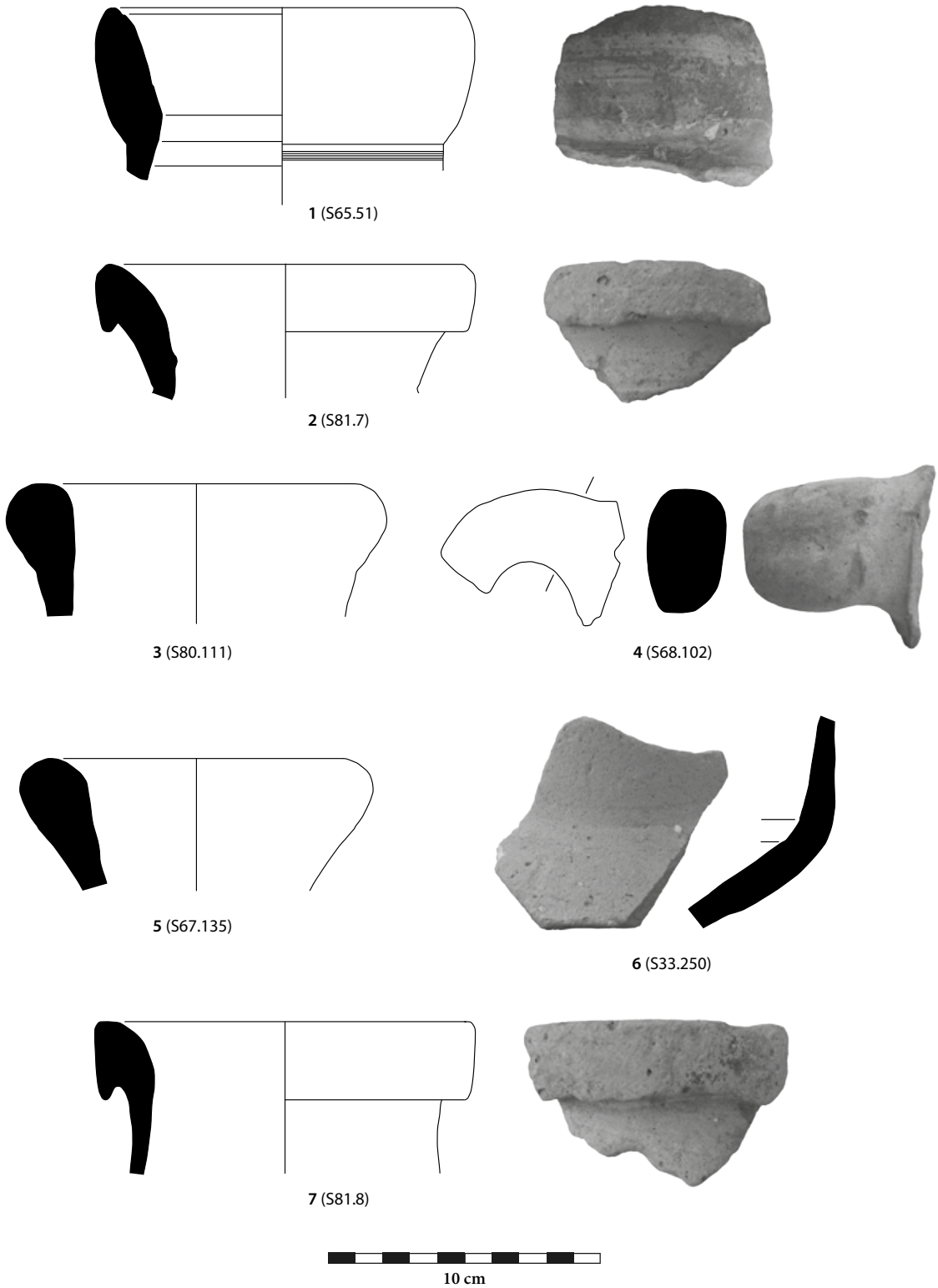


Fig. 11.17: Imported African amphorae.
[1-5: FAB 15, 6: FAB 13, 7: FAB 16].

Fig. 11.18a: Indicative Early Christian architectural sculptures (spoils) of the island.
1: Ionic impost capital, 6th c. (S62/Church of Ayios Minas); **2**: Impost decorated with encircled Greek cross (S01/C01); **3**: Mullion capital decorated with Greek cross (S22/Church of Ayios Petros); **4**: Mullion (NW outskirts of Chora, Kifisos river, Church of Ayia Triada); **5**: Two-zone Corinthian capital decorated with acanthi and water-leaves, 6th c. (S01/C05); **6**: Ionic capital, late (Dark Age) date and/or product of rural workshop? (S22/Church of Ayios Petros); **7a/b**: Fold capitals decorated with acanthi, 6th c., belonging probably to the same church in the area of Kastro (7a: S01/C40; 7b: S01/C05); **8**: Colonnette Corinthian capital, decorated with cross and acanthi, 6th c., probably from ciborium, Prokonnesian marble (S81, today in the courtyard of the Archaeological museum).

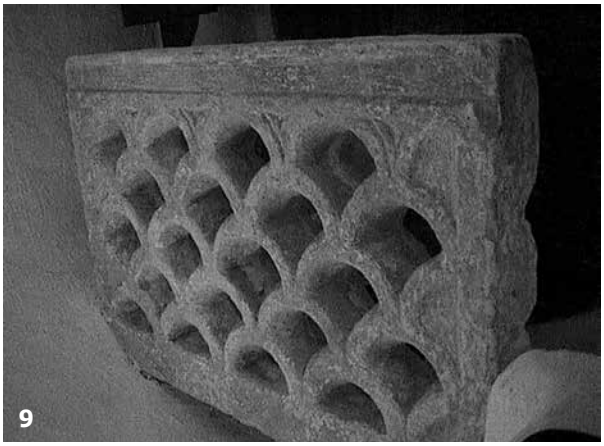


Fig. 11.18b: Indicative Early Christian architectural sculptures (spoils) of the island (continued).
9: Open work closure panel, decorated with fish-scale pattern, 5th – 6th c. (Olimbos mountain, Church of Panayia Limpiani); 10: Closure post (S01, built in the medieval fortification of the Kastro); 11: Closure post (S01, reused in the episcopal church of the 9th c. on the Kastro); 12: Two closure posts (Loutro, Church of Ayios Ioannis Theologos); 13: Doorframe, decorated with vine sprouting leaves and grapes, 5th c. (C52); 14: Doorframe, decorated with vine sprouting leaves and grapes, 5th – 6th cc. (S68, Church of Soteras).

Chapter 12
Mid to Late Byzantine/Frankish-Venetian Skyros (mid 9th c. – 1538 AD)

12.1 SETTLEMENT PATTERN

In comparison to Late Antiquity, the settlement pattern on Skyros underwent great changes during the mid 9th c. to 1538 AD, a time period encompassing the middle to late Byzantine/Frankish to Venetian phases of the island. As widely noticed in Aegean regional studies, at this time the populations undergo nucleation resulting in a phenomenon characteristic for the Aegean islands, the emergence of the 'Chora'. It is difficult to define through the survey data the precise time when this begins to happen, at least for the case of Skyros. In any case, since the Mid Byzantine period, the Chora of Skyros, with its Kastro, seems to take on a special character on the island, similar to that of the ancient *Polis* centre. At the end of the 9th c. a new episcopal church is built on the acropolis, which is now refortified. Later on three big cisterns are constructed on it and possibly a robust tower. The fortifications of the Kastro receive further renovations at that time. Generally in the medieval period the Kastro will be the base of the political and ecclesiastical authorities of the island, accumulating gradually around it the majority of the island's population (see Chapter 9).

Furthermore, of the 34 Late Roman settlement sites identified on the island, the medieval ones are barely 11 (Fig. 12.1 & Table 12.1). Only one of these sites lies in a new location (S24); the rest are identified in sites with older components. Four seem to maintain the size of the previous components, while five continue in medieval times but diminished in size. Only one is larger in respect to the Late Roman installation (S38). The two Greco-Roman villages S33 and S65, slightly shrunk by Late Roman times, have by the medieval period completely disappeared.

It could be hypothesised that the lack of identified medieval sites could be partially the result of a possible survey biasing effect, namely the difficult diagnosticity of the relevant pottery on the field (if the ceramic assemblage does not carry the characteristic glazed fine wares, which apparently was the case for the small rural sites of the island), leading consequently to the identification of only few medieval sites. However, by comparing the archaeological data to the historical evidence, we notice that the figure revealed by the survey might not be far removed from the reality: According to Rizzardo in 1470 AD the population of the island was 1200 souls (after Topping 1986, 234). This is the oldest historical source that makes reference to the population on Skyros. If this number is correct, then this suggests a noticeably sparsely inhabited island with barely six persons per square kilometre. The model for the distribution of such a population on Skyros, in order to exploit as much as possible of the 215 sq km of its productive sources, would be either through 2-3 large villages (which, apparently is not the case), or through a strongly nucleated settlement (Chora) with numerous semi-permanent family installations distributed all over the island, to which the Chora-based people would commute weekly or in some cases even daily. This model is very close to the settlement pattern of Ottoman-Early Modern Skyros, with the central and unique village (Chora), and numerous small provisional shelters (*konakia*) all over the island, to which the people used to commute to and from Chora (see below).

According to the survey results, the total inhabited area of the island during the Mid-Late Byzantine times would be approximately 17 ha. As far as I know an acceptable estimation of the average settlement density during medieval times in the Aegean is unavailable. However, on the Mainland (Thespiai, Boeotia), the rural housing and reduced village densities are estimated to c. 60 people per ha (J. Bintliff pers. com.; Thespiai city survey book forthcoming). Implementing the 60 people per ha to the 17 ha (identified by the survey) inhabited area of Skyros, this would result to 1020 people total population of Sky-

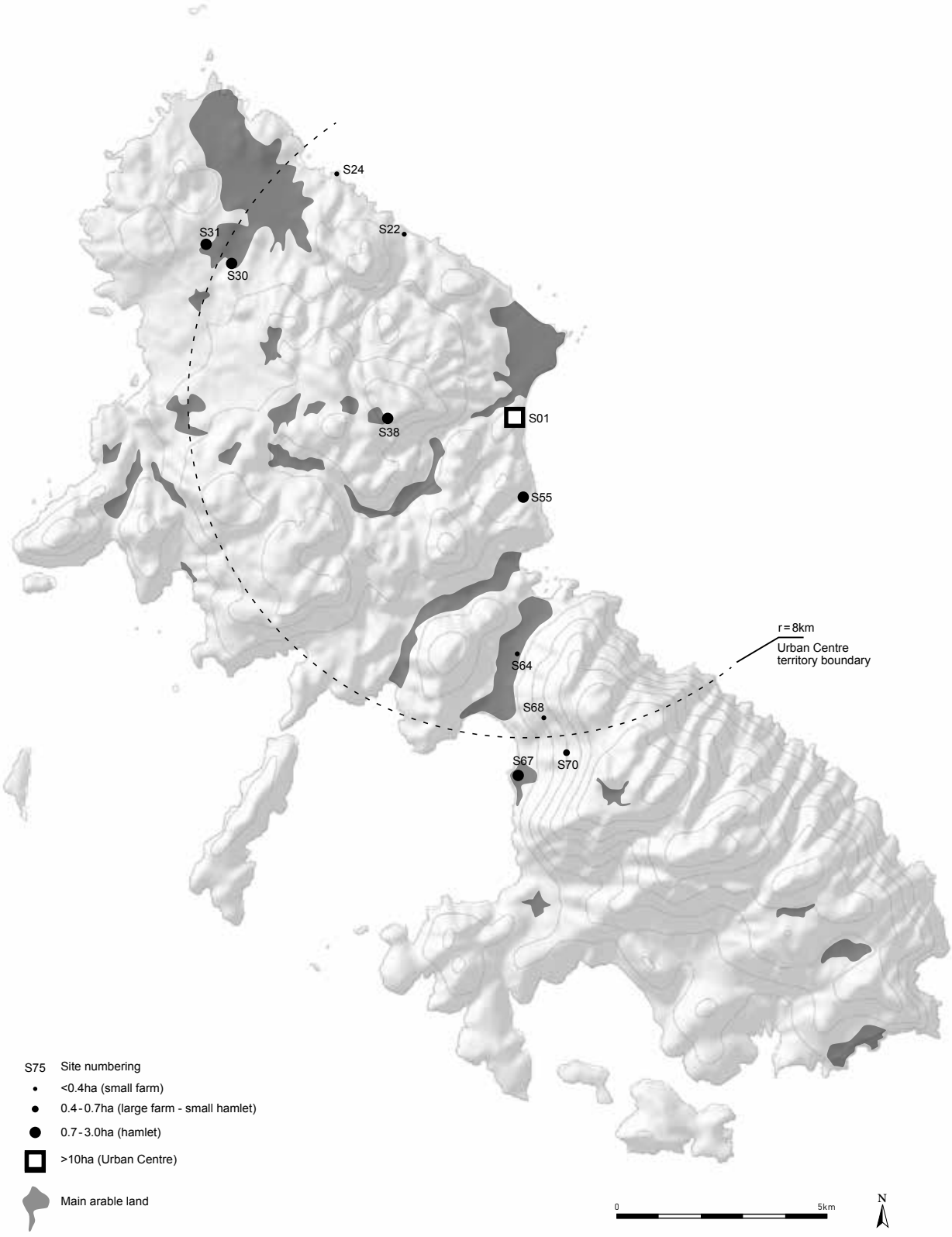


Fig. 12.1: Map showing the Mid-Late Byzantine/Frankish-Venetian sites of the island, against main arable lands.

ros, a number which is not too far from the 1200 souls attested by Rizzardo.

However, it has to be admitted that the site sizes of medieval Skyros identified by the survey are perhaps exaggerated, and/or that not all of them represent permanent installations. This would result to less 'inhabited' area identified by the survey and a consequently lower number of island population, further distant to the historical reference of 1200 souls by Rizzardo; which inevitably should be sought to other sites unidentified by the survey. Thus, we see that from the three extensively surveyed sites, S30 and S31 (the third site is Chora, which doubtless would gather the majority of the population), present a site size of 1.0 and 2.5 ha respectively. These sizes, however, represent the maximum site size including their (major) ancient components. The medieval sites have been identified on the grounds of the grab sample of eight medieval sherds each (Fig. 12.2). It might be then that the medieval sites were smaller (which is probably the case) in respect to the ancient ones, a distinction which could not be achieved through the extensive survey applied, which detected the maximum site sizes only.

Moreover, regarding the intensively surveyed sites, we notice that S24 and S68 are attested through transport/storage finds only, something which puts in doubt their permanent use (Fig. 12.3). From the historical sources we learn that S24 was used as a *mandra* of the monastery of Ayios Georgios during the 15th c., suggesting its semi-permanent function by shepherds (see Appendix A). Site S67, with the exception of one kitchen ware sherd, carries on this functional theme, as the rest of the finds consist of transport/storage vessels, indicating a periodical use of the site as port-anchorage rather than permanently inhabited site. Besides, from the travellers' accounts we learn that the gulf of Kalamitsa was functioning during the Ottoman times as the basic harbour of the island. Although no definite medieval settlement has been identified there, it is logical to suppose a similar harbour-activity in medieval times as well.

	Late Roman	Mid-Late Byzantine
S01	10.0? (urban centre)	10.0+? (urban centre)
S06	0.4 (small farm)	-
S14	0.1 (small farm)	-
S15	0.2 (small farm)	-
S18	<0.4 (small farm)	-
S19	0.1 (small farm)	-
S22	0.6 (large farm – small hamlet)	0.25 (small farm)
S24	-	0.3 (small farm)
S23	0.26 (small farm)	-
S29	<0.4 (part of a villa?)	-
S30	1.0 (hamlet?)	1.0 (hamlet?)
S31	2.5 (hamlet)	2.5 (hamlet?)
S32	1.0 (hamlet)	-
S33	1.34 (hamlet)	-
S34	0.7 (small hamlet)	-
S36	<0.4 (small farm?)	-
S37	2.0 (hamlet)	-
S38	0.26 (small farm)	0.95 (hamlet)
S40	0.3 (small farm)	-
S44	0.5 (large farm – small hamlet)	-
S48	0.17 (small farm)	-
S55	1.0 (hamlet)	1.0 (hamlet)
S62	0.5 (large farm)	-
S64	0.5 (large farm)	0.3 (small farm)
S65	3.1 (hamlet)	-
S67	1.7 (hamlet)	1.0 (hamlet)
S68	1.3 (hamlet)	0.17 min. (small farm)
S69	0.4 (small farm)	-
S70	0.65 (large farm-small hamlet)	0.57 (large farm-small hamlet)
S78	0.4	-
S80	0.2 (small farm)	-
S81	1.5 (small – related to quarry)	-
S86	0.5 (large farm)	-
S87	0.4 (small farm)	-
S91	0.1 (small farm)	-

Table 12.1: Settlement site evolution from the Late Roman to the Mid-Late Byzantine.

Before closing this detailed analysis of the medieval sites identified by the survey, we should recall an important factor for possible fluctuations, thus the non-contemporaneous use of the medieval sites revealed. The Mid-Late Byzantine period here discussed treats a time span of more than six centuries, leaving few possibilities for the medieval sites here presented to have been contemporaneous. Indicative of this suggestion are Figs. 12.4-5: Fig. 12.4 presents the time span of the medieval sites according to absolute chronological data, ignoring evidence for general chronologies (e.g. ceramics dated broadly in the Mid-Late Byzantine period). Examining this figure we notice that of the 11 medieval sites only for six of them there are data available for more precise chronological estimation of their time-span activity, which is considered relatively incoherent. Furthermore, Fig. 12.5 shows in quantity the ceramic finds which could be more precisely dated to two at maximum overlapping centuries, ignoring similarly those ceramics which could broadly be dated according to chronological phase. We note that the precisely dated

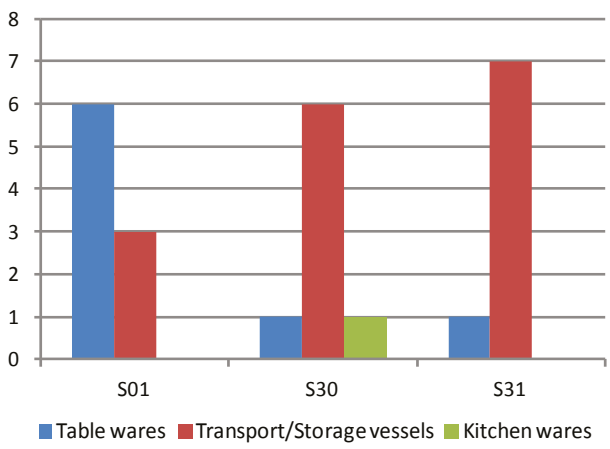


Fig. 12.2: Distribution of Table wares, kitchen wares and transport/storage vessels in the three extensively surveyed settlement sites.

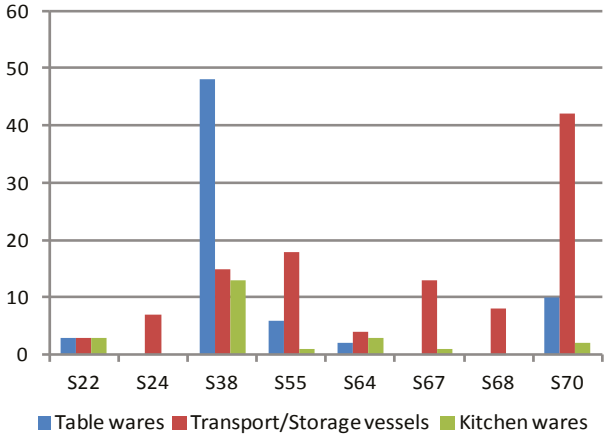


Fig. 12.3: Distribution of Table wares, kitchen wares and transport/storage vessels in the eight intensively surveyed settlement sites.

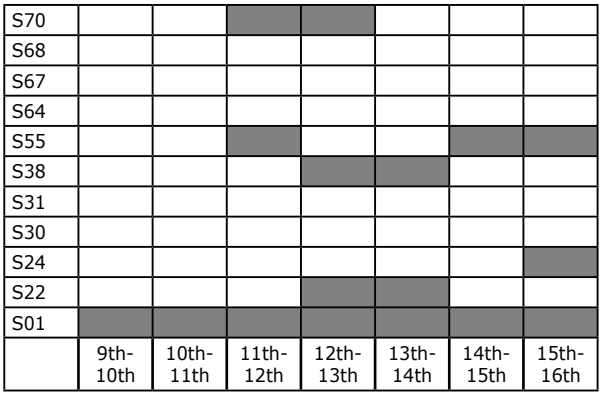


Fig. 12.4: Time span of the medieval sites of Skyros, as attested through absolute chronological data. For S01 and S24, apart from the pottery the data are supported by the rest archaeological and historical evidence (see Chapter 9 & Appendix A).

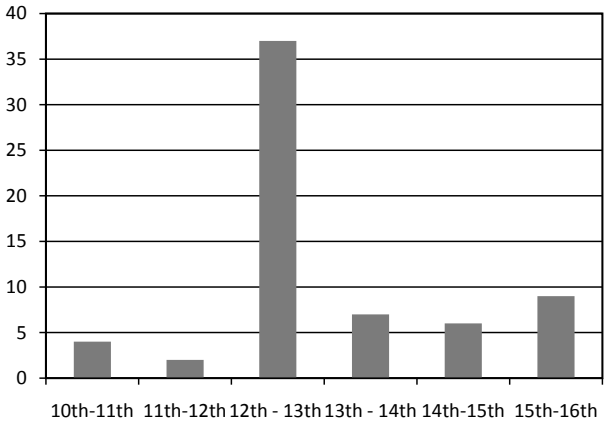


Fig. 12.5: Quantitative presentation of the medieval ceramic finds collected by the survey offering absolute date in maximum two centuries overlapps.

finds are few, with the exception of the ceramics dated to the 12th-13th c. (consisting mainly of the dominant *Incised sgraffito ware* and the *Günsenin amphora 3;* see below). In fact, the majority of the medieval sites were mainly identified on the grounds of broadly dated finds, leaving the possibility for chronological incoherence among them.

Given the aforementioned data in mind, it seems thus that indeed the settlement pattern of medieval Skyros was that of a strongly nucleated settlement (Chora), supplemented by numerous semi-permanent family installations all over the island, to which the Chora-based people would commute. This scenario is also supported by the lack of (at least elaborate) medieval churches in the countryside, with which possible large settlements of permanent character should be equipped. In fact, in contrast to the plentiful Early Christian *spolia* found all over the island, the architectural pieces belonging definitely to Mid-Late Byzantine churches are completely absent from the countryside, an indication of the lack of monumental or in any case elaborate churches. The lack of Byzantine architectural sculptures in the countryside does not necessarily mean a lack of churches, however. It is thus possible that like the Ottoman-Early Modern period, small modest chapels were distributed all over the island, according to the aforementioned settlement model which the countryside of the island presents in medieval times, the remains of which are with difficultly detected as definitely medieval. Actually, nobody could deny that some of the numerous Ottoman-Early Modern chapels scattered all over the island have their origins in medieval times, replacing or renovating the original ones, or even in their present status.

However, the distribution pattern of the few medieval settlements of the island mentioned above follows nonetheless ancient models. A relative intensity (if I can use the term) is detected around the fertile lands of the island, namely Kambos, dominated by the adjacent Chora, Trachi at the north, and Kalikri in the middle part of Skyros. The slight distance of the sites from the last valley can be explained by the springs on which the settlements have been located since ancient times.

Special mention must be made for S38, which although not especially large, has been very productive in finds, the majority of which are fine glazed table wares (Fig. 12.3). The site, some kilometres west of Chora, interpreted as a satellite settlement to it, has a semi-urban character. S38 is typical of medieval settlements in the Aegean in which, after the Late Roman interval when the ubiquitous amphorae dominate, the fine table wares prevail among the surface finds. It is interesting to note the contrast between S38 and S70, the latter ranking second in find productivity of the island, in which its rural character and distance from Chora, has dictated the primacy of the transport/storage vessel finds.

12.2 ECCLESIASTICAL ARCHITECTURE

(Note: this part is in conjunction with Appendix C)
The monuments that can be dated safely to the medieval period are very few. Only four can be definitely attributed as such, each of them being quite distinctly separated chronologically from the other: the church of Episkopi on the castle dated in the late 9th c. (C01), the old *katholikon* of the monastery of Ayios Georgios, also on the castle and dated on the grounds of its wall paintings probably in the late 13th c. (C05), and two monuments in the suburbs of Chora, the church of Ayios Georgios (C50), *metochi* of the eponymous monastery, and the church of Ayios Ioannis Vourlos (C56), both of them dating probably to the 15th and late 15th - 16th c. respectively. It remains open to debate of course whether some of the numerous churches definitely in existence during the Ottoman period have their origins in earlier periods. This applies especially to the chapels of the countryside of the single-nave barrel-vaulted or flat-roofed type. Given that neither the morphology nor the historical sources help the precise dating of those churches, the following discussion was based only on the definitely medieval monuments mentioned above.

12.2.1 Typology

The cross-in-square church – transitional type

(Fig. 12.6; type 1a in the typology of Appendix D)
Although the number of monuments is small, the basic architectural trends of Byzantine Greece are represented. First and foremost is the cross-in-square type in its archaic form, the so called 'transitional', in the church of Episkopi (C01). The type is a combination of the free cross and of the three-aisle domed basilica.

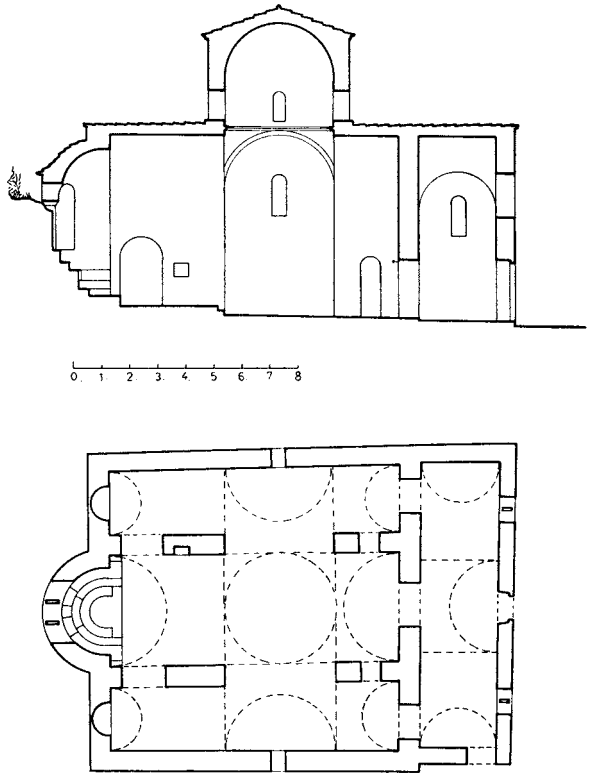


Fig. 12.6: Longitudinal section and plan of the 'transitional' cross-in-square church type (Episkopi, C01; after Bouras 1960-61, 65, fig. 5).

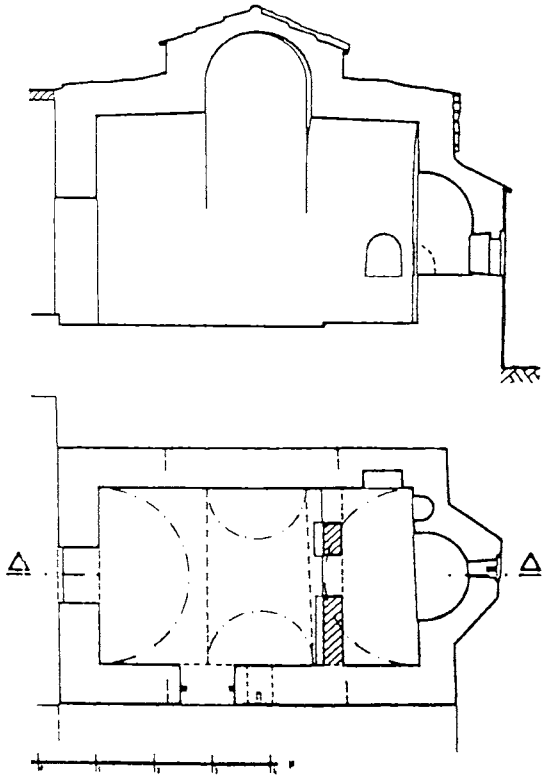


Fig. 12.7: Longitudinal section and plan of the cross-vaulted church; type A1 (Ayios Georgios metochi, C50; after Küpper 1989-90, 231).

The main difference of the transitional with the later cross-in-square type of the so-called Helladic School is that the corner bays are divided from the cross arms with wall-pillars. Later these wall-pillars will be replaced with columns or pillars (Kalopisi & Panayiotidi 2010, 382-3; Gkioles 1992, 109). The type has known a wide distribution in mainland Greece and the islands as far as Cyprus. Vokotopoulos argues that the type initially appeared in southern Greece and the islands around the 8th c. Its apex was during the 9th and 10th c., while around the 11th c. the type ends. He actually considers this as a forerunner of the Helladic School of the 11th - 12th c. (Vokotopoulos 1975, 116 ff.).

The cross-vaulted church

(Fig. 12.7; type 2 in the typology of Appendix C)
This type appeared in Greece in the 13th c., with a wide distribution during the Late Byzantine/Frankish period but it has continued to be used even during the Ottoman times until the 18th c. The geographical zones where it mainly occurs is Peloponnese, mainland Greece, Euboea, Epirus, and to a lesser degree in western Thessaly, Sporades and Crete (Küpper 1989-90; Deligianni-Dori 1990, 45 & 1993, 52-3). Characteristic of this type, destined usually for small churches, is the high barrel-vault which transverses the vertical arm(s) of the church; the junction of the saddleback vaults shapes externally the cross. Orlandos distinguished three types of cross-vaulted churches, according to their plan, taking into consideration both the Byzantine and post-Byzantine monuments: the orthogonal single-nave (type A), the free cross-plan (type B), and the three-aisled (type C). According to the internal articulation of the walls (with or without blind arches), Orlandos organised them in subcategories (Orlandos 1935, 41 ff.). From the four Skyrian examples, all of them belonging to the simplest type of Orlandos' categorisation (A1), the church of Ayios

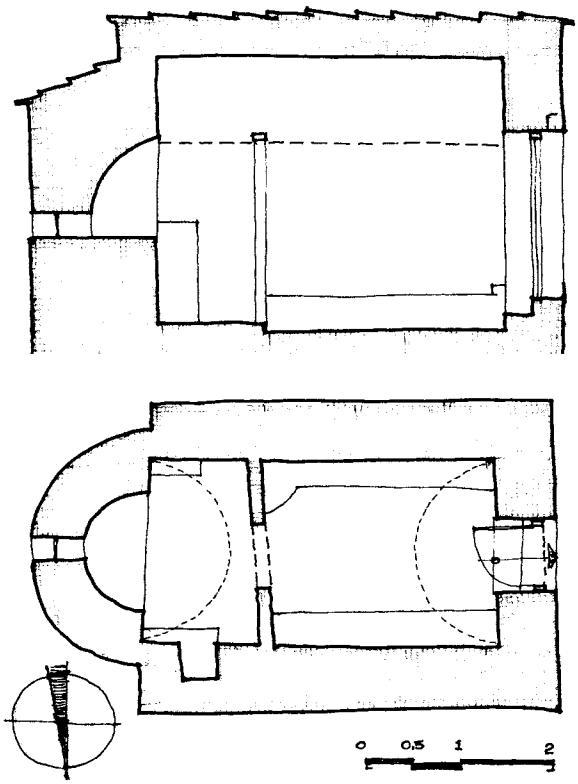


Fig. 12.8: Longitudinal section and plan of the single-nave barrel-vaulted church (Ayios Ioannis Vourlos, C56; S. Papazoglou).

Georgios (C50), seems to fall chronologically in the period under discussion, surely in existence in the 15th c.

The single-nave barrel-vaulted church

(Fig. 12.8; type 3a in the typology of Appendix D). This type was mainly destined for small churches and has known a wide distribution in Byzantine and post-Byzantine church buildings, Skyros included. In fact from the numerous examples occurring on the island two cases could fall chronologically between the 13th and 16th c. The first could possibly be the old *katholikon* of the monastery of Ayios Georgios (C05) presumably of the late 13th c., and the second the church of Ayios Ioannis Vourlos (C56), dated probably in the late15th - 16th c. (both chronologies are based on their wall paintings).

The three-aisled basilica with raised central bay

As a final example of the church types occurring on Skyros within the Byzantine chronological sphere, I could mention the three-aisled basilica with raised central bay in transverse barrel vault, into which the episcopal church (C01) was transformed probably during the Frankish period, apparently the result of repairs initiated by the western lords of the island.

12.2.2 Constructional elements

The monuments above are separated from one another by both time and having different characters. Among them is the episcopal church, a *katholikon* of a monastery and the two small countryside chapels. It is thus logical to present morphological differences among them. Moreover, the renovations which they have received over time have altered their original appearance. However, some observations can be attempted. Firstly the masonry of the buildings is made up of local undressed stones with a lime mortar. Semi-dressed stones or *spolia* are preferred for the angles. In the case of the Episkopi (C01) there is an extensive use of tufa, abundant on the island, and of bricks put at random among the joints.

For the covering of the roofs little can be said as their present aspect is certainly not their original one. Apart from the old *katholikon* of Ayios Georgios (C05) the roof of which is not preserved, the church of Episkopi was covered until its most recent phase with tiles. Tiles cover the small church of Ayios Georgios as well (C50), while stone-slabs were applied to the church of Ayios Ioannis Vourlos (C56).

The churches have relatively few openings. The entrance is located normally on the west side. Triple-lobed and double-lobed windows are set in the apses of the church of Episkopi (C01) and of Ayios Georgios (C50) respectively. Small single-lobed windows are set into the lateral walls.

As for the pavements, except for the church of Episkopi (C01) where traces of its possibly original marbled pavement are still preserved, nothing can be said. The pavement of the old *katholikon* of Ayios Georgios is lost, while that of the remaining two monuments is renovated. However, the common use of natural rock as a pavement in post-Byzantine churches might represent the situation of the medieval modest churches as well.

Fig. 12.9: The architectural sculptures of the episcopal church (C01); **a**: the two in situ mullions and their capitals of the triple-lobed window of the apse; **b**: fragment of the *templon* architrave located above the north entrance of the church of Melikarou (C39); **c**: door lintel located in the south entrance of the *katholikon* of the monastery of Ayios Georgios (C05). **d-e**: two *templon* posts located in the church of Melikarou (C39); **f**: detail of fig. 12.9e; **g**: fragment of *templon* post lying in the yard of the monastery of Ayios Georgios (C05).

12.2.3 The architectural sculptures

The architectural sculptures are in accordance with the poor number of surviving medieval monuments on the island and their chronological separation. They are almost exclusively *ex situ*, and can be classified into two groups belonging in two different monuments of different dates. The first group is of special interest as the sculptures belong probably to the original architectural adornment of the episcopal church (C01), dated in 895 AD. The pieces still *in situ* are the two mullions and their capitals of the triple-lobed window of the apse (Fig. 12.9a). They are made of marble and the front sides of the capitals are decorated with foliated and free-standing crosses. Moreover, in the middle lobe, a pier-capital, decorated with free standing crosses and acanthus leafs, is located in secondary use, while at the north lobe an oblique fragment of the architrave of the *templon* was identified, decorated in the front side with vine leafs and at the bottom with Greek cross with broadened arms and "teardrops".

Furthermore, during the survey of the churches of Chora, it was possible to identify a series of pieces in secondary use, which almost certainly belonged to the original architectural adornment of the episcopal church. In the church of Melikarou (C39) a fragment of oblique cornice and two posts of the *templon* were identified, while in Ayios Georgios (C05) fragments of a third *templon* post and a door lintel were found (Fig. 12.9b-g). All the aforementioned pieces can be traced back to the episcopal church on grounds of their style of decoration. Furthermore, the execution of the decorative motifs of all the pieces and the separation bars of the lintel, betray archaic elements, indicating an early Middle Byzantine chronology, and thus, suiting with the dating of the late 9th c. episcopal church.[1]

Finally, the sculptures of Skyros present great similarities with early Middle Byzantine sculptures from Athens (see indicatively Sklavou-Mavroeidis 1999 & 1983). For example, the geometric motif which decorates the capital of one of the *templon* posts in the church of Melikarou is found on another post from Athens, today in the Athens Byzantine & Christian Museum (BXM 916). The piece has been characterised as a 'dark age' product dated roughly to the 7th-8th c., but a difference in date in comparison to the sculptures of Skyros, attributed to the 9th - early 10th c., is explained by the fact that the Athenian piece was studied out of its context (Dimitrakopoulou-Skilogianni 2005-07, 37, fig. 18). The similarity of the Skyrian examples with the Athenian Middle Byzantine sculpture, suggests probably an Athenian workshop executing the sculptured adornment of the episcopal church of Skyros. This probably applies for the entire building, given its transitional architectural type, typical to central Greece, and the administrative dependence of the church of Skyros on Athens.[2]

The second group of architectural sculptures is less accurately dated, belonging probably to the Late Byzantine period. It consists of three Corinthian capitals decorated with rosettes and Maltese crosses and relevant column-bases located in secondary use in the three of the four columns of the post-Byzantine *katholikon* of Ayios Georgios (C05) (Fig. 12.10). Their similarity in material, volume and decoration indicate that they originally belonged to the same monument, perhaps the previous *katholikon* of the monastery the date of which (as attested by the wall paintings) is in accordance with that suggested for the columns (see Appendix C, C05)[3].

Fig. 12.10: One of the three Corinthian capitals of the *katholikon* of the monastery of Ayios Georgios (C05), decorated with rosettes and Maltese crosses.

1 Apart from the episcopal church, there is no evidence of Middle Byzantine monument in Chora to assume that some of the sculptures could belong to another monument.

2 Detailed analysis of the architectural sculptures of the episcopal church of Skyros is dedicated to a forthcoming article of the author.

3 In this case the previous katholikon should belong to the cross-in-square type like the present one.

12.3 DOMESTIC MATERIAL CULTURE: POTTERY

(Table 12.2, Figs 12.14-22)

Like in the related discussion of the Late Antique - Early Middle Ages, the material presented below mainly represents the amount of pottery imported to the island. It is true that the origin of more than half of the medieval ceramics collected is unidentified and thus in theory could be produced locally. However, this theory of local production was not sustained when their fabrics were compared (macroscopically) to the definitely local wares of the later centuries. One piece, belonging to a Late Byzantine stamnos could be possibly attributed to a local workshop, on the grounds of the high resemblance of its fabric with local pieces of OTT-EMOD times (see below).Only analysis in the laboratory, however, can confirm or deny such a hypothesis.

The bulk of the imported pieces of this period present a generally smaller geographical radius of the provenance of the ceramics, restricted more or less within the shrunk borders of the empire. In contrast to the Eastern Mediterranean or even North African imports of the Late Roman period, or even with the massive western and eastern imports from the 15th c. onwards, the imports of the Middle and secondarily of Late Byzantine times have mainly a more or less Aegean origin.

A more detailed identification of the production centres of the imported ceramics is more difficult, because of the present infancy of the study of post-Roman pottery in the Aegean, mainly focused on the fine glazed rather than the coarse wares. A glance at the percentages of the identified-unidentified (regarding their origin) ceramics of the Skyros assemblage is telling (Table 12.2): From *c*. 57% of the transport/storage vessels, only 12% is identified, while the remaining 42% remains unidentified. In contrast, from the *c*. 34% of the table wares, almost half is identified.

Nevertheless, the identification of the medieval ceramics (in the terms of classification, date etc.), does not necessarily mean a concomitant identification of their production centres as well. Taking as example the fine glazed wares, the classification of this group of ceramics is until now based mainly on the decoration rather than their fabric, saying little about their place of manufacture. Recent studies show that the decorative patterns were fashion trends that travelled the breadth of the empire, and that many pottery categories classified on the grounds of their decoration had more than one production centre, many of them at considerable kilometres distance. Recent archaeometric and/or archaeological studies are directed to the identification of the production centres of the various pottery categories, but the macroscopic study of the Skyros assemblage did not permit such conclusions. For all these reasons the identification of the production centres of the Skyros pottery assemblage becomes more difficult. Actually this is the reason why the following presentation of the Mid - Late Byzantine finds is not organised according to the production centres, as in the discussion of the Late Antique-Early Byzantine and Ottoman-Early Modern periods, but according to their class/functional category. After this broad per class/function division, the presentation follows a chronological order from oldest to youngest.

12.3.1 Identified Fine Table wares

Green and Brown painted ware

This is the oldest pottery category of Mid-Byzantine fine table wares found on Skyros, represented by one piece only (Fig. 12.11.1). *Green and Brown painted ware* is a red-bodied ware decorated with green and brown painted decoration implemented under the glaze, consisting of concentric circles, lozenges, spiral and floral motifs. Its distribution has been wide mostly in Greece (e.g. Athens, Peloponnese, Boeotia, Phokis, Argolid, Laconia, Messene, Keos, Kastellorizo, Kythera and Crete), as well as in Cyprus, Cherson, Crimea, Constantinople and in western and southern Turkey (e.g. Sagalassos). The production centre of the ware is identified as being in the Peloponnese (Corinth and perhaps Sparta) (see for a review Vionis 2012, 230-1; Yangaki 2012, 41-2; Vroom 2005, 83; Vroom 2003, 151).

Fine sgraffito ware

Likewise the aforementioned category, *Fine sgraffito ware* is represented on Skyros by one piece only (Fig. 12.11.2). The ware takes its name from the delicate incising decoration of the vessel in order to expose

Functional Category	Type/Ware	Chronology	R	R/H	H	BS	B	Total	%	% Total
Transport/ Storage vessels	Otranto amphora 1	Mid 10th - early 11th c. (Vroom 2005, 103).				1		1	11,9	56,74
	Otranto amphora?	10th - early 13th c. (Vroom 2005, 103).				1		1		
	Günsenin amphora 1?	10th - 11th c. (Vroom 2005, 95); Late 10th - early 12th c. (Hayes 1992, 75); Early 11th - 12th cc. (Günsenin 1990, 23).				3		3		
	Günsenin amphora 2/4	(10th-) mid 11th - 13th c. (Vroom 2005, 97 &99-101); 10th - 15th c. (Günsenin 1990, 26 & 33).			1	2		3		
	Günsenin amphora 3 (Saraçhane 61)	12th - early 13th c. (Günsenin 1990, 30; Hayes 1992, 76); Late 12th - early 13th c. (Vroom 2005, 99)			5	17		22		
	Unidentified amphorae	Mid to Late Byzantine		1	5	20		26	41,26	
	Unidentified Transport jars	Mid to Late Byzantine	2	3	42	7		54		
	Unidentified amphorae/ transport jars	Mid to Late Byzantine	1		7	3		11		
	Unidentified storage jars	Mid to Late Byzantine			2			2		
	Unidentified stamnoi	Late Byzantine		1	8	1	1	11		
	Unidentified stamnoi	Late Byzantine - early Ottoman			9			9		
Table wares	Green and brown painted	Second half 12th (- early 13th) c. (Vionis 2012, 230-231; Vroom 2005, 83; Sanders 2000, 159-61)	1					1	14,68	33,73
	Fine sgraffito	Mid 12th - early 13th c. (Vionis 2012, 231-2; Vroom 2005, 85).					1	1		
	Incised sgraffito	(Mid 12th -) early 13th c. (Vionis 2012, 232-3; Vroom 2005, 91).	1			7	5	13		
	Zeuxippus derivative	Mid 13th - 14th c. (Vroom 2005, 111)					2	2		
	Elaborate incised sgraffito?	(Mid 13th -) late 14th c. (Vroom 2005, 123).					1	1		
	Monochrome sgraffito (Thessaloniki production?)	(Second half 13th -) 14th c. (Vionis 2012, 236; Papanikola-Bakirtzis 1999, 189); Late 13th - 14th c. (Vroom 2005, 115).	1				1	2		
	Monochrome sgraffito	Second half 13th - 14th c.(Vionis 2012, 235-6; Vroom 2005, 113).				1		1		
	Coloured sgraffito (Brown and Green sgraffito)	Late 13th (- 14th) c. (Vionis 2012, 238; Vroom 2005, 117-21)					1	1		
	Coloured sgraffito (Lemnos production?)	14th - 15th c. (Papanikola-Bakirtzis 1999,92) 15th c. (Francois 1995, 125).	1			1	3	5		
	Late slip-painted	(14th-) 15th (-16th) c. (Vionis 2012, 251-2).					2	2		
	Polychrome sgraffito	Late 15th - 16th (/17th) c. (Vionis 2012, 245; Vroom 2005, 145).				1	2	3		
	Italian maiolica	Late 15th - early 16th c. (Vionis 2012, 243-4; Vroom 2005, 147).	1			4	1	6		
	Unidentified fine wares	Mid to Late Byzantine	12			19	7	38	15,07	
	Chafing dishes	(late 8th/9th -) early 12th c. (Vroom 2005, 73)	1			1		2	3,96	
	Unidentified plain wares (jugs)	Mid to Late Byzantine			5			5		
	Unidentified plain wares (basins)	Mid to Late Byzantine	2			1		3		
Kitchen wares	(Closed cooking pots-stew pots)	Mid to Late Byzantine	1	4	12	4		21	9,52	9,52
	(Casseroles?)	Mid to Late Byzantine				2		2		
	(Baken ovens)	Mid to Late Byzantine	1					1		
Total	-	-	25	9	96	96	27	253	100	100

Table 12.2: Attested pottery of the Mid-Late Byzantine/Frankish-Venetian periods of the island (c. mid 9th c. - 1538 AD).

the dark body of the clay from the white slip. The decorative agenda was very rich, consisting of birds, imaginary animals, human figures and geometric and scroll patterns. It has been suggested that the style of decoration was an inspiration from the Islamic area and particularly from Persia, testified by the 'Kufic' or 'Pseudo-Kufic' script used as decorative band of the vessels as well as on the monumental architecture of the churches during the same period. The ware was widely distributed in various sites in Greece (e.g. Athens, Corinth, Sparta, Akronauplia, Boeotia, Eastern Phokis, Pelagos island in the Sporades) and beyond (e.g. Italy, Albania, Serbia, Bulgaria, Russia, Turkey, Cyprus, Lebanon and Syria). The production centres of the ware have been identified in Cyprus, Corinth and possibly at Argos. Furthermore, it has been suggested that the ware was also produced on the Bosporus near Constantinople (see for a review Vionis 2012, 231-2; Vroom 2005, 85; Vroom 2003, 152).

Incised sgraffito ware

Examining the 14.68% of the identified table wares in Table 12.2, we notice that in terms of quantity, a ceramic category known as *Incised sgraffito ware* holds first place. *Incised sgraffito ware* is named as such due to its broader and less carefully incised decoration (in comparison to its 'ancestor' *fine sgraffito*), executed with a blunt or broad-bladed tool. The decorative themes include figurative (e.g. human, animals) or vegetal, linear/abstract motifs, supplemented in some cases with colour splashes. *Incised sgraffito ware,* together with the closely related *Champlevé ware* (characterised by an even broader removal of the white slip of the field leaving the decorative subjects in low relief), has an extremely wide distribution in the Mediterranean during the second half of the 12th - early 13th c. Apart from their common presence in Greece (the reason why they have been given the alternative name as *Aegean wares*), these wares have been identified in urban and rural sites in Italy, south France, Albania, Turkey, the Crimea, Cyprus, Lebanon and Palestine. Their production centres have been identified in the Peloponnese (e.g. Corinth, Sparta, Argos), in Cyprus, or even in western Asia Minor (e.g. Pergamon?) (see for a review Vionis 2012, 232-4; Yangaki 2012, 45-8; Vroom 2005, 91; Vroom 2003, 163-4). The pieces from Skyros are decorated with linear motifs and some of them bear colour splashes. Their macroscopic examination has identified three different fabrics (FABS 45-47), suggesting possibly three different production centres (see examples in Fig. 12.11.3-6).

Zeuxippus derivative ware

A relatively common pottery category of the Late Byzantine period, but not very helpful regarding its place of origin, is the *Zeuxippus derivative ware*, represented on the island by a base-fragment covered with a green glaze and decorated with incised concentric circles (Fig. 12.11.7). *Zeuxippus ware* took its name from the Baths of Zeuxippus in Constantinople, where it was first identified. It is distinguished from other contemporaneous wares by its high quality glaze and firing. The incised decoration of the ware consists of central medallions, S-shaped motifs, figurative or geometric and floral subjects. In some cases yellow-brown colour is added to the incised decoration. The ware was widely distributed in the Eastern Mediterranean, while the whereabouts of its production centre(s) is a debated matter. Things become even more complex by the presence of *Zeuxippus ware imitations,* or *Zeuxippus derivative ware,* a term which represents vessels which share some of the elements of the 'original' *Zeuxippus ware* (fabric, decoration etc.), but not all of them in combination. Likewise the 'original', *Zeuxippus ware derivative,* was widely distributed throughout the Mediterranean and its production centre(s) is much debated. Possible workshops for the ware have been identified in western Turkey (e.g. Constantinople and Troad region, Nicaea, Pergamon), in Cyprus (Lemba, Paphos), in the Aegean (e.g. Sparta, Chios, Paros), as well as in northern Italy (e.g. Venice, Padua) (see for a review Vionis 2012, 234-5; Yangaki 2012, 50-7; Vroom 2005, 109-111; Vroom 2003, 164-5).

Elaborate incised ware

One piece identified possibly as *Elaborate incised ware* suggests the direct or indirect relations of the island with Constantinople itself (Fig. 12.11.8). The ware, in circulation between the mid 13th - late 14th c., is a variation of the *Champlevé ware* of the Middle Byzantine period and is characterised by the covering of the incisions with a green, yellow or dark brown glaze before firing. The incised decoration include figurative (humans, animals) or geometric motifs

(e.g. 'Solomon knots' like the piece from Skyros). The centre of production of the ware is a debated matter, but it is suggested as the Constantinople region. Besides the capital of the empire, the ware has also been identified in Greece (e.g. Thessaloniki, Athens, Euboea, Crete), in western Turkey (e.g. Ephesus, Priene), Bulgaria (Varna) and south Russia (Crimea) (see for a review Vroom 2005, 123).

Monochrome sgraffito ware

Two pieces have been identified as *Monochrome sgraffito wares,* with one of them probably of Thessaloniki manufacture (late 13th - 14th c.) (Fig. 12.11.9). *Monochrome sgraffito ware (from Thessaloniki)* consists mainly of hemispherical bowls covered with an ochre-yellow glaze. The incised decoration (which in some cases includes the *champlevé* technique) consists mainly of birds, as well as floral and abstract designs. The identification of the workshop in the city of Thessaloniki was made through the discovery of wasters and unfinished products. However, it has to be noted that during recent excavations in Sirkeci of Istanbul, a pottery workshop was identified with great similarities of its products with those from Thessaloniki (Waksman & Girgin 2008, 443-6; Waksman *et al.* 2009, 460-2). Thus, except for the Macedonian city, Constantinople too is a recognised centre of production of the specific pottery category. *Monochrome sgraffito ware from Thessaloniki* (and from Constantinople), except from the aforementioned large urban centres, was widely distributed in Greece (e.g. Chalkidiki, Serres, Veroia, Thasos, Boeotia, Naxos, Paros, Akronauplia), in western Turkey (Pergamon, Sardeis, Nicaea), in Bulgaria (Varna) and even in Italy (e.g. Venice) (see for a review Vionis 2012, 236; Yangaki 2012, 61-9; Vroom 2005, 115; Vroom 2003, 165-6; Papanikola-Bakirtzis 1999, 188-9).

Coloured sgraffito ware

The most prominent group in quantity of fine table ware ceramics from the Late Byzantine period are the *coloured sgraffito wares.* The pieces of Skyros probably came from a workshop on Lemnos, except for one example of unidentified provenance (Fig. 12.11.10). *Coloured sgraffito ware* is a general name representing a broad category of ceramics throughout the Eastern Mediterranean from the 13th c. onwards, characterised by a broad-line incised decoration in addition with the abundant use of splashes of green and brown. The incised decorative motifs include animals, a range of floral and vegetables designs and a great number of geometric combinations. The ware is widespread, appearing in the Aegean, Middle East, the Balkans and Italy. Several production centres of the ware have been identified in Cyprus (e.g. Paphos, Lemba, Kouklia, Nicosia, Enkomi and Lapithos), in western Turkey (Pergamon?) and in Greece (e.g. Thessaloniki, Serres in Macedonia, Mikro Pisto in Thrace) (see for a review Vionis 2012, 237-9; Yangaki 2012, 60-1; Vroom 2005, 117-21; Vroom 2003, 166-7).

However, a special group of this broad category has been identified as products of Lemnos. The possible workshop has been attested on the grounds of tripod stands in combination with relevant pottery found at the castle of Kotzinon on the gulf of Bournia on north-east Lemnos (Pennas 1983). The products of this workshop are characterised by hard, medium fine, reddish, micaceous fabric, while shapes include shallow plates with horizontal and out-turning rims and (small) hemispherical bowls with vertical rims. The surface treatment is consisting of white slip and greenish glaze internally and white slip and dark green glaze outside the rim. The decoration includes fine incisions in addition with green splashes expressed usually as green lines vertical to the centre of the vessel. The decorative motifs include animals (mainly birds), vegetal designs as well as free linear and geometric combinations (e.g. knots). Some vessels remain undecorated, covered by a lighter or darker green glaze and some present an incised decoration on a dark green monochrome field, being closer in this respect to the category of *Monochrome sgraffito wares* (see for a review François 1995). The date of activity of this (possibly Lemnian) workshop was probably during the 14th - 15th c. and its range of distribution seems to be throughout the Aegean (François 1995, 125; Papanikola-Bakirtzis 1999, 92). At Thasos especially, 49% of the Byzantine pottery appears to be Lemnian (François 1995, 126). Furthermore Lemnian(?) products have been identified at Andros (Dori *et al.* 2003, 106, 123-7, nos 31-33, 36-39) and Rhodes (Papanikola-Bakirtzis 1999, 92).

Five pieces of this ware have been collected by the Skyros survey (see examples in Fig. 12.12.1-2). These data were enriched by a supplement of 26 en-

tire vessels retrieved from a shipwreck in the gulf of Achili, collected by an individual and delivered to the Archaeological museum of Skyros in 2008 (Fig. 12.13a-b). The shipwreck has not been investigated yet but according to the information provided by the individual the wreck is located some metres from the beach in shallow waters. No other further evidence about the cargo is available as yet, except for the 26 vessels delivered to the authorities.

The fabric, surface treatment and decoration of the 26 vessels indicate that they belong to the aforementioned workshop, of probably Lemnian origin. Four of them (nos 10, 18, 19 and 21) are overfired. Regarding their shapes, eight (nos 1-8) are large bowls and plates with rim-diameter ranging from 18 to 22 cm, while 18 (nos 9-26) are small bowls of 13 cm rim-diameter. The surface treatment consists of white slip and light green glaze applied internally and outside the rim; the last with sometimes darker glazing. One piece (no 8) bears a more yellowish glaze, while on vessel 1 the glaze is significantly darker. Their decoration consist of a relatively fine incision (*sgraffito*), supplemented most of the time with green splashes, expressed usually as lines directed from the rim to the centre of the vessels. Many times the coloured decoration is restricted to a small line in the centre of the vessel and vertical parallel lines outside the rim (e.g. nos 13, 22); while in some cases the aforementioned colour applications are the only decorated elements of the vessel (e.g. no 20). One piece is completely undecorated (no 17). The engraved decoration, executed in a free and rapid way, is expanded in the centre, around it, or covers the whole vessel. The decorative agenda includes geometric, floral/vegetal designs, spirals and knots. One piece presents a monogram-style motif (no 23).

Although it is not certain whether the cargo of the shipwreck was directed to Skyros, its location (not on the coastline but inside the gulf of Achili), in combination with the several pieces of the ware found during the survey on the island proper, suggests that the clientele of the ceramic material was indeed Skyrian. The relatively high number of Lemnian products found on Skyros, in combination with their dominance among the Byzantine pottery of Thasos, and their presence on Andros and Rhodes, indicates the regional range of the workshop, focused primarily on the north, and secondarily on the south Aegean.

Late slip-painted ware

Two finds belong to the so-called *Late slip-painted ware,* a survival and late variant of the *Slip-painted ware* of the Mid-Late Byzantine periods (Fig. 12.12.3-4). The decoration of the ware consists of floral or linear motifs over the bare body of the vessel in a thick white slip and covered with a green or yellow lead glaze. The unslipped areas appear darker (green, brown), while the slipped lines, often so thickly applied as to appear in relief, are lighter in colour. The surface of the vessels has a glassy appearance. The ware was widely distributed in the Aegean (e.g. Athens, Corinth, Thebes, Arta, Ioannina, Chlemoutsi castle on the Peloponnese, Paros, Boeotia, Eastern Phokis) as well as in Albania and Constantinople/Istanbul. We do not know the centre of manufacture, but there are expected to be several production centres, because of the variety of the fabric and manufacture technique. One late workshop (17th - 18th c.) is suggested in the area of Arta-Ioannina (see for a review Vionis 2012, 250-2; Vroom 2005, 153; Vroom 2003, 174-5). The form and technique of the two Skyrian pieces suggest a relatively early date around the 15th c., while their different fabrics (FABS 48, 49) two different production centres.

Polychrome sgraffito ware

Three pieces are recognised as *Polychrome sgraffito ware,* a later version of the *Coloured sgraffito (Brown and Green sgraffito)* of the 13th - 14th centuries. As mentioned above, this broad category of ceramics, characterised by careless *sgraffito* designs and brushstrokes of brown, green and yellow colour, dominates the Aegean from the 13th until the 19th c. The later version of this ware (from the 15th c. onwards), is widely distributed in Northern and Central Greece (e.g. Thessaloniki, Epirus, Thessaly, Boeotia, Phokis), in the Aegean islands (e.g. Cyclades, Crete), in Cyprus and the Balkans (e.g. Slovenia), and its production centres are found in a number of places of the aforementioned areas (e.g. Athens, Arta, Trikala, Veroia, Thessaloniki, Chania in Crete etc.) (see for a review Vionis 2012, 245-7; Vroom 2005, 145; Vroom 2003, 171-2). The three pieces of Skyros seem to belong to the later version of this broad category of ceramics (after the 15th c.), but probably not lasting beyond the late 16th c. It is not possible to know their place of origin, but

probably all three are products of the same workshop, as attested by their identical fabric (FAB 50).

Italian maiolica ware

Six pieces dated to the late 15th - early 16th centuries, signal the beginning of Italian imports that will come to dominate the following centuries on the island (see examples in Fig. 12.12.5-6). The six pieces belong to the *Italian maiolica ware,* a colourful tin-glazed table pottery of the Italian Renaissance produced mainly in Emilia Romagna (e.g. Faenza). The manufacture technique consisted of coating the surface with a tin glaze after the first firing and after the application of the painted decoration (mostly in blue colour designs), a second firing with lead glaze. Some of the most common vessels were the trefoil-mouth jugs, decorated with the so called 'ladder medallion design', a blue painted oval medallion covering the body of the vessel, consisting of two concentric circles filled with parallel lines. All the pieces of Skyros belong to this category. However, one find seems not to belong to the typical Faenza production: internally it was covered by lead glaze only, while externally apart from the painted decoration in the typical blue colour, a moulded decoration presenting a face was applied, surrounded by a painted 'ladder medallion'.

Italian maiolica ware has had a wide distribution beyond the Italian peninsula, in north-west Europe, on the Adriatic coast, in Cyprus, and in the Greek-Aegean area as well (e.g. Athens, Corinth, Thebes, Thessaloniki, Epirus, Boeotia, Peloponnese, Cyclades, Crete) (see for a review Vionis 2012, 243-4; Yangaki 2012, 103-5; Vroom 2005, 147; Vroom 2003, 172-3).

Blue-and-white eastern porcelain

One vessel is of special interest: it was found in the old *katholikon* of the monastery of Ayios Georgios (C05), revealed in the excavations of the 23rd Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities there in 2012-13 (Fig. 12.12.7). The old *katholikon* is probably dated in the late 13th c; it collapsed probably from an earthquake (and/or landslide) that occurred before 1599 AD, the year when the construction of the present *katholikon* started (see Appendix C, C05). The exact location of the vessel was on the altar of the church and contained inside it a piece of sponge; apparently it was a liturgical utensil.

The bowl bears Chinese-inspired designs on the inside, but externally seems to be closer to Iznik I patterns. The bowl was most probably a Chinese imitation produced in Turkey(?) or in another eastern region. The date of the bowl should be located somewhere in the 16th century, and in any case not after 1599, *terminus ante quem* for the destruction of the old *katholikon*. A similar vessel has been identified in Thebes, interpreted as Ming porcelain (or imitation) dated in the late 16th century (Vroom 2007, 82, fig. 4.14).[4]

12.3.2 Unidentified Fine Table Wares

Of the 33.73% that represent table wares, 15.07% are unidentified fine wares. The majority of them are small worn fragments covered with yellowish to ochre glaze, which indiscernible incised(?) decoration technique did not allow their classification among the various categories (e.g. *Fine sgraffito, Incised sgraffito, Monochrome sgraffito* etc.). However, it has to be noted that the majority of them belong to the same fabric (FAB 45); one of three and the main fabric in which the dominant on the island *Incised sgraffito ware* occurs. Bearing all these in mind, it is logical then to assume that some/many of the unidentified fine ware pieces could belong to the *Incised sgraffito ware,* however, here presented as undiagnostic.

12.3.3 Unidentified Plain Table Wares

The plain table wares represent *c*. 4% of the total. Two of these pieces are *chafing dishes,* a plain glazed ware used on the table for the consumption of a kind of sauce (the Byzantine *garos*) (see example in Fig. 12.14.1). Apart from its characteristic shape, the ware is characterised by its colourless glaze, applied as sealant directly on the clay, resulting in a dark olive-brown colour. The ware appears as early as the late 8th - early 9th until the early 12th centuries. There are suggested various centres of production in central

4 The historical year 1538 used here as chronological barrier between the Venetian and Ottoman period of the island, makes difficult the 'appropriate' location of the vessel in this chapter or in the following for Ottoman Skyros. It was chosen a reconcilable solution with its inclusion here, supported by the similarity of the bowl with the Iznik I ceramics, the ending date of which is estimated in 1525/30 (Vroom 2005, 159).

Greece (e.g. Corinth), Italy (e.g. Rome) and the Adriatic coast (see for a review Vroom 2005, 73; Vroom 2003, 147).

The rest of the plain wares consist of unidentified (unglazed) jugs and basins (total eight pieces; see examples in Fig. 12.14.2-5). The jugs occur in three different fabrics: FAB 38A, characterised by its organic inclusions and FABS 39A and 39C with lack of organic inclusions and abundant presence of grits. The three basin fragments appear only in FAB 39A (see Appendix B).

12.3.4 Kitchen Wares

Little can be said about the small number of kitchen wares. The 24 unidentified pieces collected in total are probably from Aegean origin vessels, as indicated by their fabric (Fig. 12.15). Central Greece and particularly the Peloponnese are suggested as the area of some of the production centres of the Mid - Late Byzantine kitchen wares (Vroom 2005, 105, 137), but certainly many more workshops outside this area should exist. According to my macroscopic study, the pieces from Skyros occur in six different fabrics (FABS 39A-D, 41, 42), implying more or less a relevant number of different production centres. Interestingly enough, three of the fabrics (if the macroscopic study is correct), apart from the kitchen wares, include transport vessels and plain table wares, suggesting workshops producing not only cooking wares but other ceramic functional categories as well.

12.3.5 Identified Transport/Storage Vessels

As addressed above, of the 56.74% that the transport/storage vessels represent among the total Skyros pottery assemblage, only 11.9% is identified. All the diagnostic pieces belong to amphora vessels.

Otranto amphorae

Two fragments seem to belong to the *Otranto amphorae,* transport vessels circulating from the 10th to the early 13th centuries (see example in Fig. 12.16.1). The term was introduced by Paul Arthur in his study of amphorae found at Otranto in southern Italy. The vessel type which seem to be present in two variants (Otranto 1: 10th - early 11th c. & Otranto 2: late 11th - early 13th c.), is characterised by its ribbed body, the rounded or slightly flattened base, and the thick handles rising above the rim. The fabric varies generally from a pale cream to pale red in colour, which suggests more than one Italian production centres. In addition amphorae similar to Otranto I have been found at Corinth as well, which appears to have been produced locally. The similarity of the clays of both geographical regions makes it difficult to distinguish between the two macroscopically. However, the fabric of one of the two Skyrian pieces (FAB 34) presents a great similarity with an Otranto amphora piece found at Butrint, interpreted by Reynolds as of Apulian origin (Reynolds 2004b, 329, FAB 2.2). (see for a review Vroom 2005, 103; Vroom 2003, 155-7; Arthur & Auriemma 1996; Arthur 1992).

Günsenin amphora 1

Three amphora fragments collected by the survey and the upper part of the same amphora-type coming from a shipwreck at the cape of Markesi (collected by an individual and delivered to the 23rd Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities in 2009), belong to the amphora *Günsenin* 1 (or *Saraçhane amphora* 54) (see examples in Fig. 12.16.2 & Fig. 12.17). This was a transport vessel produced in the Sea of Marmara region, probably at Ganos and Marmara island, around the 10th - 12th centuries. The vessel is characterised by its round-shaped ribbed body, the wide sloping shoulders, the shallow rounded base and the relatively small heavy handles. The fabric is relatively clean and of orange brown to brownish red colour, while often a cream to yellowish slip covers the outside and the mouth. Graffiti often occur on the shoulders. The vessel was widely exported to south France (e.g. Marseilles), Adriatic coast, in the Aegean (e.g. Athens), Turkey (e.g. Constantinople and surroundings, Çanakkale, Izmir, Black Sea region, south-east coast), Bulgaria (e.g. Svichtov), Rumania (e.g. Dinogetia), Serbia (e.g. Belgrade) and South Russia (see for a review Vroom 2005, 95; Hayes 1992, 73-5). All the pieces from Skyros belong to the same fabric (FAB 35) and are covered by a cream slip, attesting a unique centre of production, apparently that of the Sea of Marmara. The large piece from Markesi bears traces of graffiti as well.

Günsenin amphora 2 or 4

For three amphora-fragments it was not possible to identify the exact type to which they belonged. Two possible types are suggested: *Günsenin 2* or *4*. Both types were widely circulating in the areas of Turkey and the Balkans, while only the former seems to have been distributed in the Aegean. The production centre(s) of both types is unknown, although suspicions fall on the Aegean or Black Sea region regarding the former, and the Black Sea region only regarding the latter (see for a review Vroom 2005, 97 and 99-101). The pieces from Skyros belong probably to the same fabric (FAB 36).

Günsenin amphora 3

The first place by far in quantity among the identified pieces of storage vessel from Skyros is the *Günsenin amphora 3* (following the classification of the Turkish archaeologist Nergis Günsenin; known also as *Saraçhane 61* according to John Hayes' Saraçhane publication in 1992). The vessel is characterised by its tall piriform body with two robust high-slung handles attached on the tall-narrow neck and on the shoulder and the more or less reddish to purple fabric with abundant organic inclusions. The distribution of the amphora was at its greatest during the 12th - early 13th c. throughout the Eastern Mediterranean, from south France and Italy to western Turkey, Israel, Syria and Cyprus. The amphora was widely distributed in Greece as well (e.g. Athens, Corinth, Marathon, Gytheion, Anthedon in Boeotia, Corfu, Kythera, Kea and Melos). The production centre(s) of the amphora is a debated matter. A place of manufacture is suspected in the north-west of Turkey, although Hayes suggests another production centre in central Greece (e.g. Boeotia or Athens) (see for a review Vroom 2005, 97-9; Vroom 2003, 153-5; Hayes 1992, 76). The 22 pieces from Skyros belong almost all to the same fabric (FAB 37A) implying a unique centre of production, although a few fragments definitely of this type of amphora present some slight fabric differences, in any case possibly resulting from the macroscopic fabric examination (FABS 37B-C) (see examples in Fig. 12.16.3-5).

12.3.6 Transport/Storage Vessels of unidentified type/origin

Of the 56.74% of the transport/storage vessels, 41.26% are of unidentified type/origin. The pieces consist of amphorae, transport jars (meaning transport vessels of smaller size in comparison to the amphorae for transportation over smaller distances), Late Byzantine and Late Byzantine - Early Ottoman *stamnoi* (transport jars with characteristic flat handles – precedents of the Ottoman and Early Modern *stamnes*), and two fragments of storage jars.

Except for some pieces with characteristic grey, smooth and quite soft and relatively clean fabric (FAB 33; Fig. 12.16.6), the majority of the unidentified amphorae are of an orange to reddish brown, quite soft fabric, with abundant organic inclusions (FAB 38A; Fig. 12.16.7-8). It is noteworthy that while FAB 33 was met only in unidentified M-LBYZ amphorae, FAB 38 includes also transport jars and its first subdivision (FAB 38A) jugs as well.

Transport jars occur in two broad fabrics with in total five subdivisions (FAB 38A-C & FAB39A, C; see examples in Fig. 12.18). While FAB 38, as mentioned above contains abundant organic inclusions, FAB 39 is characterised by its orange colour, the lack of organic inclusions and the abundant presence of grits. Interestingly enough, FAB 39 is present (besides transport jars), in plain table wares (e.g. jugs, basins), or even cooking wares. Actually its subdivision FAB 39C seems to continue in later times, as it was identified in probably Ottoman transport and storage jars.

The Late Byzantine - Ottoman *stamnoi* occurred almost exclusively in FAB 39D (which includes kitchen wares as well) (see example in Fig. 12.19.1). However a very nice handle-rim fragment, forms probably the earliest local vessel attested by this study (Fig. 12.19.2). The piece is from a large Late Byzantine *stamnos,* made from reddish to pale brown, hard, coarse fabric (FAB 40A). The same fabric has been numerously attested in Early Modern local slip painted *stamnoi,* indicating the continuation of the fabric from at least the Late Byzantine until Early Modern times.

12.3.7 Intra-regional distribution of ceramic types

The distribution patterns of the aforementioned pottery categories on Skyros, is in accordance with the rest of the 'one-town' islands of the Aegean: the rural sites present a small amount of fine table wares, supplemented by a number of transport/storage and kitchen ware vessels, analogous to the total amount of the pottery recovered (the plain table wares are very few and for that reason the division among table wares, transport/storage, kitchen wares presented in the Table 12.2 is sufficient). It is clear that the small amount of ceramics of every pottery category does not leave possibilities for a more detailed distribution pattern on the island. Special mention can be made concerning S38, where the largest amount of the two dominant pottery categories of the island, namely the *Incised sgraffito ware* and the amphora *Günsenin 3* (*Saraçhane 61*) was recorded. As mentioned above, the proximity of the site with Chora and its use as a satellite settlement of the latter could possibly explain this picture. During this period Chora would harbour almost the whole of the population. It is there then where the richest remains of the material culture of the period should be sought. The continuous use of the settlement until today did not permit us to reveal significant relevant evidence, however, the extensive survey on the Kastro has given a clue of what we should expect to find. Indeed, despite the intense use of the site during the subsequent centuries the survey on the castle recovered indicative pieces (e.g. *Incised sgraffito, Coloured sgraffito, Polychrome sgraffito, Günsenin 3* etc.).

Thus the ceramic distribution patterns on the island constitute a picture of what occurred during the Ottoman and Early Modern period, when the nucleation of the island was more evident. Then, as we shall see below, the ceramics recorded on the rural (mainly semi-permanent) sites were mainly local utilitarian vessels, while the luxury fine imports were entering into the households of Chora.

12.4 SUMMARY - CONCLUDING REMARKS

Skyros during the Mid to Late Byzantine/Frankish-Venetian period offers quite a different picture to that of Late Antiquity. The major highlights of this transition are the nucleation of the population at Chora, which now obtained a centralised role similar to that of the ancient *Polis* centre; the semi-permanent (or in any case limited) settlement use of the countryside which functions as the economic hinterland of the island; and the connections of Skyros developed in a narrower network than that of the Late Roman empire; 'Aegean-focused' within the new limited borders of the Byzantine empire. Undoubtedly the reasons for this transition must be primarily sought after in historical factors.

Furthermore, in Chapter 2 we saw that already in the 7th c. the Mediterranean stopped being a Roman 'lake'. The Arab expansion that started at that time would go on over the course of the following centuries to deprive the old eastern Roman Empire of Syria-Palestine and North Africa, reaching to Spain. Cyprus, Crete, Cos, Sicily and even Constantinople itself came under increasing attack. The Byzantines responded with an administrative reorganisation. The old provinces were replaced with larger geographical (essentially military) units, the themes. The emphasis on the control of the Aegean resulted in the creation in the 9th c. of the theme of the Aegean Sea. Nautical bases were founded commanded by imperial officials, the *archontes*. The historical sources inform us that Skyros was one of these bases, enhancing the role which the island played in the Aegean during the Middle Byzantine period.

The acropolis of the ancient *Polis* centre became once again the seat of authority, of the nautical base. The acropolis at the same time accommodated the ecclesiastical authorities of the island as well. By the end of the 9th c. a new church for the bishopric of the island (suffragan to Athens) was built on the castle (Appendix C, C01). A bit later, probably at the time of the Komnenoi, an extensive programme of re-fortification of the castle was carried out (Chapter 9). A first stage of nucleation of the island's population at Chora has occurred during this period. Despite the historical testimonies on the significant role which the island played in this period, and the attendant confirmation of this role from the archaeological data at Chora (Chapter 9), the countryside during the Middle Byzantine age shows little human activity (at least archaeologically detected). Sporadic installations have been identified in locations with previous human activity, interpreted as family farms or hamlets of agricultural character.

The situation, of a strong archaeological presence at Chora and a lack thereof in the countryside, did not change after the 13th century. The Frankish lords, and later the Venetians, continued using the castle of Chora as their base. Repairs of the acropolis walls have been detected as well as the construction of new buildings or renovations of older ones (Chapter 9). A Latin bishop was probably established in the renovated old episcopal church of the castle (at least for a certain period of time) while the orthodox bishop probably moved outside the acropolis walls (Chapter 2, 9, Appendix C, C01). Chora remained the strongest (and unique) settlement of the island, and the countryside continued to function as the economic hinterland of the Chora-based people, apart from small rural installations of a permanent or semi-permanent character. The complete lack of the remnants of medieval (at least elaborate) churches in the countryside, confirms the apparent nucleation phenomenon.

The trade and social connections of the island during this period seem to be restricted to taking place within the shrunken borders of the Byzantine Empire. In contrast to the North African and eastern Mediterranean imports of the Late Roman period, in the medieval era the imports are mainly of Aegean origin. The ecclesiastical architecture and art of the island in particular, indicate trends characteristically influenced by central and southern Greece in the period under discussion. The transitional cross-in-square episcopal church of Skyros reflects the Mid Byzantine architectonic trends that occurred in the urban centres of southern and central Greece such as Athens, where the bishop of Skyros was suffragan. The sculptured and painted decoration of the church indicates similarly an Athenian or in any case central Greek workshop, active in the Middle Byzantine period. Moreover, the introduction during the Frankish period of the cross-vaulted church on the island is probably a sign of an indirect 'crusader' (Küpper 1989-90) architectonic influence through adjacent Euboea, an area which Skyros had contacts with, and where the cross-vaulted church was noticeably present from the 13th c. onwards.

The trade network of the island in the period under discussion can be reconstructed through everyday material culture, namely the imported ceramics. The suggested production centres for the identified ceramics indicate direct or indirect connections to a series of places of mainly Aegean origin. Thus the Mid Byzantine ceramics suggest connections with the Peloponnese and central Greece, the Marmara region and western Turkey, and possibly indirect 'connections' with Cyprus or even southern Italy (Otranto). In the Late Byzantine/Frankish period a similar scenario is suggested, with possible contacts with Constantinople itself, the Troad region, Northern Greece, the Peloponnese and the islands of the Aegean. The large amount of products of probably Lemnian origin, in combination with their similarly notable presence at Thasos and Andros (and to a lesser extent, Rhodes), indicates a regional (Aegean-based) trade network active in the 14th - 15th c. The situation seems not to have changed during the Venetian occupation of the island (1453-1538 AD). A slight difference is the presence of the first Italian maiolica imports and the unique eastern porcelain, possibly from Turkey, which can be characterised as forerunners of the posterior 'international' situation in which the island was to find itself under the sphere of the Ottoman Empire.

The interpretation given above of Skyros during its medieval period, especially on the settlement pattern of the island, is at first sight, not always coherent with the rest of the Aegean. The Middle Byzantine period (especially the 12th and 13th centuries), is generally considered to be a time of agricultural intensification and settlement recovery of the countryside (Vionis 2012, 33-5). This interpretation is undoubtedly correct by comparing the Middle Byzantine period to the 'dark age' of the late 7th - early 9th centuries (Vionis 2012, 33, 35), where the Middle Byzantine landscape presents indeed signs of recovery. However, interpreting here the lack of data for the 7th - 9th c. partially as the result of an archaeological incapacity to identify the relative surface finds, rather than representing historical situation (see Chapter 11), has the consequence that from this point of view the 'recovery' that occurred in the Middle Byzantine landscape was perhaps less acute. Thus, I have chosen in this case to interpret the Middle Byzantine data of Skyros in comparison to the more objective ones of the Late Roman period (even the 7th c.), resulting in the medieval data to signify a more nucleated settlement pattern in respect to Late Antiquity.

Similarly, the relative 'explosion' occurring in the Aegean landscape in the 12th and 13th in comparison to the earlier Middle Byzantine centuries, up to an extent must be interpreted as a survey biasing effect caused by the prevalence of the Incised sgraffito

ware and the amphora Günsenin 3, both easily identified in the Aegean region (and probably of Aegean manufacture).[5] Although the wide circulation of these vessels around the Aegean is a clear sign of economic prosperity, the quantitative dominance of both vessels against others should perhaps be approached mainly as an indication of the prosperity of the production centre(s) of the vessels, rather than as evidence of 'high' centuries in the places where these vessels are found. On Skyros for example the majority of the Incised sgraffito and Günsenin 3 finds was retrieved from two sites (S01, S38), and thus, the quantitative usage of these finds as indication for the per century 'ups and downs' of the island as a whole would be misleading. Moreover, although the ceramic evidence for the 9th - 11th centuries on Skyros is scarce, other archaeological data and the historical sources attest to a pronounced presence of the island in these early centuries. During 9th - 11th centuries, Skyros was a nautical base, had a new episcopal church and several noblemen, a picture which does not support the interpretation of this period as 'low' against a 'high' period for the 12th - 13th centuries, on the grounds (essentially) of the dominance of the 12th - 13th century Incised sgraffito ware and the amphora Günsenin 3. The scarcity of 9th – 11th c. ceramic finds is a general phenomenon attested in the Aegean landscape, caused (according to the opinion of the writer) by the more difficult diagnosticity of the ceramics attributed to the aforementioned centuries. In short, what I am saying here is that the 'low' 9th -11th centuries in the Aegean landscape in comparison to the 'high' 12th – 13th centuries, reminds me the phenomenon of the 'busy countryside' of Late Roman Greece against the 'lazy countryside' of Early – Middle Roman period, convincingly interpreted, up to an extent, as the result of survey biasing effect (Pettegrew 2007).

In any case, the aforementioned thoughts do not exclude some settlement pattern alternations which indeed occur among Skyros and several other Aegean cases. At Methana for example the human activity in the countryside attested to by both the settlement sites and the churches, present a relative dispersion, closer to the Late Roman situation (Koukoulis 1997, 93-7). The same probably occurred in some of the medieval Cyclades (e.g. Naxos, Andros), where humble churches usually signify extensive rural settlements (Vionis 2012, 35; Dori *et al*. 2003, 201); or even in the small islet of Antikythera where its landscape does not present a nucleated population in a central settlement (Bevan & Conolly 2013, 153-5). These regional variations can be explained by several factors. The peninsula of Methana for example was never the base of a political power during the Byzantine and Frankish period (Koukoulis 1997, 97). This consequently did not trigger the creation of a centralised settlement, and in fact the old urban centre of the peninsula (Palaiokastro), in the medieval period does not suggest the urban character which it had up to the Late Roman period (Koukoulis 1997, 97). Given that no such 'political' centre was in existence, and bearing in mind the rugged terrain of Methana, it is logical that the human (agricultural) activity was developed in a dispersed manner across the fertile lands of the peninsula, as in mainland Greece. A similar scenario could be suggested for the islet of Antikythera. Moreover, big and well watered islands like Andros or Naxos had logically developed more than one settlement nuclei for the sufficient exploitation of the land.

Nevertheless, by comparing Skyros with places more compatible to it (size, geomorphology) the figure that the island presents in the medieval period does not present incoherence. In fact the best case for comparison is the island of Kea. The survey conducted in the north-west part of the island identified scarce small communities outside Ioulis for the period under discussion. Medieval ecclesiastical remains were recognised in two sites only, on the very doorstep of Ioulis, and possibly also at the harbour site of Koressia (Cherry *et al*. 1991, 355-6). Rural installations were detected mainly in the Middle Byzantine period, many of them identified as such exclusively on the grounds of the amphora Günsenin 3 fragments, and thus creating questions (as the survey directors admit) about the function of these sites. It seems that already in the Middle Byzantine, and notably in the Late Byzantine/Frankish-Venetian period, Kea shows a nucleation of the population at Ioulis (Cherry *et al*. 1991, 355 ff, and 466, table 22.2). This primate settlement with its Kastro was apparently the centre of the political and ecclesiastical authorities of the island, gathering as well the mass of the population in medieval times.

5 12th -13th c. ceramic 'booms' are occurred for example in Tanagra of Boeotia (Vionis 2012, 35, graph 3.1), Methana (Koukoulis 1997, 97), Keos (Cherry *et al*. 1991, 354), Antikythera (Bevan & Conolly 2013, 151), or even on Skyros (see Fig. 12.5 in this Chapter).

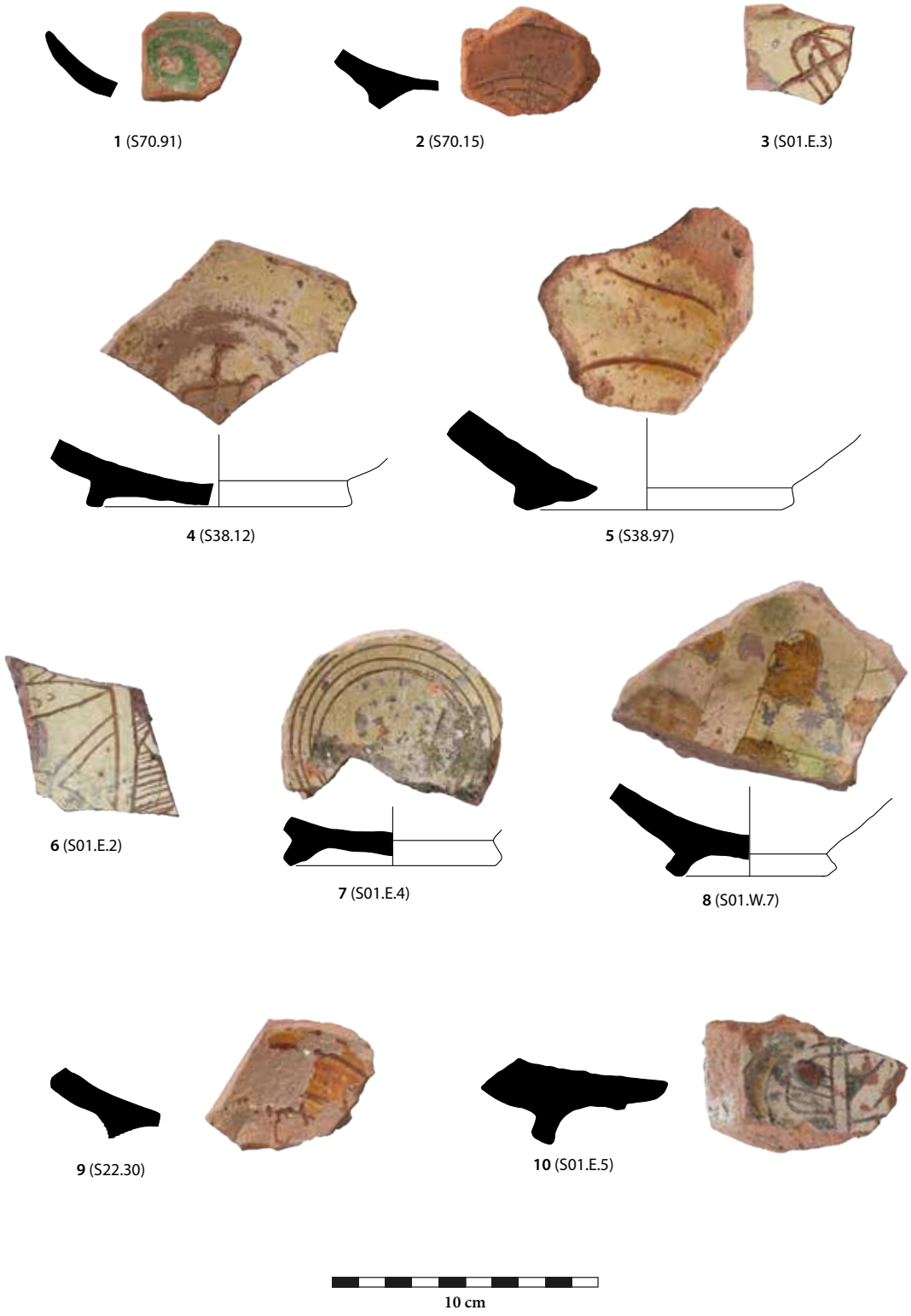


Fig. 12.11: Identified fine table wares of the Mid-Late Byzantine/Frankish period of the island. (1: Green and Brown painted ware, 2: Fine Sgraffito ware, 3-6: Incised Sgraffito ware, 7: Zeuxippus derivative ware, 8: Elaborate incised ware, 9: Monochrome Sgraffito ware, 10: Coloured Sgraffito ware.)

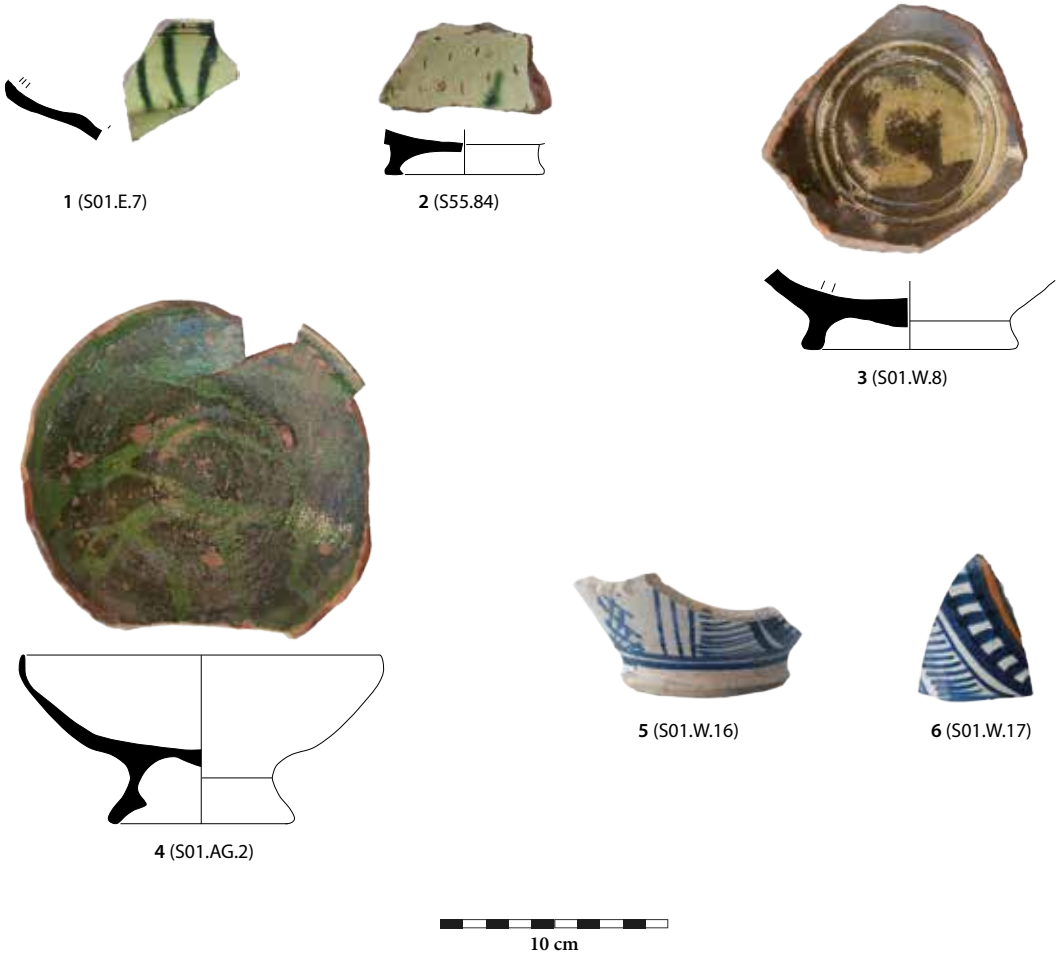


Fig. 12.12: Identified fine table wares of the Late Byzantine/Frankish-Venetian period of the island. (1-2: Coloured Sgraffito ware - Lemnian production (?), 3-4: Late Slip-painted ware, 5-6: Italian Maiolica ware, 7: Blue-and-White eastern porcelain.)

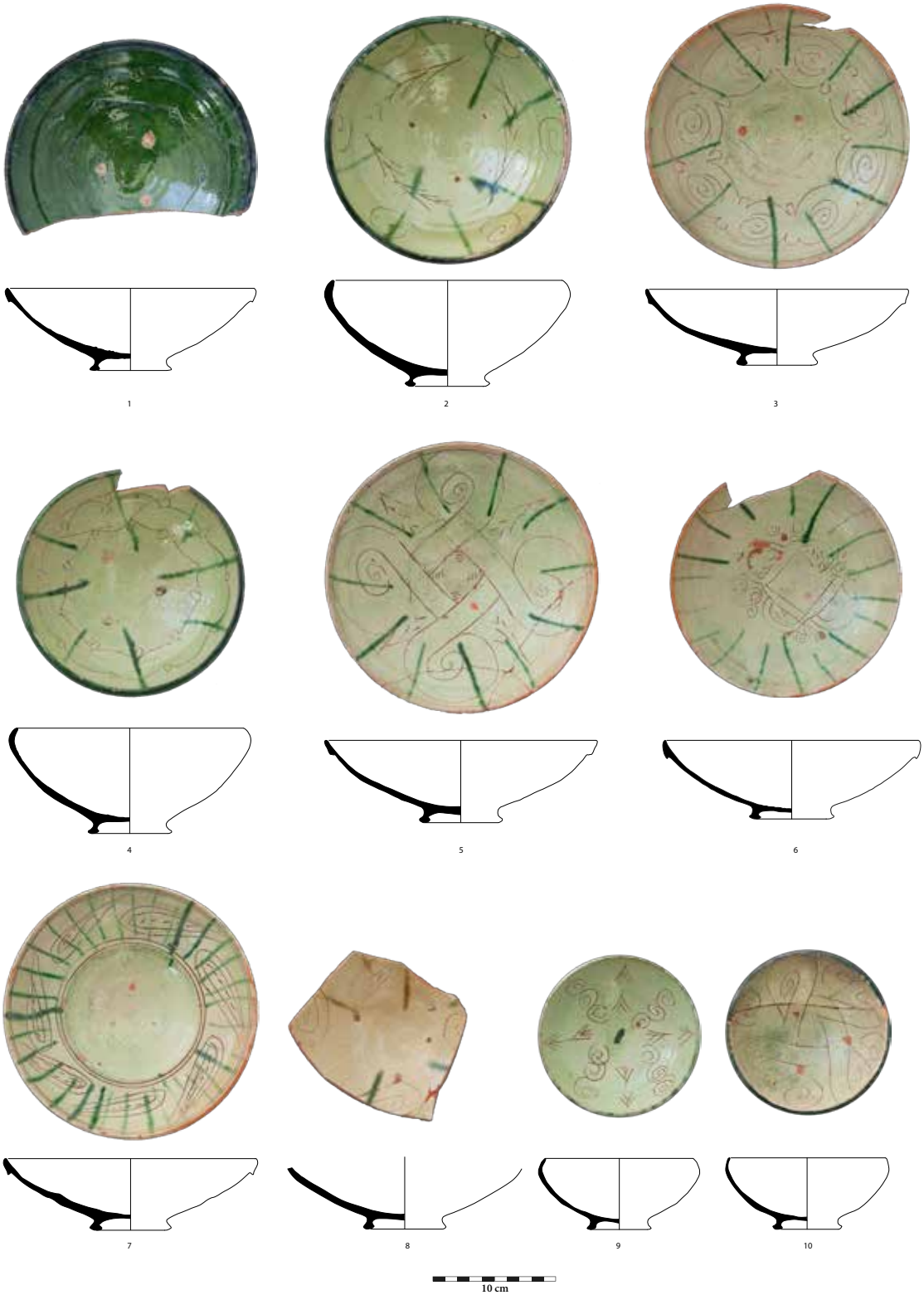


Fig. 12.13a: The 26 *Coloured sgraffito* vessels delivered to the Archaeological museum of Skyros from a shipwreck at the gulf of Achili, probably of Lemnian origin.

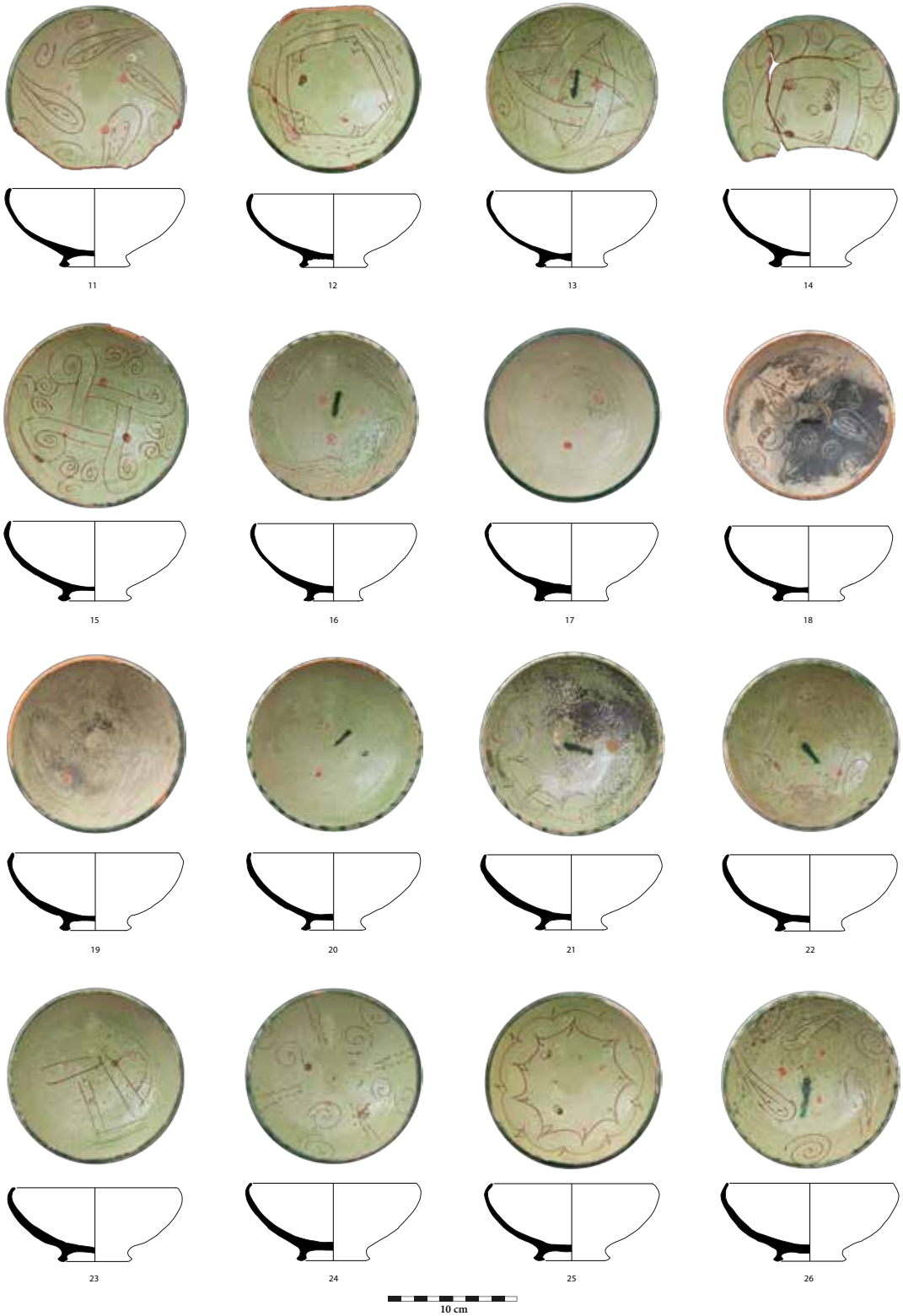


Fig. 12.13.b: The 26 *Coloured sgraffito* vessels delivered to the Archaeological museum of Skyros from a shipwreck at the gulf of Achili, probably of Lemnian origin.

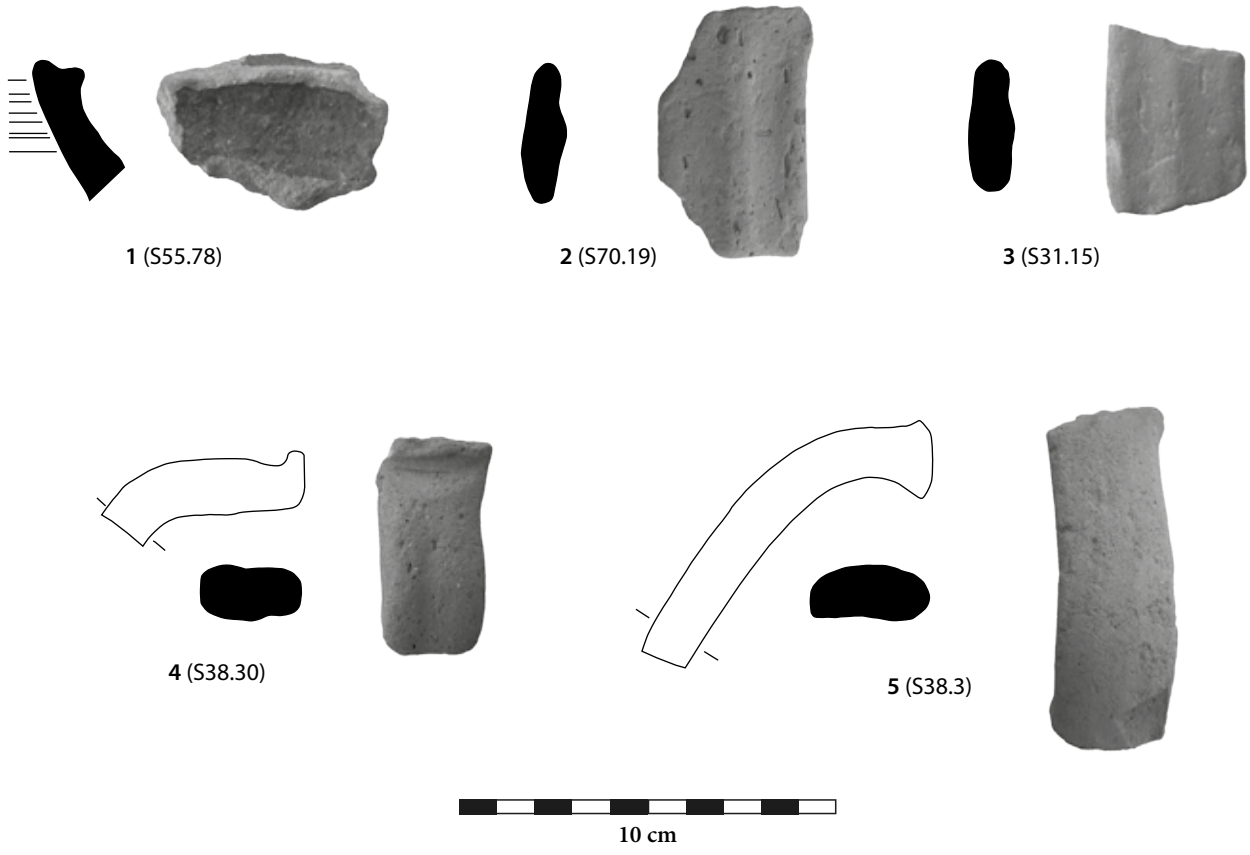


Fig. 12.14: Plain table wares of the Mid-Late Byzantine/Frankish-Venetian periods of the island.

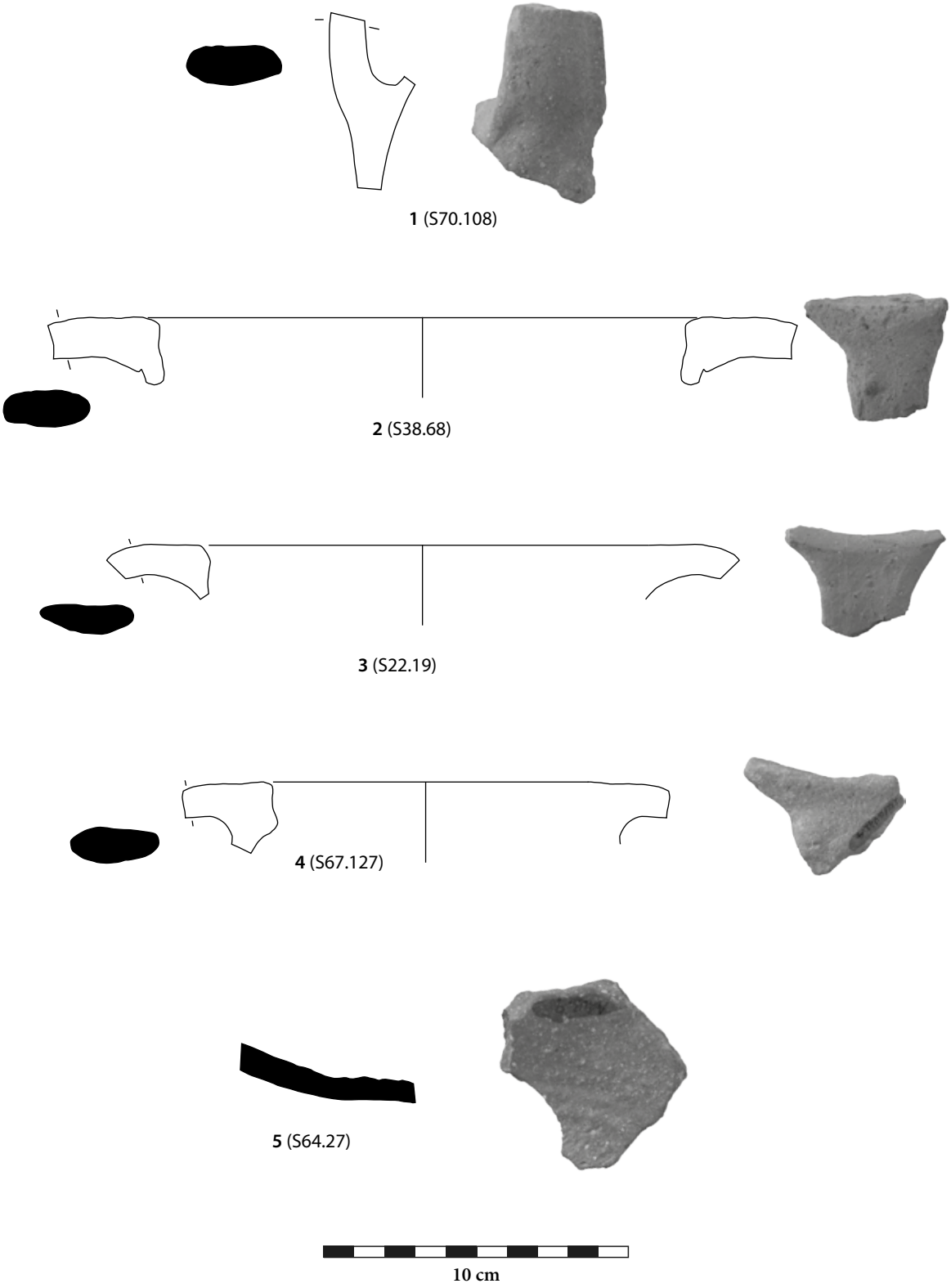


Fig. 12.15: Unidentified kitchen wares of the Mid-Late Byzantine/Frankish-Venetian periods of the island.

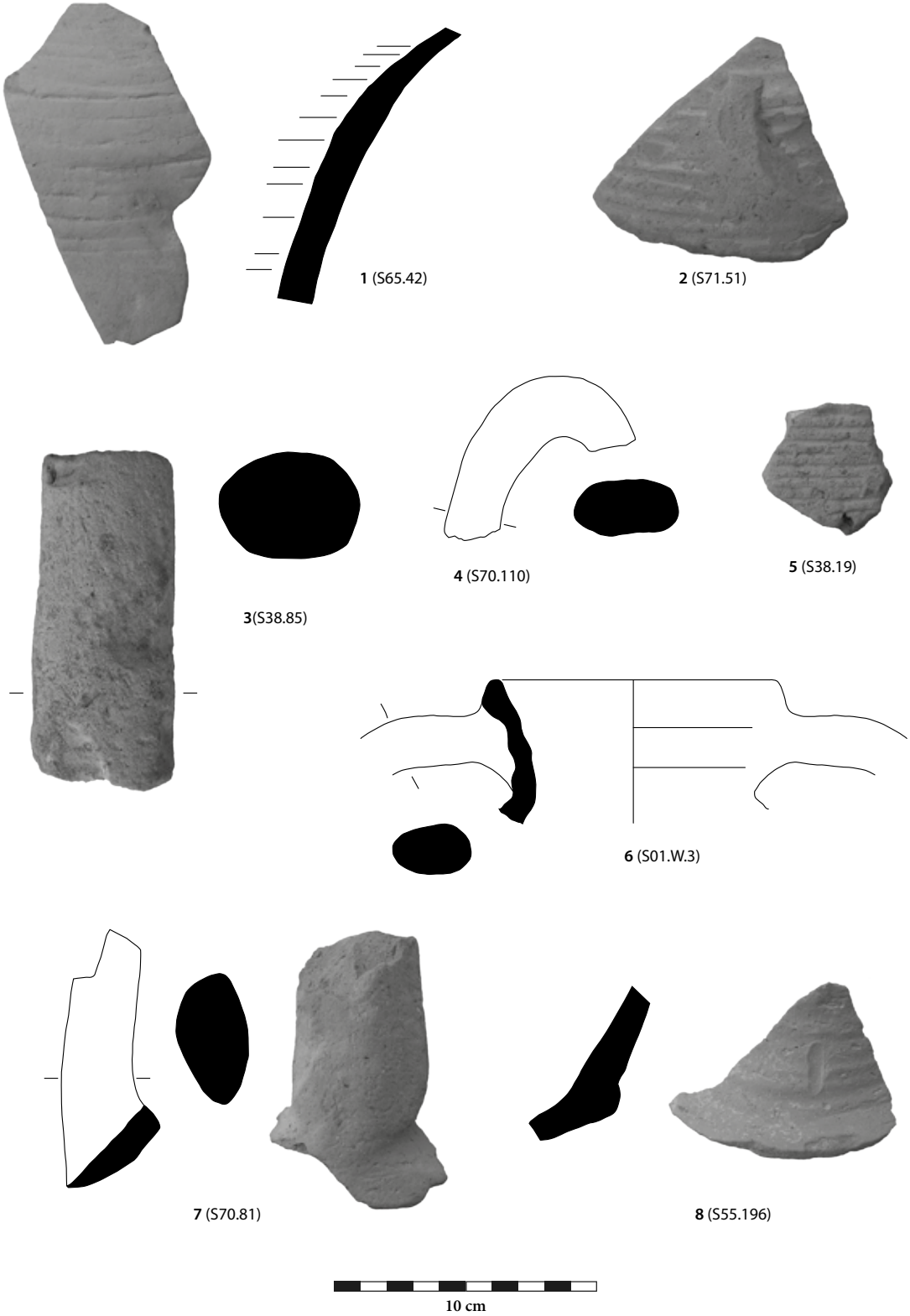


Fig. 12.16: Mid (-Late) Byzantine amphorae.
(1: Otranto, 2: Günsenin 1, 3-5: Günsenin 3, 6-8: unidentified types)

Fig. 12.17: Part of Mid Byzantine *Günsenin amphora 1*, delivered from a shipwreck at the cape of Markesi.

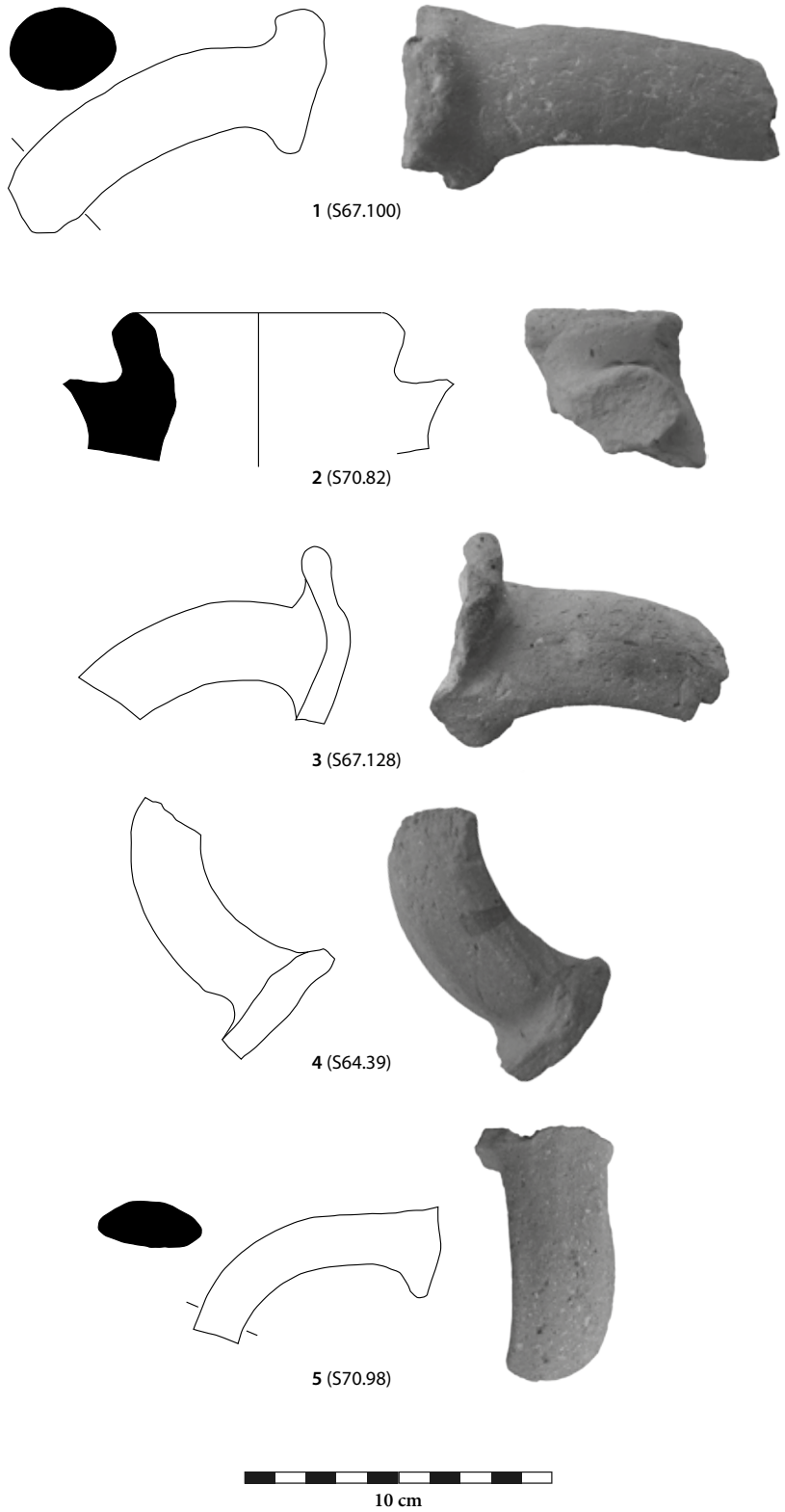
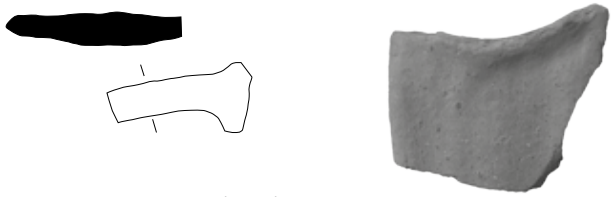
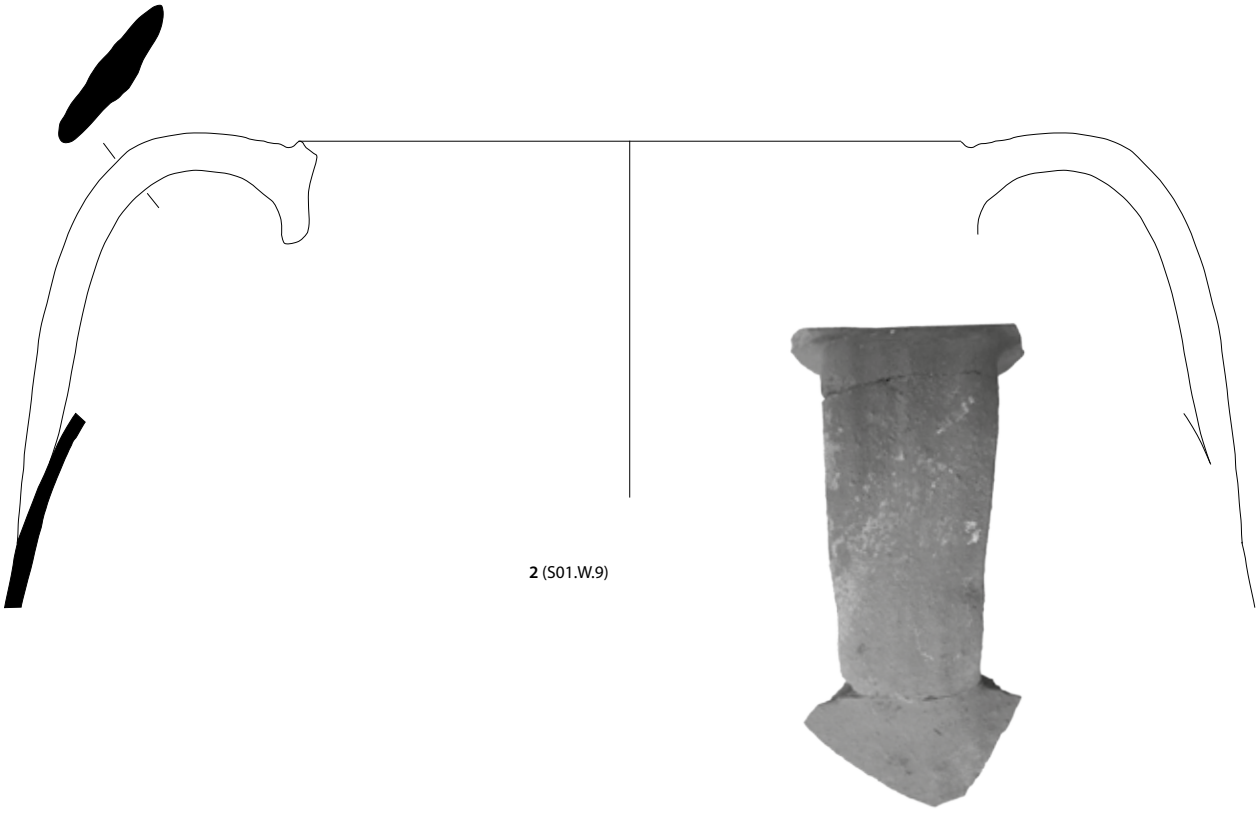


Fig. 12.18: Mid-Late Byzantine transport jars of unidentified type/origin. (1-2: FAB 38A, 3-4: FAB 38B, 5: FAB 39A)



1 (S68.29)

10 cm



2 (S01.W.9)

10 cm

Fig. 12.19: Late Byzantine stamnoi.

Chapter 13
Ottoman and Early Modern Skyros (1538 - 1950 AD)

13.1 SETTLEMENT PATTERN

The evidence for the settlement pattern on Ottoman and Early Modern Skyros is much richer in respect to the previous periods. Apart from the archaeological data, historical and, regarding the last century, oral sources provide significant advances in our understanding of settlement patterning on Skyros during the Ottoman and Early Modern periods.

Examining firstly the non-archaeological sources, the picture we are presented with for Ottoman Skyros, is that of a 'one-town island' with a population concentrated at the chief and unique settlement of Chora. In fact, there is no reference in the historical sources for any other permanently inhabited village on the island other than that of Chora. Regarding the travellers especially, apart from the unreliable information of the 'armchair travellers' of the 16th and 17th centuries, the more trustworthy of them from 1700 AD onwards (e.g. Tournefort), clearly speak of one village on the island around the castle of Chora (see Chapter 3). A second, but unfortunately unspecified settlement of semi-permanent character is referred only in the accounts of Leake as late as in 1806 (probably S21). Moreover, it is certain that Chora's satellite coastal settlement of Magazia (S10), undoubtedly a commercial installation for the needs of the central settlement of the island, was in existence already in the 17th century, as attested by the local historical archive.[1]

The rest of the settlements attested historically belong to the Early Modern phase of the island. The present port of Linaria was founded in 1828 upon the request of the local Community to the Government of Kapodistrias. After approval of the request, the basic harbour services were installed (coast-guard, customs etc.), which then saw the first people coming from adjacent islands to what was until that time an uninhabited area (Faltaits 1975, 4). Moreover, starting in 1897 small and probably seasonal settlements were created in Atsitsa, Ayios Panteleimon and Tris Boukes; Atsitsa's foundation was related to the mining activity, and Ayios Panteleimon and Tris Boukes were brought about by the reactivation of the Roman marble quarries (Konstantinidis 1901, 37-8). In 1900 Friedrich makes the first clear mention (Leake may have made a similar observation) of the hamlet of Katounes (S21), which, as he states, was periodically inhabited every two years for the rotating cultivation of the large valley of Trachi (see Appendix A, S21).

To these can be added the numerous family shelters of the peasants, the so-called *konakia,* meaning a rural structure located in an agricultural property of a farmer-family or in a pasture territory of a shepherd one, which in any case is only temporarily inhabited. These shelters, definitely in existence in Early Modern times as oral sources and even their present use attest, were apparently active since the Ottoman period. It is difficult to believe that the exploitation of the land could be served only by people commuting directly from Chora, the unique large settlement attested by the historical or even the archaeological sources in this period.

In fact, the archaeological survey, which, regarding this period was based not only on the ceramic scatters but mainly on the still surviving architectural structures, seems to confirm the aforementioned figure. With the exception of the aceramic settlement of Katounes (S21) and S30, S32 and S55 which more or less take the form of hamlet, no other extensive human installation was identified in the island's countryside. In contrast, numerous small isolated and modest family shelters were documented, equipped with the characteristic elements of agricultural installations (e.g. built oven, well, threshing floor etc.). Although these shelters are distributed all over the island, in areas with high agricultural potential (e.g. valleys), they often take the form of a hamlet or even village, like the four mentioned above (Fig. 13.1).

The semi-permanent character of these shelters is confirmed by archaeological criteria, namely the quantity and functional analysis of their ceramic

1 Antoniadis 1990, documents 34/1609, 37/1616, 174/1791.

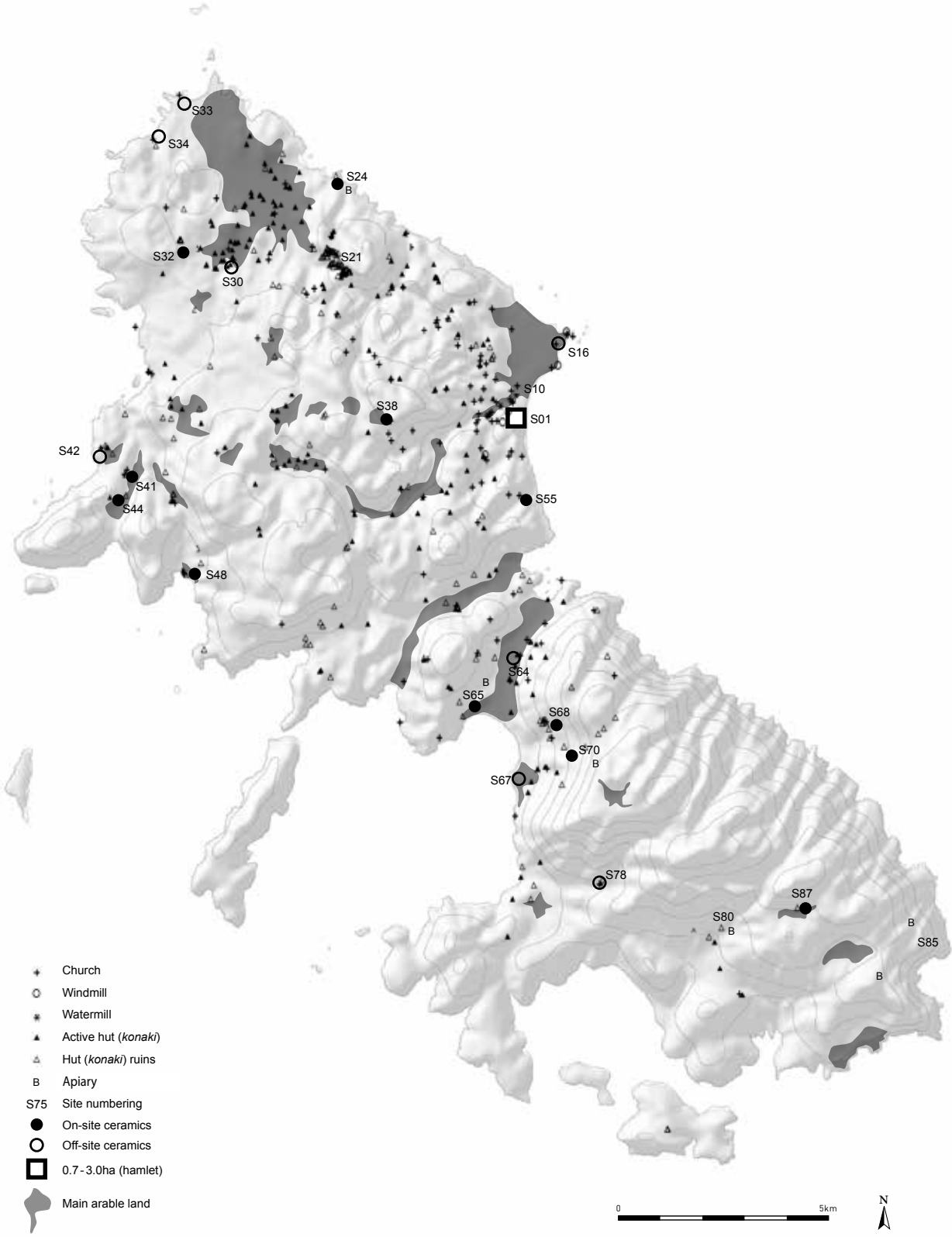


Fig. 13.1: Map showing the Ottoman-Early Modern sites of the island, against the main arable land.

waste. It was not possible to examine the pottery of every hut, as the survey did not include all these shelters among the archaeological sites examined.[2] However, a representative picture can be obtained from the investigated sites with an Ottoman-Early Modern component/shelter(s). The Ottoman-Early Modern components/shelters examined, present a characteristic low pottery concentration. In fact, only two sites were identified as Ottoman-Early Modern exclusively on the grounds of ceramic data (S55 & S70). The rest of the sites were identified primarily on the grounds of the architectural structures and only secondarily on the ceramics, the low numbers of which, at least regarding the extensively surveyed sites, would characterise them as off-site material without the support of the architectural structures.

Moreover, besides being low in number, the ceramics overall belong almost exclusively to modest, utilitarian everyday vessels. In fact the pottery assemblage of the countryside stands in strict contrast to the rich and fine ceramic collections of the households of Chora (see below). Although a difference in the ceramics between the central settlement and the countryside (at least in quality) is expected, still the absence of a single fine ware sherd in the Skyrian countryside in combination with the observed low quantity and function of the prevailing ceramics (the majority of them belonging to transport/storage vessels), I believe is a strong argument for the interpretation of these shelters as semi-permanent installations, in line with the historical sources and the oral information.

Further indications of the settlement pattern in the Skyrian countryside during this period are the chapels distributed all over the island (*exoklisia*), celebrated once per year during the annual feast of the saint to which they are dedicated. These are small modest structures (in their totality single-cell flat-roofed or rarely barrel-vaulted buildings), deprived of any monumental or luxury element (e.g. wall paintings). Although numerous, none of them have the character of a central church of a possibly lost settlement; on the contrary they are dispersed like the semi-permanent shelters of the peasants in the island's countryside.

Concluding the aforementioned discussion, it seems that the nucleation phenomenon, already at work during the medieval period, was fully developed from the Ottoman period onwards, resulting in Chora becoming during the Ottoman period the unique permanently inhabited settlement of the island. In fact, this period also sees an expansion of Chora, reaching its maximum site size (see Chapter 9). The countryside of the island was periodically inhabited with people commuting from Chora to work the fields. To ease the exploitation of the land, provisional family installations were scattered all over the island. In areas with high agricultural potential (e.g. Trachi, Kalikri), these semi-permanent shelters took the form of hamlets.[3]

A final note: the instructive value of the archaeological evidence of Ottoman-Early Modern Skyros presented above holds for the reading of the surface remains not only of the medieval, but also of the Greco-Roman periods. Although it is known that there are differences in the ceramic 'behaviour' of every period resulting in different surface archaeological data (in quantity and quality), still the archaeological advantage which the Ottoman-Early Modern period offers, preserving the building structures and the ceramic remains of every site, leaves room for comparison between the ancient and medieval sites where the architectural structures are lacking. The most characteristic example for this is S44, where the Late Roman and Early Modern components present noteworthy similarities: both have offered more or less the same number of artefacts, they have the same size and are developed exactly at the same spot. The only difference between them is the lack in the Late Roman component of the architectural structure, present at the Early Modern one. By copying the Early Modern hut and pasting it on the map of the Late Roman component one would have the complete picture of the Late Roman site (see Chapter 8, S44).

Furthermore, especially informative are the Ottoman-Early Modern data for how tricky the architectural remains alone can be for the characterisation of

2 The map of Fig. 11.1 includes all the huts of Skyros, those located in 'archaeological sites' with older occupation as well as those located in areas without identified previous activity (see Chapter 5.4).

3 The identification of Ottoman – Early Modern human activity on the aforementioned valleys, as attested by the presence of huts, is relatively diminished by the fact of the transformation of the old structures in permanent or seasonal modern houses. The lack of huts in the third valley of Kambos, can be easily explained by its proximity to Chora, which enabled the farmers to reach their fields directly from the central settlement, of walk of twenty minutes at maximum.

a given site as a permanently inhabited settlement. As we saw above, although the family shelters are found all over the island's countryside, still all of them were of semi-permanent character. This applies even for the large hamlet S21.

Finally, the data of Ottoman-Early Modern times could possibly supplement the incomplete settlement pattern of the medieval period presented above. Thus, the absence of identified medieval settlements on the countryside could be filled by, similar to the Ottoman-Early Modern period, small family farms of permanent or more possibly of semi-permanent character. The lack of medieval pottery on the countryside is not far from the low ceramic evidence of the Ottoman-Early Modern times, while nobody could deny that some of the Ottoman-Early Modern huts or chapels are actually replacements or renovations of the older medieval ones.

13.2 VERNACULAR ARCHITECTURE

The examination of vernacular architecture will take place through the discussion of the housing structures of the island, namely the Ottoman type house and the Early Modern mansions - the structures found at Chora - as well as the semi-permanent shelters of the countryside (*konakia*). Initially this discussion was to include non-housing structures as well (e.g. the two types of pre-modern 'industrial' architecture of the island the remains of which survive today, namely the water-mills and wind-mills), but practical difficulties did not permit it.

In every of the following housing categories a typological discussion is presented followed by the constructional and individual architectural elements. In the latter discussion only the stable (built or wooden) features are examined. Mobile elements (e.g. furniture) are here considered as a part of the domestic material culture and thus discussed in 13.8.

13.2.1 The Ottoman type house

The Ottoman type house is widely conceived as the typical Skyrian house. This house type has been the focus of study from the early years of the 20th century by scholars occupying themselves with folkloric studies or the history of architecture. The term 'Ottoman type house' preferred here for its description needs some clarification: the typological and morphological elements of the house in combination with its mobile household context (e.g. furniture, decorative items etc.), do not leave any doubt that this was the house-type of Skyros at least from Ottoman times onwards, applied as we shall see below to all the social classes. William Leake in his book *Travels in Northern Greece* gives a good description of the Skyrian house, totally in accordance with that which follows. Furthermore, he notes the high resemblance of the Skyrian houses with the Ottoman ones (in Antoniadis 1977, 160-1). This type of house was in use well into Early Modern times, with only those owned by the noble families being the exception. Their new larger multi-roomed mansions, represent the shift towards western domestic life. It was only towards the middle of the 20th century that the Ottoman type house started to be abandoned, making way gradually for the onset of the modern multi-roomed house. As a matter of fact the old 'traditional' type is partially used even today. The continuation of this type of house well into modern times made thus the definition 'Ottoman type' more appropriate than the solely chronological term 'Ottoman'. The term 'Ottoman type house' serves very closely the meaning intended here, that is, a type of house adjusted to an oriental style domestic life, where basic daily needs like eating or sleeping took place 'close' to the floor. In fact, the modern furniture introduced into this old type of house (e.g. bed, big chairs, tables etc.), according to the current demands of the users of the few surviving examples, is clearly unsuited to the Ottoman type house.

Typology

In its simplest form the Ottoman type Skyrian house was an orthogonal, usually narrow-fronted single-roomed building with a flat roof (Fig. 13.2). The dimensions of this basic unit varied, but on average could be 7x5x4.5 metres (Chatzimichali 1925, 21). This large uniform room was divided into two spaces with a wooden partition (*boulmes*), located usually on the narrow side opposite to the entrance, of approximately two metres in height above the ground. The ratio between these two spaces was 1:2. The smaller space, at the end of the house, was in its turn horizontally doubled with a wooden floor at the height of the *boulmes*. A wooden staircase made accessible the upper space, which was opened to the rest of the house. In this way three basic functions of the fami-

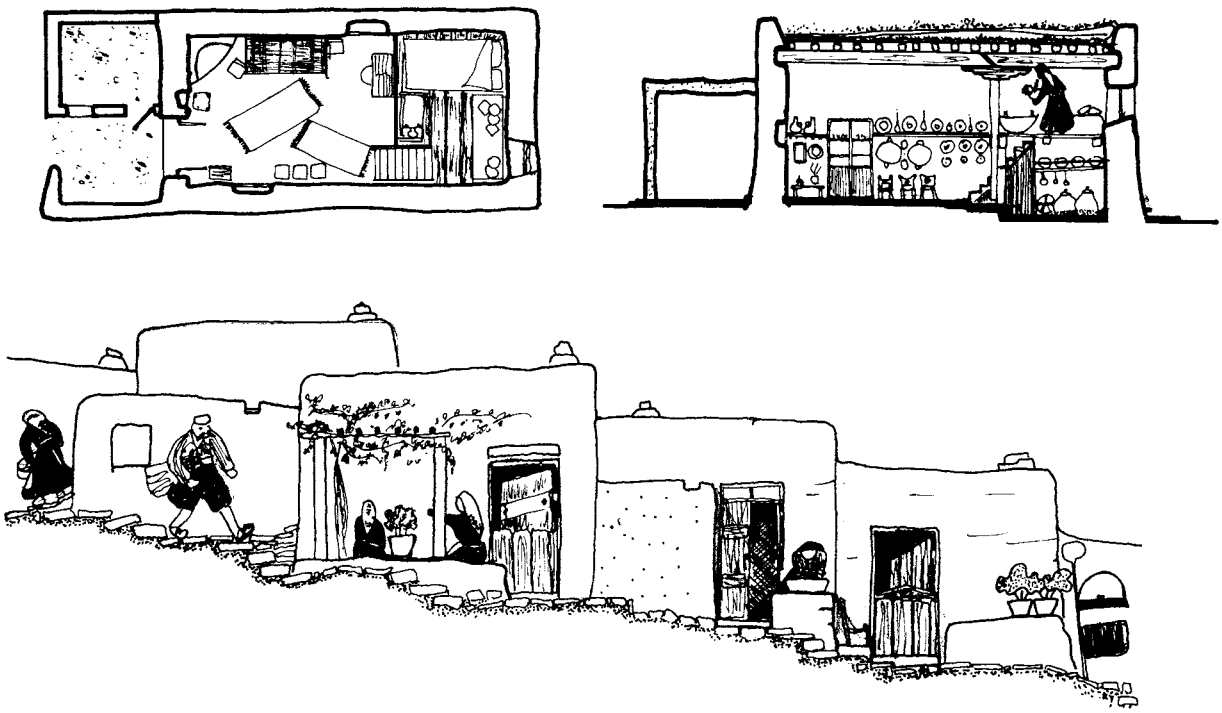


Fig. 13.2: Plan, longitudinal section and facades of the Ottoman type Skyrian house (after Arnaoutoglou 1982, 24, figs. 34, 35).

ly were served: sleeping in the elevated space which was called *sofas* (providing a relative privacy to this sacred family space), cooking and food storage immediately below (*apokrevatos*), while the rest of the house in front of *boulmes,* the so called *spiti,* was a multi-functional space used for dining, or as reception and 'display' hall, exhibiting on its walls all the luxury items possessed by the family.[4] Finally, when space was available the house was supplemented by a small yard, separated from the public space with a low built bench. There the well and the built oven were located.

This was the basic form of the Skyrian house for all social castes (Arnaoutoglou 1982, 25). From this point onwards, several additions to this core, according to the needs and financial background of the family, have resulted in different house forms (for which a certain typology cannot be created). A common phenomenon for the rich houses was the addition of an auxiliary room (*paraspito*), flanking usually the core-house. *Paraspito* was destined for everyday work and storage, liberating the core-house from these functions, and which then took on a more 'luxurious' aspect (Fig. 13.3).

The vertical development of this multiplied type of house was the introduction of the *anogokatogo,* a two-storey building, with different entrances for every floor. The accessibility to the upper floor was made directly from the usually higher level of the inclined terrain, or through a built staircase leading to a wooden balcony. In this case the ground floor was the daily used space, while the upper one was the '*kalo spiti',* the reception hall. Very often the addition of the second floor was dictated by the existence of a daughter in the family and by the need to provide her with a dowry (Arnaoutoglou 1982, 24). In part because of this, it was not uncommon for the second floor to be owned by a different family(Fig. 13.4).

The basic characteristics of the Skyrian house typology described above are not of course something new to Aegean architecture. The same logic is seen at work, for example, in the *monospita* of the Cyclades

4 The development of a reception and display space in the Aegean is usually seen as a late bourgeois development influenced by urban townhouse lifestyles (Bintliff 2013). It is difficult to detect how early this occurred on Skyros.

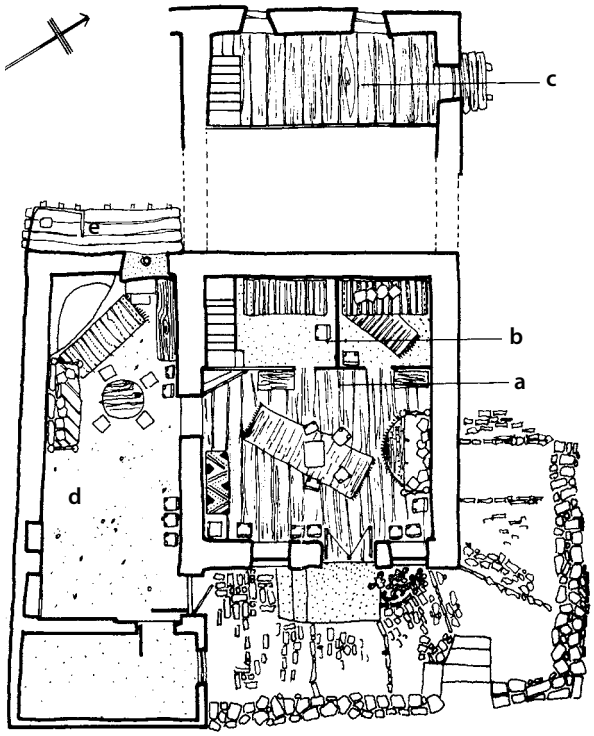


Fig. 13.3: Plan of luxury Ottoman type Skyrian house; a) core-house, b) *apokrevatos*, c) *sofas*, d) *paraspito*, and e) WC reached from the window (after Arnaoutoglou 1982, 20-1, fig. 29).

and Dodecanese (Vionis 2012, 106 ff.; Iakovidis 1978, 108 ff.). However, upon comparing architectural styles between the islands, several differences can be noted. The first is that on Ottoman Skyros we cannot identify large noble mansions, like those attested in other islands, or more notably in Mainland Greece (Bintliff 2012, 462; Sigalos 2004). Large mansions, designed as such, is a late development occurred on Skyros during the Early Modern period. In the Ottoman period the house of the upper classes was not typologically significantly different than that of the lower classes. The difference was mainly in the number of the same size and type single-roomed constructions which were gradually added to the original core-house, rendering to the noble house of Ottoman Skyros an irregular and non-monumental aspect. The 'nobility' was not expressed through the monumental nature of the construction, but rather through the number of smaller buildings/extensions under the possession of a given family and the quality of the internal adornment.

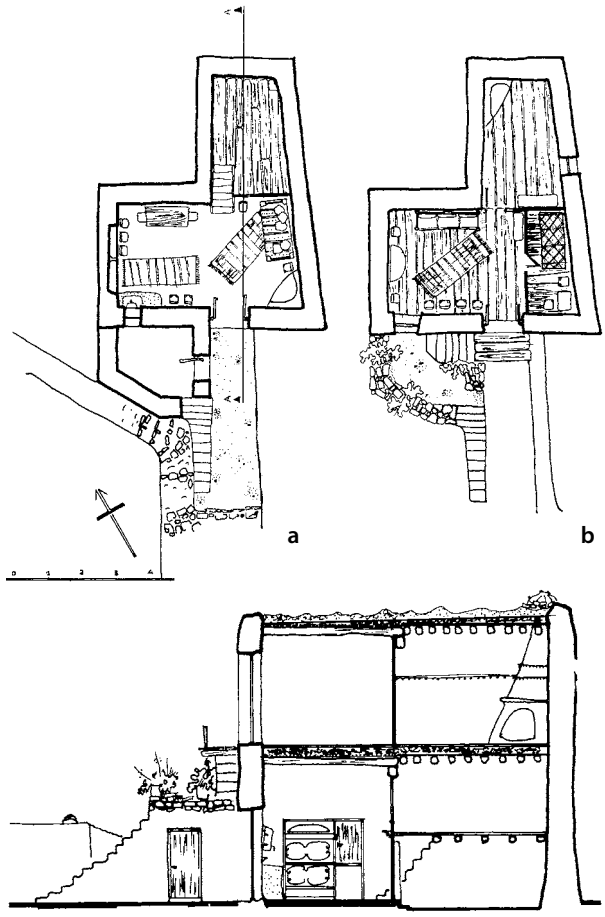


Fig. 13.4: Two-storey variation of the Ottoman type Skyrian house (*anogokatogo*); a) ground floor with sofas (*katoi*), b) upper floor (*anoi*) (after Arnaoutoglou 1982, 25, figs. 36,37).

A second difference between Skyros and the aforementioned island groups is in the use of the two-storey house. In the Cyclades or Dodecanese the ground floor accommodated usually the animals and/or provided extra storage space, while the upper floor was used for the housing of the family. This organisation better served the need for protection from outside enemies (e.g. pirate raids), as the housing in the second storey provided better control, and the ground floor, closed and deprived of openings played the role of a defensive wall (Vionis 2012, 106-7; Iakovidis 1978, 113). This defensive character was in fact the reason why in many Aegean settlements the direction of the houses was such that their outer walls actually made up the town's defensive walls. On Skyros such intention is not identified. The walls of the houses do not present a defensive role neither for the town nor for the house itself. In the case of the two-storey house both levels were dedicated to the human activity and the ground floor had the necessary openings.

Both differences identified between Skyros and the aforementioned Aegean island groups can be explained due to the common problem of the Aegean Chora, thus the restricted space, and the particular way in which this problem was locally solved. Furthermore, the houses of the Skyrian Chora were forced to be packed as close as possible to the place of refuge in case of emergency, the Kastro. The resulting restriction of available space for building did not permit the construction of monumental buildings. Moreover, this restriction obligated the use of all the available space within Chora exclusively for housing, even for the two-storey buildings. There was no space for animals in the core of the settlement. These were accommodated in auxiliary shelters on the margins of Chora. The dedication of the ground floor for housing deprived the buildings of a defensive function. The chosen solution in case of emergency was to take refuge in the fortified castle.

Constructional and individual architectural elements

The masonry of the Skyrian houses was composed of undressed local stones connected with mortar consisting of local soil (*melagki*), and sometimes supplemented with lime. Dressed tufa stones were preferred for the quoins. Often wood-ties enhanced the construction.

The roof, called *liakos,* was a heavy construction (Fig. 13.5). A timber framework supported the

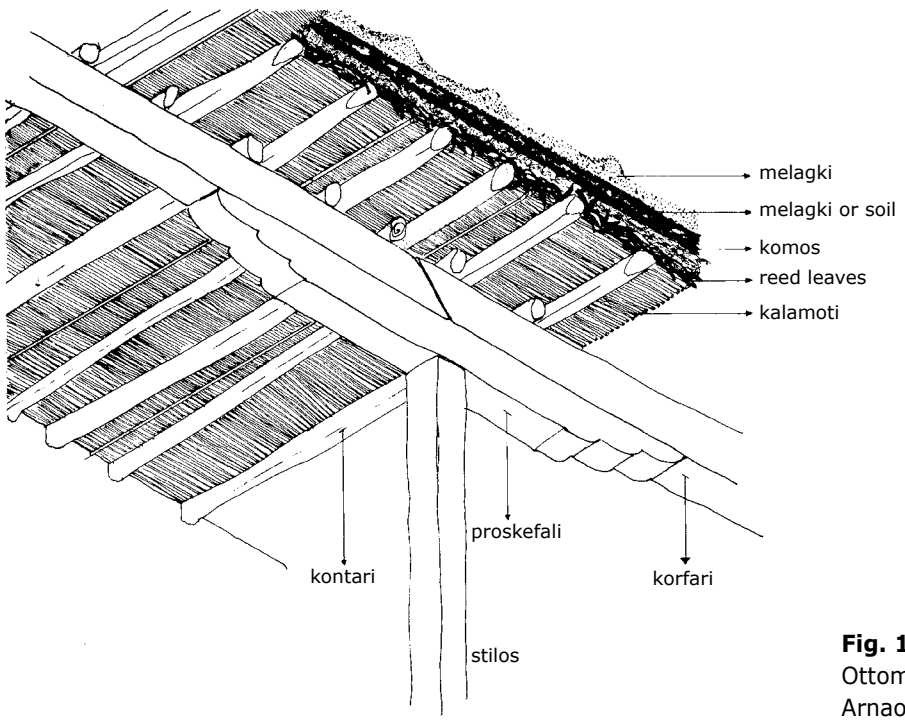


Fig. 13.5: Roof construction of the Ottoman type Skyrian house (after Arnaoutoglou 1982, 28, fig. 42).

roof. The framework consisted of a vertical beam (*stilos*), in the axis of the house, put in a way to be bound with the wooden partition (*boulmes*). It was crowned by a short horizontal beam (*proskefali*), on which was placed the central beam of the house (*korfari*). Vertically to that were set the rods (*kontaria*), almost exclusively of cedar. On the rods were vertically placed the reeds (*kalamoti*) or alternatively small cedars (*laviddia*) and above them reed leaves and seaweed (*komos*). Ultimately the roof was covered with soil (*melagki*) applied in several layers. The final layer was put in piles in such a manner that rain would automatically renew the roof's covering.

Fig. 13.6: Houses of Chora viewed from the castle in 1953; (M. Zagorisiou, archive-courtesy Benaki museum, G206a).

Fig. 13.7: Internal view of the Ottoman type Skyrian house in the early 20th c.; fireplace, closet, *stamnostatis* and ogee *iconostasis* (after Chatzimichali 1925, 40, fig. 36).

The length of the cedar rods, approximately up to three metres, was the most essential factor from which depended the width of the house: maximum five-six metres (two-three metres from the right and left of the beam). In the smaller auxiliary rooms (e.g. *paraspito*) where a central beam was not installed, the width of this space was up to three metres. This obligatory building constraint enhanced even more the homogeneity of the volume of the buildings, rendering the exterior an interesting effect when viewed (Fig. 13.6).

The openings of the house were few and small. The heavy construction of the roof and the strong winds of the Aegean did not permit many and big windows. The entrance of the house, usually one, was crowned by a light-hole. The wooden door was supplemented externally by a second smaller one, approximately one metre high (*xoporto*). In the summer by having the main door open and the *xoporto* closed, the inhabitants enjoyed the fresh air and the light yet keeping the animals outside.

The floors were almost exclusively natural soil powdered with sand. Those of *sofas* and of the upper floors were wooden.

The facades of the houses were extremely simple. Externally they appeared as white cubes due to the extensive use of whitewash. Only the openings and the few wooden balconies broke the white monotony. However, the low relief of the wall surfaces caused by the undressed stones, created the typical Aegean architectural game of shadow and light, enhanced by the effect from the whitewash and the strong sunlight.

In the interior the situation was not very different. The only interruption of the simple wall surfaces were the openings in the walls: closets, the bases of the water jars (*stamnostates*) and the *iconostasia,* small niches opened in the walls which accommodated the icons of the house. Many of them were crowned with delicate arches, some of them ogee, an apparent influence from Ottoman architecture.

The fireplace (*fougou*) held a special place in the house. Usually built in one of the corners of the main house, it was whitewashed and had an arcaded open-

Fig. 13.8: Internal of Skyrian Ottoman type house as it functions today (summer of 2013). The wooden partition (*boulmes*) with triple division of the house (*apokrevates, sofas, spiti*), the shelf and the decoration of the walls are elements of the Ottoman period. The big furniture (bed, couch, tables and chairs) are Early Modern and Modern additions.

ing. Like the rest of the wall surfaces, it too was full of decorative items (mainly ceramics and glass), placed on several built and wooden shelves (*askatzies*). In many houses a second fireplace was usually placed in the *apokrevatos* (Fig. 13.7).

The most characteristic element of the Skyrian house was the wooden partition (*boulmes*), which separated the 'public' space of the house from its more private compartments (*sofas* and *apokrevatos*). This construction was placed immediately in front, and partially based on the vertical beam of the house (*stilos*). One of its edges was interrupted by the staircase leading to the *sofas.* It bore one or two doors for the entrance to the *apokrevatos,* crowned usually by delicate ogee arches. One rectangular window in the other side of the door provided with more light the relatively dark space of the *apokrevatos.* The upper part of the construction in front of *sofas* was always wood carved (Fig. 13.8).

The final stable elements of the Skyrian house are the shelves, an essential feature for the display of the precious items of the house, and the *pagkos.* This last was a wooden box-like construction put alongside one of the walls. It bore two or more openings in its front for the location of small storage jars, while on its upper side were placed the various chests used for storage.

13.2.2 The Early Modern mansions (*archontika*)

After the formation of the Greek state the defence mechanisms which dictated the settlement planning of Chora, namely the placement of the houses close to the place of refuge, i.e. the castle, ceased to exist. At this point the settlement started gradually expanding in the lower part of the hill. More space was now available for building, exploited first of all by the upper class families of the island, who displayed their wealth by constructing monumental (for Skyros standards) houses. Without moving from the area close to the castle, traditionally the upper class neighbourhood of the settlement, the needed space for these constructions was found by exploiting the area of the now defunct old cemetery, or by buying properties adjacent to their old core-house (see Chapter 9).

The new buildings did not follow the local traditional models but presented a shift towards new housing forms. This phenomenon, generally prevalent in the Aegean, was affected by the neoclassical trend and by the new centres of reference of the politically new Greek territory, like Syros (Iakovidis 1978, 123, n.55; Bintliff 2012, 484; Sigalos 2004). On Skyros purely neoclassical elements are absent, urban characteristics are, however, clearly present.

Typology

The mansions taken as a group exhibit no characteristics that would lend itself to a typological categorisation. The geomorphology, financial ability and preference have dictated the form in every case.

Fig. 13.9: External view of an Early Modern mansion.

General characteristics of all the houses are their orthogonal or cubic shape, the two floors and the hipped or saddleback roof covered with tiles (Fig. 13.9). On the ground floor is usually the kitchen and the living room or even auxiliary rooms and on the first storey the bedrooms. An internal staircase connects the two floors.

Constructional and individual architectural elements

The stone masonry of the mansions does not differ in construction from the Ottoman type house. What is new are the internal false walls plastered over a wooden framework (*tsatmas*). These were usually applied for the partition of the upper storey rooms, as the wooden floor did not permit heavy constructions.

The roofs, as already noted, are almost exclusively timber covered with tiles, clear influence of the neoclassical or in any case urban models. In some cases the roofs are adorned with acroters or antefixes.

The openings are bigger, more in number and regularly distributed on the facades, in order to provide the many rooms of the house with light.

The floors are wooden, or on the ground floors covered with glazed tiles.

The facades maintain the Aegean simplicity without plastic articulations, except for small niches which in some cases flank the main entrance of the house.

An interesting feature of these houses is that although the turn towards a more 'western' domestic life, basic means of social display during the 'old' Ottoman period, namely the exposure of luxury items on the walls of the houses were maintained. Consequently architectural features of the Ottoman type house which served this habit (e.g. the big selves alongside the internal walls) were adapted to the new *archontika.*

13.2.3 The semi-permanent shelters of the countryside (*konakia*)

These are numerous and distributed all over the island (Fig. 13.1). Their destination was to accommodate seasonally, or for five days per week or so, mainly the male members of the peasant families (farmers or shepherds), whose housing base was at Chora (see 13.1). Dating the *konakia* is difficult without the support of the historical sources, which are almost always silent concerning these modest rural constructions. However, their typological and constructional similarities with the Ottoman type house described above, place their origins in the Ottoman period.

Like the Ottoman type house, these shelters have been continuously used without architectural alterations during Early Modern times. Many of them today are abandoned due to the local financial shift towards trade and tourism, and due to the introduction of cars as the primary vehicle of transport, enabling people to commute to and from their lands without having to stay overnight. However, not a few of these structures, if not transformed into proper houses, are still in use by their owners for agricultural activities, after their renovation with modern materials (e.g. cement), according to modern demands.

Given the severe alterations the old houses of Chora have undergone over the last decades, the role of these rural shelters, especially the abandoned ones, becomes very important for the study of the Early Modern vernacular architecture of the island. A first brief approach is attempted below.

Typology

Like the Ottoman type house, *konakia* are orthogonal, usually narrow-fronted single-roomed buildings with flat roofs. They are ground floor constructions. The function of these shelters as work places where the crops and other fruits were gathered, created the need for auxiliary rooms apart from those dedicated to housing. Thus, almost all of them are flanked by supplementary constructions that served as animal shelters or for storage and other activities. These auxiliary structures usually have their own entrance but in some cases the entrance is inside the housing room. The housing room itself is a simplification of the Ottoman type house: usually smaller, as not the whole family stays here; lower, as no *sofas* exist; and without wooden partition, as there is no need for a separation between reception hall and daily use space. The housing room of the shelter is only used for cooking, eating and sleeping.

A typological difference can be identified between the shelters used by the farmers and those belonging to the shepherds. Apart from the well and the built oven present in both cases, the huts of the farmers have a threshing floor close to the building complex. The huts of the shepherds, on the contrary,

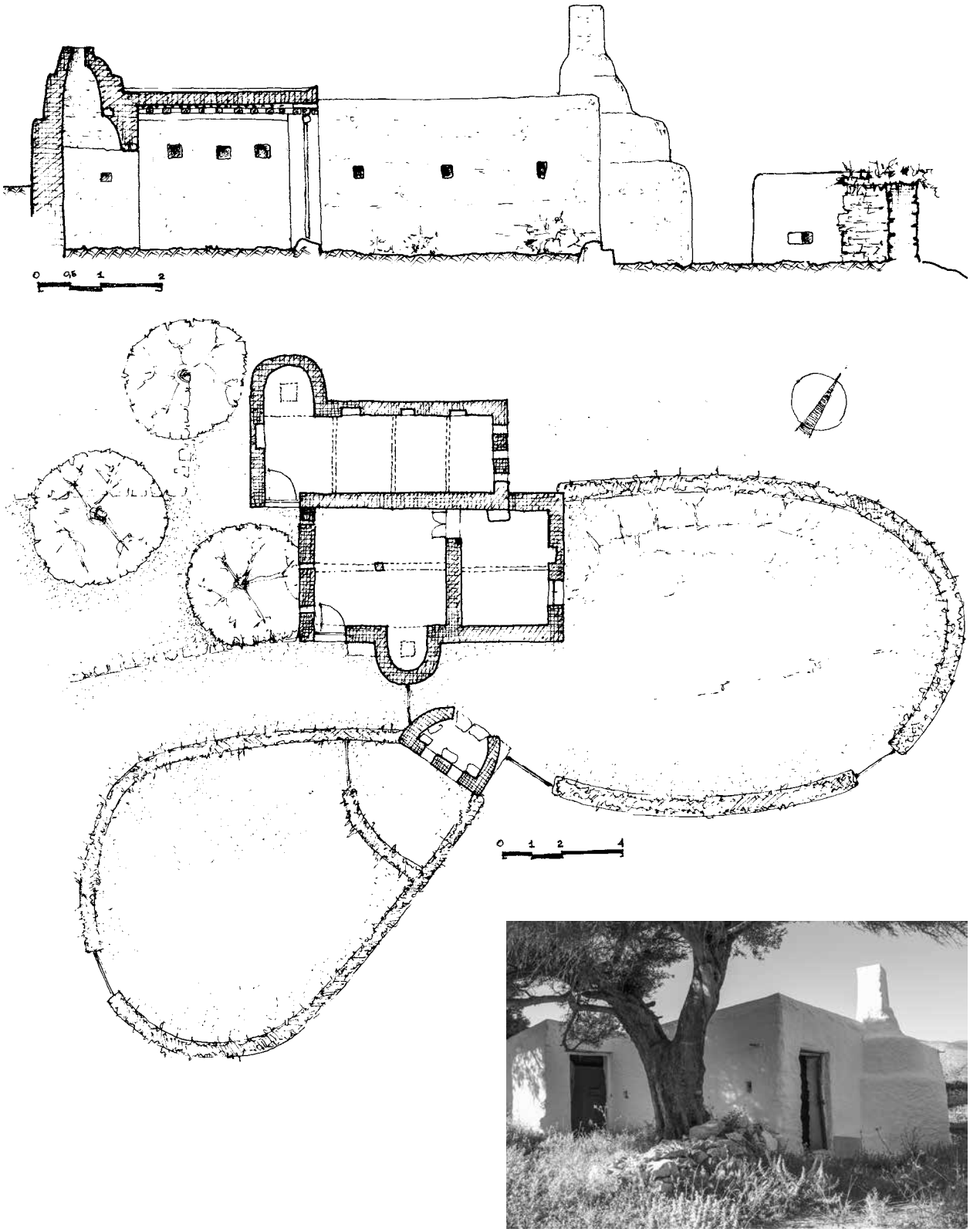


Fig. 13.10: Plan, section and general view of Ottoman-Early Modern *konaki* (*kazanospito*) (S. Papazoglou).

Fig. 13.11: Types of fireplaces in the Early Modern hamlet of Katounes (S21).

have a sheep and goat pen. Moreover, in the building complex itself, the fireplace of the shepherd shelters is placed in a particular part of the building that sets it apart typologically from the rest. Used not only for cooking and eating but also for the boiling of the milk, the fireplace was large enough to hold a cauldron. In order to accommodate the cauldron, the fireplace was constructed not in the corner, but alongside the wall. Actually the fireplace is not built in front of the wall, but opens into it like a large conch, creating externally an apse. This is the locally known *mantrofougou.*

Furthermore, the organisation of the shepherd corporation (*smichtes*), led to the construction of special shelters destined for the production of the milk goods that were used by all the members of every group corporation (see Faltaits 1976). These shelters, equipped with more than one room for housing/milk preparation, are characterised by these 'monumental' fireplaces and are called *kazanospita,* from the word *kazani* for cauldron (Fig. 13.10).

Constructional and individual architectural elements

In their basic characteristics the constructional and morphological elements of the shelters are identical to those of the Ottoman type house and thus not repeated here. The identified differences are commented below:

The window openings are smaller and are actually light-holes. The entrances on the other hand are wider than those of the houses at Chora*,* in order to facilitate the movement of big objects (e.g. sacks with crops, agricultural tools etc.). Dirt floors prevail. The internal wall faces are undressed and bare, except for the usual closets set into the walls. A characteristic element of these shelters are the widely occurring benches which apparently played the role of the mobile furniture rarely present here. Finally some more words must be written on the fireplaces. Apart from the large *mantrofougou* mentioned above, there were also smaller fireplaces built in the corner of the room, like those in the houses of Chora. Two types of this can be identified in the huts: those with the arcaded opening, and a simpler construction where the front side of the fireplace was erected on a wooden beam. Apart from the simpler construction, this type offered a larger space for the accommodation of big cooking wares (e.g. cauldrons), commonly used by the peasants for the cooking of large amounts of food for the plentiful male inhabitants of the shelter complex. The fireplace hearths were usually the dirt floor itself (Fig. 13.11).

13.3 ECCLESIASTICAL ARCHITECTURE
(in conjunction with Appendix C).

The ecclesiastical monuments belonging chronologically in the Ottoman-Early Modern period are much more numerous in respect to the previous centuries, offering more ground for discussion related to the architectural trends which have taken place on the island. Without taking into consideration the chapels of the countryside, the sample of Chora and its suburbs is sufficient for the extraction of general conclusions and typological categorisation.

13.3.1 Typology

The picture presented by the summary of the typological categorisations is typical of Ottoman Greece (Fig. 13.12). Thus we see the slight survival of the complex Byzantine types and the dominance of the simpler types, already occurring in the previous centuries, or types newly created by simplifying the known types and/or influenced by Islamic architecture (Mamaloukos *et al.* 1996; Deliyianni-Dori 1993).

The cross-in-square church

(Fig. 13.13) (Type 1b in the typology of Appendix C) The well known Byzantine Greece cross-in-square type occurs only once on the island, at the *katholikon* of the monastery of Ayios Georgios (C05). The complex nature of construction resulted in its limited application in Ottoman times, and was usually simplified, as in the manner of the covering, consisting of a uniform saddleback roof for both the vertical wings of the cross and the corner bays (Deliyianni-Dori 1993, 50-1). However, it is interesting that the case of Ayios Georgios does not belong in this simplified category; it is a complex four-columned type, as developed during the Mid-Late Byzantine period, which maintains the scaling of the roofs leaving clearly visible the different height between the corner bays and the arms of the cross.[5] It is not of course accidental that such a luxury and so close to the Byzantine tradition type was applied for the *katholikon* of a monastery - *metochi* of Megisti Lavra at Mount Athos. Both elements,

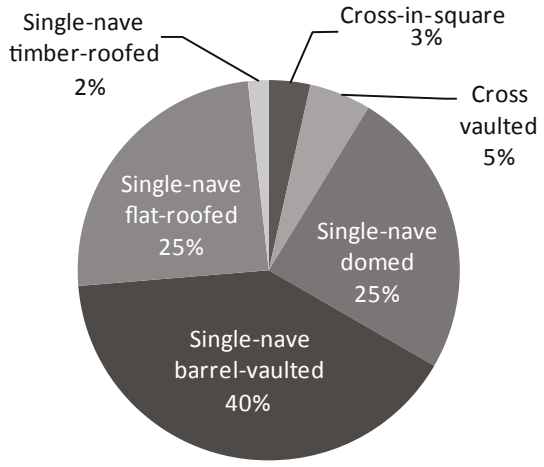


Fig. 13.12: Quantitative summaries of the architectural church-types occurred at Chora of Skyros and its suburbs in the Ottoman-Early Modern period.

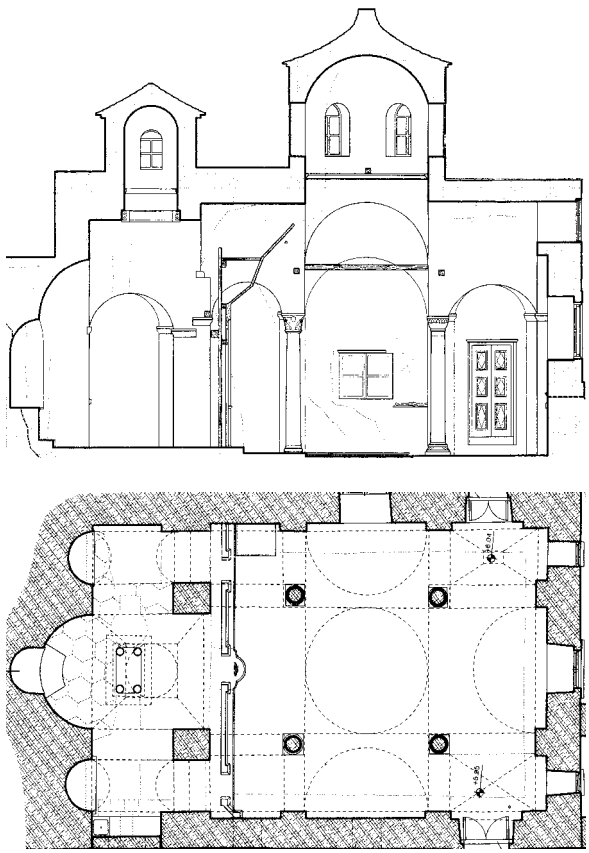


Fig. 13.13: Longitudinal section and plan of the cross-in-square – complex four-columned church type (*katholikon* of the monastery of Ayios Georgios, C05; Gounali & Kantzos, archive-courtesy 23rd Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities).

5 The last detail was revealed in 2013 during the restoration programme of the monument and the removal of the 20th c. covering of the church made of cement.

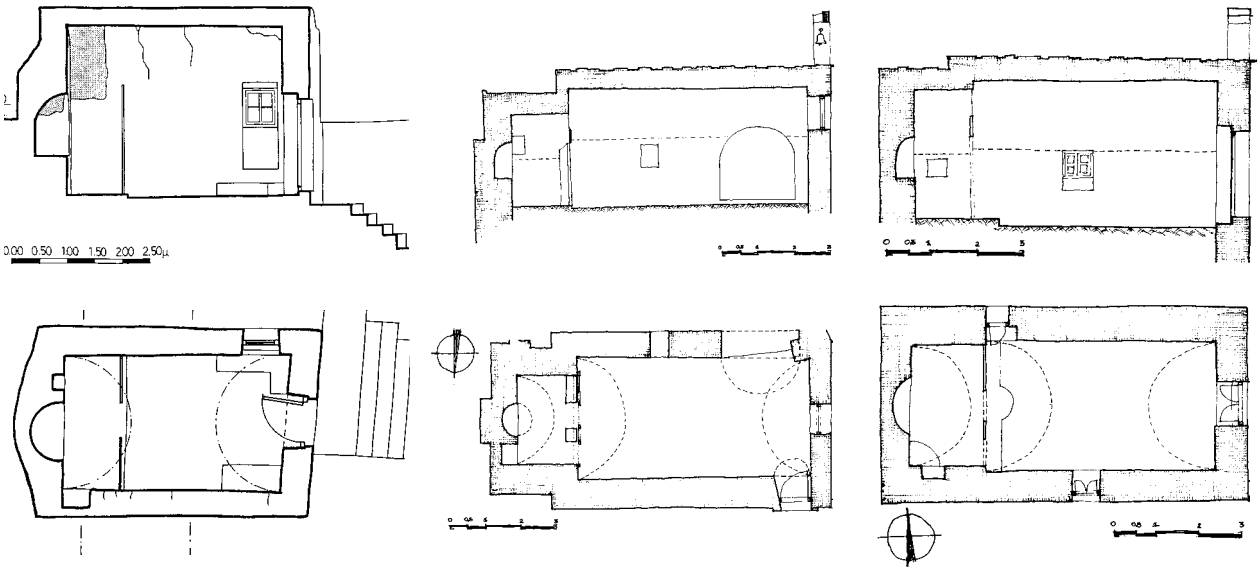


Fig. 13.14: Longitudinal sections and plans of the single-nave barrel vaulted church: a) subtype 3a (Christos Lipari, C20; Argyros & Apostolou, archive-courtesy 23rd Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities), b) subtype 3b (Ai Stratis, C26; S. Papazoglou), and c) subtype 3c (Ayios Minas, C38; S. Papazoglou).

luxury and Byzantine tradition, characterise the ecclesiastical building activity of the monasteries of the Holy Mountain from the 16th c. onwards, in which actually we should seek the inspiration/reflection of the Skyrian *katholikon*, built in 1599-1602. Although the usual type of athonite *katholika* is the cross-in-square with side choirs (Athonite triconch), we do not lack examples of the complex four-columned types as well (e.g. Stavronikita in 1546). Moreover, the 'Mount Athos orientation' suggested here for the *katholikon* of Ayios Georgios, does not exclude the possibility of its inspiration deriving from Athenian or Euboean models, areas where the type was extensively distributed and with which Skyros had many contacts.

A special, and unique for the island, church building considered here as a variation of the cross-in-square type is Panayia Ktsou (C25), a luxury monument built by the *archon* Bozikis in 1560 AD. In plan the building has the form of the complex four-columned, but in its upper part there are shaped vaults, covered with a uniform saddleback roof (Type 1c in the typology of Appendix C). Moreover, the disproportionally large width of the central part of the church in comparison to the lateral ones betrays elements of a three-aisled basilica, the combination of which with elements of the cross-in-square complex four-columned type, has produced this unique church. Undoubtedly the monument is a degeneration of traditional models.

The cross-vaulted church

(Type 2 in the typology of Appendix C; for the analysis and plan of the type see Chapter 12.2.1)
The simple version of the cross-vaulted type, attested on Skyros since the Late Byzantine period, is also slightly present in monuments dated to the Ottoman period. Nothing really different can be observed from the two early Post-Byzantine examples, when compared to the unique Late Byzantine case, and actually the criteria for their chronological distinction warrants further examination. Only one late example (C53 - Panayia Limpiani) presents elements which characterise the monument as 'pseudo-cross-vaulted' (Küpper 1990, 230). Like in the previous period, the models of the Skyrian cross-vaulted should be sought in adjacent Euboea, where the type is frequently seen in Late Byzantine or Post-Byzantine monuments.

The single-nave barrel vaulted church

(Type 3 in the typology of Appendix C)
The third and simplest church-type present on the island since the Late Byzantine period, namely the sin-

gle-nave barrel vaulted, now predominates among the Post-Byzantine monuments of Chora, occupying 40% of the total. As in the rest of Greece, this type together with the single-nave flat roofed discussed immediately below, was preferred for the small usually non-parish churches. Apart from the examples at Chora, the remaining chapels on the island are of either these two types. In one case the barrel-vaulted type was applied for the *katholikon* of a monastery definitely in existence in 1586 (C52).

A more thorough analysis has identified three variations of the type, equally distributed among the churches of Chora (Figs. 13.14-15). The difference which constitutes the variation is identified in the form of the bema in relation to the main temple of the church: Subtype 3a, where the bema is inset in plan and section to the orthogonal form of the building, covered with a uniform barrel-vault (a form in which the type occurred in the previous period as well); Subtype 3b, where the bema is smaller in height and width and in a way 'attached' to the orthogonal main temple; consequently the church is covered with two barrel vaults of different height, one for the bema and a second one for the main temple; and Subtype 3c, where while the church internally presents the previous situation, externally in plan the bema is inset into the orthogonal main temple, maintaining, however, its lower level.

The single-nave flat-roofed church

(Type 4 in the typology of Appendix C)
A similar classification can be identified in the single-nave flat-roofed church type, which accounts for 25% of the monuments of Chora and its suburbs (Fig. 13.16). Some of this type of church buildings are probably the result of repairs to what were originally barrel-vaulted churches, which after the collapse or severe wear of their vault, were replaced with a flat roof. Furthermore, this kind of church building can be divided in two variations according to the form of the bema in relation to the main temple: Subtype 4a, where the bema is inset in plan and section to the orthogonal form of the building (the most frequent case); and the less prevalent Subtype 4b, where internally and externally the bema is lower and narrower than the main temple, giving the impression of being 'attached' to the last.

The single-nave timber-roofed basilica

(Type 5 in the typology of Appendix C)
Related to the last two types is the single-nave timber-roofed basilica, of which only one example exists on the island, namely the present cathedral of Melikarou (C39). The large size, the timber-saddleback roof and some pseudo-neoclassical or even 'western-style' elements of the church (e.g. gables, simplified painted decoration of the panelling or 'pseudo-neoclassical' elements of the wooden *templon*),

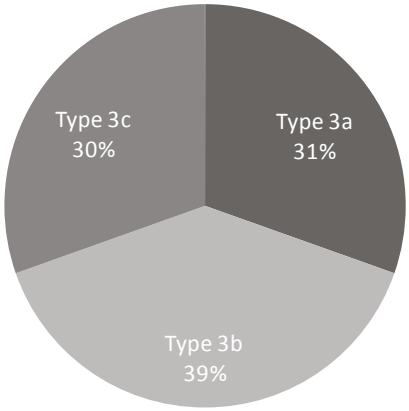


Fig. 13.15: Quantitative summary of the subtypes of the single-nave barrel vaulted church

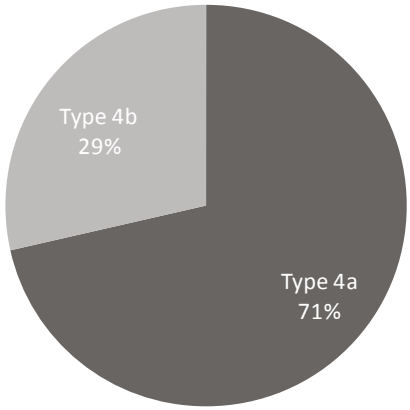


Fig. 13.16: Quantitative summary of the subtypes of the single-nave flat-roofed church.

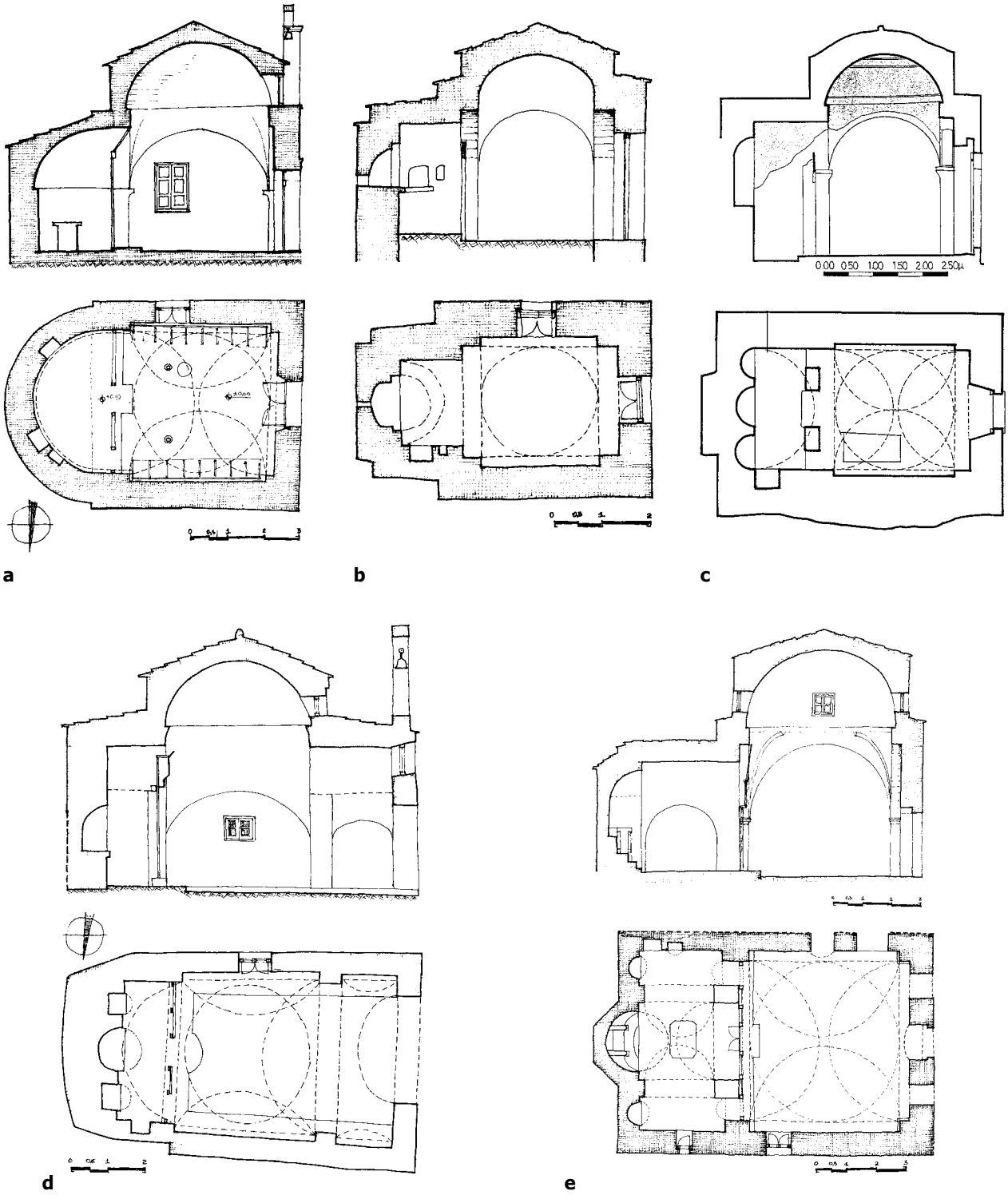


Fig. 13.17: Longitudinal sections and plans of the single-nave domed church: a) subtype 6a (Ayia Triada, C28), b) subtype 6b (Ayia Triada, C16), c) subtype 6c (Pente Martires, C19), d) subtype 6d (Christos Miga, C36), and e) subtype 6e (Ayios Ioannis, C42). (S. Papazoglou. Subtype 6c drawn by Argyros & Apostolou, archive-courtesy 23rd Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities.)

could characterise the church as a late and simplified version of the (usually three-aisled) basilica, revitalised during the last chronological phase of the Turkish occupation (18th-19th c.) in the financially thriving areas of northern Greece and the islands, which probably the Skyrian example copies (Deliyianni-Dori 1993, 57).

The single-nave domed church

(Type 6 in the typology of Appendix C)

A special group of church buildings of the island are those belonging to the single-nave domed type with blind arches. They occupy 25% of the total of the Post-Byzantine monuments of Chora and its suburbs and are usually parish or in any case luxury churches; one case is the *katholikon* of a monastery (C55). The precisely dated examples all belong to the 17th century. They are characterised by the cubic form of the building and the low and wide -in relation to the volume of the church- dome, which covers all its width. The dome is usually erected directly on the pendentives, and through them on the east and west arches and the north and south walls of the church which are articulated with blind arches. Very often the radius of the dome is slightly larger in respect to its cyclical base. This (at least for some cases) is because of the timber centring during the construction of the dome, based on the pendentives themselves - once they had been completed- rather than the church floor. Obviously, the dome was constructed around and over the centring. Thus, after the centring removal, the space on which it was placed was left empty, corresponding to the thickness of the said centring construction.

Churches of this type are many usually in Attica and particularly in Athens from the 16th - 17th century onwards (e.g. Ayios Nikolaos Chostos). Their great concentration in the city has led to the suggestion of a local workshop in the area (Pallis 2009, 505-6). Their characteristics, namely the cubic form and the low and wide dome have been interpreted as influences from Ottoman architecture (Orlandos 1933, 124; Mamaloukos *et al.* 1996, 286; Deliyianni-Dori 1990, 51). It is not known, and actually doubted, whether the fourteen in total Skyrian churches of this type were influenced directly from Ottoman architecture, as no related buildings on the island have been attested with surety. Nevertheless, an indirect (and more probable) influence must be sought in the contemporaneous churches of Athens, a city with which Skyros had many contacts and to which it was ecclesiastically dependent. The aforementioned church of Ayios Nikolaos Chostos especially is very close to many of the Skyrian examples.

Analysing further the Skyrian cases I could identify five variations of the type (Figs. 13.17-18): Subtype 6a: represented by one example only (C28). The structure of the church is a cubic main temple on which is erected the pendentive dome, and to which is added from the east a noticeably wide apse spread across the width of the lateral walls of the building - actually the bema of the church.

Subtype 6b: represented also by one example only (C16). The structure of the church is a cubic main temple on which is erected the pendentive dome, and to which is 'added' from the east a lower and narrower barrel-vaulted bema. The different height of the roofs (bema, main temple, dome) renders an interesting scaling effect to this subtype.

Subtype 6c: The structure of the church is a cubic main temple on which is erected the pendentive dome, and to which is 'added' from the east an inset to the orthogonal form of the building barrel-vaulted bema.

Subtype 6d: This is the most common version of the type, including (together with the next subtype) the biggest and more 'monumental' churches of the island. The structure of the church can be analysed as a central cube on which is erected the pendentive

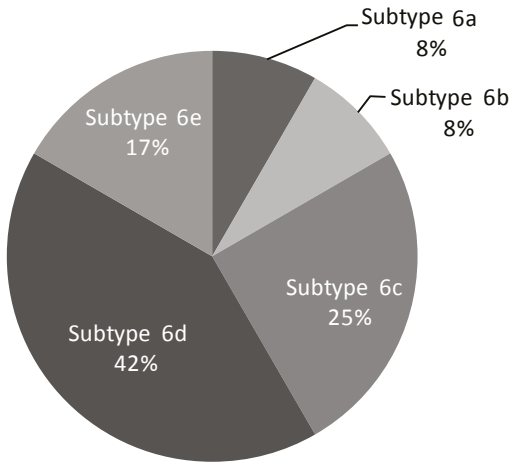


Fig. 13.18: Quantitative summary of the subtypes of the single-nave domed church.

dome (main temple), and to which from the east and west side are 'attached' two barrel-vaulted spaces, for the bema and a similar to a narthex respectively. The addition of the two barrel-vaulted spaces from the east and west outlines the long axis of the church. An interesting and unique variation of the subtype occurs in the church of the Taxiarchs (C24). This example, while in plan it belongs to the subtype 6d, bears a saddleback roof. Of course, this type of roof could not allow the construction of a dome, leading to the construction of a wide oval calotte. This variation is reminiscent of the case of C25, differing only in that there the alternated type is the cross-in-square. It is almost certain that this church was the inspiration for the construction of the Taxiarchs.

Subtype 6e: This category contains the two biggest and luxury parish churches of Chora, namely Archontopanayia (C23) and Ayios Ioannis at *Kochilia* (C42). It is a combination of the subtypes 6b and 6c, but more monumental and outlining the height axis of the building. Furthermore, the structure of the church is a high cube on which is erected the pendentive dome (the main temple), and to which is added from the east a lower, but inset to the orthogonal plan of the church, space (the bema). The large size of the building dictated the support of the arch between the main temple and the bema with two robust pillars. From these pillars start two other small arches with an east-west direction which divide the large bema in three parts, the *prothesis, diakonikon* and the central bema. The large bema permitted the construction of a free-standing altar in the centre, by contrast with the rest of the subtypes mentioned above where this is set into the central conch. There a monumental episcopal throne was set, an archaic element apparently copied from the Byzantine episcopal church at the castle.

Ayios Nikolaos Achladonas (C54) is a variation of the single-nave domed type. The church is very close to subtype 6d but presents alterations like the (unequal) elongated barrel vaulted spaces developed not only eastwards and westwards but northwards and southwards as well, or the proper dome erected on a high cylindrical drum. Although single-naved with dome, this church does not belong to the subtypes presented above, and yet cannot be a special category in itself. The anomalies which the church presents are probably results of a repair during Ottoman times of an older, apparently Byzantine monument.

13.3.2 Constructional elements

The Post-Byzantine churches of Skyros were built with undressed local stones connected with mortar consisting mainly of local soil (*melagki*). Dressed or semi-dressed stones or even *spolia* were preferred for the angles. Often wood-ties enhance the construction.

The roof of the domed or barrel vaulted churches is usually covered with stone slabs or, more rarely, of tiles. Tiles cover the saddleback roofs of the two particular and luxury vaulted churches of C24 and C25 as well, and the unique single-nave timber-roofed basilica of the island (C39). The preference for stone slabs can be easily explained for an Aegean island full of schist and limestone. Finally, the flat-roofed churches were originally covered with wooden uprights, bamboo and finally local soil (*melagki*), a method applied to the domestic constructions as well. Like the houses, today the soil of the original construction is replaced or paved with cement.

Regarding the wall openings, these are few and small. The central door is usually located in the west side and has a horizontal lintel (in some cases an ancient column spolium). Sometimes the entrance is arcaded. The windows are usually single-lobed, orthogonal or arcaded often ogee (e.g. C12). Pointed or even ogee arches are often found in the belfries (e.g. C24) (Fig. 13.19).

The altars are usually built and set into the semicircular conch of the bema. In more luxurious and monumental churches these stand free in the centre of it (C05, C23, C39 and C42).

As for the floors, very few churches preserve today their original paving, which consisted usually of the natural rock covered with a thin layer of sand (e.g. C19, C31). This was the common floor for the houses as well. Today, the majority of the churches have their floors paved with tiles of the 50's (e.g. C23, C42), which unfortunately are gradually being replaced by modern ones. Apart from the natural rock, in luxury churches or in the *katholika* of monasteries a more elaborate paving is expected. This is the case of the *katholikon* of Ayios Georgios (C05) in which the floor is paved with marble plaques established in 1788, or the ceramic tile pavement of the *katholikon* of Ayios Dimitrios (C55) constructed in 1751.

The external facades are simple, non-articulated and whitewashed. In some cases a simple conch crowns the main entrance (e.g. C55), or even more

Fig. 13.19: Facade of the church of Ai Stratis (C24), with its ogee belfry.

Fig. 13.20: The monumental arcade of the church of Archontopanayia (C23).

Fig. 13.21: Facade of Ayia Triada (C28), with Iznik tiles in its belfry.

rarely there is the presence of a propylon or of a monumental arcade (e.g. C23, C33) (Fig. 13.20). These structures in some cases are decorated with low reliefs of simple or more elaborate western inspired motifs (e.g. C23). More prevalent are the western or eastern ceramics built into the masonry for the decoration of the facades or the belfries (e.g. C07, C21, C28) (Fig. 13.21). As for the internal surfaces, if not painted, they are similarly whitewashed. A unique example of internal decoration is the church of *Panayia Kyra-Psomou* (C33), adorned with stucco Baroque-style motifs, apparently a western influence. The blind arches of the single-nave domed churches are the only internal wall articulation occurring, except of course for the conchs.

13.4 DOMESTIC MATERIAL CULTURE: INTRODUCTION

As could be expected, the material evidence from the last four centuries is much richer than that from previous periods. This part will present the main categories of items that constitute the typical Skyrian household, namely the ceramics, the glass, the metallic objects, the textiles and the wooden items. In the attempt to present a full picture of the main categories, it is clear that this section could not draw solely from the archaeological survey, focused on the countryside, but is supplemented with information from representative complete specimens from private collections.

Moreover, as we saw in the discussion of the settlement pattern, the nucleation of the population within Chora, which reached full development during the Ottoman period, has left the countryside with small semi-permanent installations of agricultural character. Consequently, except for the plain utilitarian ceramic wares identified in the countryside, the rest of the material evidence of the period comes from the data contained inside the Chora, where the mass of the items (and the totality of the fine ones) were concentrated. Thus, except for the pottery, of which some data could be retrieved from the surface survey of the countryside and the area of the Kastro, all the categories (the ceramics included) are supplemented by information gathered by the material of private collections.

Apart from the pottery, in which a more thorough analysis is attempted regarding the fine and plain, imported and local wares, the remaining four categories are more superficially described, by presenting mainly the luxury objects. For example, glass is a luxury item, while the textiles, the metallic and wooden items have also a subset of exclusively functional everyday objects (e.g. vernacular tools). The later are not presented here as this would overwhelm the writer and the available space of this study. Only sketches regarding this subset of functional objects will be presented here within the domestic categories (e.g. the plain furniture).

The roles of the materials presented below were functional, decorative and mixed. Although the decoration of the houses with imported fine items was a common phenomenon in the Aegean, the high scale on which this had taken place on Skyros was noticed by travellers. The amount and quality of the internal decoration of the houses of Chora through the aforementioned objects was the basic means for the expression of the social class in which their owners belonged. Consequently the acquisition and exposition of certain items on the walls of the houses meant social elevation in the strongly socially-stratified Ottoman and Early Modern community of Skyros. This led to a great demand on the island for such objects, the intra-regional circulation of which among the households was widespread even after their first arrival on Skyros. The visible result of this process was entire walls to be covered with items, giving visitors of the beginnings of the 20th century the impression of Skyrian houses being 'small museums'.

Moreover, the imported items on their arrival on the island entered in a local microcosm detached from the rest of the world. This was expressed by: a) the local terminology and classification which almost exclusively had nothing to do with their place of origin, usually completely unknown to the locals (e.g. the ceramics of Kütahya were called *skopelitika* because of the last port-station of the island of Skopelos from which those ceramics arrived on Skyros). b) Local prices were not always in accordance with the market outside Skyros. The local price was strongly dependent on the local aesthetics and mainly on their relative 'oldness'. It is very characteristic that the totality of these items are still generally called by the locals as *palea* (old). c) As a consequence of the previous element, an hierarchical location arose of the items on the walls of the houses according to their local value and appreciation, not always in accordance with the objective quality of the items (e.g. industrial transfer-printed ceramics were more 'appreciated' and thus located in a 'better' location in the house than the old-series of the hand-painted Çanakkale wares). A decorative *koine* was gradually developed expressed through strict, un-deviating rules that dictated the exact location in which every item-category should be exposed. The difference among the houses was not in the decoration model, which was almost identical, but in the quality of every object (e.g. certain items considered third in hierarchy of a rich household and relatively located, in a modest house could take the first place in decorative location).

The accumulation of these imported objects has played a central role in the culture, mentality and aesthetics of the Skyrian people, detectable to this day. Several, mainly social or folk art studies have been devoted to the material culture of Skyros (in chronological order: Theocharidis 2009; Pitari-Maioletti 2008; Korre-Zografou 1995, 187-206; Faltaits 1974; Faltaits 1973a,b,c; Pitari-Maioletti 1973; Faltaits 1972a,b,c; Chatzimichali 1925). In these works one can peruse more or less all the topics briefly mentioned above, namely the broad chronological limits and under which circumstances the items arrived and circulated on the island, the local terminology, the hierarchy followed by the locals and the decorative model of their houses and finally the impact of these imports on the local craft, material life, mentality and aesthetics of the Skyrians.

Finally, a comment is worthwhile regarding the reference to these materials in dowry documents, which occurred already since the 16th century (Antoniadis 1990). The majority of the items presented below are referred to in the dowry documents with the general term *alone*, without further details on the given items.

It has been suggested that the term *alone* means generally the totality of the items of which the Skyrian household consisted (Faltaits 1974, 58). Although this suggestion seems to be generally correct, it should be noted here that this term was especially applied to the items destined exclusively for the decoration of the house. This is apparent upon close examination of the dowry documents. Concerning the portable items, in the majority of the cases, while the dowry documents make specific reference to functional items (e.g. the storage jar, the pan, the pick, the axe or the trunk), there is no word regarding the undoubtedly numerous ceramics or glasses kept in the houses, apparently bequeathed. Instead, there is the expression *kai tin alone tou ospitiou tin misi/olin* (and the half/all household items)[6]. If the term *alone* would include all the items of the household, there would have been no need to mention specifically the functional items. On the contrary it seems that behind the word *alone*

6 Antoniadis 1990, documents 10/1581, 17/1616, 51/1705, 68/1720, 77/1724, 125/1794, 148/1800, 151/1800, 155/1802, 156/1802.

are hidden only the luxury items that serve as decoration for the house, the large quantity of which would make difficult their detailed enumeration. Exceptions to the rule are the luxury metallic items and luxury costumes, the semi-functional or functional character of which apparently created sometimes the need to specifically name them.

13.5 DOMESTIC MATERIAL CULTURE: THE POTTERY

Table 13.1 gives an overview of the Ottoman - Early Modern ceramic fragments collected by the survey. The table is organised according to the production centres of the ceramics. Like in the previous periods, the biggest percentage of the collected sherds is taken up by ceramics of unidentified origin (almost exclusively plain utilitarian wares), which take up half of the total amount. The local plain wares follow, scoring in *c*. 23%, while the Western, Eastern and Greek identified imported wares conclude with percentages ranging from *c*. 5% to 10%. The distribution among the aforementioned categories is quite regular, if we consider the focus of the survey on the countryside, dominated by plain utilitarian wares. In fact almost all the identified fine imported wares presented in the table come from the Kastro of Chora, the site where the majority of the fine imports was concentrated. The ratio between plain local/unidentified and identified imports would be quite different if quantitative numbers of the pottery collections of every household at Chora had been available. There, as already mentioned above, the amount of fine imports dedicated to the decoration of the house was significantly larger than those of the plain utilitarian wares.

13.5.1 Western imports

Italian and other maiolica (Fig. 13.26)

Among the western imports, Italian maiolica is the most common. Appearing in the Aegean and Skyros in particular toward the late 15th - 16th centuries, Italian maiolica will come to dominate on the island from the 17th century onwards. This broad category of ceramics includes of course various production centres scattered in north, central and southern Italy, namely in Emilia Romagna, Marche, Liguria, Apulia (e.g. Faenza, Pesaro, Urbino, Montelupo, Benevento). Additionally some Spanish and French imports have also been found on the island (Korre-Zografou 1995, 192; Faltaits 1974, 63).

The shapes of vessels found on Skyros include open and closed vessels, such as plates and dishes, soup tureens, cylindrical vases (*albarelli*), as well as the one-handled trefoil-mouth jug with a broad stable foot, the locally known *laini*. All the products share the common *maiolica* technique of the Italian Renaissance production centres, consisting of two firings and the application of a basal slip and tin-glaze. Regarding their decoration, which is always painted, there are distinguished two main groups: the blue-and-white and the polychrome painted maiolica.

The decorative motifs of the Skyrian pieces include floral and grotesque patterns, imaginary landscapes and buildings, while common in the polychrome trefoil jugs of the 18th - 19th centuries are the two-headed eagles with hooked nails and open wings or 'verses' of Bacchic character. Rarer are the 17th century "*da parata*" polychrome plates of Montelupo production, having as central motif western-style noble people walking across the field of the plate. The different decoration motifs were the basic criterion used by the Skyrian women for the 'classification' of this broad category of ceramics into different groups, denominated by local terms (e.g. *tis agalipas, tis ambelochas, me to pli, me ti vavatha* etc.) (see for a review Vionis 2012, 260-1; Pitari-Maioletti 2008; Vroom 2005, 167).

Grottaglie Ware (Fig. 13.27.1-2)

Different in respect to the rest of the Italian maiolica is considered a painted ware originally produced at the villages of Grottaglie, Cutrifiano and Laterza in Apulia, Southern Italy, later manufactured in Corfu as well by Italian potters transferred there. Imitations were also made by Greek potters elsewhere (e.g. Kythera) within the 20th century. The ware was widely distributed in the East and in Aegean particularly, including Skyros.

The shapes of the ware included deep and shallow dishes, trefoil-mouth jugs, soup-tureens and tall cylindrical vases. The ware is characterised by its thick walls and the opaque lead glaze with added tin. By contrast with the baroque-rococo decoration style of the rest of the Italian maiolica, this ware is char-

acterised by its simple decoration restricted in simplified flowers or bands which in some cases can be Greek meanders. Often the interior of the dishes can be decorated with a central motif such as a cock or a flower (see for a review Vionis 2012, 261-3; Vroom 2005, 184-5; Korre-Zografou 1995, 111-5).

Delftware (Fig. 13.27.3-5)

Apart from the majority of the ceramics coming from the southern Mediterranean, Skyros does not lack pieces from northern Europe as well, namely from Delft. The pieces noticed on Skyros are dated probably at the beginning of the 18th century and belong to the blue and white production series. They were called by the Skyrian women blue *skteles* (platters) (see for a review Boyazoglou & Neuville 1980).

Transfer-printed wares from Europe (Fig. 13.27.6-9)

A large amount of transfer-printed wares dating from the late 18th century onwards, have been found on the island, coming mainly from England and the Netherlands. The shapes of these wares are extensive,

Production	Type/Ware	Chronology	R	R/H	H	BS	B	Total	% Total
Western imports	Italian maiolica (blue-and-white)	18th c. (Troiano 2004, 123-6).	2			1		3	4.79
	Polychrome Italian maiolica	Mid 18th - early 19th c. (Vionis 2012, 260; Vroom 2005, 167	4		1	7	2	14	
	Grottaglie ware	(Late 18th -)19th c. (Vroom 185; Korre-Zografou 1995, 112-3).	1					1	
	Transfer-printed wares	(Late 18th-) 19th - early 20 th c. (Vionis 2012, 265-267; Vroom 2005, 189)	4			1		5	
Eastern imports	Iznik ware III	Mid 16th - 17th c. (Vionis 2012, 254; Vroom 2005: 158-9; Korre-Zografou 1995, 55-63; Hayes 1992, 245).					1	1	6.45
	Kutahya ware	(17th -) 18th c. (Vionis 2012, 256; Vroom 2005, 168-71; Hayes 1992, 266-7).	1			1	1	3	
	Canakkale ware	(Late 17th-)18th (- 19th) c. (Vionis 2012, 258; Vroom 2005, 183)	4			4		8	
	Eastern Aegean storage jar ("Mytilini" jar)	19th - early 20 th c. (Korre-Zografou 1995, 279).	9			9	1	19	
Greek imports	Polychrome sgraffito Ware	(Late 15th -) 16th - 18th c. (Vionis 2012, 245; Vroom 2005, 145; Papanikola-Bakirtzis 1999, 23)					1	1	8.75
	Monochrome glazed ware	(Late 16th -) 18th or 19th c.(Vionis 2012, 252-253; Vroom 2005, 151).	1		4	1	1	7	
	Polychrome maiolica (Ottoman imitation)	17th - 18th c.	1				1	2	
	Polychrome marbled ware (Ottoman imitation)	(17th-) 18th - 19th c. (Kontogiannis forthcoming; Vionis 2012, 250; Vroom 2005, 165).	3			1	6	10	
	Slip-painted Ware from Didymoteicho	19th - mid 20th c. (Vionis 2012, 263; Vroom 2005, 187).	8			2		10	
	Grottaglie ware (from Greece)	(Late 18th-) 19th - early 20th c. (Vionis 2012, 263; Vroom 2003, 182; Vroom 2005, 185).	2					2	
	Slip painted basins	19th - 20th c. (Vroom 2005, 191).	4			3	2	9	
	Koroni storage jars	19th - early 20 th c. (Vroom 2005, 197; Blitzer 1990, 698).				1		1	

Table 13.1: Overview of the Ottoman - Early Modern ceramic fragments collected by the survey.
(continued on next page)

including dinner or tea sets, soup tureens etc. The decoration was executed with the 'transfer-printed' technique, according to which the decorative themes were carved onto a copper plaque, then inked and impressed on paper, then the latter applied to the ceramic vessel.

The earliest decorative designs were inspired by the original Chinese ceramics that overwhelmed Europe and especially Holland after their massive importation in the early 17th century by the Dutch East India Company. Thus, 'chinoiserie' designs are usually found covering the surface of these vessels. One of these designs, the so-called 'willow-pattern', depicting willows, bridges, a pagoda etc, was the typical English decorative motif. Two characteristic birds in the upper part of the scene led the women of Skyros to name that series as *tis kourounas* (of the crow), widely distributed on the island.

A special category of the transfer-printed wares consists of vessels manufactured during the second half of the 19th century in England but with their decorative themes designed in Greece. These vessels were directed to the Greek market for the bourgeois of the newly founded Kingdom of Greece.

Production	Type/Ware	Chronology	R	R/H	H	BS	B	Total	% Total
Local Wares	Unglazed (slip painted) Skyros ware? (Cups)	EMOD			1			1	23.03
	Unglazed (slip painted) Skyros ware? (Jugs)	EMOD			2		1	3	
	Unglazed (slip painted) Skyros ware? (Bowls)	EMOD	1					1	
	Unglazed (slip painted) Skyros ware? (Basins)	EMOD	3		1			4	
	Unglazed (slip painted) Skyros ware? (Stamnoi)	EMOD			7	5	4	16	
	Unglazed slip painted Skyros ware (Cups)	EMOD			2	1		3	
	Unglazed slip painted Skyros ware (Mugs)	EMOD	2				1	3	
	Unglazed slip painted Skyros ware (Jugs)	EMOD			5	11	5	21	
	Unglazed slip painted Skyros ware (Basins)	EMOD	6	1		4	4	15	
	Unglazed slip painted Skyros ware (Stamnoi)	EMOD			12	19	13	44	
	Skyrian storage jar	EMOD	1			1		2	
Ceramics of unidentified origin	Unidentified plain (glazed) table wares	OTT - EMOD	14		3	10	13	40	56.04
	Unidentified plain (unglazed) table wares	OTT - EMOD	14		6	22	22	64	
	Unidentified cooking pots	OTT - EMOD	2		1	4		7	
	Unidentified stamnoi	OTT - EMOD			5			5	
	Unidentified transport jars	OTT - EMOD	1		7	6	6	20	
	Unidentified storage jars	OTT - EMOD	4		1	1	4	10	
	Unidentified beehives	OTT	28			97		125	
	Tobacco pipes	(17th -)18th (-19th c.) (Hayes 1992, 391-393)				1		1	
Total	-	-	120	1	58	213	89	481	**100.00**

The decorative themes ideologically referred to the ancient, Byzantine or even to the relatively recent national past (the War of Independence). Since factories to manufacture such vessels did not exist in Greece in that period, the demand was covered by ordering entire production series abroad. Since great amounts of these vessels were concentrated by the Greek merchants on Syros, one of the most important commercial ports of the newly founded Kingdom and from there distributed all over in Greece, the vessels were nominated "Syriana". However, this series of printed wares were named on Skyros as *me ts' vasiliades* (with the kings), because of the members of the Greek Royal family depicted on them, which also proved to be amongst the most popular decorative themes of the series (see for a review Vionis 2012, 265-7; Vroom 2005, 188-9; Copeland 2003; Korre-Zografou 1995, 256-262).

13.5.2 Eastern imports

Iznik Ware (Fig. 13.28.1-5)

Apart from a 16th century blue-and-white Chinese-imitation, possibly Iznik I derivative product (see Chapter 12.3.1), the rest of the identified pieces of Skyros belong to the second but mostly to the third chronological phase of Iznik wares suggested by Lane, namely Iznik II (*c.* 1525-1560), and Iznik III (*c.* 1555-1700), the so-called 'Rhodian type'. The commonest shapes found on the island are plates, dishes and jugs, while two tiles have been identified built into the masonry of a church. The Skyrian examples are decorated in red, turquoise-green and blue with black outlines. Tulips, hyacinths, and the so-called *saz foil* are amongst the commonest decorative motifs occurred.

The majority of the Iznik examples occurring on the island are coarsely executed with colours mainly green to turquoise, dark blue, and possibly a touch of red and greenish glaze, locally known as *prasines skteles* (green platters). These pieces can be attributed to a very late phase of Iznik wares around the early 18th c., the so-called 'Syrian production', or could be connected with a group of finds at Saraçhane, characterized by Hayes as 'Iznik derivatives' (Hayes 1192, 258-9; Korre-Zografou 1995, 191) (see for a review Vionis 2012, 254-6; Vroom 2005, 158-61; Korre-Zografou 1995, 49-63; Hayes 1992, 244-59).

Kütahya Ware (Fig. 13.28.6-9)

Kütahya wares are found in abundance on the island. These are locally known as *skopelitika* (the local name derives apparently from last port of call of the wares before coming to Skyros, the island of Skopelos). The samples found on Skyros (and in the Aegean) are dated from the 18th century onwards. Although Kütahya pottery production was in existence already since the late 14th - early 15th century, its heyday is noted from the 18th century onwards, after the decay of the Iznik production which Kütahya replaces in the markets. Kütahya products were the successors and imitations of the Iznik pottery industry and for that reason they present similarities in their decorative style. *Kütahya ware* shares the same colour range with Iznik, adding however, purple and yellow. Apart from the floral patterns, among the commonest decorative themes are men or women wearing contemporary Turkish costume, or Christian subjects (e.g. figures of saints, two-headed eagles etc). *Kütahya ware* was widely distributed in the Mediterranean, presenting a very large variety of shapes, including small cups and bowls, jugs, pilgrim flask etc. The pieces identified on Skyros are very common in shape and decoration with the rest of the Aegean (see for a review Vionis 2012, 256-7; Vroom 2005, 168-71; Hayes 1992, 266-7).

Çanakkale Ware (Fig. 13.29.1-4)

The large quantity of *Çanakkale ware* pieces on Skyros covers all the chronological phases of its production from the late 17th c. to *c.* 1922. In contrast to the two aforementioned eastern pottery categories, which were used exclusively as ornaments, the *kastriana,* as it was locally known (from the second half of the word 'kale' or fort), were considered of second quality by the Skyrians and were only partially functional.

Çanakkale ware is a pottery category which according Korre-Zografou influenced significantly Greek Early Modern ceramic production. Its function was started probably in the late 17th century and finished around 1922. The early production is characterised by relatively simple shapes such as dishes, bowls and jars with painted decoration in dark brown, dark blue, orange, yellow and white. The decorative motifs included ships, kiosks, rosettes, lattice patterns on the broad rims of the dishes etc. The later pro-

duction of the 19th century and early 20th enriches its shapes including jugs, vases or even exclusively ornamental objects, decorated apart from painted, with moulded decoration as well, of a 'baroque' style (see for a review Vionis 2012, 258-9; Vroom 2005, 180-3; Korre-Zografou 1995,155-60).

Eastern Aegean storage jar (Mytilini jar)
(Fig. 13.29.5-8)

The so-called *'Mytilini' storage jar* is the only vessel until now discussed with an exclusively functional use. It is a large jar with an extremely small base (*c.* 0.25 m) and wide belly (usually 1-2 m) and accordingly small neck and rim which give to the vessel a conical form. The shape of the ware makes it impossible to sit vertically; on the contrary it necessitates the partial burial of the vessel into the ground. When empty the vessels were put down laterally or upside down. The fabric of the vessel has a reddish colour. The inside is covered by a thick opaque yellowish glaze. On the low part of the exterior are discernible traces of strings used by the potters for holding the body of the vessel before firing. The upper exterior part is often decorated with stamped bands.

The vessel is commonly referred as *Mytilini jar* because of the large number found on the island. However, Korre-Zografou has convincingly argued that its production cannot be attributed to Lesvos as no kilns of such vessels can be identified there, despite the existence of contemporary pottery workshops of other wares. She hypothesises as the most probable place of origin for the jar to be the opposing coast to Mytilini on the west coast of Turkey, with which the island perpetually had a commercial connection, and explains its present name to the large number found on the island which probably functioned as a commercial station for its further distribution (Korre-Zografou 1995, 279).

The *Eastern Aegean storage jar* has known a wide distribution in the Aegean together with its main rival the *Koroni storage jar.* In contrast to the latter, the *Eastern Aegean storage jar* has a strong presence in the Dodecanese, eastern and central Aegean, in Magnesia on the Greek mainland and north-west Turkey, indicating the radius of distribution of the vessel. On Skyros in particular, although examples of *Koroni storage jars* are often noticed, the *Eastern Aegean storage jar* was by far the dominant vessel of late Ottoman - Early Modern times. The vessel occurs normally enough at *Chora* and in the countryside as well. The macroscopic analysis of the fragments collected by the survey suggests one fabric (FAB 43), suggesting probably one centre of production. Differences in the forms of the rims indicate slight shape varieties, not necessarily attributed to different workshops.

13.5.3 Greek imports

In contrast with the Western and Eastern imports presented above, which were concentrated as precious heirlooms within the houses of the Skyrians at Chora and thus barely identified through the surface survey, for the imports from the Grecian mainland the opposite was the case: the majority of the data come from the fragments collected by the survey from the countryside and from the castle of Skyros. Only some categories could be attested in private collections on the island. The reason is simple: during the Ottoman period the island had a remarkable 'internationality' in terms of imports, comparable to that of Late Roman times. The island was 'devastated' by high quality ceramics arriving from Italy or Turkey. The 'Greek' products were mainly degenerating the old coloured sgraffito technique, or following the mainstream ceramic production of the East and West. Thus the 'Greek' products were considered of second quality by the Skyrians who used them for practical purposes, keeping for the adornment of their houses the finer Western and Eastern imports. Consequently, the 'Greek' imports were sent to the farms or functioned as second class utensils in their houses. Thus they are absent from the pottery 'exhibitions' inside the houses and if they survived from their everyday use are kept in the storerooms.

Polychrome sgraffito Ware (Fig. 13.30.1-2)

This is a later version of the *Coloured/Polychrome sgraffito ware* of the 13th-16th centuries described in Chapter 12, which continued the 'Byzantine' pottery tradition during the Ottoman period. Its main characteristics are the incised, careless *sgraffito* designs enriched with brushstrokes of yellow-brown and green colour. The ware was mainly produced in northern and central Greece as well as in Crete (e.g. Athens, Arta, Trikala, Veroia, Thessaloniki, Khania) and was widely distributed especially in mainland Greece.

Only one late piece of *Polychrome sgraffito ware* was identified during the survey, with very few pieces occurring in Skyrian households (see for a review Vionis 2012, 245-7; Vroom 2005, 144-5).

Monochrome glazed Ware

Seven pieces collected by the survey belong to a late phase of a very common and simple in decoration vessel, the so-called *Monochrome glazed ware.* The surface treatment/decoration of the vessel consists merely of white slip and monochrome glaze (usually yellow or green) applied on the interior of the open vessels and on the exterior of the closed ones. Its place of origin is unknown, but this must be sought after in northern Greece where similarly decorated vessels were produced in the 19th century (e.g. Kozani; see Korre-Zografou 1995, 137). The distribution of the ware was widespread in Turkey (e.g. Istanbul, Edirne) and the Aegean (see for a review Vionis 2012, 252-3; Vroom 2005, 150-1). The Skyrian pieces consist mainly of deep dishes or bowls and are all covered with green glaze. Some of them bear additional stamped decoration of rouletting around the rim.

Polychrome maiolica (Ottoman imitation)

Like the *Greek maiolica* presented above referring to Greek products imitating the blue-and-white series of the Italian original vessels, the *Polychrome maiolica (Ottoman imitation)* refers to Ottoman products copying the polychrome series of the Italian wares. Only two fragments have been identified during the survey, while no example of this maiolica was noticed during the author's visits to Skyrian households. Both fragments have a reddish hard fabric. The glaze is lost but traces of the white slip and the floral painted decoration in yellow, dark brown and green are discernible.

Polychrome marbled Ware (Ottoman imitation)
(Fig. 13.30.3-6)

Ten fragments collected by the survey can be safely attributed to an Ottoman imitation of the *Polychrome marbled Ware.* These pieces together with ten more of their relative *Didymoteicho Ware* presented below outnumber the rest of the Greek imports on the island.

Polychrome marbled Ware gets its name from its colourful decoration which imitates veined coloured marble. It was originally produced in northern Italy during the late 16th-17th centuries in various production centres (e.g. Pisa, Montelupo, Savona etc). The ware was also manufactured in the Ottoman Empire postdating the Italian products (usually attributed to the 18th to the late 19th centuries). Until now the workshops of Athens, Didymoteicho and possibly Ganos have been identified. The basic difference between the Italian and Ottoman wares is that in the latter case, below the colours a white slip covers the whole inner side, extending sometimes also to the exterior (see for a review Kontogiannis forthcoming; Vionis 2012, 250; Vroom 2005, 164-5).

All the fragments collected from Skyros present the latter element and thus can be characterised as Ottoman imitations. No 'original' Italian *marbled wares* have been identified on the island. However, their existence cannot be ruled out, given that other ceramics contemporaneous to the Italian *marbled wares* (and manufactured in the same production centres) occur on the island (e.g. *maiolica* from Montelupo).

Moreover, given that -until now- the production centres of the Ottoman imitations are mainly identified in Greece (e.g. Athens, Didymoteicho), the Ottoman imitations on Skyros can be considered to be Greek imports. Furthermore, the relatively notable presence of the *Slip-painted Ware from Didymoteicho* on the island (see below), suggests as a possible centre of production for some of the *marbled wares* of Skyros the Thracian city, which was producing *marbled wares* as well (the three different fabrics macroscopically identified suggest, however, more than one centre of production for the Skyrian assemblage – FABS 52A, 52B, 53).

One piece especially deserves special mention as its decoration technique, somewhere between the *Marbled* and the *Slip-painted Ware from Didymoteicho,* indicates the reciprocal influences of the two decoration patterns to the same centre of production (Fig. 13.30.4): the marbled effect of this fragment is created not like the rest of the Ottoman imitations by the implementation of white slip on which the polychrome decoration is applied subsequently, but through spots of white slip cast randomly on the bare clay under a yellow glaze (Kontogiannis forthcoming, type F). From a technical point of view the vessel could be characterised as a slip-painted ware and of great similarity with the so-called *Didymoteicho Ware,* with the difference that here the slip is applied

as spots instead of strips from the rim towards the bottom of the open vessels of the so-called *Slip-painted Ware from Didymoteicho* (see immediately below).

Slip-painted Ware from Didymoteicho (Fig. 13.30.7-8)

This is a term applied for a slip-painted ware produced at Didymoteicho during the 19th and early 20th centuries, distinguished by its characteristic decoration consisting of strips of white slip dripping towards the bottom of the mainly open vessels of the production and covered by ochre-yellow or green glaze (see for a review Vionis 2012, 263-4; Vroom 2005, 186-7).

Ten pieces of this ware have been collected from the Skyrian countryside. No example had been noticed during the visits to the households in Chora. Apparently the ware was an everyday utensil.

Grottaglie Ware (from Greece) and derivatives

As already mentioned above, this ware was also manufactured in Greece, initially by Italian potters transferred to Corfu and later possible on Kythera. Although it is difficult to distinguish the Italian products from those produced in Greece, this term is applied for some Early Modern fragments noticed on Skyros, belonging probably to the Greek products (see above).

Slip-painted Basins (Fig. 13.31.1-4)

This term refers to utilitarian Early Modern basins, decorated with white slip splashed on the inside of the body and on the rim under a glossy glaze. The basin was ubiquitous in Early Modern Greek households and used for food preparation. Several production centres have been noted, namely in Athens (Marousi), Crete, Sifnos, Chalkida, Thasos (see for a review Vroom 2005, 190-1). Numerous examples of the vessel have been noticed on Skyros.

Cooking pots from Sifnos or Patmos (Fig. 13.31.5)

Several open-shallow cooking pots have been noticed in private collections, definitely from Sifnos, as the workshop stamps on these vessels attest. Indeed, the island of Sifnos was the biggest centre of production for this special vessel during Early Modern times, widely distributed in the Aegean (Voyatzoglou-Sakellaropoulou 2009, 45, 50). However, the local name *patiniotis* for these pots apparently suggests a large number of identical vessels coming from the island of Patmos as well. In fact there is evidence for the production of such vessels on Patmos and Kalymnos as well, especially during the Second World War (Voyatzoglou-Sakellaropoulou 2009, 50; Psaropoulou 1984, 106).

The vessels have symmetrical walls and rounded or flat bases. Two or four vertical small handles are applied just below or on the rim. The interior of the vessel is covered by vitreous lead glaze. Oval stamps on the outside of the walls indicate the workshop of Sifnos where the vessel was manufactured (see for a review Voyatzoglou-Sakellaropoulou 2009, 258-67; Vroom 2005, 192-3 and Vroom 2003, 185).

Koroni storage jars (Fig. 13.31.6)

This storage vessel produced during the 19th - early 20th centuries in the Koroni district in Messenia was the main competitor of the *'Mytilini' jar* in the Aegean market. A Koroni storage jar is a robust spherical or conical vessel of various dimensions, with characteristic applied ribs on the exterior surface. The calcareous fabric is creamish in colour. Internally the vessel was covered by an opaque glaze of ochre-yellow or ochre-green in colour.

The *Koroni storage jar* has known an extremely wide distribution from the Aegean to the Ionian Sea and even in southern Italy, North Africa, Cyprus and Palestine. The emphasis of its distribution is in Peloponnese, Ionian Sea and South Aegean (southern Cyclades and Crete) (see for a review Blitzer 1990).

Skyros, located in the central Aegean covered its storage-vessels demand with the *'Mytilini' jar*. One sherd from a *Koroni storage jar* was collected, while the observed examples within Chora are fewer than those of the *Eastern Aegean Storage jar*.

13.5.4 Local pottery production

The literature concerning the (Early Modern) Skyrian pottery production is limited, and mainly concentrated in the best known category of products, namely the unglazed slip-painted wares. This fact stimulated an attempt at a more thorough examination not only for the ceramic products themselves (partially represented in the published literature), but also for matters such as the history and organisation of the local

ceramic craft. In the following discussion a diversion to the apparatus of the ceramic categories is made, entering first into matters concerning their local history, the potters and the organisation of their workshops.

Local history

Local pottery production, to serve the demand for everyday utilitarian ware, is logically supposed to exist already since antiquity. The potter Nikos Papastathis refers to the existence of 'ancient' kilns at the site of Achili (S59) unfortunately lost today, which functioned as models for the construction of the Early Modern kilns (pers. commun. 12-8-2010). Moreover, the high tile concentration on the plateau of Keramotes (S36) in the north part of the island which actually gave the name to the area (from *kerami* for tile), could be connected with an *in situ* brick and tile production as no other pottery category was identified at the location. Regarding the period here discussed, some unidentified Ottoman sherds collected by the survey (two unglazed slip-painted jugs and numerous beehives), present fabric and/or decorative similarities with the definitely Early Modern local wares, raising the question about the existence of a local pottery production existing during the Ottoman period.

However, no specific historical reference attests to ceramic production activity in the Ottoman historical sources. The only reliable evidence stems from the late 19th century, when the three Papastathis brothers, Agathoklis, Stamatis, and Alexandros, started the Early Modern ceramic production of Skyros, active until approximately the 1980s. Before them, the situation is hazy as the oral information is contradictory and the historical sources are silent.

The birth of the Early Modern local ceramic production on Skyros and its existence prior to the late 19th century is beset by two key problems. The first has to do with a certain potters' family by the name of Saris, who were active potters in the late 19th century in Athens and to whom the Papastathis brothers went to learn the craft. Oral sources state that the Saris family was from Skyros and that they were active potters on the island before they departed to Athens, where they have continued their craft (Aliki Lamprou pers. commun. 3-8-2013). In fact the surname Saris appears in the local archive since the 16th century and it is present on the island to this day (Antoniadis 1997, 24, 30, 67). However, the son of Alexandros Papastathis, Nikos, a potter himself, albeit no longer practising, argues that the Saris to whom his father went to Athens to learn from, bore no relation to the Skyros Saris (pers. commun. 28-7-2013).

The second key problem is related to the arrival of Sifnian potters working for some period of time on Skyros, somewhere in the early 20th century, when the mayors of the island were Andreas and Demetrios Gialouris (the latter and younger died in 1928) (Nikos Papastathis pers. commun. 28-7-2013). At that time, according to the words of Nikos Papastathis, 'many Sifnian potters arrived on the island, seeking the area of Kalikri*',* the large valley-isthmus connecting Kalamitsa and Achili bays (pers. commun. 28-7-2013). Apparently this oral information has to do with a periodical migration of some Sifnian potters, who arrived on Skyros seeking a new market with great pottery demand. This interpretation is not strange as the periodical migration of potters was a common phenomenon in Early Modern Greece (Voyatzoglou-Sakellaropoulou 2009, 45-7). In this case, potters from developed centres of production used to travel in places with high pottery demand (apparently with completely absent or low local production) and stay there producing ceramics *in situ,* during the period of intense pottery activity (May-September). Their operations were favoured by the mild summer months of the Aegean permitting the rapid construction of rough outdoor workshops, and by the relative geological homogeneity of the Aegean and consequently of the clay sources. Characteristic is the statement by the Sifnian potter Apostolos Fysakis, according to whom "all the soils are good, except from that of Melos and Santorini..." (after Voyatzoglou-Sakellaropoulou 2009, 33).

One of the first centres of production active in sending out migratory craftsmen was indeed the island of Sifnos. Group of potters called *tsourmo,* used to travel every summer practising their craft, mostly in the rest of the Cyclades, the coast of the Peloponnese or even of Euboea and Attica (Voyatzoglou-Sakellaropoulou 2009, 26 and 268-9). Some of them seem to have stayed on permanently in the places which they have visited, establishing new centres of ceramic production, such as the Chrisogeloi, found on Thasos, Kos (Kardamena) or in Marousi near Athens (Bakirtzis 2003, 68; Voyatzoglou-Sakellaropoulou 2009, 73 and 324).

It seems then that the Sifnian potters arriving on Skyros was a roaming group working out-of-base

(*tsourmo*), seeking a new base/market for their summer production. Apparently before leaving Sifnos they had collected information about an appropriate place with good soil for their production. This is the reason why upon their arrival on Skyros they asked for the valley of Kalikri, undoubtedly a reportedly rich area in clay soils.

The arrival of Sifnian potters on the island would be essential for the transmission of the craft on Skyros. However, it has to be noted that, if the information provided by Nikos Papastathis relating to the time of the Sifnian arrival is correct (early 20th century), the three Papastathis brothers would already have been active as potters when the Sifnian potters arrived. However, even if the Early Modern pottery activity of Skyros was already active before the arrival of the Sifnians, undoubtedly the presence of these craftsmen with their long ceramic traditions would have a great effect on the Skyrian ceramic production. In fact, this influence is visible from various elements: regarding technology, the Skyrian potters used to fire in the same kiln both the vessels and the bricks, putting two-three layers of bricks on the bottom of the kiln and over them the vessels (Takos Papastathis pers. commun. 16-7-2013). The same method of firing was followed by the workshops of the Mesogeia of Attica, manned by Sifnian seasonal potters (Voyatzoglou-Sakellaropoulou 2009, 26-7). Moreover, the method of glazing on both the islands of Sifnos and Skyros was exactly the same, consisting of three parts of industrial glaze (regarding Skyros bought from Chalkida) and two parts of *atsacha,* a shiny stone occurring in both islands (Voyatzoglou-Sakellaropoulou 2009, 43 and Nikos Papastathis pers. commun. 28-7-2013).

Regarding the shapes, some types of vessels produced on Skyros can trace their origins to Sifnos: these are the flat-based water transport jar used by the fishermen (*stamna tou psara*), a small vase used for the storage of the leaven (*prozmero*), and the brazier (*foufou*). To this list can be added the typically Cycladic ceramic chimney (*flaros*) (see below; for the occurrence of these vessels on Sifnos as well see Vogiatzoglou-Sakellaropoulou 2009, 49 and 51-2).

Finally, a point of resemblance can be seen in the use of the term *magazi,* for pottery workshops of both islands (for Sifnos see Voyatzoglou-Sakellaropoulou 2009, 252).[7]

7 The use of this common term on both islands is not a strong argument for Sifnian influence on Skyrian pottery traditions because the term *magazi*, related to a craft workshop or storeroom in the homonym site of Magazia (S10) in the coastal zone of Chora, is a term already in use in the 17th c., according to the local historical archive (see Chapter 13.1).

The potters

Leaving aside the Saris family of Skyrian (?) potters, a complete genealogical tree is reconstructed here for the descendants and founders of the Early Modern ceramic production of Skyros, the Papastathis family. The first Papastathis potters were the three brothers, Agathoklis, Stamatis and Alexandros. The eldest, Agathoclis, went to Athens somewhere in the late 19th c., to learn the craft of throwing pots before returning to Skyros and establishing his own workshop there (Voyatzoglou-Sakellaropoulou 2009, 386). The youngest brother Alexandros worked initially as an apprentice of his older brother Agathoklis but since Agathoklis was not willing to teach him how to throw pots, Alexandros went to Athens to be trained by the Saris family. After completing his training he returned to Skyros and established his own workshop (Nikos Papastathis pers. commun. 28-7-2013).

The children of the three brothers have continued the craft of their fathers. Thus, the two sons of Agathoklis, Giannis and Lefteris, after first working with their father, established their own workshops in 1940 and 1960 respectively (Voyatzoglou-Sakellaropoulou 2009, 386).Only the younger Nikos of the two sons left by Alexandros followed the profession of his father, working initially with him and finally inheriting the workshop of his father, active until 1967.

A different branch of potters begins through the middle Papastathis brother, Stamatis. He only had daughters, however, involved in the pottery activity of their father. The youngest, Kali, has married a merchant, Yiorgos Nikolaou. The couple had four children of whom one of the sons, Yiannis Nikolaou, learnt the ceramic craft from his mother and grandfather.

Today except from the children of Yiannis Nikolaou, who are partially active in pottery (namely Frosyni, Kalliopi and Giorgos, the last two active in the U.S.), none of the children of the other potters are involved with pottery (Figs. 13.22-23).

The organisation of the ceramic workshops of Skyros was structured like the rest of Early Modern Greece: chief of the workshop was the head of the

family working on the wheel. The rest of the members (wife and children) were involved in secondary works, such as in the collection of the soil and clay preparation, in the firing and decoration of the vessels. Regarding this last activity, the wives of the potters have developed their personal decorative style/hand of the products to such a level, and have taken so much 'responsibility' for their decoration, that the vessels were partially considered as creations of the women who have decorated them rather than of the potters who have made them. A characteristic example of this phenomenon is the expression often heard on Skyros by the elders, referring to a given vessel e.g. *'made by Ligeri',* the wife of Alexandros Papastathis, who definitely was involved only with the decoration of the vessels. Another characteristic expression of this phenomenon are the signs on the vessels, occurring exclusively on the decorative items/imitations of the Eastern and Western imports (see below). These vessels are signed not only by the potters, but also by their wives who have decorated them.

The workshops

All the workshops (*magazia*), were located at a coastal satellite settlement northeast of Chora, with a trade/artisanal character from at least the Ottoman period onwards (see Appendix A, S10). It is unknown whether the plots where the workshops were developed were the property of the Papastathis family before their involvement with pottery. In fact, all the workshops lay side by side.

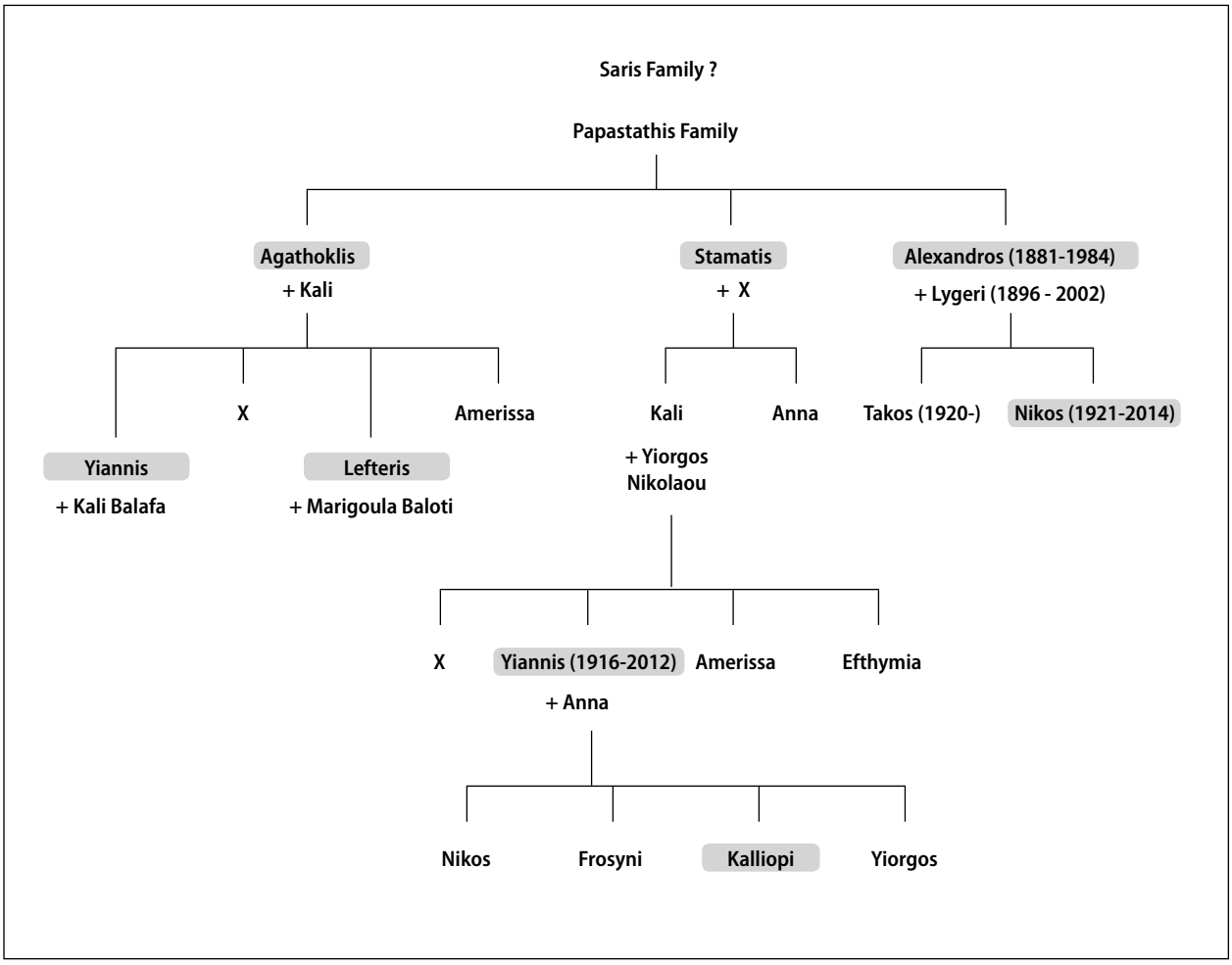


Fig. 13.22: The genealogical tree of Papastathis family (potters).

The location for the establishment of the workshops was decided by the flat area needed for the comfortable development of the workshops, the proximity to Chora and the character of the coastal settlement as an anchorage/trade station for Chora. Moreover, the location of Magazia was close to the clay sources. In fact two of the three clay sources used by the Early Modern potters are close to Magazia: the first, at the estuary of the Kifisos river (Limna) is less than 500 metres north, and the second at Achili less than 5km southwards. The latter was easily reached after a brief direct route by boat, or by donkey exploiting the flat coastal terrain. The third source of clay was, although in measured distance not further than Achili, more difficult to reach due to its inland location in the area of Ayios Meronas, and was thus used less. However, one more factor was responsible for it being used less frequently: "the plenty of iron" according to the words of the potter Nikos Papastathis, which resulted in the breaking of the medium-sized and large vessels after a period of time (pers. commun. 12-8-2010). Actually this was one of the reasons causing Skyrian potters to mix the clay, a common phenomenon in the Aegean (e.g. in the area of Koroni, see Blitzer 1990).

The spatial organisation of the workshops was similar to the rest of the Early Modern pottery workshops in Greece: the workshop was simultaneously the family house. It was characterised by a large yard necessary for the accumulation of the needed materials (e.g. soil, wood). There was an area where the soil was beaten, two (usually) large built open basins for the soaking of the soil, the kiln, the well necessary for

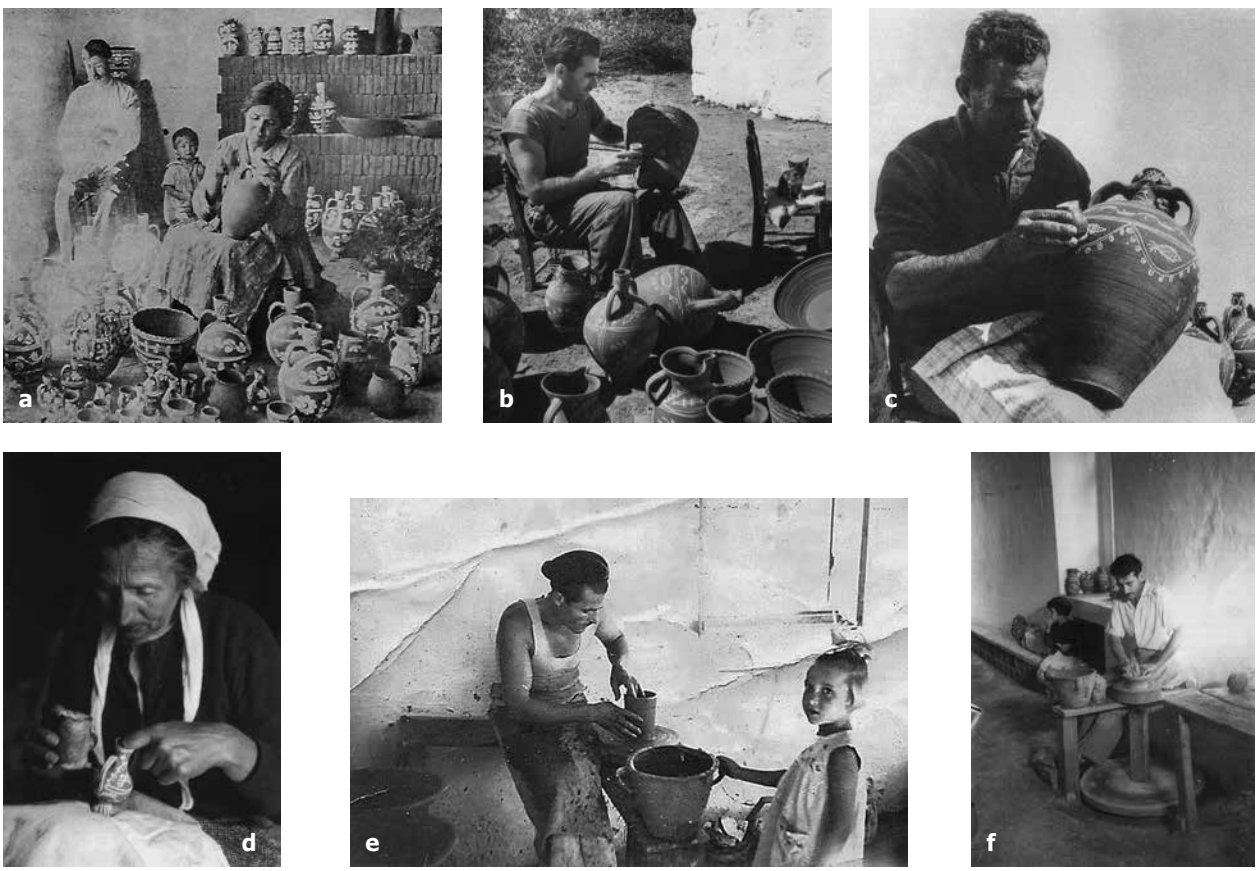


Fig. 13.23: The Early Modern potters of Skyros: a) Alexandros Papastathis with his wife Ligeri in 1922 (after Chatzimichali 1925, 172, fig. 212), b) Yiannis Papastathis in 1950 (V. Papaioannou, after Korre-Zografou 1995, 201, fig. 380), c) Lefteris Papastathis in 1960s (after Psaropoulou 1999, 62, fig. 70), d) Kali Balafa (wife of Lefteris Papastathis) in 1968 (D. Tloupas, after Korre-Zografou 1995, 23, fig. 25), e) Yiannis Nikolaou (archive-courtesy Marianna Nikolaou), f) Nikos Papastathis (archive-courtesy Alexis Papastathis).

the water supply and usually the oven for the cooking of food. In the *magazi* itself were located the wheel(s) and it was the place where the unfired vessels were drying, together with the fired products ready for the market (Figs. 13.24-25).

The products

The majority of the products were made for the local market but there are also indications that wares were exported to the adjacent Sporades islands and to Lemnos (Nikos Papastathis pers. commun. 28-7-2013).

There can be distinguished three main categories of pottery ware according to their type/form/use and decorative technique:

A. the Unglazed Slip-Painted Ware including 'first class' utilitarian and/or decorative wares,

B. the glazed or unglazed utilitarian wares of different forms and if decorated, bearing incised, impressed or in any case a different decoration in respect to the Unglazed Slip-Painted Ware, and,

C. (*c.* from 1900 onwards) the local imitations of the western and eastern fine ware imports, used like their models exclusively for decorative purposes.

Among the three categories A and C are widely regarded to be typical of the local production. In fact, despite the replacement of the ceramic utilitarian wares by industrial imports (e.g. plastic) from the 1960-70s onwards, the Unglazed Slip-Painted Ware continued to be produced and sold in the local and touristic market, its popularity probably due to its decorative nature. Furthermore, the imitations of the western and eastern fine imports saw an increasing production from 1900 onwards, being the main ceramic product today sold in the local ceramic workshops. On the contrary, the 'less viewed - second class' utilitarian wares (B) used for cooking, food preparation, laundry, agricultural and other daily use purposes stopped being produced from the 1970s onwards, and was gradually forgotten. However, this category presents at least equal if not more interest than the other two classes, as it offers significant evidence regarding the everyday life of the Skyrians, and more importantly attests to ceramic techniques applied by the local potters unthinkable until now.

The fabric of the local ceramics here presented is based on the sherds collected from the countryside of the island during the survey. Only part of the pottery

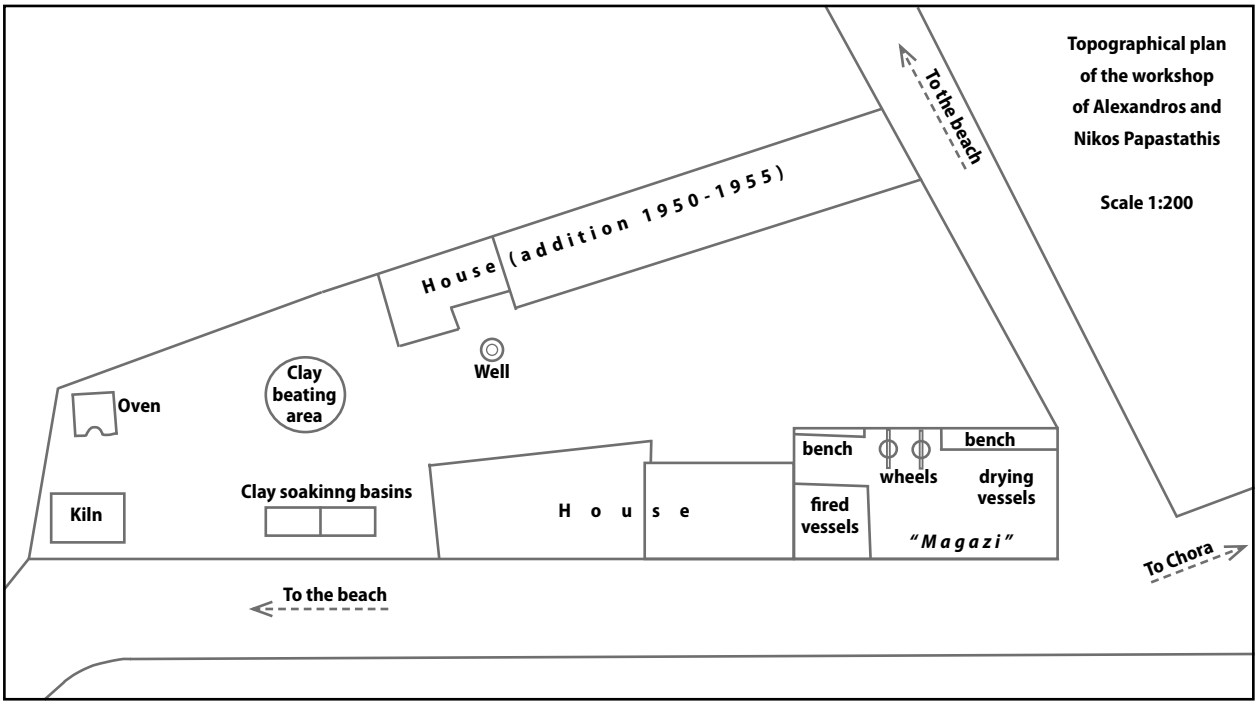


Fig. 13.24: Plan of the ceramic workshop of Alexandros and Nikos Papastathis.

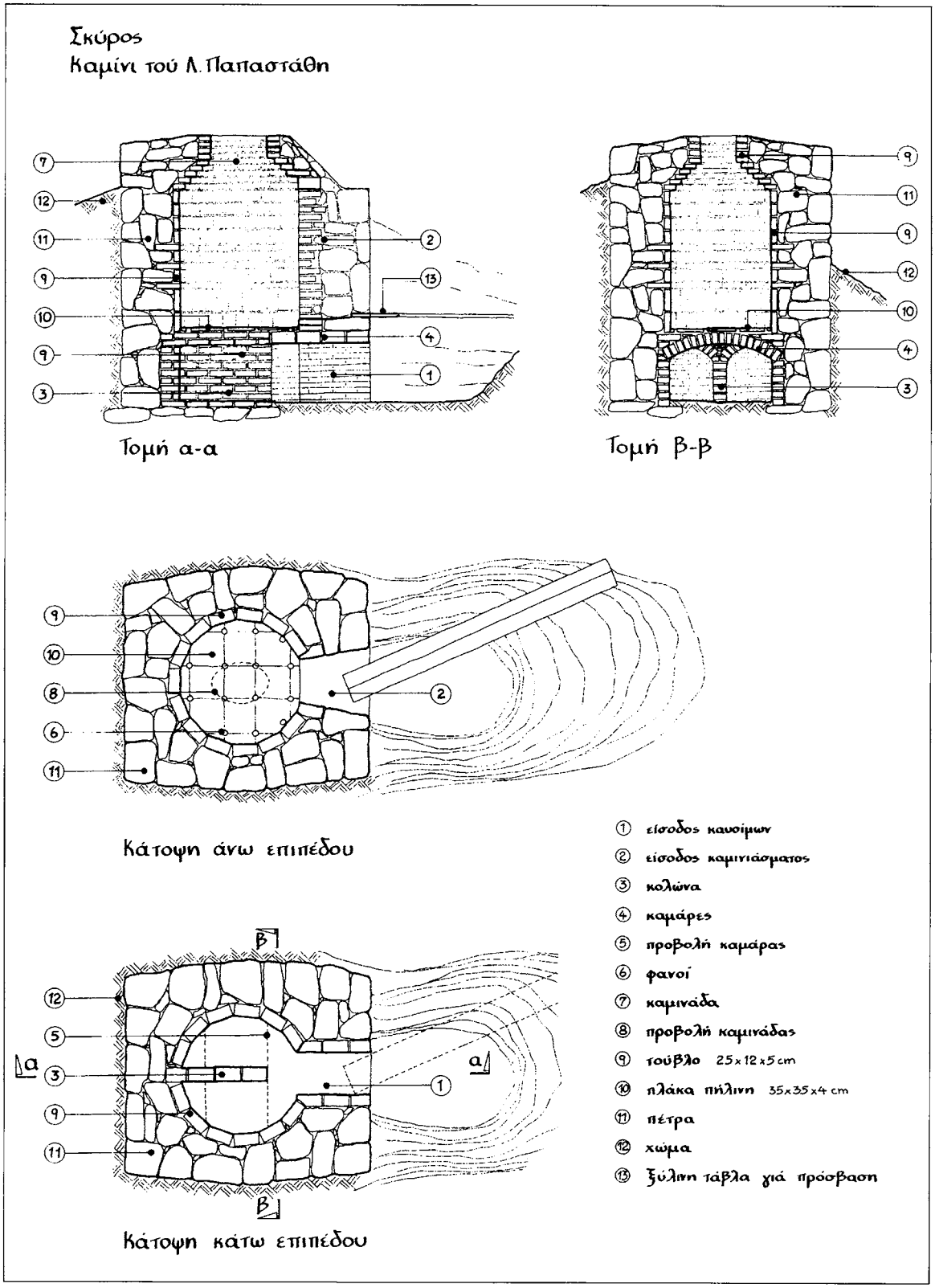


Fig. 13.25: The kiln of Lefteris Papastathis (after Voyatzoglou-Sakellaropoulou 2009, 388).

categories of the local production is attested through this assemblage, mainly of the Unglazed Slip-Painted Ware. This of course means that the fabric description presented below is partially incomplete.

The fabric of the local ceramics examined is generally orange to reddish brown, hard, smooth, with lime and grit inclusions and some tiny mica to mica dust (see Appendix B, FAB 40). Three variations of this fabric have been detected macroscopically, ranging from the coarse version (FAB 40A), the medium fine (FAB 40B) and the fine (FAB 40C). All the three versions were used for both types of vessels macroscopically examined here, namely the small-distance transport vessels (e.g. *stamnes*) and the plain table wares (e.g. jugs).

Undoubtedly, further examination focused especially on the second pottery category will offer more/correct the preliminary fabric description here presented.

A. Unglazed Slip-painted Ware (Figs. 13.32-33)

This category includes daily use vessels destined for a 'lighter' and different function in comparison to those of the second category. Their homogeneity in surface treatment (exclusively unglazed) and in decoration (exclusively slip-painted), classifies them easily within the same category.

The types of vessels/forms of the ware follow the models of the imported pieces found on the island during the Late Byzantine/Ottoman period, which they actually imitate. Five basic categories can be distinguished regarding their function: plain table wares, small-distance transport/storage jars, small food containers, other (small) utilitarian wares, and decorative items.

- Plain table wares

The basic forms are jugs (*kanata*), mugs (*tsoukali*) and plates (*piato*) (Fig. 13.33.1-4). Clearly the jugs copy the trefoil-mouth imported Italian pieces of the Ottoman period. The mugs occur in two shapes: oval with ring high foot and cylindrical with flat base.

- Small-distance transport/storage jars (*stamna*) (Fig. 13.33.5)

This is the continuation of the well known Byzantine *stamnos*. It is an apple-shaped, flat-base vessel with one or usually two handles used exclusively for the transportation and storage of water. Its height ranges from *c.* 35 to 50 cm, the base diameter from *c.*13 to 20 cm while its belly diameter from *c.* 25 to 30 cm. The filled vessel was kept beside the door of the house in a wooden construction (*stamnostatis*), which would able the easy serving of the water. Thyme scrub placed below the vessel would ensure its safe movement. As stopper were used a pine cone or more often a sponge.

Based on their slip-painted decoration, the *stamnes* were divided in the fully-decorated (*zouploumistes*) and the semi-decorated on their upper part (*misoploumoudismenes*). The first were used during ceremonial carrying of water (e.g. weddings) while the latter was for everyday use. The lower part of them was undecorated because was invisible when located in the *stamnostatis* (Faltaits 1972d, 3).

A special variety of *stamna* was that used by the fishermen, characterised by its more flat base in comparison to the others for the safe seating of the vessel on the boat. Some of them were one-handled or even deprived of handles.

Another variety is the so-called *kriologos,* a *stamna* of smaller size, with four delicate handles and decorated with moulded birds on them. This vessel was used for the ceremonial water-transfer usually by the young girls (e.g. weddings, feasts etc).

- Small food containers

These were generally small vessels, ranging in size from *c.* 20 to 35 cm height, and from *c.* 15 to 25 cm maximum diameter, kept inside the main house for immediate use. There are two types distinguished, the ovoid (*vitnari*) (Fig. 13.33.6), and the cylindrical (*psomiera*). The latter, according to Aliki Lamprou is a later type (pers. comm. 26-6-2013). Both forms were called generally *bournia.* The shape of both types is clearly inspired by the Italian *albarelli.*

A special group of this category are small covered bowls of *c.* 10-13 cm in height for the storage of the leaven (*prozmero*). In the shape and decoration of these vessels we can notice the clear influence not only of the Italian imports but of the Aegean products of the inland and island Greece as well (e.g. Sifnos) (Fig. 13.33.7).

- Other utilitarian unglazed slip-painted wares

This group includes several small wares used inside and outside the house, the surface treatment and decoration of which classifies them into the Unglazed Slip-Painted Ware.

First in discussion is the *foufou,* a small portable fireplace-vessel, which actually is the continuation

of the ancient *eschara* (shallow brazier on stand), or the Byzantine *fokion,* a cooking ware similar in shape with the chafing dish but with holed bottom (Bakirtzis 2003, 66-9). The Skyrian *foufou* is a small vessel not more than 10 cm in height and has a shape similar to a small flowerpot. At the upper part of the vessel there is a deep space with holed bottom (grill), where the fuel is located (mainly charcoal). At the lower part of the vessel which is simultaneously its base, is an opening to help air circulation and permit the removal of the ash falling from the grill. Three triangular stands attached to the rim allow the placement of a cooking pot, while two small handles help aid the moving of the vessel (Fig. 13.33.8).

Similar *foufoudes* considered as descendants of the byzantine *fokion* are common in the Aegean. Examples are found on Lesvos, Sifnos, Tenos, Crete and Thasos. Especially those of Thasos are not of local tradition, as the potters Chrysogeloi who imported them at the beginning of the 20th century were of Sifnian origin (Bakirtzis 2003, 68). It remains open whether the Skyrian *foufoudes* have a similar story, given the undoubted connections which the Skyrian potters had with the Sifnian ones. Moreover, the pieces from Skyros are noticeably smaller and more richly decorated. If they were used, they could not be part of the primary daily cookery. Actually none of the pieces had traces of use and I believe that the vessel must be a later addition to the local production, destined for secondary use, if not exclusively decorative. This is the reason why I have preferred not to classify the vessel among the kitchen wares.

In this category are also included unglazed slip-painted basins of *c.* 30-40 cm rim diameter. Some of the pieces bear vertical handles attached on the rim. Interestingly enough, although fifteen fragments of such vessels have been collected through the survey, not even one complete piece has been found among the private collections of Chora.

Finally in this category are included the small censers found in every Greek house, or even the cup-shaped tool (*ploumoudistiri*) used by the potters for the slip-painted decoration of the ceramics. The latter, given the exclusively functional use in the pottery workshop was usually undecorated. However, some later and more elaborate examples appear to be slip-painted.

- Decorative items

This group includes flower-pots, piggybanks or especially after the advent of tourism on the island from the mid 20th century onwards, miniatures of the large utilitarian vessels described above and tiny one or two-handled cups with a high foot.

Concerning the decoration of the *Unglazed Slip Painted Skyros Ware*, apart from the *kriologos* mentioned above, decorated with the addition of some moulded themes, or the rare cases of some incised lines, the defining characteristic of this ware is its slip-painted decoration. Slip-painted decoration has of course a long history in the Aegean and was a widely distributed decorative method of Early Modern ceramics of Greece. Actually two Ottoman jugs of unidentified origin collected by the survey, of fabric and surface treatment (unglazed), similar to the Early Modern *Unglazed Slip Painted Skyros Ware*, bear similar slip-painted decoration but of different decorative designs from the latter. These pieces, of local origin or not, however, can be easily identified as the forerunners for the local Early Modern *Unglazed Slip-Painted Skyros Ware* (see below).

The white slip used on the Skyrian vessels is a lime-based earth collected from the hill of *Balitis,* circa one km from Chora and mainly from the area of Ayios Artemios circa seven km from the workshops' base. The slip, after its mixing with water was applied on the vessels with a cup-shaped ceramic tool (*ploumoudistiri*) with a small hole at its lower part for the insert of straw from which the white slip (*batanas*) flowed.

The decorative motifs also occur in the other local material culture categories, namely the embroideries and wood sculptures: floral themes and bands, birds, cocks, fishes, two-headed eagles etc. The decorative agenda is clearly inspired by the Post-Byzantine past and the western, eastern and Greek imported material. Italian Maiolica especially seems to have had a special influence not only on the decorative motifs but also regarding the organisation of the decoration over the vessel. Bands encircling a central decorative motif for example, could be interpreted as an inspired-by concept of the 'ladder medallion design' found in the Italian Maiolica jugs.

Note: A group of 25 sherds collected through the survey, share the same fabric with the rest of the

local wares. Their forms belong to those of the *Unglazed Slip-painted Ware*, they are unglazed but also undecorated. Apparently, together with the decorated series of the *Unglazed Slip-painted Ware*, part of the fired vessels destined to a more modest destination (e.g. countryside) was left undecorated. Their traces are mainly detected on the countryside, but some rare cases are observed at Chora as well. Based on their form, these 25 pieces were registered as *Unglazed (Slip-painted) Ware*.

B. Other glazed or unglazed utilitarian wares (Figs. 13.34-37)

By contrast with the vessels of the *Unglazed Slip-painted Ware* destined to a 'lighter' function, this category includes vessels dedicated to a 'heavier' daily use. Moreover, although the vessels of the *Unglazed Slip-painted Ware* present a homogeneity in their surface treatment (exclusively unglazed products), here the surface treatment varies from unglazed to glazed or even slip-covered vessels according to the predestined function of every vessel. Similarly, by contrast with the decorative homogeneity of the *Unglazed Slip-painted Ware* (apparently slip-painted), here the decoration technique, if present, varies from the incised, fingerprinted, colour effect using different kind of glazes, or even slip-painted but in different treatment than that of the *Unglazed Slip-painted Ware*. These three elements distinguish the vessels described below from those of the *Unglazed Slip-painted Ware* and permit their classification in a special category.

The types of vessels of this category come to supplement the uncovered functional demand of the vessels of the *Unglazed Slip-painted Ware*. Six types can be distinguished according to their function: cooking wares, food preparation basins, other daily use basins, storage jars, vessels of agricultural use, and architectural elements.

- Cooking wares

The local cooking pots are represented only by closed-deep vessels for the cooking of *fava* (*favatotsoukalo*). The vessels were put into the ash of the fireplace and not directly on the fire, because the soil of Skyros cannot stand the high temperatures (Nikos Papastathis pers. commun. 28-7-2013). The local demand in cooking pots put directly on the fire was covered by imported pieces coming from Sifnos or Patmos (see above). It is very characteristic that even the Sifnian potters circulating around the Aegean producing ceramics in several places out of their base (*tsourmo*), did not produce their special cooking pot (*tsikali*) outside Sifnos, as they believed that only the soil of their island was appropriate for the construction of this vessel (Voyatzoglou-Sakellaropoulou 2009, 268).

The Skyrian *favatotsoukalo* is an ovoid vessel with flat base and one strap handle starting just below the rim and finishing at the maximum diameter of the belly. The size of the vessel varies from *c.* 0.10 to 0.30 m height, and 0.06 to 0.12 m base and rim diameter. The vessel is always unglazed and usually undecorated; if decorated this is restricted to one or two incised direct lines at the height of the shoulders (Fig. 13.34.1). Rare exceptions include some more elaborate treatment consisting of two strap handles flanking each other and a decorative zone at the height of the shoulders with direct and wavy shallow combing (Fig. 13.34.2). Characteristic of the surviving used pieces is the tanning of the bottom and of the front face of the vessel (opposite of the handle), because of its placement in the ash and in front of the fire.

Moreover, a question rises about the local origin of a group of closed-deep vessels used in the same way with the *favatotsoukala,* but with slight differences in form and surface treatment with them. These vessels have a narrower base and neck in respect to the 'classical' *favatotsoukala* and the rim is everted. The strap handle starts from the top of the rim this time. The vessels are undecorated, bearing in some cases one or two incised lines at the height of the shoulders. The rim (inside and outside) and the top of the handle are covered by an opaque orange or dark green glaze; the glaze is not applied on the whole interior of the vessel (Fig. 13.34.3).

Surviving examples of this type of vessel are very few. They are absent from the present oral tradition as local products and even the potter Nikos Papastathis could not recognise them as local (without however, indicating their place of origin either). However, the vessels present fabric similarity with the definitely local wares and one piece in particular is mal-fired. Moreover, they resemble the 'classical' *favatotsoukala* and they have traces of an identical use. Thus, we could not exclude the possibility that they are a sub-type of the 'normal' *favatotsoukala* of a limited life span.

- Food preparation basins (*lekane*) (Fig. 13.35.1-6)

The local production of food preparation basins has come to cover the great demand for such vessels, partially covered by the imported *Slip-painted Basins* from Crete, Sifnos, Thasos, Chalkida and Athens. The local basins have slightly everted, inverted or direct rims, straight divergent walls, flat base and possibly two small horizontal handles. The rim diameter ranges from 0.40 to 0.45 m and the height from 0.10 to 0.15 m, thus they are slightly smaller than the imported *Slip-painted Basins.*

The surface treatment of the basins varies. Usually the interior and the exterior rim of the vessels are covered by a glassy transparent, yellowish, dark or light green glaze applied directly on the clay. In some cases white slip covers the same area before the glaze. Moreover, some pieces are left unglazed. In this case the vessel is polished internally.

The decoration of the basins, if occurring, is likewise varied: painted with linear or abstract motifs in blue colour, slip-painted or incised with motifs characteristically found in the *Unglazed Slip-painted Ware* as well (e.g. daisy, fish, etc.), but significantly different in size, organisation and method of application.

- Other daily use basins (*limba, asvestokolifa*) (Fig. 13.35.7-9)

The basins described above were destined exclusively for food preparation in the house and for that reason were usually glazed and in many cases decorated. The rest of the numerous materials held in the household or outside of it were covered by larger and significantly deeper basins called *limbes* or *asvestokolifes*, with slightly everted and/or double rim and equipped with two or four small horizontal or vertical handles attached on the rim or just below it (*c.* 0.40 – 0.70 m rim diameter; 0.15 - 0.20 m base diameter; 0.30 – 055 m height). Four basic usages are attested through oral information: household laundry, textile washing or dyeing in the dyeing workshops, honey collection by the beekeepers or even for the keeping of the whitewash for the annual painting of the house[8]. Moreover, *limba* of smaller size was the auxiliary vessel filled with water used by the potters for wetting their hands during throwing (Fig. 13.23e,f). Generally, we can consider *limba* as a basic vessel for every functional use inside and outside the household.

- Storage jars (*vitina, pithari*) (Fig. 13.36)

The need of the island for large storage vessels was covered mainly by the imported *Eastern Aegean (Mytilini)* and by the *Koroni storage jars.* However, the local pottery production has contributed to the demand of the island manufacturing relatively small vessels, not more than 0.70 m in height and 0.20 m rim diameter. We can distinguish two types: 1) the big (*c.* 0.70 m max. height) of conical shape and deprived of handles and 2) the small (*c.* 0.50 m max. height), with two horizontal double handles. The big type is decorated with direct fingerprinted bands and the small one with direct and wavy incised combing. In some cases incised wavy bands just below the neck occur, a decorative element noticed in the small food containers (*vitnari*) of the Unglazed Slip-painted Ware as well. More rarely we notice incised motifs executed just below the rim, very similar to those found in the food preparation basins, apparently products of the same potter (e.g. daisies occurred in the storage jars and food preparation basins of the potter Alexandros Papastathis).

- Vessels of agricultural use (Fig. 13.37.1-2)

This group firstly includes the wine-stills: large unglazed vessels of approximately 0.70 m height and 0.55 m rim diameter, equipped with two holes at the upper and lower part of the vessel for the accumulation and extraction of the liquid respectively. The vessel is decorated with direct fingerprinted bands like the storage jars or some of the large basins (*limba*), while at the upper part just below the everted rim is sometimes observed an incised wavy line.

Bee smokers (*kapnia*) belong in this group. These are small rounded-closed vessels with one long handle. An opening just in front of the handle is used for importing the fuel. Except from the base all the walls of the vessel are holed for the extraction of the smoke.

The category could be supplemented by those large basins (*limba*) used by the beekeepers for honey collection.

- Architectural elements (Fig. 13.37.3-5)

A final category of the utilitarian local ceramic products is that of architectural elements, namely the tubes, the gutters and rarely the chimneys (*flaros*), the last a clear imitation of the respective Cycladic ones. Finally here could be included the bricks as well.

8 The last use was also served by reusing broken large vessels (e.g. storage jars), obtaining the special name of *kolifa* (from the skyrian word *kolifi* for sherd; *kolifa* in the skyrian dialect is the large sherd).

C. Local Imitations of the Western and Eastern Fine Ware Imports (Fig. 13.38)

Among the locally produced ceramics, the copies of the Western Maiolica and the Eastern Ottoman imports executed from *c.* 1900 onwards, form a special category. The first attempts were normally defective, mainly in their surface treatment and decoration. Although the colours used were exclusively industrial, purchased from Athens, the local potters, inexpert at working with the brush, did not meet with great success. Moreover, the glaze applied initially was the one used for their utilitarian vessels, consisting of three parts of industrial material bought from Chalkida and two parts of the local stone *atsacha.* This glaze was significantly more 'dirty' and opaque than that of the original pieces which they were trying to copy.

After the first failures the Skyrian potters made significant progress in shaping and painted decoration. The quality of the glazing has been significantly improved since the use of exclusively industrial glaze on the ceramics of this category.

The vessels produced had mainly a decorative purpose. Their shapes follow the imported models: plates, jugs, soup tureens, *albarelli* etc. As time went by the potters did not hesitate to experiment with new forms and decorative compositions.

A special characteristic of this category of ceramics are the signs occurring on the bottom of the vessels, varying according to the models which they imitated. The vessels are signed not only by the potters, but also by the wives or children who decorated them. It is interesting that although the imitations and the other local utilitarian ceramics were simultaneously produced, the potters considered that only the imitations 'deserve' to bear their sign according to the Western attitude, while for all the rest they have followed the Eastern and particularly the Aegean Early Modern ceramic tradition, where the sign/stamp of the workshop is rarely present. A Significant role for the appearance of the potters' signs has played of course the character of these items as souvenirs. In fact, after the advent of tourism from the 1950s onwards and the simultaneous replacement of the utilitarian ceramic vessels with the plastic ones, the imitation of the fine polychrome imports was the basic category of ceramics produced on the island. The production of the imitations has arrived at such a level to be considered today as a representative domain of the local craft.

13.5.5 Ceramics of unidentified origin

More than half of the ceramics collected by the survey are of unidentified origin. Although no definite clue about their place of origin can be retrieved, the macroscopic analysis of the fabrics suggests probably an Aegean production. This is also supported by the utilitarian every-day character of almost all the unidentified finds; a provenance from further afield than the Aegean area would be unlikely.

Some of the fabrics are similar to the local Early Modern one(s) and in fact it is possible that some of the unidentified wares are indeed local. However, I have preferred to be more hesitant in this respect and to leave the confirmation or denial of this hypothesis to a future, more thorough analysis.

Beehives (Fig. 13.39.1-7)

By far the majority of the finds of unidentified origin are beehives, dated to Post-Roman and more probably Ottoman times. This date is suggested firstly by the technological characteristics described below, but also and more importantly by the context in which they occur. They are almost always distant from post-medieval settlement sites, but in many cases are widely present in the cores of Greco-Roman and/or Late Roman sites (e.g. S80). It is logical then to assume a Post-Roman date of these vessels, as it would be absurd to keep bees in an active domestic area.[9]

Furthermore, it is plausible to suggest a pre-Early Modern date for the beehives, as it is known that during the Early Modern period beehives on the island were made with the use of bamboo-baskets (*melissokofino*). All the local informants speak of baskets; no-one remembers the use of ceramic beehives. More importantly the 1670/71 Ottoman register makes clear mention of beehives on the island (see Appendix D), and indeed we could hypothesize an Ottoman date for the beehive fragments revealed by the survey, replaced by the bamboo-baskets in Early Modern times for practical and economic reasons (lighter, not

9 It has to be noted that it is not uncommon for the hives to be transported into domestic areas when they are broken, to obtain the honey or to be recycled. Beehives are actually ubiquitous in farms, villages and cities from the Classical Greek through to Late Roman era on the Mainland (J. Bintliff pers. com.). However, the cases to which I am referring are extensive beehive ceramic scatters, the number of which is definitely related to apiaries.

fragile, and apparently less expensive than the ceramic beehives).

The vessels have (normally) a diameter ranging from 20 to 30 cm and their exterior is sometimes simply decorated with direct or wavy incisions, especially close to the rims. This kind of decoration often occurs on Early Modern utilitarian vessels locally produced (see above). More importantly, the basic characteristic of the vessels, which actually was the main reason for their characterisation as beehives, is the internal scratches most of which are very shallow and very casually executed.

The fabric of the beehives is generally coarse, hard, orange/reddish to dark brown (FAB 44). Occasional alterations macroscopically identified in some sherds (e.g. regarding their hardness or colour) were consciously not identified as different fabrics. Initial attempts at per fabric sub-grouping were soon abandoned because of the numerous varieties which would lead to some dozens of fabrics each of them consisting of a few sherds only. A safer solution for the macroscopic examination was to avoid the slight differences (which could even be caused by different firing or clay-source of the same area), and to categorise the beehive sherds in one wide fabric-group according to their general characteristics.

The fabric of the beehives is similar to FAB 40, which is the fabric of the local Early Modern ceramic products. Actually the fabric of the beehives could be considered a coarser version of FAB 40, and therefore we could suppose a local origin for the beehives. The honey production of the island undoubtedly created a great demand for beehive vessels provided by the local potters. Besides, we know that the local Early Modern pottery production included fumigators for the beekeepers (see above). However, the slight fabric-difference between the beehives and the Early Modern local ceramics, in combination with the lack of safe historical reference for local ceramic production in the Ottoman period (see above), are grounds for this local characterisation of the beehive production to be tentative. Be that as it may, if not local, the place of origin of the beehives is most likely to be in a region with close geological similarity with Skyros (Cyclades, South Euboea?).

Table wares and kitchen wares

Second in quantity of finds of unidentified origin is a group of plain (glazed or unglazed) table wares (jugs, plates, dishes etc), dated broadly to Ottoman - Early Modern times. The majority of them are very small body fragments which do not help in assumptions about specific date and provenance. Their major function in this research was to attest an Ottoman-Early Modern activity at the sites from which they have been collected.

However, of special interest are some unglazed jug fragments dated more specifically to the Ottoman period, the fabric and the slip-painted decoration of which bears a high resemblance to the local Early Modern *Unglazed Slip Painted Skyros Ware* (Fig. 13.40). These vessels have a slightly coarser fabric in comparison to the Early Modern local ones, are thinner, their shape differs slightly (especially on the handles) and the motifs of the slip painted decoration are more abstract in comparison to Skyrian motifs, consisting of wavy lines, concentric circles and floral motifs. These slight differences, in combination with the lack of a certain historical reference to local ceramic production during Ottoman times on the island, casts doubt on whether these vessels were produced locally. Besides, the unglazed slip-painted vessels have had a long story in the Ottoman and Early Modern Aegean, produced in several places (e.g. Lesvos, Sifnos). Nevertheless, whether of local origin or not, these pieces can be characterised as forerunners of the Early Modern *Unglazed Slip Painted Skyros Ware.*

Apart from the unglazed fragments, 40 pieces (mainly plates, dishes and bowls) bear a simple monochrome glaze of usually yellow/green colour which did not permit their identification to known categories. Moreover, the wide fabric variety (almost exclusively fabric per sherd), has made it difficult to sub-group the finds.

Finally seven kitchen wares have been collected as well, almost exclusively stew-pots. The fabric of some of them bears a great similarity with the Skyrian fabric, with the exception of more mica being present (Fig. 13.39.8). The similarity of the fabrics indicates a common to Skyros geological source of the kitchen wares, apparently from an Aegean district adjacent to Skyros (e.g. Euboea, North Cyclades?).

Transport and storage vessels

Thirty-six pieces collected in the survey belong to imported transport/storage vessels (transport jars, *stamnoi* and storage jars). Like the table wares mentioned above, the pieces presented wide fabric variety which did not permit fabric-grouping on the grounds of macroscopic analysis only. Moreover, the small size of the fragments did not permit a typological identification.

Tobacco pipe (Fig. 13.39.9)

One pipe-bowl was collected from the castle of Skyros during the survey, product of an unknown workshop among the many of Turkey, the Aegean, the Balkans and Near East. The piece is relatively small and at its upper part bears a S-like stamped decoration. At the bottom is discernible a small circular producer's stamp, unfortunately illegible. The producers' stamps are considered an element of the late pipes of the 19th century (Hayes 1992, 391, Vroom 2005, 173). However, the form of the pipe found in Skyros is very close to a find from Saraçhane in Istanbul dated by Hayes to the (late 17th-) 18th century (Hayes 1992, 392, type IV). The fabric of the Skyrian piece is grey in colour with a polished reddish surface, common to the 18th century (Hayes 1992, 391; see for a review Vionis 2012, 259-60; Vroom 2005, 172-5; Hayes 1992, 391-3).

13.6 DOMESTIC MATERIAL CULTURE: GLASS (Fig. 13.41.1-3)

The luxury glass objects are imported pieces mainly from Bohemia, Italy (especially Venice) and Spain, dated to the 18th and 19th centuries. Manos Faltaits argues that all of these glass items are pirate booty from ship cargoes directed to rich Ottoman houses, scattered afterwards to the Skyrians (Faltaits 1974, 68; Faltaits 1972a, 7). The basic types of vessels found are cups, mugs, jugs, vases, perfume vessels, bottles for drinks or medicines, water pipes (*nargile*) and candles.

These pieces on Skyros were exclusively decorative items to adorn the houses, and thus they are completely absent from the countryside. They were located usually on the main decorative shelf of the house in front of the best ceramic plates of the family collection. In rare cases, some of the objects have had a restricted functional use (e.g. bottles for drinks or medicines and perfume vessels which in Skyros were used for keeping the Holy Water).

13.7 DOMESTIC MATERIAL CULTURE: METALLIC OBJECTS

Here is attempted a brief presentation of the basic categories of the metallic objects that make up the Ottoman - Early Modern Skyrian household. Here are included the decorative, semi-functional and exclusively functional metallic objects found in the main house, excluding the various agricultural and generally 'heavy' everyday items which comprise this wider material category (e.g. agricultural tools etc.).

In the Ottoman – Early Modern Skyrian house the metallic objects are second in quantity, after the ceramics. They are made of copper, brass, lead or tin (Faltaits 1974, 69-71). All of them are imported products from Northern Greece, Turkey or the Middle East. In the dowry documents of the Ottoman period they are found already since the 16th century under the general term of *chalkoma,* or more specifically described with the terms *sini, tapsa, tapsi, tavas, tentzeris, tigani, kazani, legeni, legenobrikon, kastania.*[10] The continuous use of these terms until today helps us identify the majority of the items referred to in the dowries.

Three basic categories of vessels can be distinguished according to their original purpose of manufacture: a) table wares, b) cooking wares and food containers and c) other domestic vessels. However, this categorisation says little about the use of these objects on Skyros, where only some vessels of all the three categories were functional, the majority of which being destined for decorative or at most for semi-functional use. Analysing the aforementioned three groups we can identify the following types of vessels and describe their local use:

13.7.1 Table wares

- Large and very shallow discs of *c.* 0.50-1.00 m or more in diameter, usually with incised internal decoration (*sini*) (Fig. 13.41.4). They were

10 Antoniadis 1990, documents 10/1581, 15/1609, 17/1616, 23/1630, 50/1705, 51/1705, 68/1720, 77/1724, 118/1790, 125/1794, 148/1800, 151/1800, 155/1802, 156/1802.

mainly decorative items exhibited on the walls. In stately houses they could be used as a luxury table placed on top of a supporting wooden base. In some cases the small pieces could be used even as serving platters. The oldest reference of *sini* in the dowry documents is dated to 1724.[11]

- Large platters with a diameter of *c.* 0.40-0.60 m with incised internal decoration (*tapsa*) (Fig. 13.41.5). Their origin is considered generally from Turkey or the Middle East (Faltaits 1974, 69-70) and in Skyros were exclusively decorative items with the internal decorated side visible.
- Plates of *c.* 0.20-0.30 m diameter; undecorated or with minimal hammer-made external decoration (*tapsi*). In Skyros they were exclusively decorative items, exhibited on the walls with the external side visible. The oldest reference of *tapsi* in the dowry documents is dated to 1609.[12]
- Mugs of *c.* 0.14 m height and 0.10 m rim diameter (*siderovavatha*) undecorated or with incised decoration. In Skyros they were exclusively decorative items (Fig. 13.41.8).
- Bowls of *c.* 0.20 m rim diameter and 0.10 m height undecorated or with incised decoration (*tasi*). On Skyros they were decorative or semi-functional items.

13.7.2 Cooking wares and food containers

- Baking pans of *c.* 0.50-0.70 m rim diameter (*tavas*); undecorated utilitarian vessels for baking pies. The large and good pieces were used as decorative items as well, like the *sinia* on the walls of the house. The oldest reference to *tavas* in the dowry documents is dated in 1720.[13]
- Cooking-pots of *c.* 0.25 m rim diameter and 0.15 m height (*tentzeris*); undecorated and exclusively utilitarian vessels for cooking in the fireplace with the help of a trivet. The oldest reference to *tentzeris* in the dowry documents is dated in 1720.[14]
- Large metallic cauldrons, used mainly for the dining of a group of people or for the milking by the shepherds (*kazani*). They were undecorated and exclusively utilitarian vessels. The oldest reference to *kazani* in the dowry documents is dated in 1705.[15]
- Frying pans (*tigani*); undecorated and exclusively utilitarian vessels.
- Vessels for food transportation of *c.* 0.20 m diameter and varying height (*kastania*) (Fig. 13.41.6). They consist of two to six bowls located one over the other placed steady together with the help of two metallic arms. They are undecorated or with rich incised decoration, and in Skyros they were exclusively decorative items located in the corners of the decorative selves. The oldest reference to *kastania* in the dowry documents is dated in 1794.[16]

13.7.3 Other domestic vessels

- Special three-part vessel for hand washing (*legenompriko*) (Fig. 13.41.7). It consisted of a basin (*c.* 0.30 m diameter and 0.10 m height) and a holed lid (*kafasi*), on which was located a jug filled with water. This permitted the washing of the hands over the basin, where the water was concentrated through the holed lid-base of the jug. Clearly this was a luxury vessel richly decorated with hammer-made and incised decoration. It was mainly a decorative item of the Skyrian stately houses, rarely being used. The oldest reference to *legeni* or *legenobriko* in the dowry documents is dated in 1720.[17]
- Large lamps of *c.* 0.60-1.00 m height (*lichnos*). Luxury lamps for the stately houses.
- Metallic flasks of *c.* 0.20 m height made usually of lead, from which took their local name (*molivas*) (Fig. 13.41.9). They were made for keeping Holy Water (*eulogia*) and for that reason very often bear moulded decoration covering their main side with biblical scenes, saints etc. They maintained their original use on Skyros as well. Despite being a luxury item, strangely enough they are not referred to in the dowry documents, at least not by such a name.

11 Antoniadis 1990, doc. 125/1794.
12 Antoniadis 1990, doc. 15/1609.
13 Antoniadis 1990, doc. 68/1720.
14 Antoniadis 1990, doc. 68/1720.
15 Antoniadis 1990, doc. 51/1705.
16 Antoniadis 1990, doc. 125/1794.
17 Antoniadis 1990, doc. 68/1720.

- Censers usually with hammer-made decoration.
- Large footed basins of various sizes used as heaters after their loading with charcoal (*mag-kali*).

13.8 DOMESTIC MATERIAL CULTURE: FURNITURE

It is clear that the interior of the Early Modern Skyrian house described in several folkloric and architectural studies, or surviving more or less till the present day, is the result of the blending of elements from the Ottoman past and the westernisation which gradually affected the domestic life of the Skyrians, especially after the foundation of the Greek state. Furniture can be characterised as one of the most striking element which indicates this transition. The surviving pieces on the island can hardly be dated earlier than the 19th century, generating doubts about the situation during the Ottoman period.

It is generally accepted that the more or less small, single-roomed Aegean house of the Ottoman period (e.g. in Crete, Cyclades, the islands of Eastern Aegean or in Mainland Greece) had little furniture due to the lack of space and the everyday activities of the people outdoors (Vionis 2012, 330). The furniture attested from the textual and pictorial evidence comprises a simple mattress or modest wooden structures consisting of the bed, small low round tables and stools and some chests, minimally serving the basic domestic needs of sleeping, eating and storage (Vionis 2012, 330-1).

Apart from the small size of the house which has led to the accordingly small size of the furniture, it has been suggested that the small round table used almost everywhere in the Aegean echoes 'Eastern' dining habits spread after the Ottoman conquest of the Balkans, consisting of diners eating from a big communal bowl at the centre of the table, seated, if not directly on the floor, on small wooden stools or woven pillows (Vionis 2012, 331).

Skyros was typical of the Aegean furnishing habits described above. Despite the small size of the Skyrian house of the Ottoman period (*c.* 40-50 sq. metres), it covered all the basic needs of the usually numerous family. Sleeping needs were covered by *sofas* (see above), while the rest of the furniture, if present, minimally covered the remaining two domestic needs, namely dining and storage.

The lower classes used as a table the front space of the fireplace or some wooden slabs, while for sitting they used low built benches flanking the fireplace or small wooden stools (Faltaits 1973b, 12). The middle and upper classes of the island used a small low round table called *sofras,* either locally made by wooden slabs nailed on a cross-shaped base or imported from Mount Athos and carved out of a wood block (Faltaits 1973b, 7-8). A special type of *sofras* consisted of an imported wooden round surface being the upper part of the table and a separate tripod as its base (Fig. 13.42.1).

At some point after the widespread use of *sofras,* rectangular tables were introduced in the houses of the upper classes of Skyros. They were small, locally made with four elaborate feet and rich wooden carved decoration, and were ironically called *tripodia* (tripods) (Fig. 13.42.2). These small rectangular tables can be interpreted as a Western influence on the island since the Ottoman period; a scaled down imitation of the big European tables, adjusted to the small size of the Skyrian house and the rest of its furniture. These small rectangular tables have gradually replaced the (of equal size) Ottoman *sofras* in the stately houses. The name 'tripods' was apparently given to them from the aforementioned *sofras* with the tripod base.

A similar story is identified in the case of the chairs. During the Ottoman period is attested on the island the use of locally made small and low chairs with wood carved decoration, called *skamnia* (Fig. 13.42.3). Similar low chairs are generally attested in the Aegean (e.g. Crete), apparently scaled down imitations of the western big chairs, adjusted to the small scale of the Aegean house. Regarding Skyros, the use of *skamnia* has probably started by the upper class of the island. Indication for that is the local tradition of '*dodeka skamnia*' (twelve chairs), i.e. the council of the local community during the Ottoman period, denominated locally with this term (Antoniadis 1997, 44). Regardless of the historical base of this term (in fact there is no evidence attesting to a twelve-member council), the identification of the term *skamnia* with the community council attests apparently to the use of *skamnia* by the local noblemen. It is interesting to note here the function of these small chairs in this context as a metonym for the bearers of the power who were sitting on them, as the word 'throne' in Western Europe acquired the meaning of the royal power (Faltaits 1973b, 12).

A special type of furniture stemming from the Ottoman period must be the so-called *krevatsoula,* a low wooden structure about the size of a single bed, with vertical wooden slabs at the back, sides and partially at the front of the structure exceeding their sitting surface (Fig. 13.42.5). The *krevatsoula* was usually placed close to the fireplace and its use was as a bed as well as a sitting bench. The exact date of the introduction on the island of this locally made structure is uncertain; but its shape, decoration and more importantly its function for sitting in a semi-recumbent manner, echoes likewise the aforementioned low rounded tables of 'Eastern' fashions.

The last basic domestic need, namely storage, was served, at least for the upper classes of the island by imported wooden chests, referred to in the dowry documents generally as *sentoukia*.[18] As in the rest of the Aegean, the origin of these chests was mainly Italy (Faltaits 1973b, 8-10). This is attested, apart from the oral tradition, by the terminology used generally in the Aegean, which derives from Italian or the Venetian dialect (e.g. *kasela, fortseri* or *kanaveta*; Faltaits 1973b, 8-10; Vionis 2012, 332) (Fig. 13.42.4). However, the chests with iron linings (*siderodemena*), very often present in the Skyrian households, probably came from Northern Greece and particularly Epirus (Faltaits 1973b, 10). Similarly from Northern Greece and particularly from Thrace, also came some relatively small wooden chests with characteristically rich painted decoration at their front side, which in many cases carries the date of their construction (almost exclusively in the 19th century).

In the 19th century and particularly after the founding of the Greek State, a more clear 'turn' towards the Western way of life occurred generally in the Aegean, expressed regarding domestic affairs through the massive introduction of Western mobile furniture (Vionis 2012, 333). On Skyros in particular, this transition was seen in the introduction of big lathed tables, couches, armchairs and several other European style furniture items for the equipment of the newly founded mansions as well as the old Ottoman style single-roomed houses. The origin of these imported pieces occurring in the Aegean is generally considered European, but a Greek provenance of several pieces which actually have imitated Western models is also attested (Delivorias 1995, 310). A characteristic example of this is the widely known lathed sofa, ubiquitous in the Aegean (Skyros included), a reason for which it has been characteristically named as 'insular' (Fig. 13.42.6).

This turn from the old Ottoman way of life towards a more Western one did not result in the immediate abandonment of the old type of furniture. On the contrary, the new ones of Western style have been incorporated into the old furniture equipment, resulting in the 'typical' Early Modern Skyrian house presented in several folkloric and architectural studies, actually an amalgam of Eastern and Western elements. This transition was also advanced by the local furniture production as well. For the first time in the late 19th century we find locally constructed couches and armchairs, actually copies of the imported pieces, bearing carved decoration typical of the island (Fig. 13.42.2). These new types of furniture in combination with the old ones (*skamnia, tripodia*), will become from that time onwards the typical Early Modern 'Skyrian living room furniture', widely known to this day.

13.9 DOMESTIC MATERIAL CULTURE: COSTUMES

Attire is one of the most representative elements that define the culture of a place. Through its study we can retrieve information regarding the economy, craft, aesthetics, cultural influence and trade connections of a region. Moreover, in their internal social context, costumes can offer insight into the social structure of a place. Apart from the origins of their owner, a costume has always been the prime means of indicating the social position of a person. In contrast to modern times where the choice of the clothing style is more or less free, in past societies attire was strictly connected with the religious, social, professional/financial status of the person (Faltaits 1973a, 3). When for example the French botanist Pitton de Tournefort visited the island of Naxos at the beginning of the 18th century, he noticed the difference between the Catholic Latins and the Orthodox Greeks by the velvet caps worn by the former and the red *fez* worn by the latter (Vionis 2012, 343).

Regarding the study of the Skyrian dress, the island has had the fortune to have preserved a large

18 The chests (*sentoukia*) is the only category among the wooden items of the household having particular reference in the dowry documents. Antoniadis 1990, documents 10/1581, 15/1609, 17/1616, 23/1630, 50/1705, 68/1720, 77/1724, 118/1790, 148/1800, 151/1800, 155/1802, 156/1802.

number of costumes, passed down from generation to generation, as the dowry documents attest, already since the 16th century. Today there are many old costumes stowed away in local households and even more recently manufactured by the still active Skyrian craftswomen, worn only during 'Clean Monday'[19] or on other special occasions, which in turn informs us about the Ottoman and Early Modern attire of the island.

Moreover, Skyros was lucky because these costumes have been meticulously studied and published by Aliki Lamprou in 1994. The author, herself a Skyrian, daughter of a textile dealer and of a skillful craftswoman, has systematically studied the Skyrian costumes for more than fifteen years. In her book Aliki Lamprou presents analytically the types and each part of the dresses and offers abundant technical information about their manufacture. Aliki Lamprou does not appeal only to the theoretical scholar, but also -and especially- to the specialist with a 'hands on' approach. In this way it can function as a guide to the correct manufacture of the old costumes; a special characteristic that makes this book invaluable.

What I set out to do next is to present briefly the types of the Skyrian costumes of the late 19th – early 20th centuries and their evolution, as these are attested through the surviving pieces, old photographs and oral information. No detailed analysis of each costume will take place here as this has already been done by Aliki Lamprou (1994) and by Manos Faltaits (1973a). The focus here will be on the social meaning of the costumes, the local craft and the inter-systemic relations of the island as these are attested by the imported textiles, entire pieces or relevant materials on the island.

The study of the Skyrian costumes, like the rest of the Aegean, presents some difficulties which can be summarized in the following points: i) costumes have been changing over time according to fashion trends. The surviving pieces and the available pictorial evidence cannot thus cover the older types of the Skyrian attire. The present day Skyrian dress considered as typical of the island is a result of various, mainly social dynamic evolutions. The 'typical' costumes as they are today do not necessarily reflect all the varieties of the old costumes; ii) the preserved costumes, or those described or depicted by the travellers, or even those referred to in the dowry documents, represent mainly the 'Sunday-best' dress saying little about the everyday dress of the people.

13.9.1 Male costumes

Like the rest of the Aegean, the typical Skyrian male costume is made up of baggy trousers, the shirt, the waistcoat and the headscarf or cap. The last 'traditional' costumes worn on the island were those of the peasants (shepherds and farmers), locally called *kapeloi* (Faltaits 1973a, 6; Chatzimichali 1925, 79). These two were crystallised as the male costumes of the island, were mainly preserved and are still manufactured and worn on special occasions even today (e.g. Clean Monday). The costume of the shepherds especially is considered today the representative male costume of the island and until recently in traditionally held weddings this was the costume of the groom.

However, it is almost certain that these two costumes were not the only male costumes of Skyros, but the last to fall before the complete dominance of European attire on the island. Several social/professional groups on Skyros could not of course be dressed in the two aforementioned costumes (e.g. the upper class of the landowners, tradesmen, seafarers, fishermen, unskilled workers etc.). All these classes replaced relatively early in the 20th century their local attire for the European (*fragkika*), each of them for their own reasons (the noblemen for prestige, the tradesmen and seafarers due to their frequent contacts with the trade centres outside Skyros, the fishermen and workers because of the anyway modest local attire, etc.). On the contrary, the shepherds and farmers, close to the land and 'closed' to their world with fewer contacts outside Skyros in comparison to the other social classes, have maintained a relative conservatism in their way of living, including their attire. The cultural element of the shepherds and farmers on the island has been even more enhanced from the 1950 onwards, during the domestic immigration towards the big town centres of Greece. The immigrants from Skyros belonged mainly to the top and the base of the social pyramid of the island: the sons of the noblemen going to the big cities to become doctors, lawyers etc, and the unskilled workers without money going to change their fortune. The result was that the middle classes, namely the shepherds and farmers, tied to the land, stayed on Skyros to become the principal social

19 The first day of Lent.

and finally cultural element of the island in every respect, including the local attire.

The costume of the shepherds (tsopanika)
(Fig. 13.43.1)

The dress of the shepherds is characterised by the colour white. Above the vest, cotton in the summer or woolen in the winter, the shepherds wore a silk shirt with voluminous sleeves and above that a white waistcoat (*gianeli*). Their cotton baggy trousers were of deep blue colour, with their stockings woolen and white. Their shoes were a kind of leather sandals covering all the foot (*trochadia*). Around their heads they would wrap an azure scarf, while around 1910 this was partially replaced with the black cap of the costume of the farmers (Lamprou 1994, 90). In the summer they wore a white light blue jacket (*mentenes*), while in the winter a white woolen coat (*ampas*) and a black woolen overcoat (*kapoto*). The costume was complemented by their woolen bag (*trovas*) and their stick (*aravdi*).

The everyday shepherd costume was more or less the same as the best dress but of lesser quality. In some cases (e.g. during the milking, or in low temperatures) above/instead of the baggy trousers they would wear white woolen trousers similar to those found in northern Greece (*panovraki*). Moreover, instead of a scarf on the head they would wear a striped towel.

From the oral information and the little pictorial evidence we learn that the old type of the costume (until the 19th century?) was different mainly in that the shepherds used to wear a white or red cap wrapped with the azure scarf (Fig. 13.43.2). The shepherds used to have their hair short in the front and long in the back, shoulder length (Lamprou 1994, 95; Faltaits 1973a, 6-7). There is also information that during winter the head shepherds used to wear the white woolen trousers mentioned above (*panovraki*) and the white coat (*ampas*).

As mentioned above from 1910 onwards the costume of the shepherds has been gradually replaced by that of the farmers. This has been explained as being because the latter costume was more easy to wash. The last shepherd wearing the 'original' costume died in 1978 (Lamprou 1994, 103).

The costume of the farmers (vrakadika)
(Fig. 13.43.3)

The costume of the farmers is dominated by the colour black. The best dress consists of a white or black shirt with tight sleeves and above that a black waistcoat. In winter a black coat was added or even the same black overcoat as that of the shepherds (*kapoto*). Their baggy trousers are of deep blue colour like those of the shepherds and their stocking were similarly woolen but black. The shoes were the same (*trochadia*). On their heads they wore a black cap imported from Ayvalik (Turkey). However, it is believed that the black cap from Ayvalik was a fashion change of the beginnings of the 20th century and that before that date the farmers used the same scarf as that of the shepherds (Lamprou 1994, 98).

The everyday costume consisted of the same parts as the best dress but of lesser quality. The shirt was usually of blue tinge striped or plaid. On their heads they would wear a straw hat (*kapasi*) or a striped towel.

The costume of the seafarers and tradesmen
(Fig. 13.43.4)

As mentioned above both social classes have replaced relatively early in the 20th century their 'traditional' attire with European clothes. The information about the costume comes from the local archive, the informants and old photographs.

The seafarers would wear a white shirt, black waistcoat, coat and in the winter an overcoat as well. Their baggy trousers (*kofa*) were black, and longer and wider than those of the previous two groups. Their shoes were black leather boots while on their head they used to wear a red fez or a black hat from Mytilini. The costume of the tradesmen was similar (Lamprou 1994, 99-100; Faltaits 1973a: 5).

The costume of the upper class (archontes)
(Fig. 13.43.5)

The *archontes* were the first who replaced their 'traditional' costumes with European ones, in the early 20th century. However, parts of their costumes have been preserved as heirlooms by their descendants, which together with old photographs and oral information can help to reconstruct their attire. They used to wear

white shirt and jacket (*mentenes*) both made of silk, a long scarf on the neck and a polychrome silk-made belt (*zonari*). Their baggy trousers were long and their shoes were of 'European' style of leather. In the winter they used to wear a long overcoat with internal fur-vestment (*gounela*). Characteristic of their costume was the red fez (*papazi*) (Lamprou 1994, 101-3; Faltaits 1973a, 4-5).

13.9.2 The Female costumes

The basic characteristics of the female costumes are the folding dress, the shirt with voluminous sleeves and the head shawl. In contrast with the male attire where the profession has dictated more or less different types of clothing, here no such distinction can be discernible. On the contrary, two basic types of costumes were worn by all women on Skyros, the wedding/Sunday-best costume and the everyday dress. This of course does not mean a clothing equality among the Skyrian women despite their common 'profession' to master their house. Their different social status was not expressed through different types of costume representing a different type of 'profession' respectively, but through the different quality of the same type of costume. In fact, both costumes (especially the wedding costume) are sub-divided in different sub-types and differently termed according to the quality of their dress.

A later type of costume imported from the women of the adjacent village of Kymi in Euboea who came to Skyros, and an old lost type, supplement the information about Ottoman – Early Modern female attire.

The wedding and Sunday-best costume (alamena) (Fig. 13.43.7-10)

This is an extremely heavy costume which does not flatter the female body but gives it gravity and 'nobility'. There are several sub-types according to the kind/quality of its basic part, the dress, the appellation of which gives the name to each sub-type of the general costume of *alamena* (there are fourteen types of dresses itemised in total, e.g. *kaphas serasceri, venetiko, yalambi* etc.; see Lamprou 1994, 38). It is still worn at the traditional weddings not only by the bride but by the relatives of the couple and her bridesmaids as well.

The costume of *alamena* consisted of the cotton or woolen vest (*fanela*), the internal shirt with voluminous sleeves (*pelichro*), at the lower part of which was sewn a kind of skirt with rich embroidered decoration at its lower part (*skouta*); the sleeveless with garters undershirt (*kolovoli*), the fitted and short, originally unisex jacket (*mentenes*), the rich in decoration external shirt (*to kalo*), the dress, the short and tight waistcoat, the white stockings and the shoes, a kind of leather or textile slippers (*gdores* or *kaligia*). Characteristic of the costume was the rich and heavy head shawl (*ftas*).

Depending on the way in which the costume of *alamena* was worn, as wedding or Sunday-best, the order and manner of the attire changed. For example the head shawl (*ftas*) was falling unbound at the back of the head when the costume was worn as wedding dress, or bound around the neck when it was worn as a Sunday-best. Lesser scale sub-types of *alamena* worn exclusively as Sunday-best and not as bride-costumes, had always the *ftas* bound around the neck (e.g. *yalambi;* regarding the multiple variations of the costume of *alamena* see Lamprou 1994, 21-57).

The everyday costume (koutnia) (Fig. 13.43.6)

Koutnia were worn by all the women of Skyros, rich or poor, and by every age. As mentioned above the different social class of the woman was expressed through the different quality of her costume.

The *koutnia* is roughly composed of the same parts as the *alamena* costume. The basic difference from the latter is that instead of the polychrome imported textiles used mainly for the manufacture of *alamena* (at least the most prominent parts like the dress, the waistcoat, the *ftas* etc.), here the textiles of the costume were locally produced. In fact *koutni* is characterised by its monochrome appearance. The only polychrome elements of the costume were the edge of the dress and the belt (*litseri*), when this is worn as Sunday-best, or even the shawl (*chremaki*). In fact, apart from everyday costume, the good qualities of *koutnia* and with slight difference in respect to the way in which were worn every day, were used as feast costumes as well (Lamprou 1994, 58). This took place especially from the late 19th century onwards when the everyday costume of Kymi was adopted by the Skyrian women as well (Lamprou 1994, 73).

The costume of Kymi (koumiotika) (Fig. 13.43.6)

The origin of koumiotika costumes is Kymi (Euboea). It is argued that this costume initially appeared in Skyros in the 18th century by women of Kymi who married Skyrians. By the end of the 19th century it was adopted by the Skyrian women as well (Lamprou 1994, 70 n.1, 73). It consisted of an undershirt, a shirt, a dress (monochrome and plisse), jacket (*kamizoli* or *polka*) and its characteristic element, the yellow scarf (locally called *politiko*). *Koumiotika* are divided into the wedding and the everyday costume. Like the previous cases, the difference was mainly in the quality of the costume and secondarily in the different way in which they were worn (e.g. different quality of dress and jacket, different way in which the scarf falls on the head).

13.9.3 How Skyrian are the Skyrian costumes? Local craft and Mediterranean imports

Undoubtedly the Ottoman - Early Modern costumes of Skyros follow the Aegean clothing *koine* of the period which is characterised by Western, Ottoman or even Byzantine fashion elements. It is very characteristic that the travellers, when commenting on Aegean costumes (and especially the female ones), found them ridiculous and ugly since they unsuccessfully combined 'old' Western fashions with 'new' Ottoman elements (Vionis 2012, 343).

Ridiculous and ugly or not, the Skyrian costumes present an expressive variety combining a wide range of materials, locally produced or imported, synthesised according to the Western or Eastern fashion trends and the local aesthetics.

In fact the Skyrians have significantly developed the production of a wide variety of textile materials covering a high percentage of their demands. Wool especially was abundant on the island and in various qualities. Cotton and linen were also cultivated in valleys and marsh-plains (e.g. Kalamitsa, Linaria). Moreover, there is information that until 1950s silk cocoons were cultivated and for that reason mulberry trees are still plentiful on the island. The initial seed came from adjacent Kymi on Euboea where silk was significantly cultivated. The cocoons from Skyros were sent there for the extraction of the thread which afterwards was sent back to the island (Lamprou 1994, 131-2). Finally, a wide variety of natural colours was also produced on Skyros such as blue, brown, dark yellow, a range of light to dark red, olive, beige, black etc (Lamprou 1994, 135-6).

In any case, as already was shown above, local sources were not able to fulfill the clothing demands of the island. For luxury attire especially, Skyros was based on imports of complete pieces or more often of textiles. Regarding the female attire for example, the luxury dresses and jackets of the wedding and 'Sunday-best' costume (*alamena*) were made of imported textiles probably from Turkey or Italy. The local term *kaphas* for the textile of some of these dresses can be certainly identified with the Ottoman *kemha* fabric.[20] The subcategory *kaphas serasceri* in particular, can be probably identified with the Ottoman fabric *Seraser.* Similarly, an Italian textile import, and particularly from Venice, should be envisaged for the locally known dress of *venetiko.* Moreover, the headscarf of *alamena* (*ftas*) originally was the towel of the Ottoman baths (*peştamal*). Three basic types of *ftas* occur on the island attesting their origin: *politikos* (Istanbul)*, misirgiotikos* (Egypt) and *skyrianos,* the last apparently referring to a copy of the imported pieces destined for everyday female costume (Lamprou 1994, 53, n.30). The luxury red shirts of *alamena* were imported from Istanbul or Kütahya (Lamprou 1994, 27, n.8). Similarly imported pieces from Istanbul, Izmir, Thessaloniki, Mount Athos or Jerusalem were the golden-sewed belts of the *alamena* (Lamprou 1994, 46).

Furthermore, in the costume of *koutnia* the *podogiros,* i.e. the polychrome zone decorating the lower edge of the locally produced dress (occurring only when this was used as good costume), was made of textiles from Istanbul, Syria or Jordan (Lamprou 1994, 61).

Recall that the costume of Kymi was introduced in Skyros by Kymian women marrying Skyrians. It was later adopted by the Skyrian women as well and

20 "The Ottoman kemha fabric known to westerners as "brocade", was also very popular abroad. It was a silk fabric with a double ground very often with an admixture of wire thread. In the 16th century, orders were placed for this type of fabric for use in papal robes and the ceremonial apparel worn by the imperial entourage. Papal costumes made from Ottoman brocades are found in museums and church treasuries. There were large numbers of kemha and catma weaving workshops in both Istanbul and Bursa, and a plan of a workshop specializing in the production of these particular fabrics is found in the palace archives" (http://www.turkishculture.org/textile-arts/fabrics-and-textiles-67.htm).

started being locally produced. However some pieces of the costume, like the yellow headscarf (originally painted, later stamped) was always imported, and as its appellation (*politiko*) betrays, perhaps from Istanbul (*Poli*).

Apart from the female, in the male costumes as well we find many pieces completely imported or made by imported textiles. First of all the red fez of the noblemen has had an eastern but unknown origin. Moreover, as with the female jackets of *alamena* costumes (*mentenes*), the male jackets made of silk or other luxury material (e.g. *kaphas*) were imported from the east. Their polychrome silk belts in particular were probably from Bursa, Syria or even Venice (Lamprou 1994, 100, n.2).

But even in the everyday costumes of the shepherds and farmers imports are present. Apart from the black cap from Ayvalik adopted initially by the farmers and later by the shepherds as well, their heavy black overcoat (*kapoto*) was made in Thessaloniki or Thessaly (Faltaits 1973a, 7). Woolen bags (*trovades*) arrived on the island from the adjacent village of Octhonia in Euboea (Lamprou 1994, 90). Finally even their everyday companion, their stick, was from Kymi.

In any case, these imported materials were 'Skyrianised' through the particular way in which the local or imported textiles and complete pieces were synthesised and/or decorated with the rich local embroideries by the Skyrian woman. There is no information about workshops manufacturing costumes, apart from three Early Modern dyeing workshops. These were specialised only to dye and polish the blue baggy trousers and the dark blue dress of the everyday female costumes (*koutnia* and *koumiotika*; Lamprou 1994, 135-7). The rest of the jobs (weaving, embroidering etc.) were done by specialized Skyrian craftswoman in their houses. We have no reasons to doubt a similar situation for the Ottoman period as well.

13.9.4 Chronology of the Skyrian costume

The lack of background knowledge and the introductory examination of the subject in this research do not leave possibilities for precise chronological suggestions for the Skyrian costumes. Technical characteristics (e.g. the stitch of the embroideries, identical with those of the Post-Byzantine tapestry icons of *Epitaphioi*, Lamprou 1994, 28) and more importantly the identification of many imported textiles used locally with well known luxury Ottoman fabrics, certainly attest a broad chronology of the Skyrian costume within the Ottoman period. An auxiliary source for this admittedly superficial chronological attempt of the Skyrian costume in this study, can be the dowry documents of the local historical archive.

There we find references to parts of or to entire costumes with the local terminology mentioned above since the late 16th century onwards. It is of course impossible to know whether the synthesis of the costumes was different in respect to that of the later Ottoman period, but even if this was the case, the difference should be slight.

The majority of the references are to female costumes and especially of *alamena.* The oldest reference is to the *bolia,* a long silk headscarf worn by the bride under the head shawl (*ftas*) in 1562 (Antoniadis 1990, doc. 9). The luxury dress of *kaphas* first appeares in 1581 (Antoniadis 1990, doc. 10), while in a dowry document of 1720 appears for the first time the jacket (*mentenes*) and the waistcoat (*gouna*) (Antoniadis 1990, doc. 68). The head shawl (*ftas*) is first mentioned in 1766, with references to both the Turkish and the Egyptian one (Antoniadis 1990, doc. 101). Moreover, in 1794 there are the first references to *poukasi,* the textile used for the manufacture of the red luxury shirt of the bride and of the dress of *yalambi* (Antoniadis 1990, doc. 125).

Much more difficult to discern are the references regarding the everyday costume. The first mention safely referring to this costume comes very late in 1800 and has to do with a certain *ftas skyrianos* (Antoniadis 1990, doc. 148), thus the headscarf of the everyday costume manufactured on Skyros, according to the models of the imported pieces. In fact, it is confirmed that copies of the Turkish and Egyptian *peştamal* were made on the island, destined for everyday attire.

Regarding the male costumes the local archive is not helpful, as the majority of the references are more general or unidentified (e.g. *two male shirts* or *two groom's costumes*; Antoniadis 1990, doc. 125/1794). The oldest reference related to a male costume is that of the *zonogatania,* which probably has to do with the polychrome silk belts of the costume of the noblemen (Antoniadis 1990, doc. 10/1581). Furthermore, in 1720 is the first mention of the baggy trousers (*vraki*) (Antoniadis 1990, doc. 68), while in a dowry

document of 1755 appears for the first time the jacket (*mentenes*) and the overcoat (*gounela*) of the costume of the local nobles (Lamprou 1994, 101, n.2).

13.10 SUMMARY-CONCLUDING REMARKS

From the middle of the 16th century onwards Skyros falls within the realm of the Ottoman Empire, bringing to the island a relative stability and prosperity. Perhaps for the first time in its history of successive control from an 'external' source of power (Athens, Rome, Byzantium and Ottoman Empire), the local community is notably involved in the administration of the island. It could be actually suggested that during this period the island is, in a way, self-administered.

The incorporation of Skyros in this 'Mediterranean empire' expanded the boundaries of cultural and trading connections of the island, to a level similar to or perhaps even exceeding that of the Late Roman period, including also the then latest player on the scene of world affairs, namely central and northern Europe. Generally, the Ottoman period is the time when the island knows a remarkable 'internationality' at an unprecedented level, as this is attested by the numerous 'international' visitors (travellers), the amazing number of imported items from inside and outside the borders of the Empire, or the eastern and western cultural influences applied in the island's material culture, and finally, way of life. Greece, at the crossroad of the Eastern and Western world, has been the receiver of the cultural trends of both worlds. Skyros, in the heartland of this crossroad, in the centre of the Aegean Sea, was found in the middle of this cultural millstone absorbing in the best way the eastern and western cultural trends, creating its idiosyncratic local culture.

In Chapters 2 and 3 we saw that after the definite expulsion of the western lords from the island towards the late 16th c., the establishment of a 'post-classical' Ottoman rule (through representatives of the central administration), released new local social powers who succeeded the former Frankish feudal lords at the top of the social hierarchy. This new upper class of Christian Orthodox landowners together with the Church (the biggest landowner on the island), became involved more and more in communal administration, an involvement that during the Ottoman-Venetian wars evolved into what was almost a self-administrative status, which was not challenged until the creation of the Kapodistrias government.

The population increased in comparison to medieval times, reaching its peak during the *Pax Othomanica* (late 16th c.) (Chapter 3). However, this population increase did not result in settlement dispersion; on the contrary, the phenomenon of nucleation, already occurring in the previous centuries, was during this period fully developed. Both the historical and archaeological data attest that people were concentrated at the unique large settlement of the island, Chora, which then expanded. Its castle was used as a base by the ecclesiastical authorities and as a place of refuge for the rest of the population, the base of which was outside the acropolis walls. This use as a refuge, however, dictated the maintenance of the fortifications and of the (second) houses of every family in the castle. The castle, although semi-permanently used, was still the heart of the settlement and the place where families' possessions were kept in custody (Chapter 9). The economic heartland of the island, the countryside, was occupied by numerous temporary family installations which in the fertile valleys took the form of hamlets. The numerous Ottoman-Early Modern countryside chapels distributed all over Skyros were not or loosely connected to these installations, confirming the aforementioned semi-permanent rural settlement pattern (see 13.1).

The economy of the island was mainly based on the herding of sheep and goats and its products, in the cultivation of cereals, legumes, madder roots, olive and mainly fig trees, as well as in the production of wine, honey and cotton, linen and silk textiles. Definite information of their exportation is provided only for the sheep and goats, wine, wheat and silk, while unique information for their destination is available only for wine, which according to Tournefort was exported to the Venetian military of the Morea (Chapter 3). In any case, the economic situation on the island was definitely flourishing, as according to the Ottoman *defters,* Skyros was amongst the first in revenues for small/medium sized islands of the Aegean (Chapter 3; Kiel 2007, tables 2.1 and 2.4).

This prosperity is clearly depicted in the material culture of the island, and notably in the great amount of the imported luxury items concentrated in the houses of Chora, used mainly as a means of social display. Ceramics, glass, metallic, wooden objects and textiles arrived on the island from a number of

places from inside and outside the borders of the Ottoman Empire. Spain, Italy, Egypt, Syria, Asia Minor and Istanbul are some indicative origins. That many of these items were manufactured in places at some distance from Skyros, suggests almost certainly, that with the exception of the Greek or Aegean products, which naturally take their position among the imported items, the rest reached the island through intermediate central trading stations. Another potential (and more adventurous) way these items arrived on the island was through the periodical 'trade' connections between the locals and the pirates of the North Sporades, who often used Skyros as their base.

Upon their arrival on Skyros these items entered in a local microcosm. Knowing rarely their place of origin, the Skyrians gave local names to these items with which they are still known today (e.g. ceramics from Kütahya locally known as *Skopelitika*). Regarding their use, this rarely coincided with the original one for which were initially manufactured (e.g. fine table wares located in the walls of the houses for social display, or the *hamam peştamal* used locally as pieces of luxury costumes). Moreover, the long presence of these items on the island, and consequently their internal circulation, affected the local cost of the items, gaining a value not necessarily commensurate with that of the external market. The local cost depended on the appreciation of every item locally, which in its turn was adjusted on the grounds of their 'oldness' and/or local aesthetics. Furthermore, the long duration on the island of the bulk of the items of different origins affected drastically local craft, and finally aesthetics. Eastern and western decorative motifs inspired local creations, as can be seen in the carved wooden objects or the embroideries. The local improvisation in combination with the external (contemporaneous and older) models created an idiosyncratic local culture, visible in every aspect of its material expression.

The best example of this eastern and western cultural absorption is the Skyrian house, which contained the majority of the materially expressed cultural aspects of the community. Although typologically simple, presenting externally the Aegean *koine* of the white cube, internally the house was much more indicative of the cultural influences on its inhabitants. Domestic life seems to have basically followed oriental models. This is seen first of all in the way in which basic human needs were served (e.g. sleeping or eating 'close' to the floor), as well as in the organisation of space (e.g. through wooden partitions). Ottoman inspirations have also been identified in individual architectural elements of the house (e.g. ogee arches of the openings), or even in furniture and decorative objects. This oriental-oriented domestic life, however, was enriched by western influences, such as the few functional objects (e.g. chests) or mainly decorative elements of the house (e.g. ceramics). The western 'penetration' into the basically oriental Skyrian house became more intense towards the end of the Ottoman occupation, with the gradual replacement of the (low) Ottoman style furniture with (high) western ones. This of course represents a general turn that occurred during this period in the territory of the Ottoman Empire, a general move towards western modes of everyday life.

The most conservative social expression of the local community, namely the religious life and its material representation through the churches, reflects best the situation on the island during the Ottoman period, highlighting the two aforementioned elements: prosperity and multi-cultural influences. The Ottoman period could be characterised as the 'Golden Age' of the island in this domain, an apparent reflection of the financially fruitful situation of the people and of their relative religious liberation. *Katholika* of monasteries and numerous parish churches or private chapels were founded on the island, many of them of a luxurious aspect (Appendix C).

Typologically the churches of Skyros match completely with those generally found in central Greece, with a slight presence of the complex architectural types of the Byzantine past and a dominance of simple forms derived from the simplification of the old ones or influenced by the new, for Greek lands, Ottoman architecture. The models for the Skyrian churches can be sought primarily in Attica and particularly Athens, the city on which Skyros was ecclesiastically dependent. This applies especially for the single-nave domed churches, a type which knew a noticeable distribution in Athens. Another region that apparently influenced Skyrian ecclesiastical architecture was Euboea as is attested to through the cross-vaulted type churches on Skyros. Furthermore, the Byzantine tradition kept in Mount Athos is the probable model for the construction of the fully developed cross-in-square, complex four-columned type of the *metochi* of Megisti Lavra on the island.

Apart from the architectural types, the morphological elements of the churches represent the multi-cultural trends that arrived on the island. Oriental influences can be identified in the ogee-arches in windows and belfries, or even traced to the Iznik tiles of the facades surrounded by endless whitewash, rendering the Skyrian Post-Byzantine church to an Aegean minimalism. Western elements can be seen in the stone-relief arcades decorated with complex floral motifs or naive escutcheons, or even to the internal baroque-style stucco decorations.

The situation of the island described above changed slightly after the War of Independence. Basic characteristics of this period were stability, prosperity and a re-orientation of the island's life towards mainland Greece and particularly Athens. The most striking change came in the administrative field. In fact, after the creation of the Greek state the practice of near self-administration stopped on the island, and Skyros became a municipality, dependent on the central government (Chapter 2).

The economy of the island continued to be based on agriculture and shepherding, and many of its products were still exported (e.g. wheat, shepherding products). In addition to that, local craft (e.g. wood-carving, attire and pottery production) blossomed. Pottery production especially went through a remarkable development. Aside from the local needs, Skyrian ceramic products were exported to the adjacent Sporades islands and Lemnos. Moreover, the first signs of an international, capitalist system of production and marketing that came to Greece made their appearance on Skyros as well. By the end of the 19th c. two foreign companies reactivated the ancient marble quarries of the island (Ayios Panteleimon and Tris Boukes), and began mining of iron ore at Atsitsa. To these two we have to add the commissions given out by the municipality to Greek companies for the collection of resin from the pine forests. All these investments revitalised the economy of the island with annual incomes for the municipality and the local population alike (Chapter 2).

The trade connections of the island (freed from the pirate menace), were, much like the previous period, Aegean based. There are no specific data concerning the destinations of the island's exports, except for the ceramics that were directed to the Sporades and Lemnos. However, from the material culture study presented above traces of origins for the imports can be delineated, indicating apparently relevant connections. Summarising the data presented above, definite connections can be identified to Euboea (e.g. ceramics, industrial glaze, shepherd sticks, bags, silk, female costume of Kymi), Athens, Sifnos (ceramics), Syros (ceramics produced in England), perhaps indirectly with Koroni (ceramics) etc. Moreover, items from places outside the boundaries of the new state continued arriving on the island (e.g. ceramics from Kütahya or Çanakkale, caps from Ayvalik etc.). These imports could reach the island directly from their place of manufacture, or indirectly through central commercial centres (e.g. Smyrna, Ayvalik, Thessaloniki etc.).

The aforementioned data present a prosperous island, which is characteristically depicted in the population levels as well. In fact from the revolutionary period onwards the island presented a steady increase of the population, which by the turn of the century passed 3500 souls, perhaps the highest number in the island's history (Chapter 2). The distribution of this population in the island's territory had not departed significantly from the Ottoman period. Perhaps a weak settlement hierarchy can be barely identified. Chora remained the principal settlement of the island. Its old castle was during this period totally abandoned. The last bishop of Skyros who passed away in 1837 was its last inhabitant. However, the extra-mural settlement now expanded southwards and acquired some urban elements (e.g. central square, town hall, the first urban-style *archontika* etc.), according to the models of the newly founded state. The southwards expansion of Chora dictated the construction of a new cemetery, more adjacent and convenient to this expansion than the old one at the north margins of the medieval core (Chapter 9).

Outside Chora the model of the numerous semi-permanent agro-pastoral shelters continued. The temporarily-used village of Katounes (S21), perhaps in existence already since Ottoman times, was during this period definitely active. Apart from that, the second in hierarchy and permanently inhabited settlement of the island was Linaria, the official port of Skyros, active as such from 1928 until today. The temporary shelters of Atsitsa, Ayios Panteleimon and Tris Boukes, used for the needs of the workers of the aforementioned companies, conclude the settlement pattern of Skyros in the Early Modern period.

The figure that Skyros presents in Ottoman and Early Modern times is not an exception, but on the contrary, conforms more or less to the trend that all Aegean islands underwent during the aforementioned periods. Regarding island administration, the hierarchical system, from the Sultan to the Christian populations, remained unchanged and unchallenged throughout the period of the Ottoman domination (Vionis 2012, 48). Moreover, the involvement of the local communities in the administration of their islands and the formation of the *Koinotites*, leading (especially from the 17th c. onwards), to a self-administration, can be characterised as an Aegean *koine* of the Ottoman period (Vionis 2012, 47-8; Kolovos 2007). This was changed after the establishment of the Modern Greek State. Then, the islands (those included in the borders of the state like the Cyclades), lost the self-autonomy they enjoyed during the Ottoman period, to join the highly centralised administration of the Athens' government (Vionis 2012, 56-7).

Regarding demography a comparison of Skyros' figures to that of the Cyclades, shows similar results. The population figures of the Cycladic islands throughout the period of Ottoman domination shows a steady increase. Similarly to Skyros, perhaps a short period of population decrease is identified during the years of the war of Candia (Vionis 2012, 49-51 graphs 3.9, 3.10, table 3.6; Kiel 2007, 42, table 2.4). A similar picture is seen in the Sporades adjacent to Skyros, with some discrepancies regarding the 'ups' and 'downs' between the 16th and 17th c. that occurred in Skopelos and Alonnisos (Kiel 2007, 37, table 2.1). After the formation of the Greek state, population appears to have grown steadily in the Cyclades. The censuses taken on the islands of Syros and Keos provide representative examples of this development (Vionis 2012, 57, table 3.11; Sutton 1991, 385, table 20.1). Coastal mainland Greece shows a similar pattern, such as on the peninsula of Methana and the area of Troezen (Forbes 1997, 110, table 10.3).

The nucleated pattern of the population of Skyros gathered at Chora and using numerous temporary countryside shelters for the exploitation of the land, although not always in accordance with many Cycladic islands (especially the biggest ones), is not without parallels. The best example of comparison is Kea, where the intensive survey in the north-west part of the island resulted in little evidence for substantial permanent settlement outside Ioulis before 1821 (Cherry *et al.* 1991, 357 and 466, table 22.2). A weak settlement hierarchy was identified only after the formation of the Greek state (Cherry *et al* 1991, 466, table 22.2; Sutton 1991, 386, fig. 20.1), just as in the case of Skyros.

The multi-cultural influences which Skyros presents during the Ottoman period and the phenomenon of the great number of imported items of Eastern or Western origin on it, finds its parallels in insular and on a lesser scale in Mainland Greece.[21] The establishment of the Ottomans in the Aegean proved very beneficial for the island communities in economic terms. This led to the slow generation of an island elite that introduced Eastern as well Western models of daily life and material expression (Vionis 2012, 359-60). The accumulation of thousands of imported items (e.g. ceramics) in the Aegean Ottoman households is a common phenomenon many times attested (see indicatively Vionis 2012, 240 ff.; Vroom 2005; Korre-Zografou 1995; Pitari-Maioletti 2008). The same multi-cultural penetrations are also identified in furniture and attire (Vionis 2012, 364). The balance will lean gradually towards western models, only after the establishment of the Greek state and the reorientation of the islands' life toward Athens (Kolodny 1974).

As for the churches, the number and luxury of these found on Skyros is also a common phenomenon of the Aegean islands in general, and can be used as the most indicative evidence of the prosperous situation of the Aegean islands during Ottoman times (see indicatively for Paros in Vionis 2012, 43, graph 3.7 and 54, fig. 3.8).

21 The islands are far better off and far more internationalised from the 16th through to late 19th century than the peasantry of the Mainland (see Bintliff 2013).

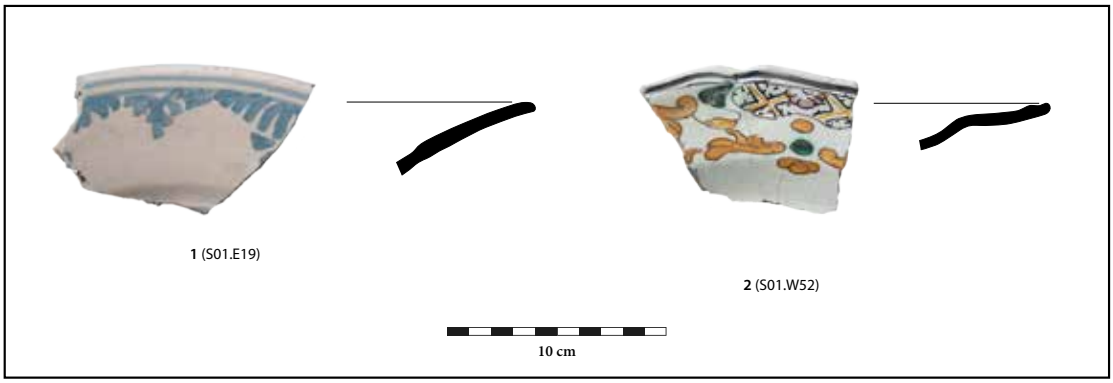
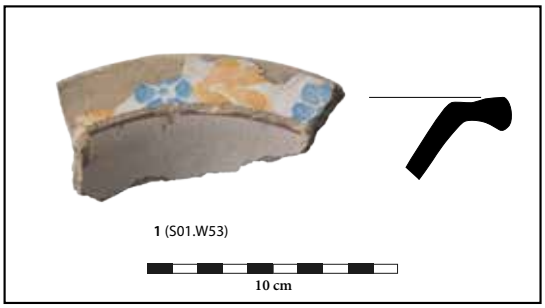


Fig. 13.26: Western imports. *Italian maiolica*.
[1-2: survey findings, 3-4, 6: Nikos Maniatis, 5: Litsa Papadimitriou (Archaeological museum), 7-8: Anna Karambini].

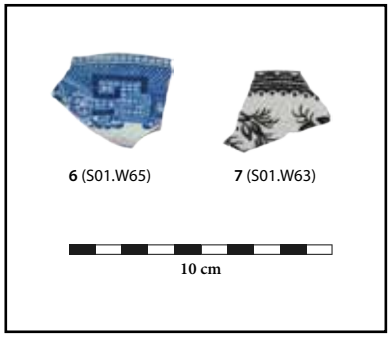


2

3

4

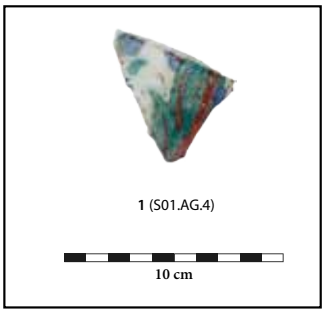
5



8

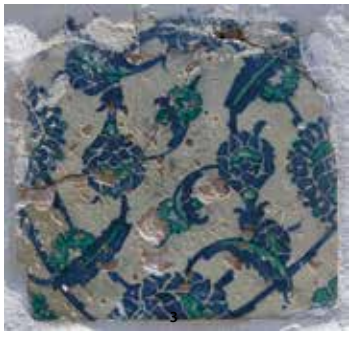
9

Fig. 13.27: Western imports. 1-2: *Grottaglie ware*, 3-5: *Delftware*, 6-9: *Transfer-printed wares from Europe*. [1, 6-7: survey findings, 2-4, 8-9: Faltaits museum, 5: Eleni Skouloudaki].



2

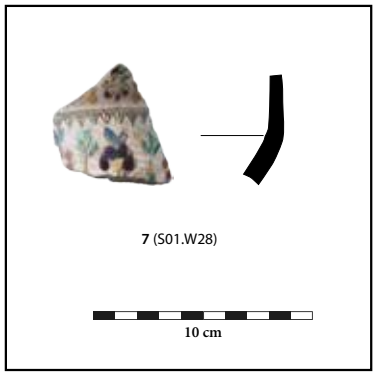
3



4

5

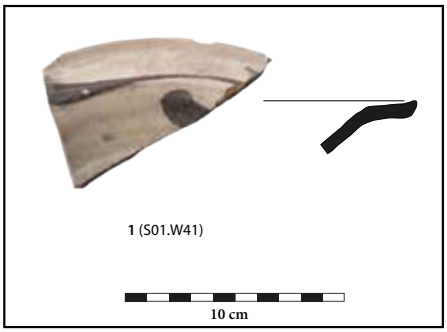
6



8

9

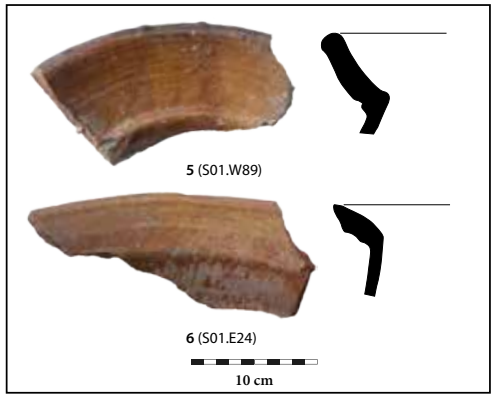
Fig. 13.28: Eastern imports. 1-5: *Iznik ware*, 6-9: *Kütahya ware*.
[1, 7: survey findings, 2-3: Litsa Papadimitriou (Archaeological museum), 4-5: built in the church of Ayia Triada (C28), 6: Yorgos Lambrou, 8: Yalouris traditional house, 9: built in the church of Ayios Ioannis Spasokaroutis (C7)].



2

3

4



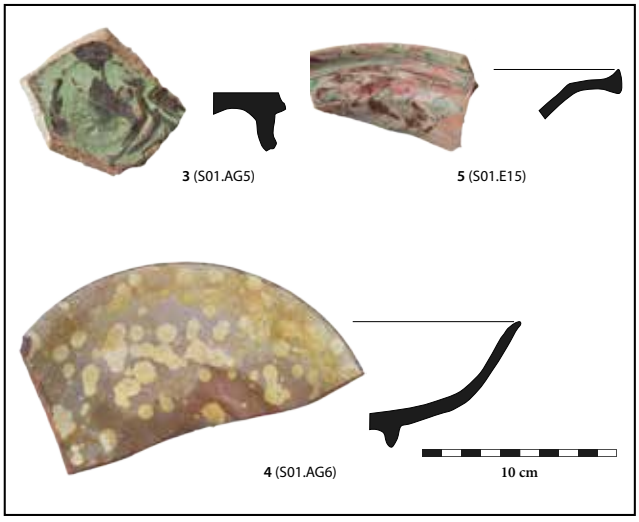
7

8

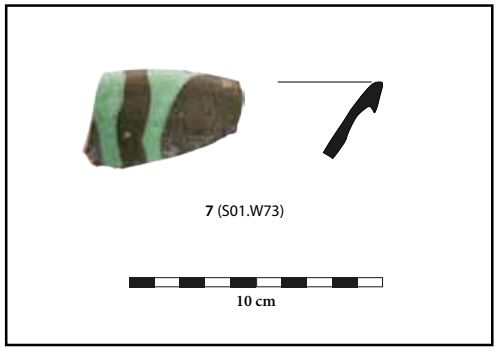
Fig. 13.29: Eastern imports. 1-4: *Çanakkale Ware*, 5-8: *Eastern Aegean storage jar (Mytilini jar)*. [1, 5-6: survey findings, 2: Litsa Papadimitriou (Archaeological museum), 3-4: Faltaits museum, 7: Alexis Papastathis, 8: V. Papaioannou (1950), after Korre-Zografou 1995, 205, fig. 385].

1

2



6



8

Fig. 13.30: Greek imports. 1-2: *Polychrome sgraffito ware*, 3-6: *Polychrome marbled Ware (Ottoman imitation)*, 7-8: *Slip-painted ware from Didymoteicho.*
[3-5, 7: survey findings, 1: Archaeological museum, 2: Amersa Ftouli (after Pitari-Maioletti 2008, 78), 6: Pitsa Sfyridi (after Pitari-Maioletti 2008, 78), 8: after Psaropoulou 1984, 15].

3

4

6

Fig. 13.31: Greek imports. 1-4: *Slip painted basin*, 5: *Cooking pot from Sifnos*, 6: *Koroni storage jar*. [1-2: survey findings, 3: V.Papaioannou (1950), after Korre-Zografou 1995, 205, fig. 384, 4: Anna Karambini, 5: Aliki Lambrou, 6: Faltaits museum].

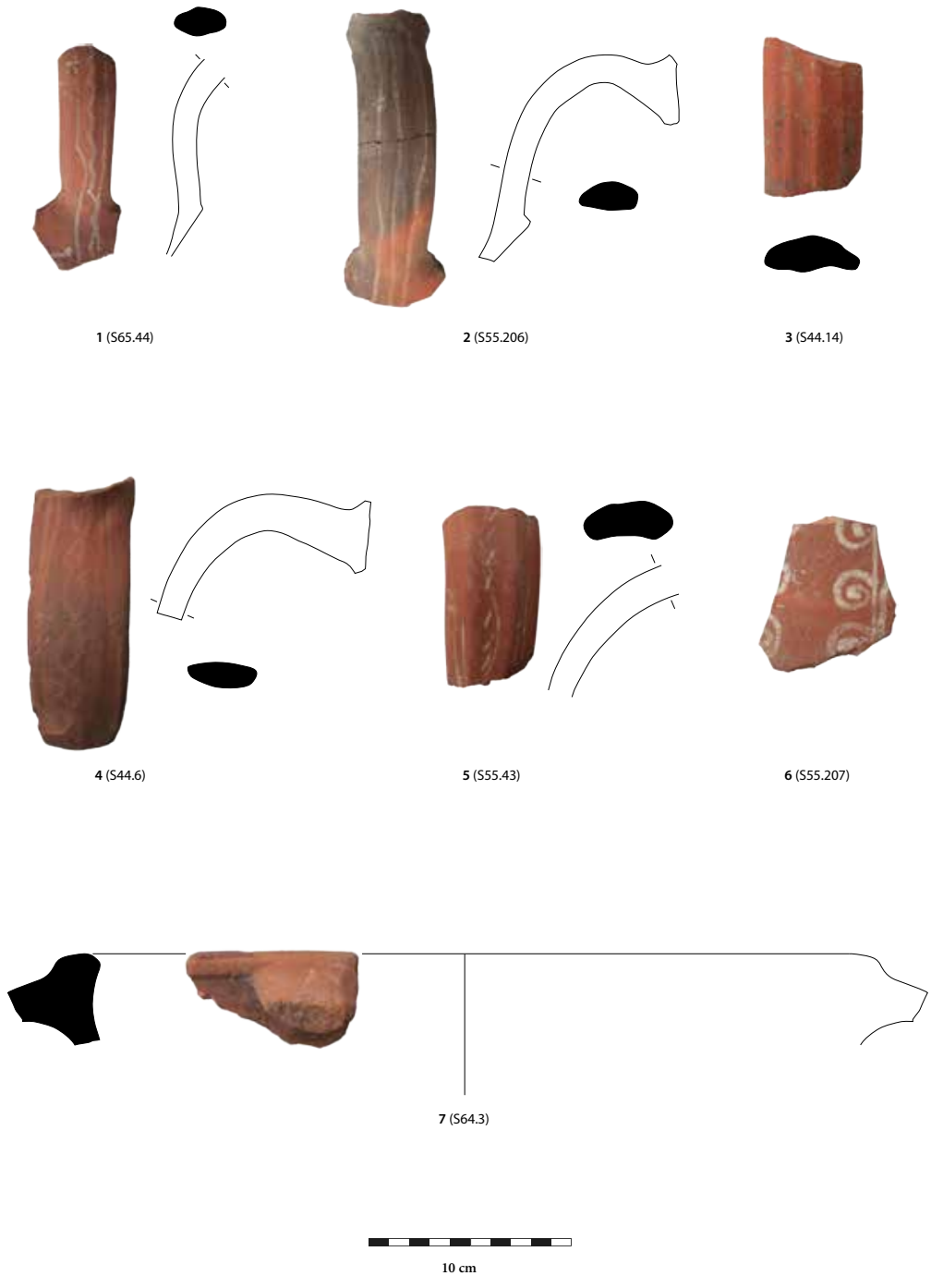


Fig. 13.32: Local wares. Fragments of the Unglazed Slip-Painted Skyros Ware recovered by the survey.

Fig. 13.33: Local wares. Examples of the Unglazed Slip-Painted Skyros Ware: 1-2: mugs (*tsoukali*), 3: jug (*kanata*), 4: plate (*piato*), 5: transport/storage water jar (*stamna*), 6: food container (*vitnari*), 7: leaven container (*prozmero*), 8: shallow brazier on stand (*foufou*).
[1-3, 5-7: Aliki Lamprou, 4,8: Faltaits museum. Specimens 2-3, 5-7 made by Lefteris Papastathis.]

Fig. 13.34: Local cooking wares (*favatostoukalo-a*). No 3 of plausible, but not certain local origin. [1-2: Aliki Lamprou, 3: Faltaits museum].

Fig. 13.35: Local wares. 1-6: food preparation basins, 7-9: other daily use basins.
[1, 8: Alexis Papastathis, 2-5, 7: Aliki Lamprou, 6, 9: Faltaits museum. Specimens 1-5 made by Alexandros Papastathis.]

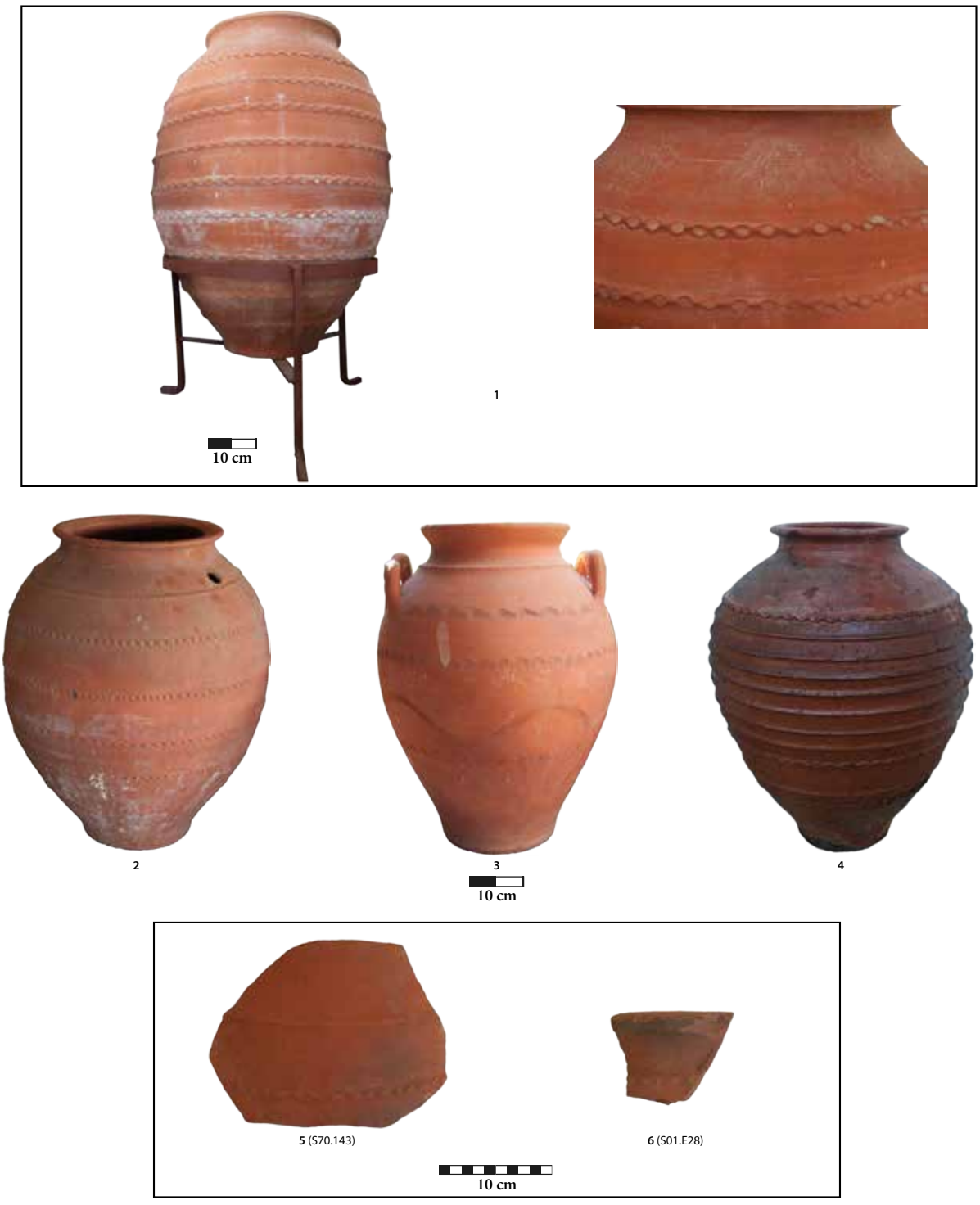


Fig. 13.36: Local storage jars.
[1: Aliki Lamprou, 2-3: Faltaits museum, 4: Nikos Papastathis, 5-6: survey findings. Specimen 1 made by Alexandros Papastathis, while 4 by his son Nikos.]

1

2

3

4

5

Fig. 13.37: Local wares. 1-2: vessels of agricultural use; no 2 bee smoker (*kapnia*), 3-5: architectural elements; no 4 the Cycladic *flaros*; no 5 brick stamped with the name initials of Nikos Papastathis. [1-2: Faltaits museum, 3: Aliki Lamprou, 5: Alexis Papastathis].

Fig. 13.38: Local wares. Imitations of the Western and Eastern Fine Ware Imports: 1: failed early imitation of Iznik ware, 2-3: later imitations of Kütahya wares, made by Yiannis and Kalliopi Nikolaou respectively, 4: early failed imitation of Italian maiolica ware, 5-10: late imitations of Italian maiolica ware (5, 7-9 made by Nikos Papastathis, 6 made by Yiannis Nikolaou, and 10 by Alexandros Papastathis).
[1,6: Litsa Papadimitriou (Archaeological museum), 2,4: Faltaits museum, 3: Anna Karambini, 5, 7-8, 10: Alexis Papastathis, 9: Nikos Papastathis].

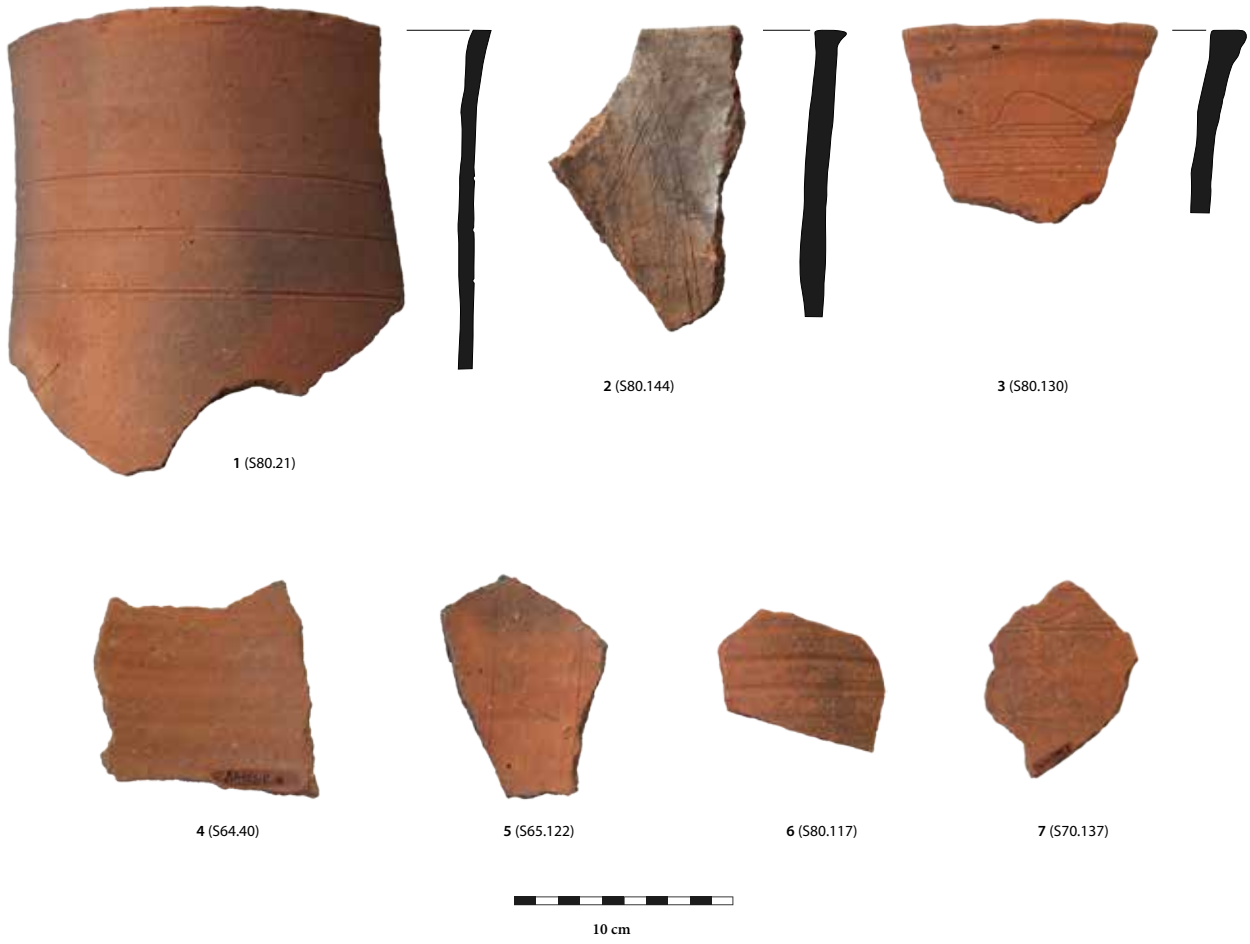


Fig. 13.39: Ceramics of unidentified provenance. 1-7: beehives, 8: kitchen ware, 9: tobacco pipe.

Fig. 13.40: Ceramics of unidentified provenance. Slip painted Ottoman jugs, forerunners of the Early Modern *Unglazed Slip-Painted Skyros Ware*.

Fig. 13.41: Glass and metallic objects. 4: shallow disc (*sini*), 5: plate (*tapsi*), 6: food transportation vessel (*kastania*), 7: vessel for hand-washing (*legenompriko*), 8: mug (*siderovavatha*), 9: flask (*molivas*). [1-2, 4-9: Faltaits museum, 3: Litsa Papadimitriou (Archaeological museum)].

1

2

3

4

5

6

Fig. 13.42: Ottoman – Early Modern furniture. 1: the typical low table and chairs of the Ottoman Skyrian house (*sofras*, *skamni*); 2: local inspirations of western models; small rectangular table (*tripodi*) and sofa adjusted to the small-scale Skyrian house; 3: local small chair (*skamni*) decorated with stalactites and ogee arcs, inspiration from Ottoman models; 4: imported chest (*kanaveta*); 5: *Krevatsoula*; the Ottoman forerunner of the Early Modern sofa; 6: The 'insular' sofa; Early Modern Greek immitation of European models.
[1-3: Faltaits museum, 4: Benaki museum 8719, after Delivorias 1995, 355, fig. 139, 5: Yiorgos Andreou, 6: Michalis Hatzakis].

1

2

3

4

5

6

7

8

9

10

Fig. 13.43: Skyrian costumes. 1: three old Skyrian shepherds in the early 20th c. (after Stefanidis 1941, 173); 2: shepherd of the 19th c. Painting of the Skyrian painter Yiannis Yiamalis; courtesy Faltaits museum; 3: 'Clean Monday' 2012: a Skyrian dressed with the costume of the farmers (*vrakadika*); 4: Skyrian seafarer of the early 20th c. (after Lamprou 1994, 149, fig. 115); 5: noble Skyrian of the early 20th c. (after Lamprou 1994, 149, fig. 114); 6: Skyrian women around 1930, dressed with every day costumes (*koutnia* left and *koumiotika* right) (after Lamprou 1994, 19, fig. 3); 7: Alamena (*kaphas serasceri*) as bride costume (after Lamprou 1994, 36, fig. 26). 8-9: Alamena (venetiko) as 'Sunday-first' costume (after Lamprou 1994, 41-42, figs. 36,38); 10: Alamena (yalambi) as 'Sunday-first' costume (after Lamprou 1994, 44, fig. 40).

Chapter 14
General Conclusions

In this final chapter, an attempt is made at a long-term approach to the island, the preceding chapters and data forming the background. The intention is not to summarise the conclusions of the previous chapters, but to elucidate through a long term perspective the two principal themes having a bearing on Skyros' development, Skyros' settlement system and its place in the Aegean; in short to put the island in broader context.

14.1 SETTLEMENT SYSTEM

The first fundamental observation that can be made concerning the long-term settlement system of Skyros, is the primary role played by the settlement on the north-east side of the island, Chora. Chora has been the perpetual axis mundi of Skyros, from ancient times until today. The early development of this settlement as the centre of the island's polity can already be seen in the Mycenaean and early Iron Age, as the previous archaeological investigation attests. The reasons for the formation of this centre at Chora rather than in another location, must be sought in the following characteristics: advantageous defensive position, coastal, well watered, adjacent to fertile land and standing in the middle of the distance between the two other major fertile areas of the island (Trachi and Kalikri), enabling Chora to act as a central trade station for intra or inter-regional connections. The strong character which the settlement of Chora acquired already since the Mycenaean and early Iron Age (and the circumstances which created it as such), were preserved in the subsequent periods.

This 'one-town island' model, effective on Skyros continually since the Mycenaean and early Iron Age, is not the only model identified. In the island of Kea, a case which will be many times used in this chapter as a parallel for Skyros, a different model occurred. In the Classical period Kea had four *poleis*, a phenomenon interpreted as "a rational solution to the problem of distributing population within a relatively vacant landscape [the result of the 'absent' Dark Age Kea], whereby the division of population between several centres had the benefit of locating human resources closer to the land on which the economies of the *poleis* were dependent" (Cherry at al. 1991, 475). These four *poleis* of Kea merged towards the Hellenistic-Roman times resulting in the unique centre of Ioulis in the Medieval period. Such a process was absent on Skyros perhaps because of the single island polity under the control of a strong urban centre that was already in place since the Mycenaean and early Iron Age.

The second matter to be examined regarding the long-term settlement system of Skyros are the changes that the lowest level of the settlement hierarchy (small rural sites) underwent over time, i.e. the change from dispersed to nucleated settlement patterns and vice versa. Summarising the survey data, dispersed settlement pattern can be generally detected in the Greco-Roman and Late Roman periods, and on a lesser scale after the creation of the Modern Greek state. The contrary pattern of nucleation belongs to the Medieval and Ottoman periods. This phenomenon is common to the Aegean, and the explanations for this fluctuation have been provided for the case of Kea (Cherry *et al.* 1991, 458-79). Here I note only the essential argument of Cherry *et al.*, according to which the catalyst for this fluctuation was the agricultural strategy of the island's population, depending on whether ownership of the land was limited to an elite class or not: "the increasingly dispersed settlement patterns [of Kea] of both the Classical period and the later 19th century occurred within the setting of a socio-political system that enabled -even encouraged- the existence of small subsistence landholders; while in other periods, when ownership of property was probably in the hands of far fewer individuals, there is little evidence for rural settlement and a strong trend toward nucleation" (Cherry *at al.* 1991, 466-7). The fragmentation or accumulation of property is thus suggested for Kea as acting as a catalyst, determining whether the peasant farmers moved (permanently) to the countryside, or not; neither the need for agricultural production beyond subsistence, nor population fluctuation can be put forward as being in-

fluential factors in this process. Both phenomena collapse as significant factors for the settlement patterns of Kea when we compare the Classical and Turkish periods: concerning production beyond subsistence, both were times of high demand for Athens and the Ottoman Empire, yet different models of dispersion and nucleation were respectively applied (Cherry *et al.* 1991, 470). Concerning the population fluctuation, although in the Turkish period Kea presented a population growth, this was not associated with appreciable evidence for rural settlement (Cherry *at al.* 1991, 469-70).

Regarding Skyros, the argument of the fragmentation or accumulation of property seems the most reasonable factor figuring in the dispersal or nucleation of settlement patterns which our island underwent. In Classical-Hellenistic times the land of the island seems indeed to be fragmented amongst many landholders, resulting in the establishment of -archaeologically detected- rural farmsteads (for instance evinced by the numerous isolated towers, interpreted as manifestations of private landownership). On the other hand, from the medieval times onwards, feudal models seem to be applied on the island's lands. In the 11th-12th century extensive lands located in the southern part of the island belonged to the monastery of Megisti Lavra on Mount Athos. The Athonite monastery (and its local *metochi* of St. George), together with the bishopric of Skyros, the rest of the churches and the local elite class, will, during the medieval and Ottoman times, be the landholders of the island, leaving the rest of the people with little. The accumulation of property in the hands of the few apparently prevented the permanent establishment of the peasants close to the fields, which were not in their possession. The dependent peasants were obliged to commute or stay temporarily in the land they used to lease (or work for) preventing permanent-extensive establishments, the absence of which can be detected archaeologically to this day.

Neither can production beyond subsistence be submitted as a reasonable factor that affected the fluctuation from dispersed to nucleated settlement patterns on Skyros. The Ottoman period was for the Skyrians a time of high financial demand in order to cope with the taxation burden placed on them by the central administration, yet this did not trigger a more intensive agricultural strategy, at least archaeologically detected through rural installations. As in Kea, extensive agricultural practices seem to have been implemented based on large herds.

As for the population fluctuation, the warning given by Cherry *et al.* that "...an increase in population density does not inevitably appear to have resulted in an increase in the number of [rural] sites..." and that "...would be unwise to use numbers of rural sites, when they are found, as a proxy measure for the population of a polity..." (1991, 469-70), is clearly manifested on Skyros as well: in the summarising data of the settlement system of Skyros of the Table

Period/Year	Differentiation	Population	External control
CL-HEL	Polis and primate centre of the island the fortified settlement of Skyros (subsequent Chora); considerable rural settlements.	1600-2250	Athens
LR	The ancient Polis centre continues probably functioning as the central place of the island; considerable rural settlements.	?	Constantinople
1470 A.D.	Primate centre at Chora (probably the only large settlement of the island; little rural settlements.	1200	Venice
1569/70 A.D.	Same	2200	Ottoman Empire
1670/1 A.D.	Same	1630	Ottoman Empire
1896 A.D.	Primate centre at Chora; considerable rural (mostly semi-permanent) settlements; weak settlement hierarchy.	3512	Modern Greek state
1971 A.D.	Same	2349	Modern Greek state

Table 14.1: Summary of settlement systems of Skyros.

14.1 (which was modelled on the respective Kea monograph table), we can note that while in the Classical period and in the second half of the 16th century AD the island had approximately the same population number, yet the settlement system of the former period was a dispersed one, while that of the latter was highly nucleated; population fluctuation was not an influential factor in the formation of the island's settlement pattern.

As a final argument to be dismantled as an influential factor behind the fluctuation of the settlement patterns of the Aegean islands and particularly Skyros, is the much discussed external threat and piracy, especially in regard to the medieval and post-medieval periods. According to this theory the precarious situation of the Aegean during this period led people to flee from the countryside and to be gathered to the Aegean Chorai. Although the pirate threat was existent in the medieval and post-medieval Aegean, and defensive measures were needed (and applied) in the settlements of the islands, pirates should not be conceived as being a factor for the nucleation of the population during the aforementioned times. Piracy was also present in ancient times (Bevan & Conolly 2013, 195-6) however, this has not resulted in nucleated settlement patterns. Recall that "the [ancient] single towers make manifest the considerable insecurity and need for self-help in the countryside" (Osborne 1987, 67). The piratical attacks must be viewed as small-scale and casual brigand enterprises and not as a perpetual menace for the Aegean populations. Only large-scale piracy (occuring when the wider political context was favourable), or the looting by 'state' armies during war periods (e.g. Arab raids), could have severely affected the islands; but such large-scale raids were rare events (Bevan & Conolly 2013, 188). Finally, the argument of the pirate danger as a factor for the nucleation of the population collapses even more if we consider the accusations against several Aegean islands for involvement in piracy (e.g. Sporades, Antikythera; Bevan & Conolly 2013, 188).

A final worth emphasizing note for the long-term settlement pattern of Skyros, concerns the location of the medieval and post-medieval sites in comparison to the Greco-Roman and Late Roman sites. While the coincidence of the Late Roman sites with the Greco-Roman sites does not cause surprise, the establishment of the medieval rural sites in locations with ancient predecessors presents a particular interest. 'No flight to the mountains' is identified, confirming that no external threat dictated the movement of the rural sites into more 'safe' locations. Instead, this fact attests that the land (or herding) potential was perpetually the criterion for an establishment of a rural farmstead.

14.2 CONNECTIONS – SKYROS IN A BROAD CONTEXT

A general framework for approaching this topic is the *core-periphery model*, an interpretative model often used as a tool for the analysis of the complex societies of the ancient world. This model is "focused on the exploitative economic ties between 'core' regions with advanced economies, technology, and political structures, and adjacent 'periphery' regions less developed in all these aspects" (Bintliff 1997, 17-8). According to this model, 'core' developed societies would provide the periphery with advanced technology or luxury goods (e.g. armour, fortification techniques, fine tableware ceramics); in return the periphery would render to the 'core' regions raw material commodities (such as basic foodstuffs, timber, metals, or even tribute). "An additional feature of this model is the existence of transition or buffer zones between core and periphery, where native societies are being strongly transformed through contact, or else colonies of the core are acting as agents of change on native societies" (Bintliff 1997, 17-8) (Fig. 14.1).

As clearly stressed by Bintliff, a problematic point of this model is that the 'core' is never stable; on the contrary, cores and their buffer colonies can become dominated by former peripheries which have risen to core status through core-stimulated development (1997, 20). Concerning the Aegean, while the core-periphery model functions well for the ancient world, for the Post-Roman times, where a large-scale political, economical and cultural system was applied in the Mediterranean, this model becomes simplistic and insufficient; only in a much broader geographical context could it work, such as the relations between the developed nations and the Third World, by which this model was initially inspired (Bintliff 1997, 17).

Despite these limitations of the core-periphery approach, this theory could still function as a central idea framing the long-term connections of a small island like Skyros. Because of its limited (by nature) possibilities in manpower and resources,

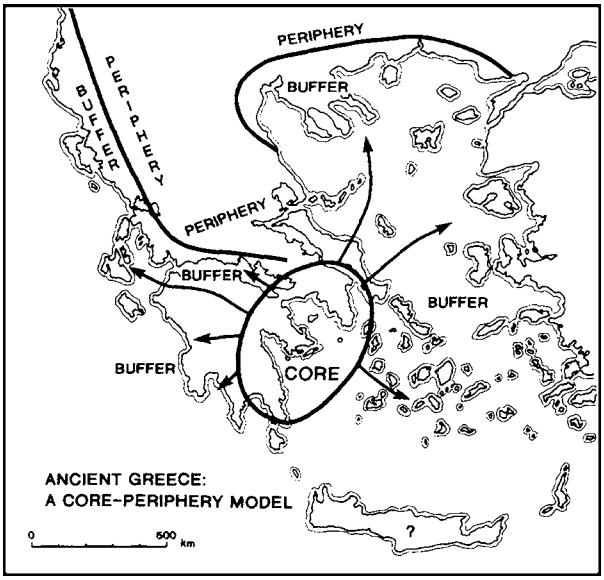


Fig. 14.1: Ancient Greece: a core-periphery model (after Bintliff 1997, 19, fig. 12).

Skyros was destined to be perpetually in a 'buffer/periphery' status, regardless of the external power to which it was dependent (Athens, Rome, Byzantium, Ottoman Empire and Greek State). From ancient until modern times Skyros provided to the external world raw materials. The only attested exception for a more 'elaborate' contribution to the external world are the ceramics produced in the first half of the 20th century and sold (except from the internal clientele) to the adjacent islands of Sporades and Lemnos. By contrast, wheat, barley, legumes, wine, sheep and goats (and their products), were more or less the basic exported products of the island across the time[1]. In addition to foodstuffs, iron ore was exported in ancient and Early Modern times, and marble in the Roman and Early Modern period. The marble especially, through central transshipment stations (e.g. Ostia), reached every corner of the Mediterranean.

The external world in return, provided the island with luxury or special goods, traces of which have been found archaeologically. But which was the trade system through which all these goods reached the island? How many of the products that arrived on Skyros came directly from their centres of production? Archaeologists, usually combining the information of the find's production centre and of the place where the find is attested, are often led to simplistic generalisations regarding these matters. My contention is that the trade system of the medieval or even ancient times was more complex than that usually assumed.

We can get an idea of what the real situation should be like, from the recent past; namely from Early Modern times where the information regarding the trade connections are more plenty and accurate. In the early 20th century the everyday life of the islanders was still very close to that of their post-medieval (or even medieval) ancestors. Moreover, although there was radical change occurring after the creation of the Modern Greek State including the reorientation of the islands towards Athens, the commuting and trade dependency of the islands to Athens (present-day status) was not yet fully developed. The trade connections of the islands and the Aegean coasts were much more intense than today. It is very characteristic that until some decades ago (before the foundation of the Skyros Shipping Company), Skyros had shipping connections with Chios, Lesvos, Lemnos and other islands, nowadays stopped. Bearing in mind the aforementioned thoughts, the trade system of the Early Modern period could be indicative of what we should expect (in terms of complexity) for the earlier centuries as well.

Fig. 14.2 presents the identified imported items reaching the island in the Early Modern period. These items present a noticeable plurality of origin, being produced in a large number of places in and outside the Aegean. Two basic ways through which these goods arrived in Skyros can be suggested: port by port distribution by commercial vessels travelling around the Aegean, or through a more regular (and perhaps organised) trade route of ships following certain predetermined stations. The former way is plausible mainly for Aegean products (e.g. Sifnian ceramics), while the latter for items produced in centres outside the Aegean, reaching the island through intermediate stations. Characteristic examples of the latter are the ceramics of Kütahya or the transfer printed wares from Europe, reaching regularly the island from Skopelos and Syros respectively, resulting in the false naming of these vessels by the Skyrians as Skopelitika and Syriana. Finally, the possibility of commercial ships starting their journey from central trade stations and having

1 Unfortunately the information for the destinations of these exports is very few: for the wheat and barley the only identified 'costumer' is Classical Athens, for the goats ancient Samos, and for the wine the Venetian military of the Morea.

as cargo products of various kinds and centres of production is of course not excluded.

In any case, the aforementioned plausible reconstruction of the connection system of Early Modern Skyros, suggests that real trade affairs were conducted by the island only within the Aegean radius. It is hard to talk about 'connections' beyond this radius. It is doubtful whether the Skyrians knew where all these items reaching their island were coming from, let alone have commercial connections with their centres of production.

This picture more or less could represent the older reality, although some exceptions cannot be a priori excluded (e.g. long-distance shipping routes directed to Constantinople, using Skyros as a refuel station).The study of Abadie-Reynal for the Aegean in the Late Roman period suggests a similar scenario (1989). Therefore, instead of simplistic and doubtful assumptions regarding large-scale connections of the island across the time, these distant imports must rather (and equally importantly) be approached as evidence of the integration of this isolated, at first sight, place in the centre of the Aegean Sea, in the historic, economic and ultimately cultural setting of each period (Fig. 14.3).

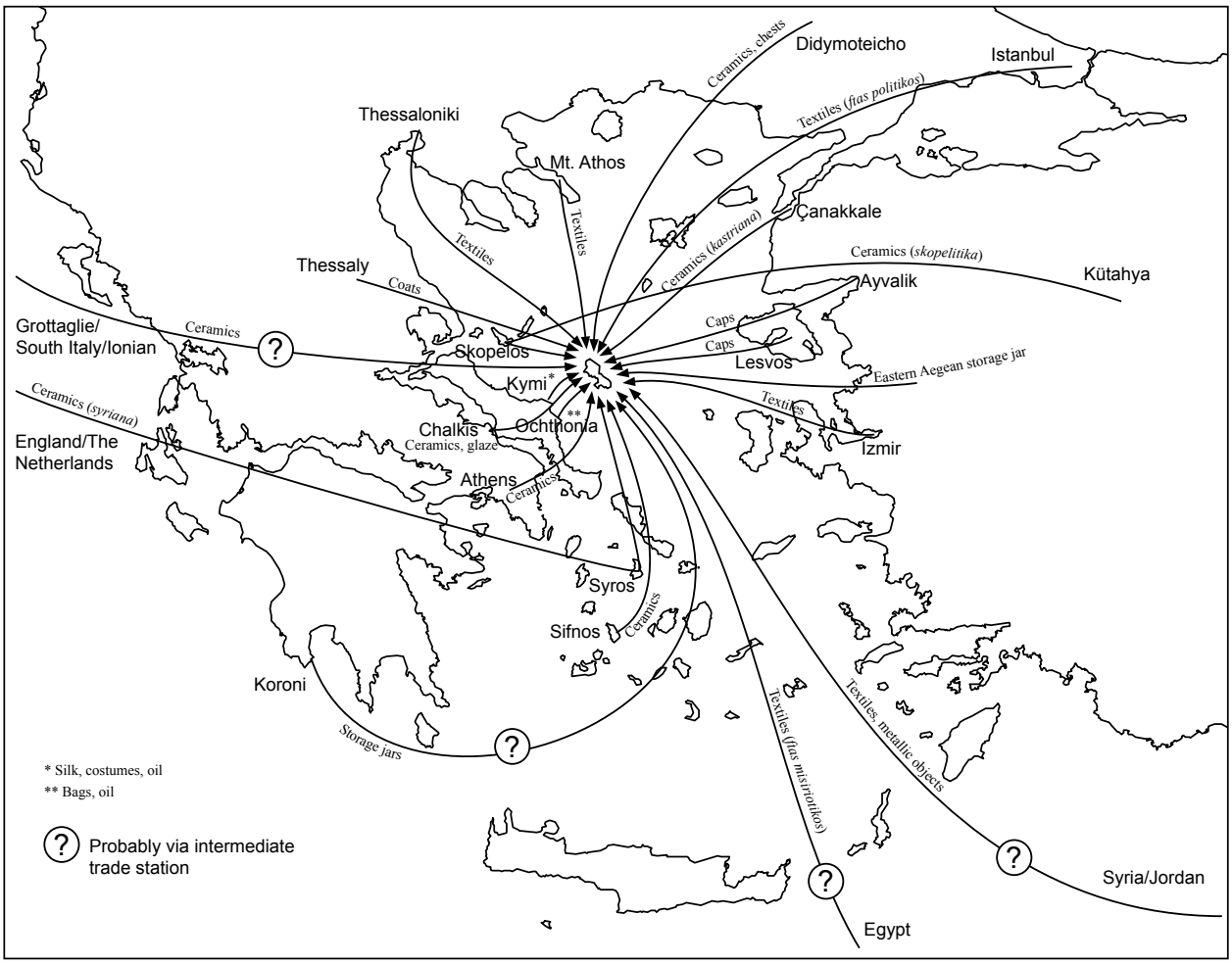


Fig. 14.2: Origins of the identified imports on Skyros in the Early Modern period.

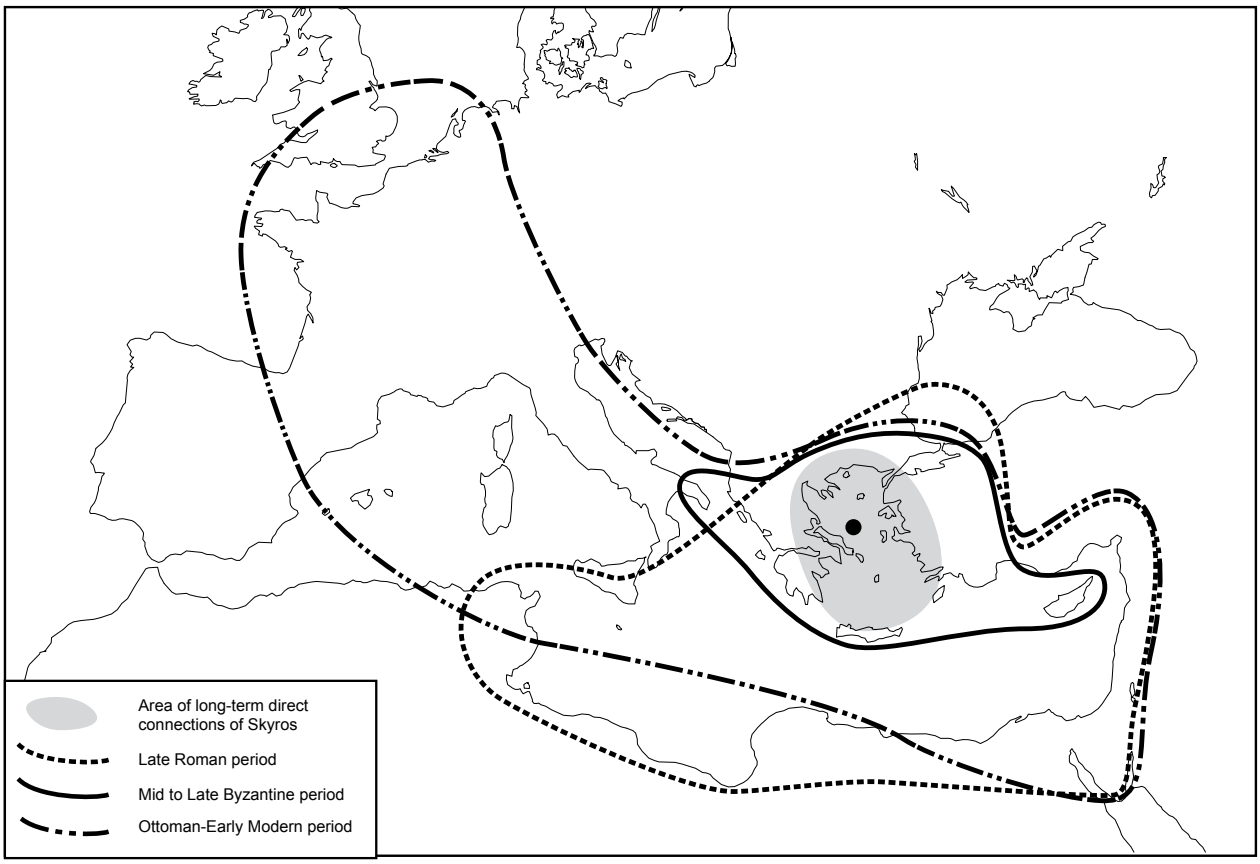


Fig. 14.3: Skyros in long-term context: areas of origin of the imported items on Skyros as evidence of the integration of the island in the historical, economical and cultural circumstances of every period.

APPENDICES

Appendix A
Gazetteer of Archaeological Sites

The following register is an attempt to include all the known archaeological sites of the island from Prehistoric until Ottoman times, updating in this way the last archaeological catalogue made by Parlama in 1984 (Fig. A.1).[1] The basic tool for such an effort was the archaeological survey (intensive and extensive), supplemented by previous archaeological research: of the 96 sites here presented, 16 have been intensively surveyed, 69 extensively, while 11 sites have been incorporated into the catalogue on the grounds of the previous archaeological research. For the sake of the gazetteer's consistency, the basic information of the 16 intensively surveyed sites is also here presented, whilst their detailed analysis is provided in Chapter 8. Finally, the large space required for the presentation of the long-term main settlement of the island (Chora), in combination with this site's importance, dictated its separate discussion in the main text of this study (Chapter 9).

For each site the following information is given:

Site number. This serves to identify the site uniquely and functions as an abbreviation for its reference in this book. The number of each site is preceded by the letter 'S' (for Site), which serves to distinguish sites from the catalogue of churches ('C' for Church). A dash preceding a site number means that the spot has not been visited by the author, and that it has been included into the gazetteer on the grounds of literature alone. An asterisk preceding a site number means that it was unknown until now or that the description in this book contains significant new information.

Site/Place name. Here is given the toponym of where the site lies, prerequisite for someone who wishes to visit it. In case that the toponym is hardly known, or could create confusion because of its repetitiveness in various places on the island (e.g. church toponyms), a second name is added, referring to the broad area where the site is located. In this case, the broad toponym precedes the more detailed. In the case of an intensively surveyed site this is noted after the *site/place name.*

Location. Here, detailed information regarding the location of the site is provided. First are given the geographical coordinates (Google Earth). Since the majority of the sites are not precise spots, but usually cover a more extensive area, the seconds were judged impractical and are therefore not indicated; for the same reason the minutes were left out in many cases. The reader must bear in mind that the coordinates more or less capture the centre of each site. Next, a description of the site location is given, which follows that of the walker and it is detailed as much as possible. Then, the distance(s) of each site to its adjacent site(s) is/are given. After that comes the indication of the height above sea level, in metres; lowest and highest points are given for sites with large altitudinal differences. Finally, a description about the current or recent status of the land is given: the general land use today, and the kind of cultivation.

Site size. This is given in hectares. However, in the case of very small sites (e.g. structures only, with no pottery scatter), in addition to the size in hectares, in parentheses is indicated the size in square meters as well, for an easier reading of the size. For small sites without a clue concerning their exact size (e.g. S04, S17), the term "small" is used, meaning that the size of the site in question is never more than 0.4 ha (see below, *Interpretation*). Regarding the extensively surveyed sites, the size indicates the approximate maximum size (see Chapter 7). As for the intensively surveyed sites, first is given the maximum site size, including all the overlapping 'layers' of the individual components, followed by the size per period (see Chapter 6). In some cases the word "estimated" or "minimum" follows the site size, namely when the site continues beyond the surveyed area, which for one reason or the other could not be examined (e.g. inaccessible, zero visibility, eroded or submerged land, etc.). The word "estimated" means that, with

1 For the site definition followed here see Chapter 5.4.

regard to the site beyond the surveyed area, densities and specific geographical features offered clues to estimate where the site should more or less finish. On the other hand, in the absence of clues of how far a site continues, it was deemed necessary to include the minimum site size of the surveyed area.

Description. Here are presented the archaeological remains of each site. Possible building/structural remains are supported by photographs and/or plans. The pottery is briefly reported here; a detailed catalogue for each site is available in Appendix B. Finally, also included in this section are (possible) finds that result from previous archaeological research.

Interpretation. Two basic parameters are included in this section, namely date and function. The latter is more evident in some cases (e.g. quarries), less so in others (e.g. the character of a residual site). Regarding function, the prime question is whether a site has had a permanent or periodical character. The answer to this well discussed issue can be given only by the functional analysis of the artefacts found, which predominantly comprises ceramics (Bintliff *et al.* 2007, 39). A second aspect that is related to size, concerns the characterization of a (residential) site as a farm, hamlet, village, etc. Here the model of Bintliff, Howard & Snodgrass (2007, 185) is followed, according to which sites up to 0.4 ha are classified as small farms; those between 0.4 to 0.7 ha as medium farms or small hamlets, and those of 0.7 ha and more as hamlets or very large estate centres. This division is given per period for the intensively surveyed sites. For the extensively surveyed sites, given that the only size known is the maximum without any clue about the components' size, no such indication is given, and the interpretation restricts itself to the term "settlement". Exceptions to the rule are of course the small sites up to 0.4 ha.

References. Given when available.

The abbreviations used in the catalogue are:

A	Archaic
CL	Classical
E	East
EA	Early Archaic
EBA	Early Bronze Age
EBYZ	Early Byzantine
EMOD	Early Modern
G	Geometric
HEL	Hellenistic
LA	Late Archaic
LBA	Late Bronze Age
LBYZ	Late Byzantine
LG	Late Geometric
LR	Late Roman
masl	Meters above sea level
MBA	Middle Bronze Age
MBYZ	Middle Byzantine
MOD	Modern
max.	Maximum
min.	Minimum
NL	Neolithic
OTT	Ottoman
PREH	Prehistoric
PG	Protogeometric
R	Roman
SubM	Sub – Mycenaean

anavatis	fold wall with openings for the capture of the animals for their milk
kazanospito	special hut with many big fireplaces for the production of milk products
konaki	hut/shelter
mandra	fold or a big area where the goats and sheep graze
magkanopigado	big well – aqueduct that is operated through animal power (usually a donkey)

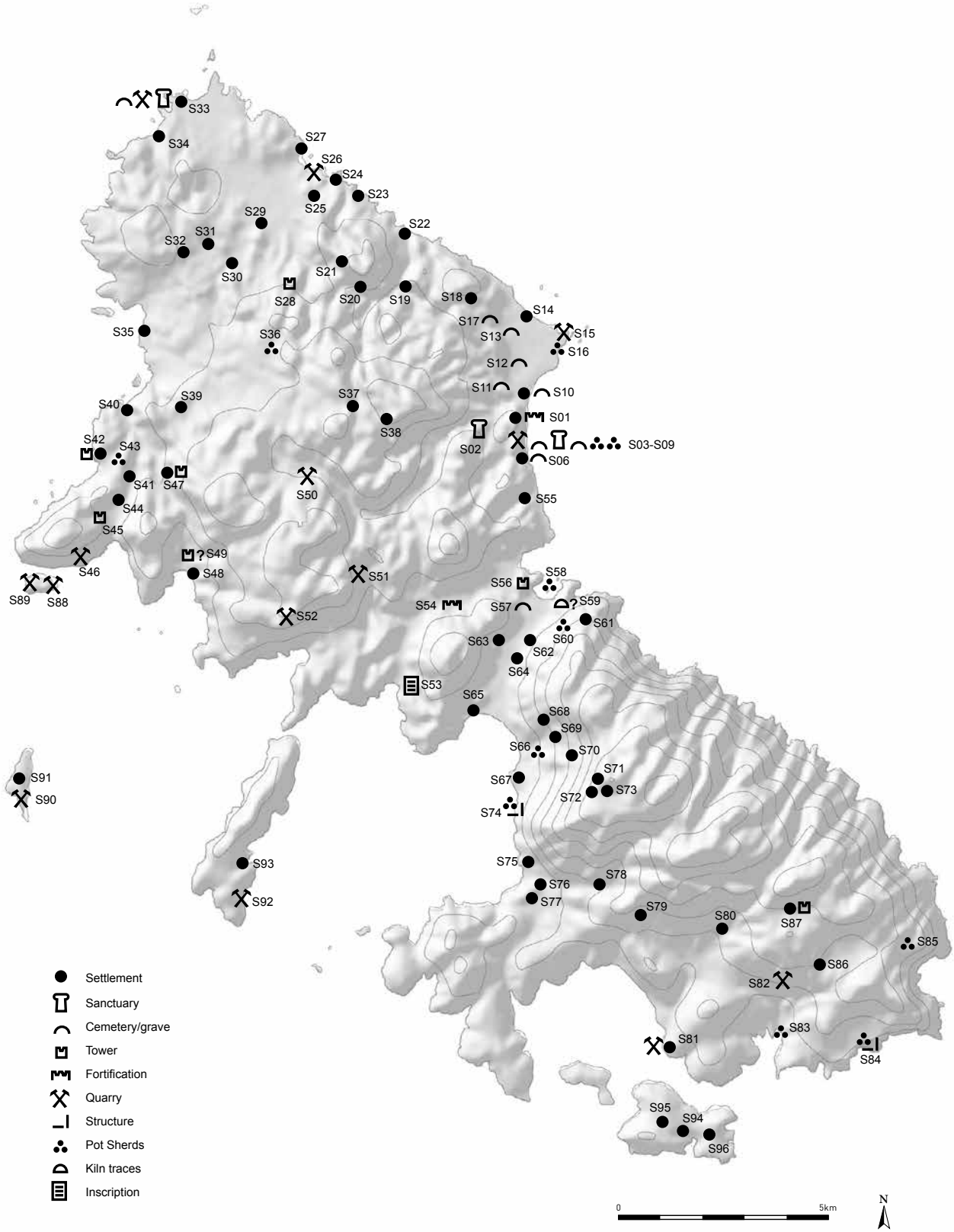


Fig. A.1: Map of Skyros with the archaeological sites presented in Appendix A.

S01. Skyros, ancient Polis centre – Chora

Location: 38º54'20N – 24º34'05E; see Chapter 9 for a detailed site description.

S02. Atsipolis, Ayios Panteleimon

Location: 38º54'13N – 24º33'25E; on the hill of Atsipolis, south-west of Chora; around the small church of Ayios Panteleimon; 140 – 160 masl. The east side of the hill, where the site lies, consists of terraces for the cultivation of wheat and barley.
Site size: approx. 0.1 ha.
Description: a low pottery concentration of HEL – R times. Plenty of ancient and Early Christian spolia (among them a fragment of ancient sculpture) are incorporated inside and outside of the church. Parlama refers to foundations of an "ancient temple" and of an "Early Christian basilica" which were not identified during my survey.
Interpretation: GR – R small farm – sanctuary(?); off-site(?) Early Christian *spolia*; OTT – EMOD church/activity.
References: Parlama 1984, 60.

S03. Fourka NE

Location: 38º54'16N – 24º34'04E; at the north-east side of the rocky hill of Fourka; approx. 90 masl. Rocky, arid and scrubby area.
Site size: max. 0.2 ha.
Description: At the north-northeast side of the hill Defner has identified carvings on the natural rock, interpreted as remains of PREH houses and quarries. Moreover, at the east slope of the hill, in a small cave called Voidomadra, Parlama has collected some Mycenaean potsherds.
Interpretation: LBA activity.
References: Parlama 1984, 44-5; Defner 1923, 102-6.

-S04. Fourka NW

Location: 38º54'10N – 24º34'03E; at the west side of the rocky hill of Fourka; close to the modern cemetery; approx. 80 – 90 masl.
Site size: small (size of the area that is referred to).
Description: Parlama refers to a Mycenaean cemetery, based on 20 Mycenean vessels coming from this site (plus one PG and one EA vessel), handed in by locals to the Skyros Archaeological museum. At the same west side of the hill, Evangelidis excavated graves attributed by him to R times, though he does not mention their number nor other data.
Interpretation: LBA, PG – A(?), R(?) cemetery.
References: Parlama 1984, 44-5, 133; Evangelidis 1918, 41.

S05. Fourka

Location: 38º54'05N – 24º34'04E; at the top of the rocky hill of Fourka; 125 masl.
Site size: 0.0356 ha (356 sq. m. = structure size).
Description: foundations of an ancient temple. Excavated by Evangelidis, who dated it to the LA period and attributed it to Apollo, on the grounds of the dedicatory pottery that was found (Fig. A.2).
Interpretation: LA sanctuary.
References: Parlama 1984, 45; Choremis 1972, 352-3; Defner 1923, 107-8; Evangelidis 1918, 34-40.

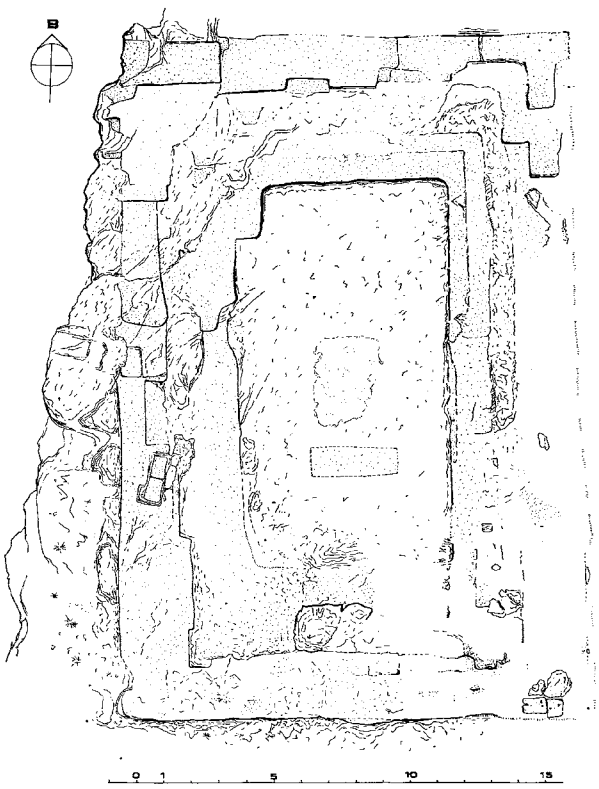


Fig. A.2: S05 (Fourka): plan of the foundations of the ancient temple (after Choremis 1972, pl. 11).

**S06. Basales*

Location: 38º53'N – 24º34'09E; the small bay at the south slopes of the hill of Fourka, encircled by the modern road of Basales – Magazia; 0 – 20 masl. Sandy, scrubby and uncultivated area. The site suffered from the construction of the drainage of Chora.
Site size: approx. 1.0 ha (including the area above the road where a Mycenaean chamber-tomb lies); pottery distribution *c.* 0.4 ha.
Description: In 1963 a Mycenaean grave containing 15 vessels was revealed. Close to the OTT-EMOD church of Panayia Faneromeni, 6 more Mycenaean vessels were found in the past. Parlama mentions that in an 1977 excavation by the then responsible Ephorate, a cist grave dated to LR times was revealed only a small distance from the church. One more grave, dated to the PG period, has been discovered in the same area. More recently, in 1993 a Mycenaean chamber tomb was revealed through a rescue excavation of the 11th Ephorate of Chalkida in the Megou plot, above the road Basales – Magazia, on the south slopes of Fourka. The present research identified R pottery and 9 LR potsherds of transport/storage, processing, fine table ware vessels and an oil lamp, a hint of activity at this site during R-LR times.
Interpretation: LBA, PG cemetery; R and LR small farm and cemetery; OTT – EMOD church/activity. The proximity of the site to Fourka and Monopetro (less than 200 metres), where similar PREH finds were found, points to the location of an extensive Mycenaean cemetery located to the south-southeast of the LBA – early Iron Age settlement of Skyros. As for the LR period, the location would be ideal for a small settlement, in close proximity to the sea as well as to the main settlement of the island.
References: Farandos 2003-04, 81-166; Sapouna-Sakellaraki 2001-02, 164-5; Parlama 1984, 45, 46, 133, 299, ns. 21 & 22; Themelis 1976, 38.

-S07. Monopetro

Location: 38º54'00N – 24º34'73E; at the lowest east slopes of the hill of Fourka, below the road Basales – Magazia; approx. 20 masl. The area is very steep and characterized by strong erosion, which in fact occurs across the whole north-east coast of the island. The land is completely arid and scrubby.
Site size: approx. max. 0.05 ha (500 sq. m.).
Description: At this site three chamber-tombs have been identified in the past. One of them contained two LBA vessels, while vessels and sherds of EBA, SubM and PG times have been collected from the area and delivered to the local museum.
Interpretation: EBA, LBA, SubM and PG cemetery, part of the south extensive cemetery of the Bronze Age, and especially Mycenaean, settlement of Skyros.
References: Parlama 1984, 46, 86-7, 133, 337, n. 18.

S08. Papa to chouma

Location: 38º54'12N – 24º34'11E; in the eponymous beach located at the end of the east slopes of the ancient acropolis; some metres north of S07. 0-20 masl. Arid, scrubby land, characterized by strong erosion.
Site size: approx. 0.1 ha.
Description: Here Dimitris Theocharis has discovered the first clear strata of Neolithic activity on the island, overlapped by traces of EBA and MBA activity. No other period is sufficiently identified at the site. The Greco-Roman and Post-Roman sherds identified during the survey have been interpreted as off-site material, fallen from the acropolis or the walled area of the ancient *polis* centre, due to high inclination.
Interpretation: NL, EBA and MBA activity.
References: Parlama 1984, 46-7; Theocharis 1959, 313-25; Theocharis 1945-47, 1-9.

-S09. Petroula

Location: 38º54'25N – 24º34'12E; on the coast, north of Papa to chouma; below the road Basales – Magazia; 0-20 masl. Steep area characterized by strong erosion, characteristic for the whole north-east coast of the island.
Site size: approx. 0.1 ha.
Description: At the natural cut of the beach, Parlama has noticed some EBA and HEL potsherds and wall remains attributed by her also to the HEL period.
Interpretation: EBA and HEL activity?
References: Parlama 1984, 47.

-S10. Magazia[2]

Location: 38º54'40N – 24º34'10E; the coastal plain which lies north of Chora, as far as the estuaries of the river Kifisos; 0-20 masl. Today the area witnesses intensive building activity.
Site size: approx. 5.0 ha (size of the area where several graves occurred).
Description: The brief excavations of Evangelidis and Stavropoulos in the early 20th century revealed strata with EBA pottery and G tombs; in addition, there are reports of casual PG and G finds, many of which are nowadays located in the Archaeological Museum of Skyros or in private collections in Athens. Since 1983, the systematic control of the area and the numerous rescue excavations conducted by the Archaeological Service of Greece, revealed more than 30 PG, G and EA tombs. At the church of Ayia Aikaterini ancient architectural remains are found. At least from OTT times onwards, the area was used as a trade centre, with plenty of storerooms and workshops (e.g. ceramic workshops), hence its name Magazia (shops). In the local historical archive there are three references to *shops* here, the oldest dating from 1609.
Interpretation: EBA activity; PG, G, and EA cemetery; OTT – EMOD settlement/activity.
References: (excluding the very brief reports of the Archaiologikon Deltion-Chronika); Sapouna-Sakellaraki 2001-02, 163-92; Vlavianou-Tsaliki 1998, 113-46; Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997, 35-42; Antoniadis 1990, docs 15, 17, 121; Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1986, 37-44; Parlama 1984, 42, 83; Kalogeropoulou 1983, 137-52; Desborough 1980, 55-8; Stavropoulos 1937, 473; Evangelidis 1918, 43-4; Dawkins 1904-05, 78-80.

-S11. Themis

Location: 38º54'44N – 24º33'59E; on the eponymous hill north-west of Chora; 20 – 65 masl. Until very recently, the terraced slopes of the hill were used for the cultivation of barley, wheat, tobacco and vegetables.
Site size: approx. 2.0 ha (size of the area where several graves occurred).
Description: Twenty-three Mycenaean vessels in the Archaeological Museum of Skyros were accidentally found on this site. In addition, a small excavation conducted by Papadimitriou in 1935 revealed 5 PG tombs, while in 1994 a rescue excavation by the Archaeological Service discovered 3 more tombs, two of them dated to the LG – A period. East of the hill the cross-vaulted church of Ayios Georgios is located (C51).
Interpretation: LBA activity (cemetery?), EG, G, and A cemetery; LBYZ – EMOD church/activity.
References: Sapouna-Sakellaraki 2001-02, 186-8; Parlama 1984, 44, 132-3; Papadimitriou 1936, 228-34.

-S12. Kambos – Chorafa

Location: 38º54'50N – 24º34'07E; in the eponymous valley north of Chora; 0 – 20 masl. The fertile land of Kambos was cultivated with vines until the early 20th century. Today the area witnesses intensive building activity.
Site size: approx. 4.0 ha (size of the area where several graves occurred).
Description: In 1991, 1992 and 1996, rescue excavations by the Archaeological Service revealed 10 tombs dated to the G and A periods, while in 2001, 5 more tombs of the same periods were discovered in the field of the monastery of Ayios Georgios (*metochi*). Here, another cross-vaulted church is located, dedicated to Ayios Georgios (C50).
Interpretation: G and A cemetery; LBYZ – EMOD church/activity. The *metochi* of Ayios Georgios is in the centre of an area approx. 20 ha large, with intensive agricultural activity during MED – OTT and EMOD periods. According to local tradition, it was here that the principal icon of Ayios Georgios was miraculously found. The distance of the two cross-vaulted churches, both dedicated to the patron saint of the island, does not exceed 200 metres.
References: Sapouna-Sakellaraki 2001-02, 177-86; Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997, 35-42.

-S13. Kambos, Ayia Anna

Location: 38º55'32N – 24º33'59E; at the north-west side of Kambos, very close to the OTT – EMOD church of Ayia Anna; approx. 10 masl. The area was cultivated with vines until the early 20th century.

2 This site, as well as S12 (Kambos-Chorafa), represent extensive areas where numerous graves have been revealed by rescue excavations. These two sites are distributed in several different plots in the relevant archaeological reports.

Size site: max. 0.01 ha (100 sq. m. = size of the area where graves occurred).
Description: In 1986 the Archaeological Service revealed 2 tombs of the PG period.
Interpretation: PG cemetery; OTT – EMOD church/ activity.
References: Sapouna-Sakellaraki 2001-02, 165-6; Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997, 35-42; Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1986, 38-41.

**S14. Gyrismata*

Location: 38º55'44N – 24º34'16E; on the eponymous beach north of Kambos, at the coastal road close to Skyros Palace Hotel; 0 – 5 masl. The area is severely eroded.
Site size: approx. 0.1 ha.
Description: At the cut of the road an extensive tile and pottery scatter mainly of HEL-R times is identified (Fig. A.3). Six LR potsherds of transport/storage and fine table ware vessels were collected. The very poor visibility on the surface of this uncultivated field did not permit any further observations. At an unidentified spot at the natural cut of the beach, but probably towards Pouria, Parlama had noticed HEL pottery, while probably at the same location, Theocharis noticed obsidian, as well as several walls, dated by him in the HEL and PREH periods.
Interpretation: PREH activity? HEL, R, LR settlement – small farm(?).
References: Parlama 1984, 43-4, 86, 297.

**S15. Pouria*

Location: 38º55'28N – 24º34'54E; west of Gyrismata, north of Molos; 0 – 4 masl. On the rocky promontory that consists mainly of tufa stone from which the area took its name (*pouri* for tufa in the Skyrian dialect).
Site size: 1.6 ha (including the quarry trace); *c.* 0.2 ha.
Description: The site has been used from Antiquity to EMOD times as the main quarry for tufa stone, which was used as building material for the adjacent urban centre (Fig. A.4). In 1977 Theocharis collected NL and EBA pottery and obsidian from the site. In the course of this research some HEL – R pottery was identified and 6 definitely LR sherds were collected. 2 OTT churches at the site, Ayios Nikolaos (rock-cut) and Panayia.
Interpretation: NL, EBA activity; Ancient – EMOD quarry; HEL, R, LR small human installation probably related to the quarry.
References: Parlama 1984, 43, 85-6.

**S16. Vina*

Location: 38º55'21N – 24º34'50E; about 200 metres south of Pouria; 0 – 3 masl. Sandy area with intensive building activity during the last decades.
Site size: 0.3 ha.
Description: at the edge of the coast worn Post-R pottery; 4 OTT glazed sherds were collected.
Interpretation: OTT off-site material/activity?

Fig. A.3: S14 (Gyrismata): the cut of the road at Gyrismata with visible pottery and architectural remains in the stratigraphy.

Fig. A.4: S15 (Pouria): view of the tufa quarry from the west.

-S17. Balitis

Location: ?; on the eponymous hill immediately west of Kambos, north-west of Chora; 80 – 146 masl. The area is organized in terraces for the cultivation of olives and vines; in the past, madder roots were also cultivated. It was also from here that the white soil for the white slip for the painted decoration of the EMOD Skyrian ceramics was collected.
Site size: small.
Description: It is from this site that 33 accidentally found Mycenaean vessels originate, which were, at an unknown moment, delivered to the local Archaeological Museum. Their exact findspot is not known, and Parlama did not manage to identify it, who in fact noted a complete lack of pottery on the surface.
Interpretation: Mycenaean cemetery?
References: Parlama 1984, 47-8.

S18. Mesochora

Location: 38°55'46N – 24°33'20E; north-west of Kambos and Gyrismata, on the slopes between the hills of Balitis and Avdeles; *c.* 80 – 146 masl. Fertile area enhanced by plenty of water sources; organized in terraces for the cultivation of olives and vines.
Site size: small.
Description: Fredrich and Papageorgiou refer to a grave inscription found here, dated by them to the 4th century BC. Parlama found ceramics as well, dated by her in R times, while being certain about the existence of a "Byzantine" settlement, on the grounds of ruined houses and a church. Papageorgiou speaks about a certain settlement during OTT times, attested by a manuscript dated to 1660; no specific reference is provided. Neither the manuscript was located, nor were the survey efforts very fruitful. There is indeed a small rural church of Christos at the site, but only broadly datable to OTT – EMOD times. As for the "ruined houses", the walls that were inspected are probably the remains of terrace walls. While revisiting the site, only some very worn and unidentified pottery fragments were located, except for a PRSW sherd, dated to *c.* the first half of the 6th century AD.
Interpretation: CL-HEL cemetery? R-LR settlement-activity? MED/Post-MED activity.
References: Parlama 1984, 48; Papageorgiou 1909, 27, 39; Fredrich 1906, 275.

**S19. Sikano, Ayios Ioannis*

Location: 38º56'04N – 24º32'12E; north of the road Magazia – Trachi, after Mesochora; around the OTT – EMOD church of Ayios Ioannis; 20 – 30 masl. Area cultivated with wheat, barley, fig and olive trees, watered by a small stream and a spring.
Site size: 0.1 ha.
Description: During a first visit to the site in 2006 a dense pottery scatter was noticed. The second visit took place in a period when the wheat had grown limiting visibility. Thus, only some much worn pottery was identified that probably dates to GR – R times. At the church of Ayios Ioannis plenty of architectural material of R, LR and MED times was identified.
Interpretation: Ancient – EMOD settlement(?) - activity.

**S20. Krini*

Location: 38º56'07N – 24º31'20E; immediately below the asphalt road Kambos – Trachi, just before Katounes; on a small field beside a *konaki*; 80 masl. Sloping area organised in terraces. The field on which the site lies is covered with garrigue/maquis, but it was intensively cultivated until EMOD times, supported by a spring (*krini*), from which the area took its name.
Site size: 0.3 ha.
Description: extensive pottery and tile concentration, almost exclusively undiagnostic. More important was the finding of a bronze coin *φόλις* of Justin II (565-578 AD).
Interpretation: LR farm/activity?

S21. Trachi, Katounes

Location: 38º56'22N – 24º31'11E; at the south end of the large valley of Trachi; 100 – 200 masl. The area today is completely abandoned and scrubby.
Site size: 3.0 ha.
Description: On approx. 3 ha lies the OTT – EMOD seasonal village of Katounes, which functioned as the main shelter for farmers who cultivated the largest valley of the island, Trachi and Kato Kambos. The valley was cultivated every other year to allow the land to recover; for this reason the village was used only seasonally and was deprived of commodities that matched the permanent settlements, such as large

public spaces, cobblestone streets, churches, 'elaborate' houses, etc. As a matter of fact, the settlement is characterized by small houses with few openings, plenty of auxiliary spaces (stables, ovens, etc.) and abundant threshing floors. The village was abandoned suddenly in the early 1970s because of the construction of the military base at Kato Kambos and as a consequence, the farmers were deprived of large tracts of arable land. The result of this is an intact example of OTT – EMOD rural settlement of the island, of special importance considering the dramatic changes from which the Chora of Skyros suffers during recent decades. The first clear reference for the existence of the settlement is by Fredrich who visited Skyros in 1900 (in Antoniadis 1977, 217). Moreover, the unspecified reference of Leake for a second seasonal settlement existent in 1806 is possibly related to S21 (in Antoniadis 1977, 158-9).
Interpretation: OTT – EMOD rural seasonal village.

**S22. Kareflou – Intensively surveyed*

Location: 38º56'46N – 24º32'18E; at the north-west side of Kareflou Bay, around the OTT – EMOD church of Ayios Petros; 1,300 metres north of S19 and 1,500 metres south-east of S23; *c.* 0 – 10 masl. The field where the site lies is today completely scrubby but until EMOD times it was cultivated and took advantage of the adjacent spring and stream.
Site size: max., all periods: 0.6 ha; HEL – R: 0.6 ha; LR: 0.6 ha; M – LBYZ: 0.25 ha.
Description: a moderately dense pottery concentration partially dated to HEL – R, LR and MED times. At the church of Ayios Petros, plenty of R(?) and LR (Early Christian) architectural material.
Interpretation: HEL – R medium-sized farm; LR medium-sized farm; M – LBYZ small farm; OTT – EMOD church/activity. The Early Christian architectural material built into the masonry of the small church, if on-site, attests to the existence of a basilica for the needs of the small population of the LR farm.
References: Parlama 1984, 49.

**S23. Chora – Intensively surveyed*

Location: 38º57'17N – 24º31'26E; north-west of Kareflou Bay, at the steep coast of the north-east slopes of the hill of Pagia; The site is situated between S22 and S24 (1,500 metres north-west of the former and 600 metres south-east of the latter) approx. 40 masl. Today, the whole area of the north-east slopes of Pagia towards the sea is completely abandoned and scrubby, though partially in use as a pasture. However, numerous terraces constructed of dry-stone walls attest to intensive cultivation of the area until EMOD times. Alongside the north-east coast of the area extensive soil erosion has taken place with visible cases of marine submergence.
Site size: max., all periods: min. 0.26 ha; GR – R: min. 0.26 ha; LR: min. 0.26 ha.
Description: high pottery concentration dated to GR – R and mainly to LR times. The pottery reaches the edge of the cliff and it is obvious that part of the site is now submerged.
Interpretation: ancient – LR small(?) farm. Due to the submersion of part of the site it is not possible to estimate the total size of original site.

**S24. Polichri – Intensively surveyed*

Location: 38º57'32N – 24º31'09E; on the eponymous promontory that encloses Palamari Bay from the south-east; the site lies above the small beach of Polichri and it is opposite to S27 (they are visually connected); 20 – 43 masl. Strongly eroded area, arid and dry; covered partially with scrub and cedar trees. The area is used exclusively as a pasture.
Site size: max., all periods: 1.3 ha; PREH: 1.3 ha; LBYZ – OTT: 0.3 ha.
Description: high PREH pottery density, mainly at the top of the promontory, where numerous dry-stone walls are also noticeable. Southwards a dry-stone rectangular building of 10.00x8.70 metres is located. Around it a dense scatter of LBYZ – OTT and OTT pottery. At the south-east edge of the site a rounded dry-stone structure, a HEL tower according to Parlama. The structure is preserved to the level of the foundations and it is constructed with small undressed stones, a technique that hardly suits a tower. Approx. 20 meters to the east, outside the site, an abandoned fold.
Interpretation: E – LBA major settlement; LBYZ – OTT small farm/*mandra.* It is known that the abandoned *mandra* of Polichri is owned by the monastery of Ayios Georgios. From a census of the monastery dated to 1494 we learn that the *mandra* was property of the monastery at least since that year (Konstantinidis 1981-82, 36). This historical evidence corrob-

orates the chronological and functional dimensions of the material found on site.
References: Parlama 1984, 50-1.

S25. Katsika

Location: 38º57'18N – 24º30'39E; east of the large valley of Trachi, on the west slopes and the top of Katsika hill towards Polichri; 60 – 80 masl. The area is in use both for the cultivation of barley and as a pasture.
Site size: 0.5 ha.
Description: Parlama identified abundant R pottery. Despite numerous visits to the site, only a small GR – R tile and pottery concentration was noticed, very worn and fragmentary. No LR or Post-Roman pottery has been identified.
Interpretation: GR – R activity/off-site material?
References: Parlama 1984, 50.

S26. Palamari S

Location: 38º57'38N – 24º30'38E; on the coast, immediately south of Palamari Bay; 0 – 2 masl. Rocky and scrubby location.
Site size: 0.1 ha.
Description: traces of tufa quarry. No pottery identified.
Interpretation: Quarry of unknown date.

-S27. Palamari

Location: 38º57'52N – 24º30'34E; at the north-east end of the valley of Trachi, on the promontory which encloses the north-west side of Palamari Bay; 0 – 19 masl. The area is heavily eroded at the east side and partially submerged, a phenomenon that characterizes the north-east coast of the island in general. The coast where the site lies is today arid, sandy and scrubby, but approx. 500 metres towards the south-west the first cultivated fields of the valley of Trachi appear.
Site size: min. 1.7 ha; (max. 3.5 – 4 ha estimated).
Description: As a result of systematic excavations conducted under the direction of Liana Parlama from 1981 onwards, this is the most important site of the E – MBA periods on the island. According to the excavators, the settlement comprises four phases, *Palamari I,* dated to the EBA II period, *Palamari II,* with characteristics of the phase of Kastri, dated to the beginning of the EBA III period, *Palamari III,* dated to the late EBA III, and finally, *Palamari IV,* which chronologically belongs to the early MBA. During the *Palamari II* phase, a strong fortification was constructed, which consisted of a fortified wall enhanced with semi-circular towers, a moat and a bulwark that encircled an area of 1.7 ha, and which was in use until the early MBA (Fig. A.5).

Already since 1981, the excavators had noticed that the north-east part of the promontory had been submerged and that building remains were visible at the natural cut. Geophysical studies attested that the coastline during the 3rd and 2nd millennium BC was situated significantly further to the east, and that at the south (at the bay where nowadays the River Limna discharges), a lagoon was located. Parlama also estimated that the area of habitation on the promontory should be at least twice that of the 1.7 ha visible today, noticing however, that the total of 3.5 – 4.0 ha of estimated habitation area was probably not fully occupied during all periods of activity. Palamari, functioning as a coastal settlement with strong external links, had connections with islands in the north-east Aegean, the Cyclades as well as mainland Greece. The imports and the organised planning of the settlement with the strong fortification, make it a good example of early urbanisation in the Aegean.
Interpretation: E – MBA major settlement.
References: (selected) Parlama 2007, 25-48; Pavlopoulos *et al.* 2004, 1044-53; Parlama 2003, 281-8;

Fig. A.5: S27 (Palamari): aerial photograph of the prehistoric settlement in 2006 (courtesy Scientific Committee of Palamari-Skyros).

Parlama 1999, 44-53; Parlama – Theochari 1997, 344-56; Parlama 1994, 1-7; Theochari – Parlama 1986, 51-5; Parlama 1984, 51-2, 88-94, 124-6.

**S28. Trapezi*

Location: 38º55'55N – 24º30'25E; on the low hills south of the valley of Trachi; west of the EMOD site of Katounes and the churches of Ayios Epifanios and Ayia Anastasia; 164 masl. The site is located at the margins of the pine forest of the north-west part of the island. The area today is completely arid and scrubby used only as a pasture, but until recently the area was intensively cultivated with wheat and barley.
Site size: 0.0019 ha (19 sq. m = size of the structure).
Description: a circular tower of 4.90 metres in diameter (Fig. A.6). It is preserved to the level of the foundations. Because of the regular shape of the structure the shepherds named the place *trapezi,* i.e. table. No pottery has been identified on the surface, despite a revisit to the site. According to Parlama (1984, 49) less than a km south-east of this site, at the hill of Katasarasi, one more tower is located in connection with a "Byzantine" fortification. This site could not be relocated; possibly Parlama confused it with the site of Trapezi, which is not mentioned in her catalogue.
Interpretation: CL-HEL small farm-tower; this structure must be related to a small settlement nearby, unidentified until now.

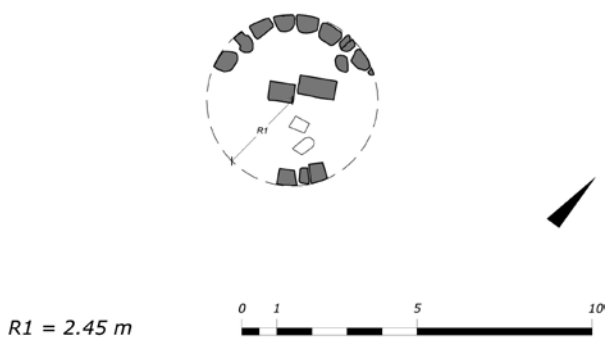


Fig. A.6: S28 (Trapezi): plan of the tower (Y. Kourmadas).

-S29. Trachi

Location: 38º56'54N – 24º29'46E; in the south part of the large valley of Trachi; at the Malamatini plot; 500 metres south-east of the church of Ayios Panteleimon and about a km north-west of S30; approx. 10 masl. Fertile area cultivated with barley, wheat, vegetables and vines.
Site size: 0.015 ha (150 sq. m = size of the structure revealed by the small excavation).
Description: In 1971 Choremis excavated part of a bath, dated by him to the 4th century AD (Fig. A.7). The excavation revealed two semi-circular niches and a cobblestone pavement. The thick walls of the building were preserved up to 0.90 metres. A water pipe of 0.12 metres diameter was running along the outer part of the niches. The excavation was brief and did not go further than the Malamatini plot, but the bath must be associated with a contemporaneous settlement or villa.
Interpretation: LR settlement/villa?
References: Parlama 1984, 53; Choremis 1972, 354-5.

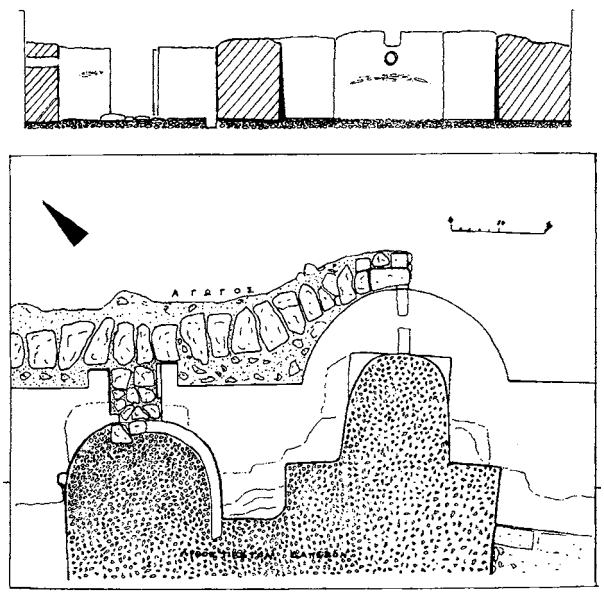


Fig. A.7: S29 (Trachi): plan of the Late Roman bath (after Choremis 1972, pl. 13).

**S30. Aftoumenes*

Location: 38º56'25N – 24º29'28E; south of the valley of Trachi, among the small heights of Aftoumenes; around the small church of Panayia; approx. 1.5 km east of S32 and 1 km south of S29; 20 – 40 masl. The area is used mainly as a pasture as well as for the cultivation of wheat and barley. Several *konakia* and one *kazanospito* are scattered around.
Site size: approx. 1.0 ha.
Description: around the church of Panayia, abundant black and red slip tiles and pottery of CL – R times; 4 LR, 8 M – LBYZ and 4 OTT – EMOD sherds were collected. The poor visibility at the time of the visit (April), did not permit me to make further observations regarding the site size and hindered the collection of a sufficient pottery sample. Apart from the pottery several stone blocks lay on the fields. To the south-east of the church, close to the *kazanospito,* a lime-mortared structure of 3x1.5 metres was identified with hydraulic mortar applied on its interior. The church contains plenty of ancient, R – LR architectural material.
Interpretation: GR – R – LR settlement; MBYZ – EMOD settlement/activity.

**S31. Psachra*

Location: 38º56'41N – 24º29'03E; in the eponymous small plain south-west of Trachi; below the asphalt road Trachi-Kyra Panayia and partially above it; 30 – 40 masl; 600 m north-east of S32, 800 m north-west of S30 and just over one km from S29. The site lies at the edge of the forest of the north part of the island, on a plain used seasonally both as pasture and for the cultivation of cereals.
Site size: approx. max. 2.5 ha.
Description: a low density scatter of worn tile and pottery. In addition to the GR – R pottery (including some black slip sherds), 14 LR sherds of transport/storage and fine table ware vessels, and 8 M – LBYZ fragments of transport/storage vessels were collected.
Interpretation: GR – R, LR, M – LBYZ settlement.

**S32. Paliochoro*

Location: 38º56'44N – 24º28'38E; east of the road Trachi – Kyra Panayia; the site lies on the east side of a hill that overlooks the small valley of Psachra; approx. 1.5 km west of S30 and 600 metres south-west of S31; 55 – 85 masl; completely forested area.
Site size: approx. min. 1.0 ha; the poor visibility due to the complete forestation of the area did not permit me to acquire accurate information.
Description: several dry-stone walls averaging 3 – 4 meters in length; GR and LR tile and pottery concentration. Ten LR sherds from transport/storage, processing and fine table ware vessels were collected. EMOD pottery is present as well, from which 8 sherds were collected. The ancient tower which Defner refers to has never been identified.
Interpretation: GR – R, LR and EMOD settlement. The toponym of the site, Paliochoro (old village) supports this interpretation. The extension of the walls as well as the functional analysis of the ceramics suggests that the site was in permanent use.
References: Parlama 1984, 55; Choremis 1973, 303; Defner 1926, 589; Papageorgiou 1909, 29.

**S33. Markesi, Theotokos – Intensively surveyed*

Location: 38º58'33N – 24º28'34E; on the eponymous promontory at the north end of the valley of Trachi, today situated within the confines of the Airforce base of Skyros. The nearest site to Markesi known until now is that of Ayios Petros (S34) one km south-west. 0 – 22 masl. The site covers three hills and the small plain between these. The north-east and south hills are partially covered with cedar trees. The area remains uncultivated since the Airforce base was established in the 1970s.
Site size: max., all periods: min. 3.13 ha ; PREH – A:? CL – R: min. 3.13 ha; LR: min. 1.34 min.
Description: Together with Chora and Kalamitsa, Markesi is a site which is mentioned by all scholars studying Skyros. Some have not hesitated to identify the site with the settlement of *Chrysi* that is attested in written sources (Stefanos Byzantios, *Ethnika*, 697.3), while others associate the toponym with the West European commanders of the island during the Frankish period.

The most prominent archaeological evidence is the foundations of an ancient temple at the top of the north-east hill. Fredrich was the first to draw the temple, rather accurately. In 1971 Choremis conducted a brief excavation at the west side of the temple and provided a yet more accurate plan of the relevant part of the monument (Fig. A.8). The temple is

oriented east-west; its west (short) side is 14 metres long, while the visible part of the north (long) side is approx. 20 metres. The stylobate of the temple is constructed with large blue limestone blocks while its main temple with tufa stones, apparently extracted from the quarry located at the opposite north-west hill. At a certain point, this temple was replaced by a smaller building with a northeast-southwest direction. This building was constructed using blue limestone blocks and tufa stone, *spolia* from the ancient temple. The main(?) entrance of the posterior building was at the south-west side, while in the 1971 excavation 3 tombs have been revealed in its interior. At the west side of the posterior building, both Fredrich and Papageorgiou noted an apse, something which neither Choremis nor the author were able to identify. The second building has been interpreted by scholars as an Early Christian church, although this remains largely unsupported. The pottery from the small excavation of the temple was dated to G – R times; one R coin was also found.

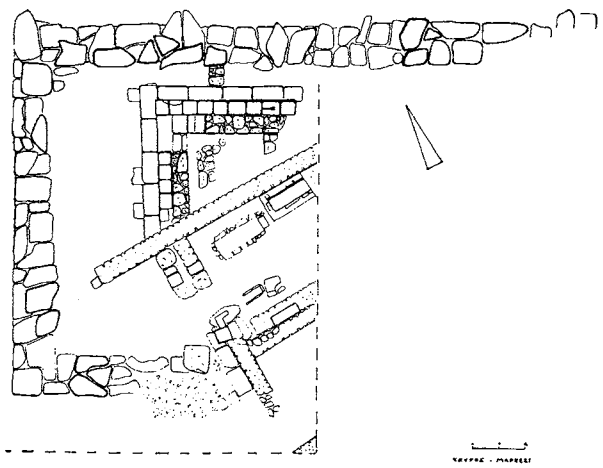


Fig. A.8: S33(Markesi): plan of the west part of the temple of Markesi (after Choremis 1972, pl. 12).

Fig. A.9: S33 (Markesi): the rock-cut tombs at the NW rocky hill.

On the opposite north-west hill a tufa quarry is located, which Defner estimated to have encompassed some 2.500 sq. m, and a cemetery with rock-cut tombs (Fig. A.9). Twenty tombs were counted during the survey as well as a large rock-cut rectangular room of unknown use. None of the tombs was found intact. Numerous wall foundations have been identified on the east and south side of that hill and on the east part of the site, close to the OTT church of Theotokos. A high pottery concentration of GR – R and LR date was found on the three hills and on the plain between them. In total, 339 sherds were collected, almost exclusively of LR date. In the past, the upper part of a MBYZ Günsenin 1 amphora was collected from the sea near this site, which was delivered to the 23rd Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities. Moreover, Parlama noted Mycenaean, SubM and PG pottery fragments. At the OTT church of Theotokos plenty of ancient – LR architectural material can be found.
Interpretation: PREH – A settlement/activity; GR – R village; LR village; OTT – EMOD church/activity.
References: Lebeque 1873, 176-7; Girard 1879, 66-7; Mayer 1893, 207; Fredrich 1906, 275-6; Graindor 1906, 10; Papageorgiou 1909, 28-9; Defner 1923, 106-7; Defner 1926, 585; Hansen 1951, 61; Choremis 1972, 354; Parlama 1984, 53-4.

**S34. Ayios Petros*

Location: 38º58'01N – 24º28'11E; a small distance south of the beach of Ayios Petros; east-northeast of the OTT – EMOD church of Ayios Petros; less than one km south-west of Markesi (S33); 0 – 20 masl. The area is completely forested nowadays, but the plentiful terraces in the forest suggest that until recently the land was cultivated.
Site size: approx. max. 0.7 ha.
Description: extensive tile and pottery scatter of GR and LR date; 14 LR potsherds from transport/storage and fine table ware vessels were collected. Close to the church some EMOD sherds were noted. Inside the church ancient – LR architectural material can be found.

Interpretation: GR – R and LR settlement (large farm?); EMOD church/activity. The small distance to the large settlement at S33 tentatively suggests that the site of Ayios Petros may have been a satellite settlement of S33.

**S35. Kyra Panayia*

Location: 38º55'34N – 24º27'53E; on the coast at the south side of Kalogria Bay, around the OTT – EMOD church of Panayia; 0 – 3 masl. Completely forested.
Site size: approx. 0.2 ha.
Description: south of the church, a pottery concentration of CL(?) – R date. The forest did not permit me to examine whether the site continues further east. On the court of the church lies a large monolithic marble column, probably R.
Interpretation: GR – R small farm; OTT – EMOD church/activity.

**S36. Keramotes*

Location: 38º55'17N – 24º30'02E; at the eponymous plateau in the centre of the forested mountainous area of Olimbos; 200 masl. Part of the large plateau is nowadays used for the cultivation of cereals, though the majority of the once cultivatable land is now forested.
Site size: ?
Description: a quite large amount of unidentified tile fragments. The large amount of tiles apparently gave the area its name (*kerami* for tile). Strangely enough, apart from tiles, rarely have other pottery sherds been identified. However, the very dense forest did not permit me to investigate sufficiently and thus the character of the site remains largely incomplete.
Interpretation: -

**S37. Kouroukli*

Location: 38º54'37N – 24º31'16E; west of Chora, in the forested mountainous area of Olimbos; about a km west of S38; the dirt road Ferekambos – Paraspisi passes across the site; 280 – 340 masl. The area is mountainous, dominated by the pine and cedar forest of the north part of the island and by scrub. The small plain of Ares, at the margin of the site and up to the slopes of the adjacent hills, was cultivated with cereals and legumes until recently.
Site size: approx. 2.0 ha.
Description: very dense and diagnostic pottery and tile concentration; some PREH pieces, plenty of CL – R times (among them black slip pottery and tile fragments and one Late HEL *unguentarium*); 14 LR sherds of transport/storage, processing and fine table ware vessels were collected.
Interpretation: PREH activity(?); GR – R and LR settlement.

**S38. Dianemos – Intensively surveyed site*

Location: 38º54'21N – 24º31'54E; west of Chora in the forested mountainous area of Olimbos; between the OTT churches of Ayios Nikolaos Achladonas and Ayios Georgios, beside an EMOD hut. The site is about a km east of Kouroukli (S38); 305 – 320 masl. Scrubby area, until recently cultivated with cereals and legumes.
Site size: max., all periods: 1.0 ha; CL – R: 0.26 ha; LR: 0.06; M – LBYZ: 0.95 ha; OTT: 0.12 ha; EMOD: 0.12 ha.
Description: The site holds evidence for continuous activity at least from CL to EMOD times. High pottery concentration; 10 LR sherds collected. The dominant component is Post-Roman; 76 M – LBYZ and 15 OTT – EMOD sherds were collected. Architectural *spolia* can be seen in the two adjacent churches (mostly monolithic marble columns).
Interpretation: GR – R small farm; LR small farm; M – LBYZ hamlet; OTT small farm; EMOD small farm.

-S39. Tryfadi

Location: 38º54'30N – 24º28'40E; on the plateau of Tryfadi, west of Atsitsa Bay; 140 masl. Fertile land, cultivated with cereals.
Site size: small.
Description: Parlama mentions visible walls and ceramics of HEL – R date and she interprets the findings as remains of a HEL – R farm. The aforementioned evidence was not identified during my survey.
Interpretation: HEL – R small farm. The inhabitants of the site certainly would exploit the plateau.
References: Parlama 1984, 59.

**S40. Petritsa*

Location: 38º54'33N – 24º27'36E; south of Atsitsa, in the eponymous Bay; 0 – 4 masl. Uncultivated and partially forested area.
Site size: approx. max. 0.3 ha.
Description: a low-density pottery scatter in the small plain, broadly dated to HEL – LR times; 6 LR amphorae sherds and 2 M – LBYZ fragments were collected. Alongside the coast, at about 2 – 3 metres distance from the sea, runs a dry-stone wall of some 50 metres long. The large wall which was identified in the foundations, certainly was functioning as a boundary wall of the field and could be dated to the EMOD period.
Interpretation: HEL – R small farm; LR small farm; off-site MED material; EMOD activity.

**S41. Achilion, Chartsa*

Location: 38º53'40N – 24º27'42E; on the west side of the plateau of Chartsa; at the beginning of the west slopes of the hill of Anezi; around the churches of Ayia Anna and Ayios Ioannis; 50 – 60 masl. Today the area is used as pasture but the plateau of Chartsa and its continuation towards Aliko were intensively cultivated until recently. The forest which covers all peaks of the area reaches the edges of the fields, and as such covers completely the possible site.
Site size: 0.25 ha.
Description: The area is completely forested but at the truck crossroad to Koumari and Aliko (close to the EMOD church of Ayia Anna), worn HEL – R pottery and tiles are found; only 2 LR sherds have been identified during the survey despite three visits in different seasons. EMOD pottery is also present while the two *konakia* and the two churches located there further confirm activity during this period.
Interpretation: GR – R settlement; off-site LR material; EMOD activity.

**S42. Koumari, Pyrgos Papazoglou*

Location: 38º53'54N – 24º27'14E; in the area of Cape Oros; west of the dirt road between Chartsa and Aliko, on the plateau of Koumari; 87 masl. The area where the tower lies is completely covered by a cedar forest. The plateau nowadays has cereal cultivation, yet until recently included the cultivation of corn and vines.

Site size: 0.04 ha (400 sq. m. = size of the structure).
Description: circular tower of 7.80 metres in diameter, equipped with a rounded walled court of 25.0 metres in diameter (Fig. A.10). The outer wall, which was equipped at its west side with a strongly fortified gate, is preserved only up to its foundations, but it can be surmised that it was of considerable height. A rubble concentration in the centre probably represents the collapse of the tower proper. We might infer the apparently modest buildings erected between the two strong walls and the defence of the outer wall from the terracing of the houses (no other structure has been attested outside the outer wall). The picture can be completed if we visualise the tower standing in the centre, higher than the outer wall, and the buildings in between. The bad visibility of the area caused by the dominant cedar forest does not permit observations concerning site size; mapping of the structure only took place following clearance of trees. A dense pottery scatter dated mainly to CL – HEL times, and a smaller segment to the R period, have been identified only around the tower and on the adjacent steep west slopes; 1 LR amphora sherd and 3 MED cooking ware fragments were also collected.

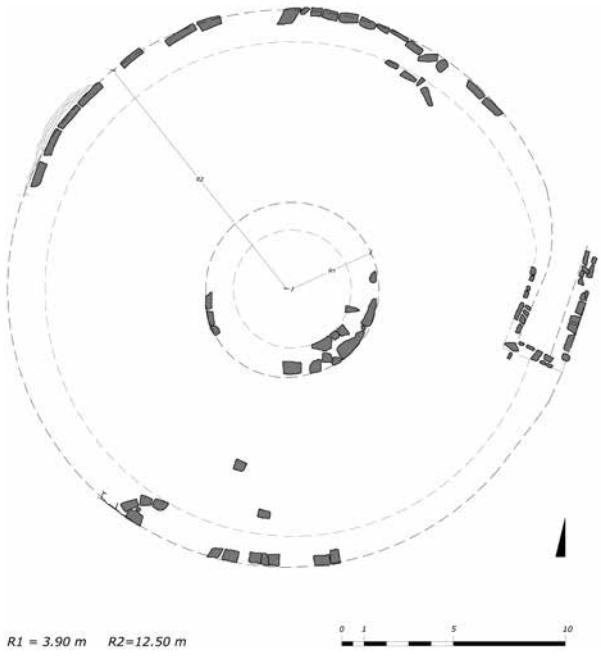


Fig. A.10: S42 (Koumari, Pyrgos Papazoglou): plan of the tower (Y. Kourmadas).

Interpretation: CL(?) – HEL farm-tower; R activity; LR and MED off-site material. The inhabitants of the site apparently exploited the plateau of Koumari.
References: Parlama 1984, 56; Defner 1926, 582; Mayer 1893, 207.

S43. Koumari E

Location: 38º53'55N – 24º27'29E; on the west slopes of the plateau; opposite to Pyrgos Papazoglou (S42); 80 masl.
Site size: 0.1 ha.
Description: Parlama identified EBA pottery.
Interpretation: EBA activity.
References: Parlama 1984, 95-6.

**S44. Aliko – Intensively surveyed site*

Location: 38º53'21N – 24º27'30E; on the north side of the plateau of Aliko, around a hut that is still actively used; the site is 400 metres north of Aliko tower (S45); 60 masl. Today, half of the plateau is used for the cultivation of wheat and barley, the other half serves as pasture, yet according to oral testimonies and old aerial photographs, until EMOD times the cultivation was much more intense.
Site size: max., all periods 2.16 ha estimated; GR – R: 2.16 ha; LR: 0.5 ha; EMOD: 0.5 ha.
Description: relatively low pottery concentration, denser around the EMOD hut. The pottery is mainly datable to the GR – R periods. Moreover, 13 LR, some MED and 17 EMOD sherds were collected. Auxiliary structures close to the hut, such as folds and a threshing floor, further attest to EMOD activity.
Interpretation: GR – R large estate-hamlet; LR middle-sized farm; M – LBYZ activity/off-site material; EMOD middle-sized farm. The GR – R settlement can probably be associated with the small tower (S45), 400 metres southwards.

**S45. Aliko, Pyrgos*

Location: 38º53'09N – 24º27'16E; on the north-east slopes of Oros; above, and overlooking the plateau of Aliko; 400 metres south of S44; 92 masl. The site is located into the very dense cedar forest which covers the surroundings of the plateau.
Site size: 0.0056 ha (56 sq. m. = size of the structure).
Description: a circular tower with an outer diameter of 8.40 metres (Figs. A.11-12); three courses up to approx. 1.5 metres are preserved; constructed with large limestone blocks. It seems that the tower was deprived of ancillary structures; however, the dense cedar forest did not permit me to make any reliable observations. The only additional structure is a dry-stone wall with an ovoid plan, to the south of the tower, probably an EMOD fold. No pottery was noticed on the surface.
Interpretation: CL – HEL tower, probably associated with nearby S44.
References: Parlama 1984, 57.

Fig. A.11: S45 (Aliko): Yorgos Kourmadas drawing the tower of Aliko in the summer of 2011.

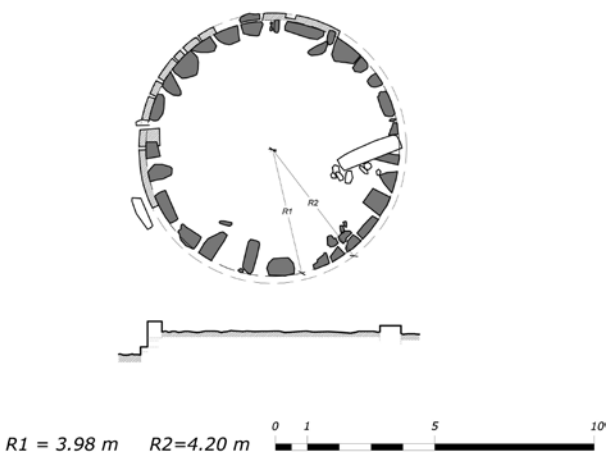


Fig. A.12: S45 (Aliko): plan of the tower (Y. Kourmadas).

**S46. Aliko, Latomeio*

Location: 38º52'32N – 24º26'53E; on the steep south slopes of Cape Oros; on the west side of Aliko Bay; 50 masl. Rocky area covered by a dense cedar forest.
Site size: 0.044 ha (440 sq. m. = size of the structure).
Description: marble quarry of slightly polychrome carbonated breccia. The quarry is quite eroded due to several collapses. However, traces of intensive quarrying are discernible. In the quarry area 5 rectangular blocks have been identified, two of them stepped. One large block carries traces of a pendulum saw. Outside the quarry, in the debris, 6 more rectangular blocks were noticed, two of them stepped. At the right side of the quarry, a rectangular socket into the natural rock (0.20x0.20) further represents traces of extraction. One more socket of the same size was noticed outside the quarry at the right, next to the debris. Approx. 130 metres west of the quarry, on the rocky coast beside the sea, two more rectangular sockets of the same size were observed, and which were probably used for the shipment of extracted material. Three R sherds were identified in the quarry area.
Interpretation: R quarry.

**S47. Klouthros, Pyrgos Koutsi*

Location: 38º53'41N – 24º28'22E; on a small plain on the east heights of the plateau of Klouthros; east of the road Atsitsa-Ayios Fokas; 130 – 136 masl. The area was covered by pine forest but its east part burned down in 2008. The plateau is seasonally cultivated with cereals, or used as pasture.
Site size: approx. 0.7 ha.
Description: A circular tower of 8.30 metres in diameter is preserved up to its foundation which consists of large limestone blocks (Fig. A.13). Several metres north can be found a straight and robust wall with a northeast-southwest direction, that probably was part of the enceinte of the tower. Beside, an EMOD fold constructed of dry-stone walls. Traces of a building can be found to its south-east, probably an EMOD *konaki* of 12x4 metres. The *konaki* is built with undressed stones with lime mortar and local soil (*melagki*), using ancient tile fragments in the joints. The tower is located on the west edge of the small plain and rests on bedrock. Immediately to its east, covering some 0.7 ha, is an area with abundant tile and pottery fragments of GR – R times.

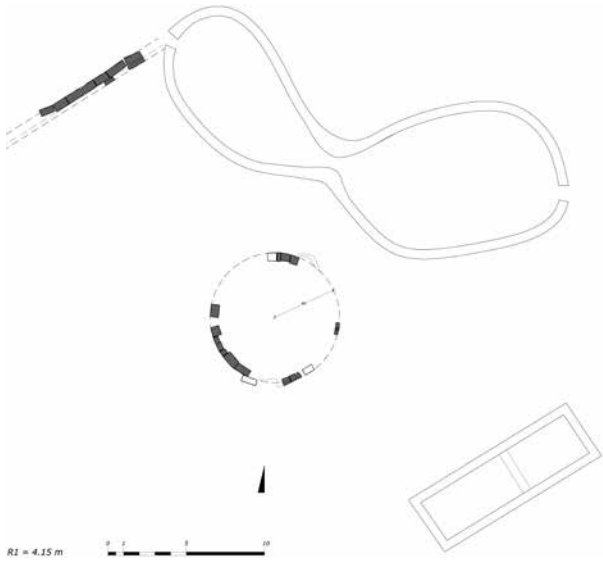


Fig. A.13: S47 (Klouthros, Pyrgos Koutsi): Topographical plan of the site, with the ancient tower and part of its enceinte (shadowed), and the two EMOD constructions (*mandra* and *konaki*) (Y. Kourmadas).

Interpretation: GR – R farm-tower; OTT – EMOD activity.

**S48. Ayios Fokas – Intensively surveyed*

Location: 38º52'22N – 24º28'42E; on the small promontory which encloses Ayios Fokas Bay from the south-east, close to the eponymous OTT – EMOD small church; 0 – 20 masl**.** The land north-west and south-east of the small rocky promontory is cultivated with cereals; some fig trees are also present.
Site size: max., all periods: 1.0 ha; EBA: ?; GR – R: 0.75 ha; LR: 0.17 ha; M – LBYZ off -site material; OTT(?) – EMOD: 0.3 ha.
Description: a moderately dense pottery concentration mainly of GR – R times. During her visit, Parlama identified some EBA sherds. In the course of this research, 3 M – LR, 8 LR, 3 M – LBYZ potsherds of transport/storage and table ware vessels were identified and collected, mainly on the promontory. It seems that the area was revitalised during the Late OTT and EMOD periods, with the construction of two small farm shelters (*konakia*); around them plentiful EMOD pottery is found, from which 27 sherds were collected. Around the small church of Ayios Fokas the remains of a building are discernible (Fig. A.14): a

rectangular structure is visible as well as a rounded wall on the east (part of an apse?) of *c.* 5 m in diameter. Lebeque and Defner interpreted the structure as an ancient or R temple. Fredrich, Papageorgiou and Parlama speak about an Early Christian basilica, based on the rounded wall, which is conceived as the apse of a church. However, apart from the rounded wall and the orientation of the building no other clue sustains this interpretation. First, the width of the building is more than its length, which would not fit with a church. Moreover, although *spolia* from Early Christian churches have been identified at plenty of locations, at Ayios Fokas not a single piece has been identified.

All walls of the structure are constructed using undressed stones and joined with lime mortar, while for the corners large blocks of polychrome Skyrian marble were used. These blocks originate from the R quarry of Papagrigori a few km north-east. In all likelihood, the bay of Ayios Fokas was the location for the shipment of extracted material. This assumption is based not only on the geographical location but also on a rectangular socket in the rocky shore of the promontory. A few dozen such sockets, of identical size, have been identified in all the R quarries of the island.

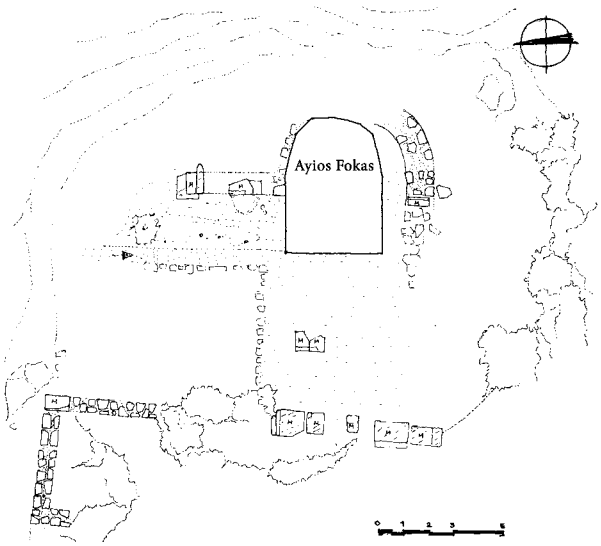


Fig. A.14: S48 (Ayios Fokas): plan of the visible architectural structures (S. Papazoglou).

Interpretation: EBA activity; GR – R large estate and R shipment station; LR small farm (basilica?); If the building is an Early Christian church, it should be very modest and irregular; M – LBYZ off-site material; OTT(?) – EMOD small farm.
References: Lebeque 1873, 176; Fredrich 1906, 278; Papageorgiou 1909, 5; Defner 1923, 112; Parlama 1984, 58; Lazos *et al.* 1989, 17.

S49. Ayios Fokas W

Location: 38º52'34N – 24º28'31E; on a height to the north-west of Ayios Fokas Bay; *c.* 350 metres north-west of S48; 14 masl; rocky and forested area.
Site size: small.
Description: A number of undressed large limestone blocks were identified during the survey, which hardly form a cycle. This must be identified as the ancient tower found by Fredrich in 1906 (Fig. A.15). Some GR – R sherds and tile fragments were also noted.
Interpretation: GR – R tower-farm? The tower dominates Ayios Fokas Bay, and the inhabitants of the site will certainly have exploited the agricultural potential of the plain below, as well as the possibilities offered by the sea.
References: Parlama 1984, 58; Fredrich 1906, 276-8.

S50. Papagrigori

Location: 38º53'19N – 24º30'41E; on the hill of Papagrigori; south-east of the dirt road Bares – Varlamika; approx. 260 – 280 masl. Completely forested area.
Site size: 1.0 ha (approx. the size of the three quarries).

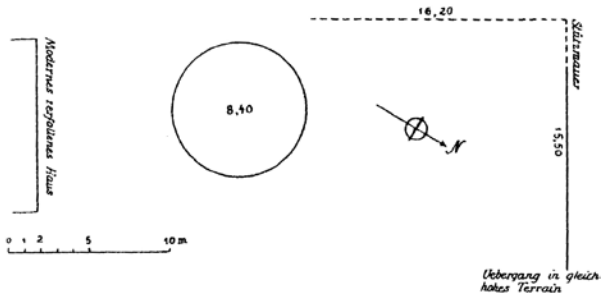


Fig. A.15: S49 (Ayios Fokas W): the ancient tower and structures drawn by Fredrich (after Fredrich 1906, fig. 15).

Description: three R – LR(?) quarries of polychrome marble (carbonated breccia). Shipment of the material probably took place from Ayios Fokas Bay, approx. 4 km south-west, along a path passing by Varlamika. Several blocks and incomplete columns are present alongside this path. The quarries were reactivated in the 1970s, severely disturbing the ancient situation, something which the dramatic forestation of the area further aggravated. No pottery or any other clue which could indicate a possible residential installation has been detected in the vicinity.
Interpretation: R, LR(?) quarry.
References: Lazos *et al.* 1989, 17-8.

S51. Dekatria – Lakoi, kolones

Location: 38º52'22N – 24º31'21E; above Pefkos Bay, on the north-northeast slopes of the hill of Dekatria; active quarry operated by Serafeim; 260 masl. Forested area.
Site size: approx. 0.5 ha.
Description: R – LR quarry of white marble (Fig. A.16). Defner visited the site in 1923. He identified at least 3 quarries as well as numerous blocks and columns, cisterns and traces of aqueducts. The quarries were reactivated in EMOD period by the company *Marmor Limited.* Today only some parts of the ancient quarry survive, which were severely disturbed by the modern activity.
Interpretation: R, LR marble quarry. Like the quarries of Ayios Panteleimon (S52), those of Dekatria used the adjacent Pefkos Bay for the shipment of extracted material.
References: Defner 1923, 109-12; Lazos *et al.* 1989, 16; Lazzarini & Cancelliere 2000, 57-62.

S52. Marmaro, Ayios Panteleimon

Location: 38º51'53N – 24º30'17E; above Pefkos Bay, on the south slopes of Dekatria peak; 280 – 330 masl. Forested area.
Site size: approx. 10 ha (total size of the 10 quarries).
Description: the most extensive exploitation of polychrome carbonated breccia on the island, with more than 10 R, LR and EMOD quarries, many of them reaching 30 metres in height. The area is severely disturbed by EMOD activity, even if some ancient quarry traces are still visible (Fig. A.17). Extensive exploitation has been taking place since ancient times because of the good quality of the breccia and the large stock. In addition, its location facilitated shipment of the extracted stone by using Pefkos Bay, less than one km south. The dock, constructed by the company *Marmor Limited* in the bay during its exploitation of the site in EMOD times, is still visible. The survey did not succeed in identifying the residential settlement of the ancient workers who should have lived adjacent to the quarry zone, though the possibility of its destruction by excessive EMOD activity cannot be excluded.
Interpretation: R, LR, EMOD marble quarry.
References: Lazzarini 2007, 161-75; Lazzarini & Turi 1999, 117-23; Lazos *et al.* 1989, 15-6.

Fig. A.16: S51 (Dekatria-Lakoi): the white marble Roman quarry.

Fig. A.17: S52 (Marmaro-Ayios Panteleimon): unfinished column extractions from the Roman quarry.

-S53. Acherounes, Gramma

Location: ?; at the east side of Acherounes Bay; east of the road close to the island's power station; fertile area cultivated with wheat, barley and olive trees.
Site size: small.
Description: the place took its name (*Gramma* for alphabet character) because of the existence of an inscription (*HOPOΣ*), which was preserved until the early 20th century. Konstantinidis cites that the letters were barely legible during his time (early 20th c.). Girard associated the inscription with the court of an ancient temple, whereas Parlama connected it with a CL settlement.
Interpretation: GR – R settlement-temple?
References: Parlama 1984, 64; Papageorgiou 1909, 32; Konstantinidis 1901, 14; Girard 1879, 65-6; Lebeque 1873, 176.

**S54. Agalini, Paleokastro*

Location: 38º52'00N – 24º32'54E; on a rocky, steep hill in the middle of the valley of Agalini; 40 masl. Olive trees are dominant in the valley around the site.
Site size: 0.15 ha.
Description: There is a strong local tradition for the existence of a MED kastro/fortification. Despite many visitations to the site, just a small part of a fortification wall, filling the gaps of the north side of the natural steep rock, could be distinguished (Fig. A.18). The fortified walls are constructed using undressed stones and bricks that are connected with lime mortar. At the top of the hill an EMOD *kazanospito* is located. No pottery was identified in the area around the hill. Koder, probably enthused by the strong local tradition, confused the dry-stone walls of the *mandra* and the natural steep rock with the original MED masonry, attributing larger dimensions to it.
Interpretation: MED small fortification (seasonal?); EMOD activity; the possible MED fortification must be associated with a settlement around the area that remains unidentified. The site is located on the crossroad between the north part of the island and Chora and the valley of Kalikri and Kalamitsa Bay. More precisely, the site is located at the exit of the path from Andoniou, the main passage for someone who wishes to reach or to come from Chora, as well as at the beginning of the passage of Diasfagi (between the peaks of Profitis Ilias and Monis Kambos) for reaching and coming from Kalikri. The strategic location of the hill probably prompted its use for permanent occupation, or more probably as a watch outpost during MED times.
References: Koder 1998, 245-6; Antoniadis 1995e, 118; Parlama 1984, 63; Papageorgiou 1909, 30; Fredrich 1906, 273; Lebeque 1873, 175.

Fig. A.18: S54 (Paleokastro): the remains of the MED fortification among the rocks. At the top the dry-stone walls of the EMOD *mandra*.

**S55. Lino – Intensively surveyed*

Location: 38º53'24N – 24º34'07E; 1.6 km south of Chora, west from the coast and the road Chora – Linaria; around the OTT church of Christos; 20 – 80 masl. The area is terraced for the cultivation of cereals, yet today it is scrubby; at the south and west there are plenty of olive trees.
Size site: max., all periods: 1.7 ha; GR – R: 1.27 ha; LR: 1.0 ha; M – LBYZ: estimated 1.0 ha ; LBYZ: min. 0.4 ha; OTT: min. 0.4 ha; OTT – EMOD: min. 0.81 ha.
Description: In 1983, a rescue excavation revealed a HEL tomb with 11 dedicatory vessels. At an unknown moment, a SubM vessel from the area has been delivered to the local Archaeological Museum. Around the small church of Christos a very dense pottery concentration was noted, with GR – R being dominant. Particularly noticeable is the LR pottery. The site saw activity during MED, OTT and EMOD times, as attested by the pottery in the centre of the ancient site. Apart from Christos, another OTT – EMOD church that is dedicated to Ayia Anastasia, is located at the

north-west edge of the site and in turn close to it is a small EMOD hut.
Interpretation: SubM cemetery/activity(?); GR – R hamlet; LR hamlet; M – LBYZ hamlet; LBYZ small farm; OTT small farm; EMOD large estate.
References: Parlama 1984, 61; Samson 1983, 155.

S56. Achili, Strogili

Location: 38º52'13N – 24º34'09E; at the top of the promontory that separates Achili and Mealos Bays; 68 masl. Arid and scrubby area, partly used as pasture.
Site size: 0.0088 ha (88 sq. m. = size of the structure).
Description: At the top of the hill stood a circular tower of *c.* 10 metres in diameter, which is preserved up to the level of its foundations and consists of large limestone blocks (Fig. A.19). No pottery identified.
Interpretation: CL – HEL farm or watchtower, probably associated with (a) settlement at Achili Bay, unidentified. The coastal area has been severely disturbed by the construction of a marina.
References: Parlama 1984, 62.

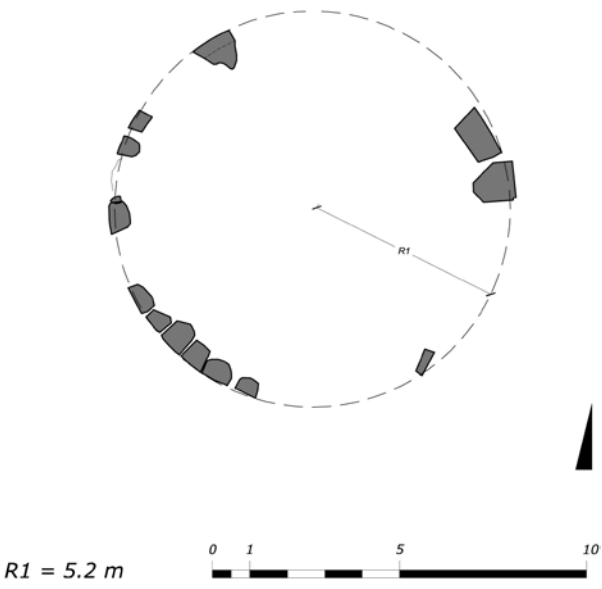


Fig. A.19: S56 (Strogili): plan of the tower (Y. Kourmadas).

S57. Achili

Location: 38º52'05N – 24º34'06E; on the west slopes of Achili Bay, above the road Achili – Kalikri; 22 masl. Rocky, scrubby area used as pasture.
Site size: small.
Description: rock-cut cist grave; no pottery.
Interpretation: GR – R(?) tomb, part of a cemetery(?), associated with (a) settlement at Achili that remains unidentified.
References: Parlama 1984, 62.

S58. Achili

Location: 38º52'10N – 24º34'33E; Achili Bay.
Site size: -
Description: On the small rocky islet in the middle of the gulf, Parlama has identified R sherds. On 5-8-2008, Mrs. Maria Maroudi delivered to the local Archaeological Museum 25 LBYZ vessels from a shipwreck located in the gulf.
Interpretation: The archaeological evidence, although fragmentary yet suggests continuous use of the area. The settlement(s) is/are still unknown.
References: Parlama 1984, 62.

**S59. Achili*

Location: ?; on the south slopes of Achili Bay, close to the coast; ?
Site size: small.
Description: The site was one of the clay sources for the EMOD potters of Skyros. The EMOD potter Nikolaos Papastathis, refers to the existence of "ancient" kilns at the site, today lost, which had functioned as the models for the construction of the EMOD kilns of Skyros (pers. commun. 12-8-2010).
Interpretation: ancient – LR pottery workshops? If so, these workshops must be associated with (a) settlement in Achili Bay, unknown until now.

S60. Achili, Panayia Spiliotisa

Location: 38º51'45N – 24º34'49E; on the south slopes above Achili Bay, at the cave church of Panayia Spiliotisa; 60 masl. Rocky, arid and scrubby land, used as pasture.
Site size: small.

Description: Theocharis in a brief excavation outside the cave revealed strata, attributed by him to a pre-NL phase. In a second cave, very close to the first, he further revealed HEL – R strata. Inside the church is found a column fragment.
Interpretation: Pre – NL(?), HEL – R activity(?); OTT – EMOD church/activity.
References: Parlama 1984, 62; Skouras 1979, 43-7; Theocharis 1959, 323-5.

**S61. Kapara*

Location: 38º51'52N – 24º35'10E; on the south-east slopes above Achili Bay, at the beginning of the path to Ayios Artemios; 180 masl. Rocky and scrubby land.
Site size: min. 0.3 ha.
Description: a high pottery and tile concentration, dated broadly to GR – R times (mainly CL – HEL); several pieces of black slip ware. Parlama and Defner mention an ancient tower located close to the church of Ayios Artemios (*c.* 1.5 km from Kapara), without however, specifying its exact location. Despite persistent research at Ayios Artemios, no clue as to the tower's existence could be traced, which fed the notion that S61 could be that mentioned by Parlama and Defner.
Interpretation: CL – HEL farm.
References: Parlama 1984, 73-4; Defner 1926, 591, n. 347.

**S62. Flea, Ayios Minas*

Location: 38º51'34N – 24º34'12E; in the fertile valley of Kalikri, close to the spring of Flea; around the OTT church of Ayios Minas; 300 metres north of S64; *c.* 10 masl. Land with high agricultural potential. The area today witnesses building activity.
Site size: min. 0.5 ha.
Description: a low pottery concentration immediately west of the church of Ayios Minas, broadly datable to GR – R times. Only 3 LR and 2 M – LBYZ amphora fragments were collected. At the church of Ayios Minas, plenty of architectural material from an Early Christian basilica.
Interpretation: a visible 'window' onto a site, now largely lost due to surrounding building activity. GR – R and probably LR settlement. M – LBYZ off-site material(?); OTT – EMOD church/activity.

**S63. Kalikri, Soteras*

Location: 38º51'32N – 24º33'46E; in Kalikri Valley, at the south of the hill of Profitis Ilias; around the OTT – EMOD church of Metamorfosi; 30 masl. The area is seasonally used as pasture and for the cultivation of cereals.
Site size: 0.13 ha.
Description: low and worn pottery scatter; some diagnostic GR – R fragments. The poor visibility at the time of the visit did not permit me to draw clear(er) conclusions about the site. At the church can be found ancient and/or LR architectural material.
Interpretation: GR – R small farm(?); R – LR off-site(?) *spolia*.

**S64. Kalikri, Ayia Anna – Intensively surveyed*

Location: 38º51'22N – 24º34'07E; in the fertile valley of Kalikri, above the tarmac road Achilli – Kalamitsa; close to the OTT church of Ayia Anna; 300 metres south of S62; 20 – 25 masl. Land with high agricultural potential, where cereals, corn, vegetables and olive trees are cultivated.
Site size: max., all periods: min. 1.19 ha; GR – R: min. 1.19 ha; LR: min. 0.5 ha; M – LBYZ: 0.3 ha.
Description: Between the church of Ayia Anna and the tarmac road a moderately dense pottery concentration is found, mainly datable to GR – R times. Four M – LR, 17 LR, 9 M – LBYZ and 12 EMOD sherds were collected. Below the church runs a substantial fortification wall in a north-south direction, built with

Fig. A.20: S64 (Ayia Anna): the robust ancient fortification wall from the west.

large limestone and conglomerate stones (the largest block measures 1.25 metres in length and 0.80 metres in height), probably related to the A – HEL phase of the site (Fig. A.20). The visible dimensions of the wall are 9.80 metres in length, 0.80 metres in width and 2.10 metres in height (Parlama mentions a length of 60 metres, something that could not be verified by the survey). Some metres below the fortification wall were found lime-mortared walls, that seem to form a structure of approx. 2.70x2.40 metres; remains of a mosaic were bounded by some walls (probably this is the same structure interpreted by Defner as a R tomb).
Interpretation: GR – R fortified hamlet/large estate(?); LR middle-sized farm; M – LBYZ small farm; OTT church/activity; EMOD – MOD small farm(s)/ activity.
References: Parlama 1984, 63-4; Defner 1926, 568.

**S65. Kalamitsa – Intensively surveyed*

Location: 38º50'35N – 24º33'14E; on the north-west side of Kalamitsa Bay, opposite S67; on a large field beside the road Kalamitsa – Linaria (Antonaki plot) and on the hill of Tourli; 0 – 60 masl. The area suffers periodically from stagnant water; it is used mainly as a pasture; some olive and fig trees are also present.
Site size: max., all periods: 4.25; HEL – R: 4.25 ha; LR: total 3.1 ha; EMOD: 0.4 ha.
Description: Kalamitsa is the third site of the island (next to Chora and Markesi), that in the past has attracted the attention of scholars. Some of them did not hesitate to associate the site with the settlement of *Kresion* that is known from the sources (Scholiastis T, 326; Plout., *Kimon*, 8). The special interest for the site derives from two R sarcophagi and *spolia* located at the south part of the site as well as building remains located on the hill of Tourli. Undoubtedly, Kalamitsa was the main port of the island from Antique until EMOD times; post-medieval travellers referred to it as "*Gran spiaggia*".

The survey identified high pottery concentration especially on the south-west side of the investigated area and on the hill of Tourli, dated to HEL and mainly R – LR times. 3 M – LBYZ amphora sherds that were collected are probably off-site material, while 10 sherds from OTT beehives collected on the slopes of the hill of Tourli, indicate apiary activities during this period.

Near the top of the hill of Tourli, lies a ruined rectangular building of approx. 6.0x3.0 metres; its height is preserved to 0.85 metres and the width of the walls varies from 0.54 – 0.65 metres. The structure is built with undressed stones and sporadic bricks that are connected with lime mortar. On the plain below the hill 3 wall segments can be observed, constructed in the same technique as that of the building on the hill. Ceramic floor remains identified next to the wall segments indicate the existence of a building. Eastwards, close to the road, 5 architectural blocks can be observed. To the south-west the two R sarcophagi mentioned above are located. The sarcophagi are semi-buried. Visible are mainly the lids 2.32 metres in length. They are made of *lapis sarcophagus* stone and probably belong to the garland type. They are dated to the 2nd – 3rd century AD and are products of the Troas (north-west Turkey) (Fig. A.21).

In an EMOD hut at the south side of the site, a marble monolithic column of 0.27 metres in diameter is found. More to the south-west, in a residential area that could not be investigated, lies a second (semi-buried) large monolithic column of grey marble. The column is 0.40 metres in diameter and stands 1.37 metres above the ground. Furthermore, at the house of the tenant of the field (Minas Koutsoupis), several *spolia* have been identified that, as admitted by the tenant, were transported from the site in previous years. Within the court of his house lay two monolithic column fragments [1) h: 0.79 d: 0.29; 2)

Fig. A.21: S65 (Kalamitsa): the two Roman sarcophagi of *Lapis sarcophagus* stone most probably from the quarries of ancient Assos, modern Behramkale in north-west Turkey.

h: 1.04 d: 0.24] and two marble column bases [1) h: 0.16/0.49x0.47; 2) h: 0.16/0.49x0.52]. All the aforementioned *spolia* are apparently related to the R-LR phase of the site.

The EMOD phase of the site is represented by two huts located on the south-west side of the site beside the road, a threshing floor, as well as a large well (*magkanopigado*).

Interpretation: HEL – R village/port; LR village/port; OTT apiary; EMOD small farm; long-term port/anchorage of the island.

References: Lebeque 1873, 176; Girard 1879, 66; Fredrich 1906, 273-4; Papageorgiou 1909, 29-30; Parlama 1984, 64-6.

S66. Kalamitsa, Xilo

Location: 38º50'24N – 24º34'12E; on the east slopes above Kalamitsa Bay; 0 – 60 masl; Scrubby area used as pasture.

Site size: ?

Description: Parlama mentions the existence of wall foundations and CL pottery, features that could not be identified during the survey.

Interpretation: CL settlement-activity?

References: Parlama 1984, 66.

**S67. Sklouka – Intensively surveyed*

Location: 38º49'50N – 24º34'06E; on the eponymous promontory which encloses Kalamitsa Bay from the south-east; the tarmac road between Kalamitsa and Nyfi passes through the site; 0 – 30 masl. The area is used for cereal cultivation and/or as a pasture.

Fig. A.22: S67 (Sklouka): part of the lime-mortared wall from the north.

Site size: max., all periods: 2.71 ha; GR – R: 2.71 ha; LR: 1.7 ha; M – LBYZ: 1.0 ha.

Description: a dense pottery concentration of GR – R and LR times; low MED pottery density is also present. Below the road, at the north of the rocky hill, can be seen a lime-mortared wall with an east-west orientation, which is probably related to the R – LR phase of the site (Fig. A.22). Its visible length is 21 meters and its height 1.10 meters. Above the wall (south) are two large conglomerate rectangular blocks of 0.54x0.34x0.22 metres; around these blocks is a high density of brick fragments, related to structures/buildings.

Interpretation: GR – R hamlet/port; LR hamlet/port; EBYZ activity; M – LBYZ hamlet/anchorage; OTT – EMOD off-site material.

**S68. Soteras – Intensively surveyed*

Location: 38º50'29N – 24º34'31E; on the west slopes of the mountainous south part of the island, above Kalamitsa Bay; around the OTT – EMOD small church of Ayia Soteira. The site is 1,200 metres north of S67, about 400 metres north-west of S69 and 900 metres north-west of S70; 140 – 170 masl. The area today is scrubby and used only as pasture, but until EMOD times it was cultivated with wheat, barley, vegetables and vines.

Site size: max. investigated, all periods: 1.5 ha; GR – R: 1.5 ha estimated; LR: 1.3 ha estimated; EBYZ activity; M – LBYZ: min. 0.17 ha; OTT(?) church-activity; EMOD: 0.4 ha.

Description: very dense pottery concentration of GR – R, LR and Post – Roman times. At the church plenty of Early Christian *spolia*. Close to the church are two groups of EMOD *konakia*. The site continues beyond the surveyed area.

Interpretation: GR – R hamlet; LR hamlet (+basilica?); EBYZ activity; M – LBYZ small farm; OTT activity; EMOD small farm.

**S69. Platania, Ayios Dimitrios*

Location: 38º50'29N – 24º34'38E; above Kalamitsa Bay, on the slopes of the mountainous area, around the church of Ayios Dimitrios, between S68 – S70; approx. 210 masl. Today it is a scrubby area used as

pasture, but until EMOD times it was cultivated with vines, vegetables, fig trees, etc. The area is abundantly watered through nearby springs.
Site size: approx. max. 0.4 ha.
Description: Around the church lies a dense scatter of worn tile and pottery fragments, mainly of GR – R date. Seven LR sherds were collected. There is also R – LR architectural material at the church.
Interpretation: GR – R, LR small farm, OTT – EMOD church/activity.
References: Atesis 1961, 268.

**S70. Dhounia – Intensively surveyed*

Location: 38º50'07N – 24º34'58E; on the west slopes of the mountainous south part of the island, above Kalamitsa Bay; around the OTT church of Panayia Dhounia. The site is 500 metres south-east of S69, 900 metres south-east of S68 and 1,200 metres north-east of S67; 240 – 300 masl. Rocky and scrubby area used as pasture. At the site there is a spring, the southernmost of a series of springs located on the north-west slopes of this massive mountainous area.
Site size: max., all periods: 0.97 ha; GR – R: 0.97 ha; LR: 0.65; M – LBYZ: 0.57 ha; OTT – EMOD: 0.4 ha.
Description: A high pottery concentration from CL to LBYZ times is identified, especially around the church of Panayia. Some post-medieval ceramics are also present. East of the site there is a scatter of OTT beehive sherds. At the east side of the site lies a fold in ruins.
Interpretation: GR – R hamlet; LR large farm-small hamlet; M – LBYZ large farm-small hamlet; OTT small farm-activity and apiary; EMOD activity.

Koder connects the church at Dhounia with a church dedicated to Hyperagia Theotokos, *metochion* of Megisti Lavra on Mount Athos in MBYZ times (mentioned in *Actes de Lavra* I, 363, Appendix II, line 58). It is known that before 1016 the nun Glykeria donated extensive lands of her possession in the south part of the island to the abbot of Megisti Lavra (*Actes de Lavra* I, no. 20). Moreover, the codex of the Monastery of Ayios Georgios (*metochion* of Magisti Lavra since 1289) attests that among the possessions of Ayios Georgios in 1494 there was a *mandra* at Dhounia (Konstantinidis 1981-82, 36). Dhounia is the last water station before the large, arid mountainous pasture of the south part of the island begins. It is logical to think that Dhounia would be the ideal place for the construction of a shepherd shelter since MBYZ times. Probably at that time a small church was built (that mentioned in the *Actes de Lavra*), which was later replaced by that seen today. The shepherd shelter of Dhounia was still active in LBYZ times, as the codex of Ayios Georgios informs us. Apart from the ancient ceramics, the archaeological evidence attested by the survey are apparently remains of the aforementioned MED *mandra*.

**S71. Tsorous N*

Location: 38º49'36N – 24º35'24E; on the west rocky hill of the adjacent large plateau of Tsorous; 640 masl; rocky, scrubby area used as pasture; cultivated with grain until EMOD times.
Site size: 0.3 ha.
Description: a dense tile and pottery scatter, dated to GR times.
Interpretation: GR – R small farm.

**S72. Tsorous SW*

Location: 38º49'27N – 24º35'23E; on the south-west rocky hill of the adjacent large plateau of Tsorous; 650 masl. Rocky, scrubby area used as pasture; cultivated with grain until EMOD times.
Site size: 0.1 ha.
Description: a dense GR – R tile and pottery scatter.
Interpretation: GR – R small farm.

**S73. Tsorous SE*

Location: 38º49'32N – 24º35'16E; in the south-east of the adjacent large plateau of Tsorous; 650 masl. Rocky, scrubby area used as pasture; cultivated with grain until EMOD times.
Site size: 0.15 ha.
Description: a dense GR – R tile and pottery scatter.
Interpretation: GR – R small farm.

S74. Nifi

Location: 38º49'14N – 24º34'02E; on the spring of Nyfi; at the south-east side of Kalamitsa Bay, on a small promontory, less than one kilometre south of Sklouka (S67); 10 masl. Rocky, scrubby area used as pasture.
Site size: 0.1 ha.

Description: The spring of Nifi is one of the main springs still in use on the island. Several lime-mortared and dry-stone walls identified at the spring and some metres west of it below the tarmac road, are probably to be associated with ancient arrangements of the spring (Fig. A.23). Parts of the walls are partially destroyed by modern structures. Few CL – R sherds; only 2 LR amphora sherds were collected. Konstantinidis refers to the existence of two water mills based on travellers' reports (whom he doesn't name) that have not been identified.
Interpretation: The spring of Nifi was probably associated with (an) adjacent settlement(s), e.g. S67. Nifi is the southernmost spring of Skyros and the nearest water station (together with Dhounia) for the mountainous south half of the island, and vital for its shepherding life.
References: Parlama 1984, 67-8; Fredrich 1906, 274; Konstantinidis 1901, 29; Girard 1879, 68.

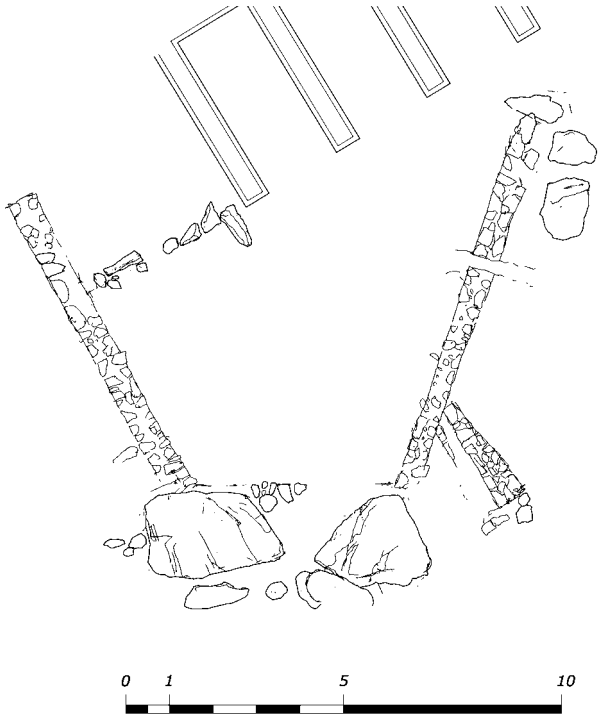


Fig. A.23: S74 (Nifi): plan of the ancient structures identified immediately west of the spring (Y. Kourmadas).

**S75. Kolimbada – Mouchala – Intensively surveyed*

Location: 38º48'38N – 24º34'16E; on the north side of Kolimbada Bay, on the slopes below the tarmac road Kalamitsa – Tris Boukes; 0 – 46 masl. The area today is scrubby but until EMOD times all the gentle slopes of the bay were cultivated.
Site size: GR – R: min. 0.55 ha (hypothetical size *c.* min.1.0 ha).
Description: The extremely dense scrub did not permit me to survey the area as one would wish. From two surveyed 'windows', one coastal and one upland with a total size of 1.23 ha, it could be understood that the site extends beyond the surveyed area. The pottery found is of GR – R times. Only 2 LR amphora sherds were collected. Fifty metres above the coast an olive press of conglomerate stone was found, while higher up, 25 meters below the road are the remains of a circular tower of 9 metres in diameter, built with large undressed limestone blocks (Fig. A.24). No pottery was identified around the tower. At the coast a ruined EMOD hut is located, whose walls as well as the dry-stone walls that border the field are partially constructed with ancient blocks.
Interpretation: CL – R tower-farm; LR off-site material.
References: Defner 1926, 587; Parlama 1984, 68.

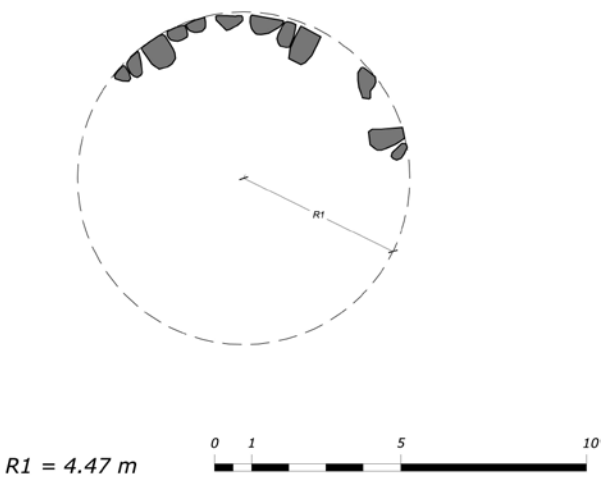


Fig. A.24: S75 (Kolimbada-Mouchala): plan of the tower (Y. Kourmadas).

**S76. Vokolinas W*

Location: 38º47'58N – 24º33'54E; on a rocky hill west of the plateau of Vokolinas, less than 150 meters north-west, about one km south-west of S75; 110 masl; arid and scrubby area used as pasture.
Site size: 0.1 ha.
Description: around an EMOD shepherd fold, a dense tile and pottery scatter of GR – R times.
Interpretation: GR – R small farm; EMOD activity.

**S77. Vokolinas S*

Location: 38º47'57N – 24º34'06E; on a rocky hill south of the plateau of Vokolinas, less than 150 meters north-west, about one km south-west of S75; 120 masl; arid and scrubby area used as pasture.
Site size: 0.15 ha.
Description: a dense tile and pottery scatter of GR – R times.
Interpretation: GR – R small farm.

**S78. Ayios Modestos*

Location: 38º48'24N – 24º35'26E; on the south part of the island, east of Vokolinas and the tarmac road Kolimbada – Mesadi, around the church of Ayios Modestos; here begins one of the more common paths that lead to the peak of Kochilas mountain; 180 masl; arid and scrubby area used as pasture.
Site size: 0.4 ha.
Description: Among some folds and the church is a dense pottery and tile concentration, mainly of GR – R and LR date (6 sherds were collected). The numerous dry-stone folds are typical EMOD structures, but the possibility of (an) earlier structure(s) cannot be neglected. The church was renovated in 1988, whereby any earlier evidence was completely lost.
Interpretation: GR – R/ LR small pastoral site; OTT/ EMOD activity.

**S79. Koumaros*

Location: 38º47'59N – 24º36'06E; on the south part of the island, on the south-east slopes of the Koumaros height, about 300 metres north-east from the tarmac road Kolimbada – Mesadi; 240 masl; arid and scrubby area used as pasture.
Site size: 0.3 ha.
Description: around an EMOD abandoned *konaki* and folds, a dense tile and pottery scatter of GR – R times. No diagnostic LR or MED pottery was identified.
Interpretation: GR – R and EMOD small pastoral farm.

**S80. Mesadi – Intensively surveyed*

Location: 38º47'50N – 24º37'24E; on a small plateau above the crossroad Kalamitsa-Tris Boukes-Renes; the site overlooks the Gulf of Tris Boukes; the area is rocky. The site is 1,500 metres south-west of Ari (S87) and prior to the construction of the tarmac road it was connected with it through a path that still exists. The site is also approx. 3 km north-east of the marble quarry of Tris Boukes (S81); 180 – 220 masl. Completely arid and scrubby area used as pasture.
Site size: max., all periods: 0.73 ha; GR – R: 0.73 ha; LR: 0.2 ha; OTT apiary.
Description: A dense pottery concentration was identified during the survey, dated to CL – LR periods. Numerous OTT beehive fragments indicate the establishment of an apiary on the ancient site during the relevant period. Forty-five metres north-east of the pottery concentration, a cylindrical cistern was identified, apparently associated with the ancient site; its diameter measures 4.50 metres and its preserved height 1.50 meters. The cistern is built with undressed stone connected with lime mortar. The interior is covered with hydraulic mortar. Several dry-stone walls are discernible on-site, as well as two, probably EMOD, folds. Theocharis had identify some obsidian fragments.
Interpretation: PREH off-site material; GR – R large farm/estate; LR small farm; OTT apiary.
References: Theocharis 1945-47, 7; Samson 1983, 155; Parlama 1984, 68-9.

**S81. Tris Boukes*

Location: 38º46'15N – 24º36'36E; at the natural port of Tris Boukes Bay; located on the premises of a military base; 5 – 100 masl; completely arid, rocky and scrubby area.
Site size: approx. 1.5 ha.
Description: This is one of the quarry sites of the well-known Skyrian *polychrome carbonated breccia*, Strabo's *poikili lithos* (Geogr. IX: 16), which was widely exported during R times. In the 1900s the quarries of Tris Boukes were reused by the British company *Marmor Limited*, whereby the ancient phases were partially disturbed. Further and more serious disruption took place during the construction of a military naval base at this location, which is why no intensive survey could be conducted. Two inscriptions were found at Tris Boukes by the personnel of *Marmor Limited* in the early 20th century: one Greek funerary and a Latin inscription which is today lost.

The first proper description of the site was done in 1923 by Defner, after *Marmor Limited* stopped quarrying works. Defner provided a plan of a large Roman cistern that was probably used to supply drinking water to the quarry workers as well as for the extraction process (Fig. A.25). Defner's plan is truly precious given that the ancient cistern was later reused by the military base, yet it is unfortunately completely covered with cement. According to Defner's plan, the dimensions of the cistern are 18.30x17.80, and it is approx. 4.60 metres deep; two longitudinal arcaded walls divide the cistern in three apartments.

Konstantinidis and Papageorgiou, in 1901 and 1909 respectively, mentioned the existence of a dilapidated church close to the cistern and which was dedicated to Ayios Fokas. Gouffier, in his 1776 map of the island places at this location the indication "*chapelle*". Defner did not mention this church, nor was it identified during the research for this study. However, a Corinthian small column-capital from a *ciborium* of an Early Christian basilica is present in the Archaeological Museum of Skyros, which according to the custodian of the museum originates from that site. The capital is made of Proconnesian marble and is very well executed.

During the research for this study 6 quarries were identified at the site, two of which were reused in EMOD times. Three are located close to the coast, while the other three are located higher up (Fig. A.26). Around the former three, 11 walls have been identified, 3 of which are semi-circular. One of these, running between the cistern and one of the quarries, has a northwest - southeast direction, is lime-mortared and truly sizeable: 36 metres long, 0.80 metres wide and 1.20 metres high. Across approx. 1.5 ha, close to the coast and around the cistern, a dense pottery scatter

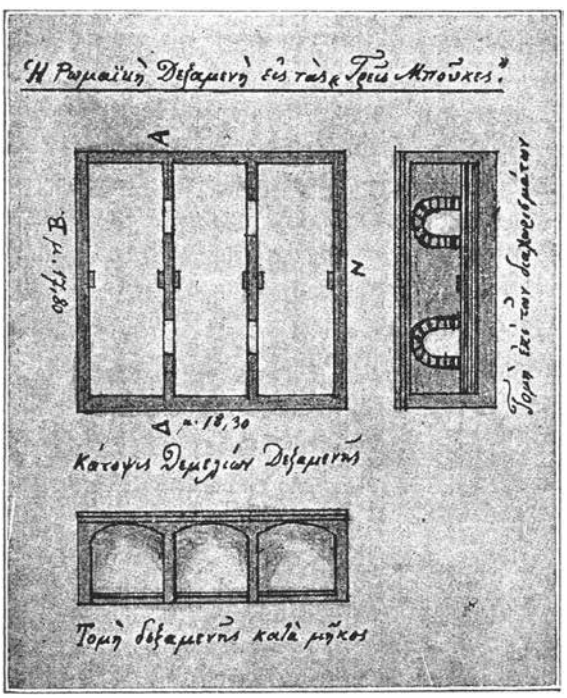


Fig. A.25: S81 (Tris Boukes): plan of the Roman cistern (after Defner 1923, fig. 20).

Fig. A.26: S81 (Tris Boukes): one of the Roman marble quarries of the site.

can be found. From the 50 sherds collected (in the catalogue of Appendix B only the LR are presented) most are dated to R times, secondarily to LR and HEL times. The many ER sherds (including fragments of Italian Sigillata dated to between *c.* 10 BC – 80 AD) confirm the use of the Skyrian quarries since the reign of Augustus. The 15 LR sherds are probably related to the continuous use of the quarry during this period (see Chapter 10.3).
Interpretation: Late HEL – LR, EMOD settlement-quarry.
References: Parlama 1984, 69-70; Defner 1923, 114-5; Papageorgiou 1909, 8; Graindor 1906, 13 Konstantinidis 1901, 16-8; Legrand 1889, 521-2; Bruzza 1870, 152-3.

S82. Koprisies

Location: 38º47'07N – 24º38'16E; north of Renes Bay, above the dirt road Tris Boukes – Renes; on the steep south slopes of Gligori peak; 730 metres south-east from Artemisi (S86); 260 masl. Completely arid, scrubby area, difficult even to walk over.
Site size: 0.4 ha.
Description: one of the most impressive R quarries of *polychrome carbonate breccia* on the island. The exploitation of the marble took place in two quarries, one large and one smaller (Fig. A.27). Several blocks and column pieces are still *in situ.* Only some R and LR sherds were noticed.
Interpretation: The workers at the Koprisies quarry must have used Renes Bay (1,200 metres to the south) for the shipment of the quarry product. About halfway between the quarry and the bay, at the location called Lekanes, lay large marble blocks, indicating the way of the material from the quarry to the shipment location. The large quarry site suggests the existence of the workers' residential installation nearby, which the survey was not able to locate.
References: Lazos *et al.* 1989, 19; Defner 1923, 114.

Fig. A.27: S82 (Koprisies): view of the Roman marble quarry from the west.

**S83. Renes*

Location: 38º46'32N – 24º38'20E; south-east of Tris Boukes, on the eponymous beach of Renes Bay; 0 – 5 masl. Completely arid and scrubby area, used as pasture.
Site size: -
Description: small pottery scatter; 9 LR amphora sherds were collected. Parlama mentions obsidian fragments in the area and hypothesized the existence of a previously unknown PREH settlement.
Interpretation: PREH; LR off-site material. Renes Bay was definitely used as an anchorage because of its safe location and as a shipment station for the nearby R – LR marble quarry of Koprisies, approx. 1,200 metres north.
References: Parlama 1984, 70-1.

S84. Aragades

Location: 38º46'22N – 24º39'39E; the southernmost and largest plateau of the island (approx. 27 ha), south-east of Renes Bay; 100 – 160 masl. Arid and scrubby area. Until EMOD times the plateau was intensively cultivated with wheat and barley.
Site size: ?
Description: The size of the plateau did not permit any attempt at an intensive survey, but at least one threshing floor was identified, as well as abundant dry-stone walls. The size of the walls is such that these are visible even on aerial photographs. Some worn off-site pottery sherds were identified, dated broadly to GR – R times. The size of the plateau and the large distance to any of the known sites on the south part of the island, suggest the existence of at least one settlement, which remains unidentified.
Interpretation: ancient – EMOD settlement(s)? activity.

**S85. Sta Chrimata*

Location: 38º47'38N – 24º40'20E; on the southernmost rocky slopes of the island, south of the plateau of Artemisi, above the steep Chochlakas Bay; 240 – 260 masl. Rocky and scrubby area used as pasture.
Site size: 0.2 ha.
Description: Parlama mentions that according to oral tradition coins have been found at the location in the past, which gave the site its name. Other than some OTT beehive sherds no clues indicating an archaeological site were attested.
Interpretation: OTT apiary.
References: Parlama 1984, 73.

**S86. Artemisi*

Location: 38º47'20N – 24º38'56E; at the south-west edge of the plateau of Artemisi; 1,500 metres south-southeast of Ari (S87) and 730 metres north-east of Koprisies quarry (S82). A good location that overlooks Renes Bay from the south-west, protected from the north-east winds by the peak of Gligori; 280 - 300 masl. The area is completely arid, scrubby and rocky, the typical landscape of the south part of the island.
Site size: approx. 0.5 ha.
Description: high pottery and tile concentration of GR – R (mainly HEL – R) and LR times, from which 13 sherds were collected. The foundation of a 14 metres long dry-stone wall was identified, that ran in a north - south direction. Samson has identified remains of buildings dated by him to NL times on the grounds of pottery and obsidian artefacts.
Interpretation: NL settlement-activity (?); GR – R and LR middle-sized farm.
References: Samson 1983, 155.

**S87. Ari – Intensively surveyed*

Location: 38º48'09N – 24º38'35E; on the north slopes of the plateau of Ari, above an abandoned EMOD *konaki* and folds; 1,200 meters north-east of Mesadi (S80) and 1,500 meters north-northwest of S86; 370 – 410 masl. The area today is used only as a pasture but until EMOD times the plateau was intensively cultivated with cereals; the remains of the dry-stone enclosure wall of the locally known 'field of Ari' are still visible.
Site size: max., all periods: 1.0 ha; GR – R: 1.0 ha; LR: 0.4 ha; EMOD: 0.3 ha.
Description: At the top of the site stands a circular tower of *c.* 9.5 metres in diameter; around it are several rectangular rooms, probably auxiliary to the tower buildings or courts. Actually, the tower seems to have stood at the very corner of a court (Fig. A.28). All structures are built with local limestone blocks without mortar, the largest measuring approx. 0.50x0.70 metres. Around the structures and more to the south is a high pottery concentration of GR – R and LR times, from which 31 LR sherds were collected. At the base of the slopes lies an abandoned EMOD hut and folds; 8 EMOD sherds were collected from there. Dry-stone walls, probably the enclosures of fields, lie in the field some 50 metres west of the folds. A large cistern, today filled with rubble, lies 110 metres south-west of the folds towards the centre of the plateau. According to the shepherd Dimitris Mavrikos (pers. comm. February 2011), the cistern had a stone staircase and lime mortar was applied on the interior.
Interpretation: GR – R tower-large estate; LR small farm; EMOD small farm.
References: Girard 1879, 68; Mayer 1893, 207; Defner 1923, 108; Parlama 1984, 71-2.

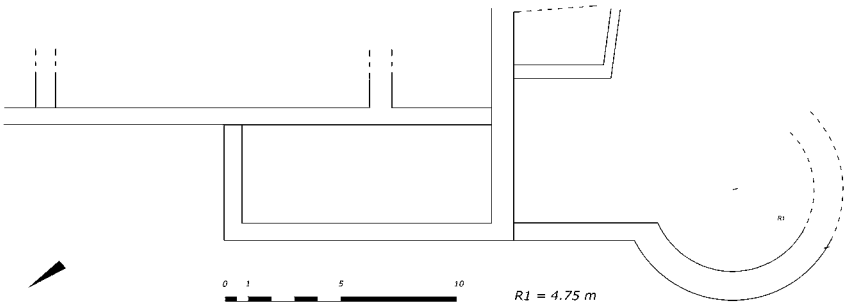


Fig. A.28: S87 (Ari): plan of the tower and its supplementary structures (Y. Kourmadas).

**S88. Koulouri S*

Location: 38º52'12N – 24º26'09E; on the south side of the islet of Koulouri, opposite to Cape Oros; 20 masl; the islet is uninhabited, rocky, covered by a dense cedar forest.
Site size: approx. 1.0 ha.
Description: two open air quarries of *polychrome carbonated breccia*. Despite a lot of debris, only three rectangular blocks and one column have been identified in the quarry area. Several traces of heavy picks are discernible on the quarry faces. The steepness of the slope obliged the workers to extract the marble laterally. Outside the quarry a rectangular socket (0.20x0.20) was identified, used probably for the movement of the extracted material (identical sockets were identified in almost all the R marble quarries of the island). No pottery was found.
Interpretation: R quarry.

**S89. Koulouri W*

Location: 38º52'15N – 24º26'00E; at the west side of the islet of Koulouri, opposite to Cape Oros; 20 masl; the islet is uninhabited, very rocky, covered by a dense cedar forest.
Site size: approx. 0.05 ha (500 sq.m. = size of the structure).
Description: open air quarry of *polychrome carbonated breccia*. No pottery was found.
Interpretation: R quarry.

**S90. Rinia S*

Location: 38º49'33N – 24º25'57E; on the south-east side of the islet of Rinia, approx. 9 kilometres west of the port of Linaria; 10 masl; the islet is uninhabited, rocky, arid, covered by a dense cedar forest and it is used seasonally as a pasture.
Site size: approx. 0.1 ha.
Description: an open air quarry of white marble. Traces of heavy picks can be discerned on the quarry face. Three rectangular sockets of 0.20x0.20 are probably traces of extraction; there are 2 at the left edge and 1 at the right. Furthermore, there are two rectangular blocks, one of which was cut with a pendulum saw. A third block is located outside the quarry, beside the rocky coast.
Interpretation: R – LR quarry.

**S91. Rinia central*

Location: 38º49'43N – 24º25'53E; in the centre of the islet of Rinia, approx. 9 kilometres west of Linaria port; less than 400 meters north of the quarry (S90); 10 masl. The islet is uninhabited, rocky, arid, covered by cedar trees and it is used seasonally as a pasture.
Site size: approx. 0.1 ha.
Description: tile and pottery scatter mainly of R times; 8 LR and 4 OTT sherds were collected.
Interpretation: R, LR seasonal(?) settlement; OTT activity. The R and LR settlement was probably associated with the functioning of the quarry. The distance of the islet to the main island, in combination with the lack of a safe anchorage and other commodities, suggest a seasonal use of the quarry (during the summer months) and consequently only a seasonal, modest settlement for the quarry workers.

S92. Balaxa S

Location: 38º48'13N – 24º29'27E; at the southern end of the islet of Valaxa, called Cape Latomeio, opposite to the port of Linaria; 10 – 45 masl; the islet is uninhabited, very rocky, arid and scrubby, and it is used seasonally as a pasture.
Site size: 2.0 ha.
Description: At the southern end of the islet are located two of the most impressive R marble quarries of *polychrome carbonated breccia* of the island. The first is noticeably larger and is of the open air type, while the second even though smaller it reaches a depth of approx. 35 metres (Fig. A.29). At least 25

Fig. A.29: S92 (Balaxa): one of the Roman marble quarries of the islet.

medium and large orthogonal blocks still lay in the two quarries. No pottery was identified at the site.
Interpretation: R quarry.
References: Lazzarini 2007, 167; Bruno 2002; Defner 1923, 112.

**S93. Balaxa N*

Location: 38º48'43N – 24º29'32E; on the east side of the islet of Balaxa, opposite to the port of Linaria, at the small Limani bay; 10 – 45 masl. The islet is uninhabited, rocky, arid and scrubby, and it is used seasonally as a pasture.
Site size: 0.1 ha.
Description: Less than a km north from the quarries (S92) are remains of orthogonal buildings constructed with dry-stone masonry and a bell-shaped cistern built with undressed stones that are connected with lime-mortar. Plenty of amphorae sherds are embedded in the masonry at the cistern's mouth. The diameter of the mouth is 1.10 metres, while at the bottom it is estimated to be about 3.50 metres. There is a low-density scatter of tile and coarse pottery fragments around, most of it unidentified, except for some R sherds.
Interpretation: R small installation which can be interpreted as the settlement for the workers of the adjacent quarry. The distance of the settlement to the quarry is explained by the fact that the quarry is exposed to the elements and thus it is unsuitable for habitation.The bay of Limani on the other hand, as the word implies, offers a well-protected place for habitation (*limani* for harbour/port). The lack of identified LR pottery at the site probably indicates that the quarry had ceased to function by Late Antiquity.

**S94. Sarakiniko 1*

Location: 38º45'14N – 24º36'32E; on the west part of the islet of Sarakiniko; 78 masl. The islet today is uninhabited, used only as pasture, but until EMOD times it was seasonally inhabited and cultivated, exploiting the agricultural potential of the islet's plateau and the numerous olive trees.
Site size: 0.003 ha (30 sq. m. = size of the structure).
Description: a rectangular tower-like building (5x6 metres) of approx. 5 metres in height (Fig. A.30). The building has three openings, all arched. The walls are 0.66 metres thick. Inside, the building is covered with a cloister vault. The floor is quite well preserved, constructed with rectangular stone slabs. In the west side of the floor a rectangular opening of a cistern is located (the dimensions of the opening are 0.43x0.29 metres). No pottery was identified in the area. In EMOD times a small shepherd-building (*kazanospito*) and a *mandra* were constructed close to the tower-like building.
Interpretation: a seasonal OTT farm. The tower-like building must be associated with the bishopric of Skyros, which leased or owned the islet during the OTT-EMOD periods. The islet's second name is actually *tou despoti to nisi* (*the bishop's island*). This explains the luxury of the construction.

Fig. A.30: S94 (Sarakiniko 1): view of the building from the south.

**S95. Sarakiniko 2*

Location: 38º45'17N – 24º36'26E; approx. 170 meters west of S94, immediately north-east of a EMOD threshing floor.
Site size: 0.2 ha.
Description: a small scatter of tile and pottery fragments of R times.
Interpretation: R small farm.

**S96. Sarakiniko 3*

Location: 38º45'12N – 24º37'06E; on the west part of the islet of Sarakiniko, on the slopes approx. 270 metres north-east of Sarakiniko Bay, amidst olive trees; 32 masl.
Site size: 0.1 ha.
Description: a small scatter of tile and pottery fragments of GR – R times.
Interpretation: GR – R small farm.

Appendix B
Catalogue of Pottery

A full account of the pottery collected by the extensive and intensive survey is presented here. The catalogue functions as a supplement to the overall archaeological examination of the sites presented in Chapter 8 and Appendix A. Considering this function, the artefacts are not presented according to their classification, but in site order. For each intensively surveyed site, the pottery is presented in chronological per Unit order, while for the extensively treated sites, given that no Units exist, the ceramics are presented based only on their chronological order (earlier to later). This presentation by Site and by Unit in chronological order is better suited to the primary aim of this catalogue; thus the presentation of the archaeological data on which the interpretation of every site was based can be subjected to any possible control.

Several difficulties were encountered in drawing-up this catalogue of pottery, primarily the limited space available and the broad chronological and functional range of the ceramics. The aim was to create a comprehensive, brief and, to the extent possible, detailed catalogue, appropriate for all types of potsherd, regardless of their date, class, function, etc. No existing model could match the needs of this catalogue, but on the contrary such needs should dictate its form. No fixed system of classification for the Late Roman and Post-Roman ceramics exists, and terms like *class, type, ware, form,* etc., used variously by the ceramicists, proved perplexing in many instances, resulting in numerous changes in the catalogue before arriving at the final version presented here. A comparative presentation of the registration of a given sherd by various projects in Table B.1, is indicative of the heterogeneous systems used.

The problem of the non-fixed system of classification becomes more striking when we examine medieval and post-medieval ceramics, of which the study is still in development. While in some cases, such as *Iznik ware*, the common production centre and the similar technology share elements adjusted to the *class* field, it is doubtful, for example, whether some of the several appellations commonly used by medieval ceramicists, such as Marbled ware, Champlevé ware, or Fine Sgraffito ware, should come under the *Surface treatment* and *Decoration* headings, rather than under *class*.

On account of the above, the catalogue was structured as follows:

Site number and name. The number and the name of each site, corresponding to the Gazetteer of Archaeological sites (Appendix A), preceding the analytical presentation of the ceramics collected.

Catalogue no. This is the serial number given to each sherd. The combination of Site and Catalogue number designates the given sherd throughout the book (e.g. S33.6).

	Form	Type	Sherd type	Shape	Class	Ware
Butrint	ARS 99A	-	Rim	-	Fine ware	-
Boeotia	Rim	Dish	-	-	ARSW 99A	-
Methana	-	Rim	-	Bowl	-	ARS

Table B.1: Examination of the different systems followed by three different archaeological projects for cataloguing the ceramics: Butrint excavation (Reynolds 2004b), Boeotia survey and Methana survey (Gill *et al*. 1997). The sherd chosen for the experiment is a fragment of African Red Slip Ware (Hayes form 99A), found in all three archaeological contexts. Here are given only entries representing this problem - at random, as the order of each catalogue varies. The dash in the entry means that the specific project does not use this title and gives the same information under a different entry.

Find label. This is the label written on the find immediately after its collection and washing. The first symbols are the initials of the site name, and the number following indicates the year of collection. Then, in the case of intensively surveyed sites, there follows the letter U and a number (indicating Unit number). Lastly, there is a number, given to each sherd at random at the time of collection without taking into account date or class. This first sherd numbering was discounted after the *catalogue numbering,* which follows the chronological/chronological per Unit registration. Interruptions in the numbering sequence of the *find label* signify that a given sherd has been excluded from the catalogue, when after its collection and numbering, it was ascertained after detailed laboratory study to be of pre-LR date.

Part. Indicates the fragment of the vessel collected (rim, handle, bodysherd, base, foot).

Class. For the classification was chosen the fabric-based division among Fine wares, Plain wares, Cooking wares and Amphorae. It is true that according to the model of the fabric-based pottery classification, the usual division includes one more option, that of Coarse wares, which includes cooking wares, jars, and even transport/storage vessels (other than amphorae), so that only simple table wares are included under the Plain ware category. However, at least in the case of Skyros this subdivision proved to be very relative; in many instances a Mid-Late Byzantine handle jug has a fabric as coarse as a storage jar, rendering problematic the choice of the category -Plain or Coarse ware- under which the fragment is to be recorded. This problem was more acute in the case of Early Modern local ceramics, where the fabric of the transport jars was identical to that of the jugs or mugs. In order to overcome it, the class of Coarse wares was eliminated and included under the Plain ware class, with the exception of cooking wares, which along with the amphorae, constitute my other two distinctive classification options. Thus, the class of Fine wares includes only fine table ware vessels, such as the African and Phocaean Red Slip Ware of the Late Roman period, or the fine glazed ware, such as the Incised sgraffito or Iznik ware of the Medieval and Post-Medieval periods. The Plain ware class is more inclusive, encompassing 'second class' table wares, utilitarian vessels such as basins, storage jars, and even transport/storage vessels that could not be included under the Amphorae class.

Some additional comments are in order in the case of transport/storage jars: It is generally accepted that from at least medieval times onwards, apart from the 'long-distance' trade amphorae, there existed several other transport/storage vessels, namely the Byzantine *lagenion* or the *stamnion.* These vessels, apart from their transporting function for small or even long distances, were also used for storage. These uses and the appellation *stamna* survived until Early Modern times (Bakirtzis 2003, 89 - 99). Clearly, these vessels could not be placed in the Amphorae class, and the only alternative was that of the Plain ware class.

Type/Ware. After the general classification of the sherds under the relative entry, the ceramics are categorised according to the 'names' with which they are commonly known. The term 'type' refers to the amphorae (although Peacock & Williams (1986) use the term 'class' for their amphora types), while the term 'ware' is better suited to terms such as African Red Slip Ware or Phocaean Red Slip Ware. In addition, this term solves the problem of Post-Roman fine ware vessels, widely known under appellations based on their decoration, such as Incised sgraffito ware, Marbled ware, etc.

Form. Here is given the shape of the reference vessel to which the potsherd belongs. This field is in some cases more or less detailed, depending on the available data. For PRSW and ARSW there is used the exact form given by Hayes (1972), while for the rest the relevant descriptive word ('plate', 'dish', etc) is provided. In the case of amphorae, the field of the *form* fills with the exact amphora type when known; if the amphora is unclassified only the shape of the vessel is provided (thus, 'amphora').

The Medieval and Post-Medieval transport/storage vessels merit special reference: from the Skyrian collection, three main categories have been distinguished: a) sherds belonging to known commercial amphorae, such as Günsenin 3/Saraçhane 61 etc; they are classified as 'Amphorae' of course, while the *type* and *form* fields contain their exact definition. b) Small, usually ovoid handles with characteristic medieval fabric, or large and small flat handles, both unclassified transport vessels, such as *leginia* or *stamnia*; they are classified as 'Plain wares', and in the *form* field

are described as 'transport jars'. c) Larger, usually ovoid handles with characteristic medieval fabric, of unclassified, probably regional, amphorae/transport vessels. For this latter category, the *class* entry maintains the term 'Plain ware', and in the *form* field there is used the conventional term 'amphora/transport jar'. Lastly, in the case of vessels of uncertain form the generic 'open' or 'close' descriptives are used.

Fabric. The fabric description is provided in three different ways:

a) By a coded name corresponding to the relevant fabric, described in detail in the catalogue of fabrics at the end of this section. Clearly, detailed fabric description was not undertaken for the entire collection of pottery yielded by the survey. Rather, it was undertaken only for specific categories of ware, mainly coarse of unclassified type with less known fabrics, or of known ware/types occurring in several fabrics. In particular, detailed fabric description is given for the majority of LR amphorae (LRA 1, LRA 2, Zeest 80, African) and cooking wares, and for sherds of Post-Roman amphorae and transport jars, plain table wares, and cooking wares.

b) Regarding fine wares, the majority belong to well-known classes (e.g. ARSW, PRSW, or Italian Maiolica, Iznik ware, etc.). Although there are possible subdivisions referring to the various production centres (e.g. several pottery workshops in the region of Tunisia/Libya, all included under the general class ARSW), these vessels provide a more or less well-known homogeneity in their fabric, rendering further analysis irrelevant in this study. In these cases, the *fabric* field contains the 'name' of the ware, reflecting its well-known fabric. The only case where detailed fabric description is given for fine wares, is that of certain Post-Roman groups of ceramics that occur very often in Skyros, such as the Incised sgraffito, Polychrome sgraffito, Monochrome sgraffito and Marbled ware; these classes are based on decoration rather than fabric, and, as is widely accepted, had several production centres. Terms such as ARSW or Italian Maiolica, although indicating a broad geographical region of production, function well enough in the context of archaeological material from an island of the Aegean. On the contrary, terms such as Incised or Polychrome sgraffito, basically of Aegean origin, are less descriptive, and a more thorough fabric examination makes sense.

c) Fragmentary sherds of all periods that usually occurred in one or two pieces only (e.g. OTT-EMOD unclassified plain glazed wares), are described in a general way, indicating broadly the coarseness, colour and hardness of the sherd (e.g. fine, orange-brown, quite hard).

The catalogue of fabrics presented at the end of this section has a long-term approach, and thus the fabric numbering is continuous regardless of chronological period. This approach was adopted based on the perception that fabrics occur over long periods of time and therefore can be attested in vessels several centuries apart. It cannot be said that I have been able to identify fabrics occurring in vessels of considerable chronological disparity, with the exception of cross periods (e.g. LR to EBYZ, MBYZ to LBYZ, LBYZ to OTT-EMOD, OTT to EMOD). The macroscopic analysis of the ceramics would render such a suggestion very dubious. However, the continuous numbering indicates my intention.

Diameter. Provided where possible, and measured by points which could offer a safer indication (inside, outside, top).

Surface treatment/decoration. Because of space limitations these two characteristics, usually treated separately, were covered in the same field.

Function. This entry presents the function of the vessel to which the collected fragment originally belonged. This entry was necessary for the functional analysis of the site finds and ultimately the interpretation of the site (see Chapter 8). The logic followed appears simple initially: table wares for food and beverage consumption, cooking wares for food processing, transport/storage vessels for the corresponding usages, etc. However, a more vigorous analysis indicates that the identification of each vessel's function is not as obvious as first appears. A typical example is the fine glazed table wares, imported into Skyros during Ottoman and Early Modern times from the West or Asia Minor; these were not used by the noble islanders as table wares, but mainly for their decorative value (Chapter 13). Further, it is known that amphorae and transport vessels in general, were very often used for storage as well, and even for other functions of an agricultural character; a typical example are the many Mid-Byzantine Saraçhane 61 amphorae found in

Northern Kea, which were used as beehives (Cherry *et al.* 1991, 357). The same applies to open utilitarian vessels, such as basins, which are generally interpreted as pots for food preparation; we cannot deny the possibility of other uses, e.g. for washing cloth or even the user's hands. Thus the reader must bear these provisoes in mind as concerns function.

Chronology. All dates provided are AD. Whenever possible these are given in years, otherwise in centuries or in periods (e.g. 500 – 550, 5th – 6th c., Late Roman). Basic manuals have been used for the chronology of the main pottery categories: For Late Roman fine table wares, the well known study of Hayes (1972); for Late Roman amphorae, the digital resource of the University of Southampton (http://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archives/view/amphora_ahrb_2005/index.cfm). For smaller pottery categories, or in cases where a second chronology is suggested in addition to the 'conventional' one (e.g. the suggested dates for the ARSW by Bonifay 2004), the relevant reference is provided under the *comments*. There are of course cases where no specific reference is available for the date of a find, and in these cases the dates suggested are based on the comparative study of this research (e.g. Mid-Byzantine transport/storage vessels of unidentified type).

Abbreviations used in the catalogue:

Part

f	Foot
b	Base
bs	Body sherd
sh	Shoulder
h	Handle
r	Rim

Class

FW	Fine ware
PW	Plain ware
CW	Cooking ware
AMPH	Amphora

Type/Ware

ARSW	African Red Slip Ware
PRSW	Phocaean Red Slip Ware
LRA	Late Roman Amphora

Form

Amph.	Amphora
LRA	Late Roman Amphora
CP	Cooking pot

Fabric

Diameter

c.	Circa
in	Inside
out	Outside

Function

Agricult. Prod.	Agricultural production
cons.	Consumption
prep.	Preparation
proc.	Processing

Chronology

LR	Late Roman
EBYZ	Early Byzantine
MBYZ	Mid Byzantine
LBYZ	Late Byzantine
OTT	Ottoman
EMOD	Early Modern

Catalogue of Fabrics

The fabric description follows, as much as possible, David Peacock's method, and his six criteria, namely colour, hardness, feel, break, inclusions and surface finish. The analysis was conducted by naked eye and hand-lens. Further microscopic and chemical analysis could alter the following classification. For hardness, four different grades have been used: soft = pottery surface can be scratched by fingernail; quite soft = pottery surface can just be scratched by fingernail; quite hard = pottery surface can be scratched by iron; hard = pottery surface can just be scratched by iron. For the size of the inclusions, three different grades have been used: large > 0.2 mm; medium = 0.1-0.2 mm; tiny < 0.1 mm. For the frequency/density, of the inclusions four different grades have been used: rare < 2%; fairly rare = 2-5%; common = 5-10%; abundant > 10%. The description of break and feel is entirely subjective.

FAB 1A
Yellowish to grey, soft, slightly sandy, with slightly hackly break. Abundant, mostly tiny lime with rare larger pieces. Abundant 'Black sand'. Some tiny to large quartz. Some tiny mica. Common and tiny, red-brown and grey grits.
Forms, types and dates.
LRA 1

FAB 1B
Pale orange (the surface colour is sometimes light yellowish), soft, slightly sandy with rough break. Abundant, tiny and some medium, whitish to reddish inclusions. Some white inclusions translucenced. Tiny and medium red-brownish grits. Red micaceous inclusions. Rare pores.
Forms, types and dates.
LRA 1

FAB 2
Yellowish to grey, soft, slightly sandy, with slightly hackly break. Abundant, mostly tiny lime. Average 'Black sand'. Rare and tiny black micaceous inclusions. Rare and tiny mica. Common and tiny, light reddish-brown grits.
Forms, types and dates.
LRA 1

FAB 3
Orange red break, light brownish interior and yellowish cream exterior, quite soft, smooth, with slightly irregular break. Rare tiny micaceous inclusions. Abundant tiny, mostly rounded, red, white, brown and "black sand"grits. Common and tiny quartz inclusions. Rare pores.
Forms, types and dates.
LRA 1

FAB 4
Orange brownish in the break and light brownish on the surface, quite soft, slightly sandy, with slightly irregular break. Dense clay. Rare tiny red, white and black grits. Some grey as well. Rare tiny micaceous inclusions.
Forms, types and dates.
LRA 1

FAB 5
Grey in the core, light to darker brownish on the surface, quite hard, slightly sandy, with slightly irregular break. Some tiny whitish and reddish grits. Some tiny mica. Rare tiny quartz inclusions. Some shiny black inclusions.
Forms, types and dates.
LRA 1

FAB 6
Light yellowish pinkish in the break, yellow on the surface, quite hard, dry smooth, with slightly irregular break. Very sandy texture. Very clean. Rare tiny mica. Rare tiny quartz likely. Common tiny to small grits. Common tiny and roundish pores.
Forms, types and dates.
LRA 1

FAB 7
Peacock & Williams 1986, LRA 2 fabric.

FAB 8A
Dark orange to reddish. Some pieces have darker surface. Soft to hard (firing result), smooth, with flat, slightly rough break. Common and tiny mica. Rare and tiny dark red grit. Lime usually tiny, occasionally large. Silvery mica. Some pores on the surface.
Forms, types, dates.
LRA 2

FAB 8B
Orange, soft to hard (firing result), sandy, with flat, slightly rough break. Common to abundant tiny mica. Rare and tiny dark red grits. Lime usually tiny, occasionally large. Mica silvery in colour. Some pores on the surface.
Forms, types, dates.
LRA 2

FAB 8C
Dark orange to reddish. Some pieces have darker surface. Occasional pieces light brown. Soft, smooth with smooth break. Abundant, very tiny mica. Very tiny lime. Rare and tiny grits, grey dark in colour. Rare and very tiny pores.
Forms, types, dates.
LRA 2

FAB 8D
Dark orange to reddish. Some pieces have darker surface. Occasional pieces light brown. Quite hard, slightly sandy, with slightly irregular break. The dust mica is its most characteristic element. Abundant, very tiny lime. Rare and tiny grits, grey dark in colour.
Forms, types, dates.
LRA 2

FAB 9
Dark orange to chocolate, soft, slightly sandy, some pieces smooth, with irregular break. Rare, but in many pieces common, tiny to medium, lime. Common to abundant, tiny mica. Rare, tiny, few medium in size and white to dark grits.
Forms, types, dates.
LRA 2

FAB 10
Pinkish to light brown in the break and surface usually light greyish. Quite soft, slightly sandy, with slightly irregular break. Rare and tiny mica. Rare and tiny lime. The most characteristic element, the tiny and common light brown to reddish inclusions; some look like grit or iron oxide. Black-red grit inclusions.
Forms, types, dates.
LRA 2

FAB 11
Pale brown. Some pieces purplish to orange which is similar to Käpitan 2. Quite soft, mostly slightly sandy but some pieces smooth. Irregular break. Rare to some, tiny mica and lime. Rare and tiny greyish grits. Very rare quartz. In some pieces tiny pores.
Forms, types, dates.
LRA 2

FAB 12
Pale brown, quite soft, smooth to slightly sandy, with fairly regular break. Rare to common tiny mica. Rare tiny quartz like. Rare tiny white and reddish grits.
Forms, types, dates.
LRA 2

FAB 13
Pale pink. The surface pale grey. Hard, slightly sandy, with slightly irregular break. Rare and medium lime. Some tiny pieces of quartz of white and brownish colour. Rare dark tiny grits. Possibly some shell fragments. Some micro-pores elongated. Salt-water finish.
Forms, types, dates.
Mid – Late Roman African amphorae, of undiagnostic type.

FAB 14
Pale reddish brown, hard, slightly sandy, with very straight break. Some tiny (rounded) quartz. Rare tiny to medium lime. Salt-water finish on the body-sherds only.
Forms, types, dates.
Mid – Late Roman African amphorae, of undiagnostic type.

FAB 15
Bright orange to dark red, hard, smooth, with very straight break. Clean fabric. Rare and tiny grits. Rare tiny pieces of iron oxide. Rare pieces of quartz. Rare to common, tiny lime. Salt-water finish.
Forms, types, dates.
Mid – Late Roman African amphorae of undiagnostic type, and some small LR African *spatheia*.

FAB 16
Pinkish to reddish brown. One piece lighter brown. Quite hard, slightly sandy, with very regular break. Common, tiny quartz, mostly rounded. Few white specks. Rare and medium lime. Salt-water creamish finish.
Forms, types, dates.
Mid – Late Roman African amphorae, of undiagnostic type.

FAB 17
Orange brown. Few pieces of lighter brown. Grey core. Hard, sandy with irregular break. Some tiny and some medium quartz (angular). Some, mostly tiny, or occasionally medium, mica. Rare and tiny lime. Some tiny black grit. Rare and medium sized, iron oxide. Some pieces with smooth finish.
Forms, types, dates.
LRA Zeest 80.

FAB 18
Pale brown, hard, sandy, with irregular break. Common, tiny to medium quartz (angular of white-greyish colour). Common, tiny to medium iron ore. Some tiny red grits and tiny black grit common.

Forms, types, dates.
LRA Zeest 80. The handles are flatted at the uperside and rounded below.

FAB 19
Light brown to light orange, hard, sandy, with irregular break. Abundant, tiny to medium quartz (angular). Some iron oxide, medium sized. Rare and tiny mica. Possible some red grit(?) and some dark grit. Possible slip.
Forms, types, dates.
LRA Zeest 80.

FAB 20 - LR micaceous Aegean ware (conformed to Slane-Sanders 2005).
Grey brownish, quite soft, slightly sandy to sandy, with slightly irregular break. Common to abundant tiny silvery mica. Rare tiny shiny black inclusions. Rare quartz like (like flake). Some tiny grits. Rare tiny to medium lime.
Forms, types, dates.
LR cooking wares (casseroles).

FAB 21
Orange brown, quite hard, slightly sandy, with hackly break. Abundant, tiny to medium inclusions; lime, quartz, white, brown and red grits. Rare medium iron oxide. Rare tiny mica.
Forms, types, dates.
LR cooking wares (casseroles).

FAB 22
Orange reddish, with light brown-yellowish exterior, quite hard, slightly sandy, with slightly hackly break. Abundant tiny quartz, both rounded and angular. Rare tiny mica. Common tiny dark grits.
Forms, types, dates.
LR cooking wares (casseroles).

FAB 23
Dark grey-brownish, quite hard, slightly sandy, with slightly hackly break. Common tiny mica. Rare tiny white and grey grits.
Forms, types, dates.
LR cooking wares (casseroles).

FAB 24
Light brown, quite hard, slightly sandy, with irregular break. Common tiny quartz. Common tiny mica. Common tiny black, greyish grits. Rare tiny pores.
Forms, types, dates.
LR cooking wares (casseroles).

FAB 25
Greyish brown, hard, sandy, with slightly irregular break. Common tiny mica. Rare tiny to small white grits. Common tiny quartz.
Forms, types, dates.
LR cooking wares (casseroles).

FAB 26
Brownish with light grey exterior, hard, sandy, with hackly break. Rare tiny mica. Common tiny quartz. Rare tiny white grits. Rare tiny brown-red grits (iron oxide?).
Forms, types, dates.
LR cooking wares (casseroles).

FAB 27
Yellowish brown, quite soft, slightly sandy, with slightly irregular break. Common tiny mica. Rare tiny, white, black, reddish grits. Rare tiny quartz.
Forms, types, dates.
LR cooking wares (casseroles).

FAB 28
Dark grey, hard, slightly sandy, with slightly hackly break. Abundant, tiny to medium white grits. Rare tiny to small quartz like inclusions. No mica.
Forms, types, dates.
LR cooking wares (casseroles).

FAB 29
Reddish brown (greyish core), quite hard, slightly sandy, with quite regular break. Abundant tiny mica and mica dust, some tiny lime, common tiny to medium white, yellowish and greyish grits, some medium quartz(?), common tiny pores.
Forms, types, dates.
EBYZ Globular amphora. Three fragments (two handle fragments of Saraçhane 35 type?)

FAB 30
Light brown to yellowish, soft, sandy, with quite regular break. Abundant tiny to medium mica and mica dust, some medium to large lime. Some medium quartz like. Abundant tiny white, grey and red grits. Common tiny pores.

Forms, types, dates.
EBYZ Globular amphora. One piece only; close to Saraçhane 44 type?

FAB 31
Dark reddish with grey core (firing result?). Hard, sandy, with irregular break. Rare mica, abundant tiny to medium white, grey and black grits. Rare tiny pores.
Forms, types, dates.
EBYZ Globular amphora of undiagnostic type.

FAB 32
Reddish brown to brown, hard, slightly sandy, with regular break. Rare to common tiny mica, rare medium to large lime, some medium to large black and red grits, common tiny to medium pores.
Forms, types, dates.
EBYZ Globular amphora(?) of undiagnostic type.

FAB 33
Grey, quite soft, smooth, with regular break. Rare tiny lime, common mica, rare tiny to medium red grits.
Forms, types, dates.
Imported M-LBYZ unclassified amphora.

FAB 34
Very close to Reynolds' FAB 2.2 (2004, 329). Pale orange with pinkish core, quite soft, smooth-soapy, with regular break. Mica dust and very fine fragments, some tiny lime and red mudstone(?).
Forms, types, dates.
MBYZ amphora Otranto 1? One piece only.

FAB 35
Yellowish brown (the core reddish brown), quite hard, quite smooth, with regular break. Some tiny mica, common tiny lime and some tiny white, red and black grits.
Forms, types, dates.
MBYZ amphora Günsenin 1?

FAB 36
Reddish brown, hard, quite smooth, with slightly irregular break. Common tiny mica, some to common tiny to medium white and black grits, some tiny lime.
Forms, types, dates.
MBYZ amphora Günsenin 2 or 4?

FAB 37A
Dark reddish purple, quite hard, slightly sandy, with irregular break. Abundant organic inclusions (especially on the handles), common tiny to medium lime (rarely large), some tiny to medium grits. Rare to common mica.
Forms, types, dates.
MBYZ amphora Günsenin 3 (Saraçhane 61).

FAB 37B
Very similar to the previous, with the exception of its more brown, rather than purple colour and the lack of mica.
Forms, types, dates.
MBYZ amphora Günsenin 3 (Saraçhane 61). One piece only.

FAB 37C
Very close to the fabric of Günsenin 3 (Saraçhane 61). Brown to purplish brown, quite hard, slightly sandy, with slightly irregular break. Rare organic inclusions, common greyish and red grits, some tiny lime and rare to common tiny mica.
Forms, types, dates.
MBYZ amphora Günsenin 3 (Saraçhane 61)?

FAB 38A
Orange to reddish brown, quite soft. Slightly sandy, with slightly irregular break. Abundant organic inclusions, common mica dust and some tiny mica, common tiny to medium lime and grits, common tiny pores.
Forms, types, dates.
M-LBYZ transport vessels, storage and plain table wares (amphorae, transport jars and jugs).

FAB 38B
Very similar to the previous. More hard, dark brown and grey in the core (firing effect?)
Forms, types, dates.
M-LBYZ transport jars.

FAB 38C
Reddish brown, very hard, smooth, with slightly irregular break. Some organic inclusions, common tiny to large lime, some tiny white grits.
Forms, types, dates.
M-LBYZ transport jars.

FAB 39A – Orange gritty
Orange brown, hard, sandy, with irregular break. Its characteristic is the abundant grits (probably schist), from tiny to large in size, and the abundant tiny mica and mica dust. No organic inclusions.
Forms, types, dates.
M-LBYZ transport vessels, utilitarian, plain table wares and cooking wares (transport jars, basins, jugs, stew-pots).

FAB 39B – Orange gritty
Noticing coarser version of the previous fabric.
Forms, types, dates.
M-LBYZ cooking wares.

FAB 39C – Orange gritty
Smoother/finer version of the FAB 39A and B. Orange to pale brown, hard, slightly sandy, with irregular break. Abundant tiny to medium grits (mainly schist), abundant tiny mica and mica dust.
Forms, types, dates.
M-LBYZ transport vessels, plain table wares and cooking wares (transport jars, jugs, stew-pots). OTT transport and storage jar.

FAB 39D
Pale creamish-brown with grey core, quite hard, slightly sandy, with slightly irregular break. Abundant tiny to medium grits (mainly schist), common tiny mica.
Forms, types, dates.
M-LBYZ cooking wares (stew-pots), LBYZ stamnoi.

FAB 40A – Skyrian coarse
Reddish to pale-creamish brown, occasionally with grey core, hard, quite smooth, with irregular break. Common tiny to medium lime, with occasionally some large pieces, some to common crystalline limestone and tiny to medium with occasionally some large pieces of white, grey and black grits. Some to common tiny mica and mica dust.
Forms, types, dates.
LBYZ, OTT and EMOD stamnoi. EMOD plain table wares (jugs, basins and cups).

FAB 40B – Skyrian medium fine
Reddish brown, with some pieces of dark brown colour (probably firing effect). Hard, quite smooth, with some pieces of slightly sandy feel. Slightly irregular break. Common tiny lime, some to common crystalline limestone and tiny to medium white, grey and black grits. Some to common tiny mica and mica dust.
Forms, types, dates.
OTT and EMOD stamnoi. EMOD plain table wares (jugs, basins and cups).

FAB 40C – Skyrian fine
Orange to reddish brown, hard, smooth, with regular break. Common tiny lime, some crystalline limestone and tiny white, grey and black grits. Some to common tiny mica and mica dust.
Forms, types, dates.
EMOD stamnoi and jugs.

FAB 41
Dark to greyish brown with dark grey core, hard, sandy, with irregular break. Abundant tiny to large lime, and tiny to medium, with occasionally large pieces, of white, grey and black grits. Common tiny mica.
Forms, types, dates.
M-LBYZ cooking wares.

FAB 42
Reddish to dark brown, hard, smooth to slightly sandy, with slightly irregular break. Some tiny lime, abundant tiny to large white grits. Some tiny to medium grey grits.
Forms, types, dates.
M-LBYZ cooking wares.

FAB 43
Western Turkey-Eastern Aegean fabric. Orange brown, hard, slightly sandy, with slightly irregular break. Some tiny to medium lime, common tiny to medium, with occasionally large pieces, crystalline limestone, common tiny to medium white and grey grits, (some schist?). Common tiny mica.
Forms, types, dates.
Late OTT – EMOD storage-jars, the so called 'Mytilini jar'.

FAB 44
Orange to dark brown, hard, slightly sandy with irregular break. Abundant tiny to large crystalline limestone and white, grey, black and reddish grits. Some of them schist.
Forms, types, dates.
Late OTT storage-jars and beehives.

FAB 45
Brown to purplish brown, quite hard, smooth, with slightly irregular break. Some tiny to medium lime, some tiny to medium crystalline limestone, rare to some tiny mica, common tiny to medium pores.
Forms, types, dates.
M-LBYZ fine table wares (Incised wares, Elaborate incised ware and unidentified fine glazed wares).

FAB 46
Buff brown, hard, smooth, with regular break. Very clean dense fabric, with rare tiny pores.
Forms, types, dates.
M-LBYZ fine table wares (Incised ware; one piece only).

FAB 47
Orange brown, quite soft, slightly sandy, with slightly irregular break. Common tiny lime and mica, common tiny to medium pores.
Forms, types, dates.
M-LBYZ fine table wares (Incised wares).

FAB 48
Brown, quite hard, slightly sandy, with slightly irregular break. Some tiny lime, rare medium grey greyish grits, common mica dust.
Forms, types, dates.
LBYZ - EOTT fine table wares (Late slip painted ware; one piece only).

FAB 49 – Reddish sandy micaceous
Reddish brown, hard, slightly sandy, with slightly irregular break. Abundant tiny mica and mica dust, some medium lime and some tiny crystalline inlcusions.
Forms, types, dates.
LBYZ - EOTT fine table wares (Late slip painted ware; one piece only).

FAB 50
Pale brown with pinkish core, quite hard, smooth, with quite regular break. Clean dense fabric with common mica dust and rare tiny pores.
Forms, types, dates.
LBYZ - EOTT fine table wares (Polychrome sgraffito ware).

FAB 51 – Lemnian?
Pale brown with reddish to grey core. Hard, smooth, with regular break. Common tiny to medium lime, common tiny mica and mica dust, common tiny pores.
Forms, types, dates.
LBYZ - EOTT fine table wares (Coloured sgraffito ware; Lemnian production?).

FAB 52A
Yellowish brown, hard, smooth, with regular break. Quite clean fabric, with some tiny reddish grits, rare tiny mica and common tiny pores.
Forms, types, dates.
OTT fine table wares (Marbled wares).

FAB 52B
Finer version of the previous fabric, with common mica dust.
Forms, types, dates.
OTT fine table wares (Marbled wares).

FAB 53
Reddish to dark brown, hard, smooth, with regular break. Common tiny to medium lime, rare tiny greyish grits, common mica dust.
Forms, types, dates.
OTT fine table wares (Marbled wares).

IMPORTANT NOTE:
The tables of the pottery catalogue are not included in this book due to their size. They are made available in the Leiden University repository at the following address:
http://hdl.handle.net/1887/32763

Appendix C
Catalogue of Churches (Chora & suburbs)

In this register a brief presentation in standardised form is provided of all churches in Chora (49 in number) and 8 churches in its suburbs, i.e. 57 in total.[1] The 8 churches of the suburbs included in the catalogue were selected on the grounds of particular historical and/or archaeological significance, rendering their inclusion worthwhile (e.g. *katholika* of monasteries, noteworthy architectural types or decoration etc.). The inclusion of all churches on the island was of course an impossible task, since their total number is estimated at approx. 176 (Atesis 1961, 269).[2]

Apart from documenting each church, in itself a worthwhile endeavour, the main objective of this catalogue is to function as a source of data useful for extracting conclusions regarding the trends of ecclesiastical architecture and art on the island in the medieval and Ottoman eras, discussed in chapters 12 and 13. The assemblage of Chora and its suburbs was the most representative case study for this exercise, as it includes all types of church occurring on the island and all perspectives (functional, architectural, decorative etc.); there are *katholika* of monasteries, episcopal church(es), parish churches or even simple chapels like those occurring in the countryside. In fact, all countryside chapels (*exoklisia*) belong to the simplest architectural types occurring on the island (small single-nave barrel-vaulted or mainly flat roofed buildings), lacking any luxury decorative element (e.g. wall paintings, noteworthy *templa* and icons). Consequently their exclusion from the catalogue did not affect the typological representation, which is discussed in chapters 12 and 13. Table C.1 is a long-term typological summary of the following catalogue of churches.

The problems arising while studying the churches of Skyros are mainly related to dating; a common problem in provincial areas which are lacking monumentality and modest constructions is usually the norm. In fact the majority of the churches of Skyros (both in Chora and in the countryside) are generally considered to be of Ottoman times, although nobody could deny the medieval origin of some (in their present condition or after renovation). Precise dating is an even more difficult task, and archaeology has little to say here without the contribution of an historical source. The key-point in that respect, at least in the case of the Post-Byzantine monuments, is the locally known *Theseis* of the churches, i.e. their founding books (*Codicis*) (Faltaits 1972f, 3-6; Atesis 1961, 244-5). Today very few have survived, and this is not unrelated to the special status of the churches of Skyros presented briefly below.

Until the creation of the Greek State and the Hellenic Church, all the churches of Skyros, with the exception of the episcopal and monastic churches, were private. In his reply to the newly-founded Nomarchia (prefecture) of Euboea, the Bishopric Commissioner, Archimandrite Serafim Koutsoupis, writes in 1833 regarding the churches of the island that "*οὐδεμία εὑρίσκεται εἰς τὴν ἐπαρχίαν ταύτην κοινή, ἀλλ' εἰσι πᾶσαι ἰδιόκτητοι.*" The same statement was made by the last bishop of Skyros, Gregorios, in the following year (Atesis 1961, 244). This was the case even for the parish churches; the priest of every parish was appointed and paid by the owners of the church and not by the bishop. Owners were single persons, families, or more commonly ecclesiastical fraternities.[3] The churches, or the fraternities as we should say, have received land ownership through dedications by the faithful-members of the fraternity, or the family-owners of the church. Actually the churches/fraternities, together with the bishopric, the monasteries and the noblemen of Skyros, were the biggest landowners of the island (Faltaits 1972f, 6). It has been suggested

1 Two are triple and four are twins, each counted as one. Further subdivision is made through alphabetical letters.

2 Their number can be less or more than 176, depending on whether we count the twin or triple churches separately or as one, and on whether we include in this number ruined churches or even churches founded recently, i.e. after 1961 (see indicatively Zarkia 1995, 122, n. 2).

3 For the ecclesiastical fraternities of Skyros see Zarkia 1995; Faltaits 1972f.

Type	Brief Description	Examples
Type 1: Cross-in-square		
1a	The so-called 'transitional' type of early Middle-Byzantine times; combination of the free cross and the three-aisle domed basilica. The main difference between the transitional type and the Cross-in-square church, is that the corner bays are divided from the cross arms with wall-pillars. Later, these wall-pillars would be replaced with columns or pillars.	C01.
1b	The well known complex four-columned type with dome.	C05.
1c	Combination of the cross-in-square church and the triple-aisle basilica.	C25.
Type 2: Cross-vaulted		
	The simple version of the type, namely the orthogonal single-nave (type A1 according to Orlandos).	C22, C50, C51, C53.
Type 3: Single-nave barrel-vaulted		
3a	The bema is inset in plan and section to the orthogonal form of the building and covered with a uniform barrel-vault.	C03a, C20, C30b, C31, C40a, C45a-c, C56.
3b	The bema is smaller in height and width and 'attached' to the orthogonal main church; consequently the building is covered with two barrel vaults of different height, one for the bema and another for the main church.	C03b, C07 (original phase), C10, C11, C26a, C29, C32, C34a, C52, C57.
3c	The church internally is of the preceding type but externally in plan the bema is set into the orthogonal main church, maintaining however its lower level.	C13, C21, C30c, C38, C45b, C48, C46 (original phase).
Type 4: Single-nave flat-roofed		
4a	The bema is inset in plan and section to the orthogonal form of the building.	C02, C04, C08, C17, C26b, C30a, C34b, C40b, C41, C43.
4b	Internally and externally the bema is narrower (and sometimes lower) than the main church, giving the impression of being 'attached' to the latter.	C14, C15, C27, C49.
Type 5: Single-nave timber-roofed		
	The common single-nave (basilica plan) church.	C39.
Type 6: Single-nave domed		C54
6a	A cubic main church, upon which is erected a pendentive dome, and to which is 'added' on the eastern side a notable wide apse reaching in width the lateral walls of the building - actually the bema of the church.	C28
6b	A cubic main church upon which is erected a pendentive dome, and to which is 'added' on the eastern side a lower and narrower barrel-vaulted bema.	C16

Type	Brief Description	Examples
6c	A cubic main church upon which is erected a pendentive dome, and to which is 'added', to the eastern side, a barrel-vaulted bema set into the orthogonal form of the building.	C12, C19, C44.
6d	A central cube upon which is erected a pendentive dome (main church), and to which are 'attached', at the eastern and western sides, two barrel-vaulted spaces for the bema and a similar to a narthex respectively.	C33, C35 (original phase), C36, C37, C55.
6e	A high cube upon which is erected a pendentive dome (the main church), and to which is 'added', to the eastern side, the bema, that is lower but set into the orthogonal plan of the church. The Eastern arch of the main church is supported by two robust pillars, from which there begin two small arches with east-west direction dividing the large bema into three parts, the *prothesis*, the *diakonicon* and the central bema. In the central bema there is a free-standing altar in the centre; in the central conch the bishop's throne.	C23, C42.

Table C.1: Long-term typological summary of the churches of Skyros.

that the great number of land dedications to churches was due to Ottoman policy towards religious possessions: the tax-free status of ecclesiastical lands on the island resulted in the dedication of land to the churches by the locals, who in reality continued to benefit financially from the dedicated lands even after the dedication (without however, being correspondingly taxed) (Zarkia 1995, 126).

Clearly, all this 'logistic' activity of the churches/fraternities had to be recorded somewhere; this place was found in the *Theseis.* Thus, apart from serving as a chronicle of the foundation of the churches, the *theseis* included (and diligently updated) their property, the dedications of the faithful, the rent yield of the fields, payments to priests in case of parish churches, and so on. For that reason, in case of loss or damage of a *thesis* it was replaced by a new one in which the text of the lost *thesis* was reiterated; it was then signed by all brothers of the fraternity and usually also by the bishop (Faltaits 1972f, 3-6).

With the creation of the Greek State and the Hellenic Church, the episcopal seat and the monasteries of Christos Mavrouna (C52) and of Ayios Dimitrios (C55) were abolished and their lands were confiscated and auctioned (Atesis 1961; Papanikolaou-Petrioli *et al.* 2013, 208; Faltaits 1972f, 7). This fact created fear to the brothers of the church fraternities regarding the future of the fraterniies' lands. Thus, the brothers shared (unofficially) the lands possessed by the brotherhood among them. Many of the brothers died without heirs; this way, through the death or indifference of some of the brothers, their number diminished, with the result that over time formerly ecclesiastical land devolved to one family only, and was ultimately seized. Clearly, the only proof of the former situation regarding to land ownership is in the *theseis* of the churches, which for this reason were carefully hidden or destroyed.

Below follows the presentation of the 57 monuments by geographical order, starting from the castle, moving down to the extramural settlement, and ending with the selected monuments of the suburbs. For every church a number is given, preceded by the letter C (for church). The exact location of every church can be easily identified in the map of Fig. 9.2, by their numbering label. After the number follows the common name of the church used on the island; in parenthesis is given the name of the saint to whom the church is dedicated. Then there is a presentation of the church data, given under the headings of *architecture, wall paintings, templon, icons, architectural sculptures/spolia, inscriptions, historical evidence, chronology* and possible *references.* Evidence not included in any of the aforementioned fields is provided in the insert under the heading *comments.*

Castle

C01. Episkopi (The Dormition of the Virgin Mary)

Note: the church was under restoration at the time of writing. The restoration was led by the 23rd Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities, Hellenic Ministry of Culture.

Architecture: The church is now dilapidated, only its eastern part (area of the bema), the lateral walls and traces of the western part of the monument and the narthex (at the height of the foundations) being preserved. The church first collapsed due to an earthquake in 1841, and sustained further damage in the earthquakes of 1981 and 2001. The restoration led by Prof. Bouras in 1960 did not manage to protect the building from the later earthquakes. In fact the present appearance of the monument has deteriorated significantly since 1960; at that time the church preserved its south-western part at full height; now it has collapsed (Fig. C.1). However, the restoration programme of 1960 resulted in a detailed study of the monument, published in the next year by Bouras in the *Deltion Christianikis Archaeologikis Etaireias,* used as the basis for this description.

The church is built in inclined terrain at the western edge of the castle (originally the building was not so close to the edge; the present situation has come about through successive collapses of the natural rock). The three sides of the church, excepting the western side, are below the level of the inclined terrain. The masonry is simple, made of undressed or semi-dressed stones and bricks placed at random. The narthex has collapsed completely. The main church is almost square and bears traces of the original(?) marble floor. The three-part bema of the church, covered with barrel-vaults erected on robust wall-pillars which leave small arcaded openings, is preserved in full. The vaults of the *prothesis* and *diakonikon* are lower and narrower than those of the bema. In the central conch of the bema is located the *synthronon* and the episcopal throne (Fig. C.2). Above that is set a triple-light window. The south cross arm and the south-western barrel vaulted corner bay of the building were also standing in 1960. The opening between the south-western corner bay and the nave was bridged with a pointed arch. The northern and southern walls of the main church preserved in 1960

Fig. C.1: C01, the church after the 1960 restoration (archive-courtesy 23rd Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities).

Fig. C.2: C01, the *synthronon* of the church in 1960 (I. Venardis; archive-courtesy Benaki museum, Ar. Eis. 34260).

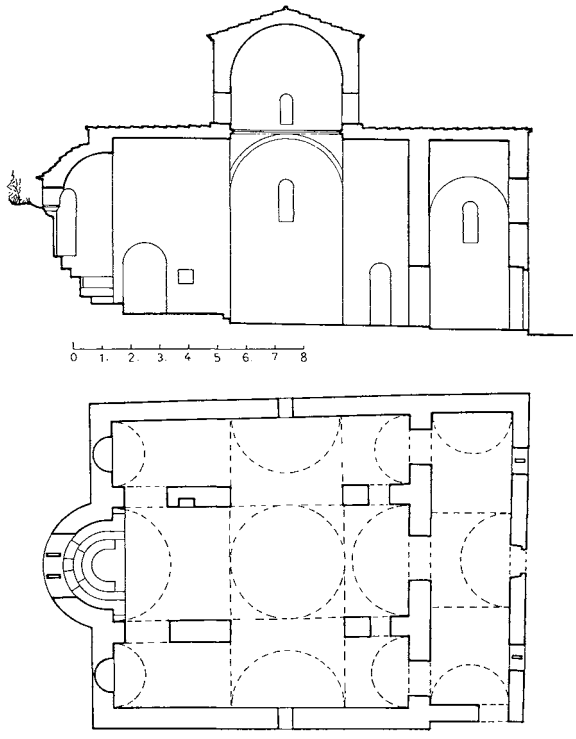


Fig. C.3: C01, longitudinal section and plan of the original form of the church, that of the 'transitional' cross-in-square with dome (after Bouras 1960-61, 65, fig. 5).

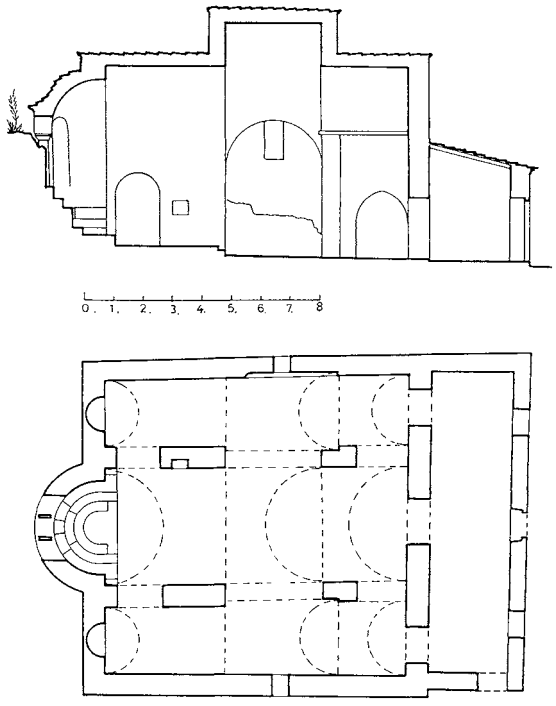


Fig. C.4: C01, longitudinal section and plan of the later form of the church, probably during the Frankish-Venetian period (after Bouras 1960-61, 68, fig. 7).

a single-lobe window. Today only the genesis of the windows is discernible. The entrance to the narthex and the main church was made through successive openings in the western walls.

The original type of the church was that of the cross-in-square with dome, in its archaic form of the early Middle-Byzantine period (type 1a) (Fig. C.3). According to this, instead of the four pillars or columns of the proper 'Hellenic' type, four wall-pillars are erected which leave small openings among the nave of the church and its corner bays, giving in plan the impression of a three-aisled basilica. This is why this type of churches has been characterised as 'transitional', from the Early Byzantine basilica to the characteristic Byzantine type of the cross-in-square with dome (Kalopisi & Panayotidi 2010, 382-3).

At a later time, probably during the Frankish-Venetian period, the church acquired the form of a three-aisled basilica. This was effected by an eastward expansion of the western pillars and re-direction of the vaults in the north and south arms of the original cross-shaped roof, to an east-west axis. The dome was replaced by a raised central bay. The vaults of the church were now built with dressed tufa stones (Fig. C.4). Later (probably during the Ottoman period) a rectangular room was erected above the south cross arm. This was easily accessed from outside, as the ground level at this spot reaches almost the height of the roof.

After the collapse of the church in 1841, the *prothesis* and *diakonikon* were converted into chapels dedicated to the Birth of Christ and the Dormition of the Virgin Mary. The western sides of the aforementioned *prothesis* and *diakonikon* were closed with walls (today demolished), while their conchs were invested with walls which have covered the old wall paintings. All the internal surfaces were whitewashed.
Wall paintings: very badly preserved in the area of the bema, attesting that the church was once fully decorated. At least three layers of different date can be distinguished. The earliest phase visible today is located in the conch of the *prothesis*. Three unidenti-

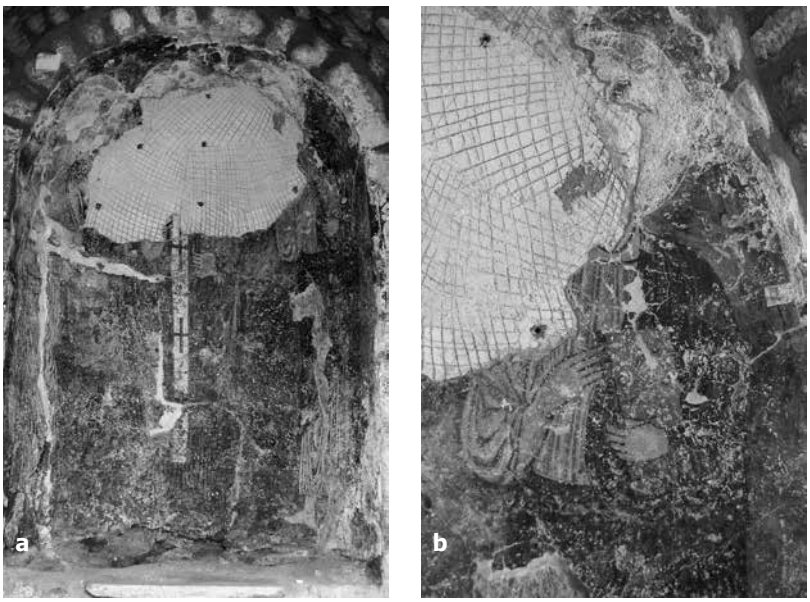


Fig. C.5: C01, the prelate and deacons of the conch of the *prothesis,* dated probably in the 11th – 12th c. (**a**: general view; **b**: detail of the southern deacon).

Fig. C.6: C01, the mullion and mullion-capitals of the triple-lobe window of the bema.

fied full-length male figures bearing a Codex in their hands are depicted. Unfortunately, their upper part is lost. The central figure blesses with the right hand and bears wears the stole. This and the right-hand figure are depicted frontally, while the left figure is depicted at an angle of ¾ towards the one in the centre. Apparently the scene depicts a Prelate in the middle flanked by two other saints, probably deacons (Fig. C.5). In this group of figures with their linear characteristics we can identify elements of 11th - 12th c. painting, like those attested in the third and fourth layer of paintings in Panayia Protothroni of Naxos, or even in the paintings of Osios Loukas in Boeotia (see Acheimastou-Potamianou 1994, 16-23). The wall painting examples attested in mainland Greece and the Peloponnese have favoured the hypothesis of the existence of local workshops active in the aforementioned areas (Pallas 2007, 238). One of these regional workshops is probably responsible for the decoration of the episcopal church of Skyros.

Wall paintings are also preserved in the lower part of the semi-cylindrical wall of the apse above the *synthronon.* The paintings are very badly preserved and it appears that there are at least two layers. At the back of the episcopal throne are discernible traces of *Christ the High Priest*; lower, traces of Officiating Prelates. This group of paintings must date from the Late Byzantine or Post-Byzantine period.

The paintings of the conch of the *diakonicon* are completely worn. The southern wall of the *diakonicon* and the northern wall of the *prothesis* are whitewashed, but tests conducted by the conservators indicate that there are paintings below the whitewash layer.

***Templon*: -**

Icons: -

Architectural sculptures/*Spolia*: The triple-lobe window of the central conch preserves its original mullion and mullion-capitals (Fig. C.6). The front (internal) side of the latter are decorated with foliated and free-standing crosses. Moreover, in the middle lobe is located in secondary use a pier-capital decorated with free standing crosses and acanthus leafs, while at the north lobe an oblique fragment of the architrave of the *templon* was identified, decorated in the front side with vine leafs and at the bottom with a Greek cross with broadened arms and "tear-drops". The pieces can be easily identified on the grounds of their style with a group of *spolia* found in the adjacent *katholikon* of Ayios Georgios (C05) and the church of Melikarou (C39), all consisting of fragments of the architectural decoration (the marbled screen in-

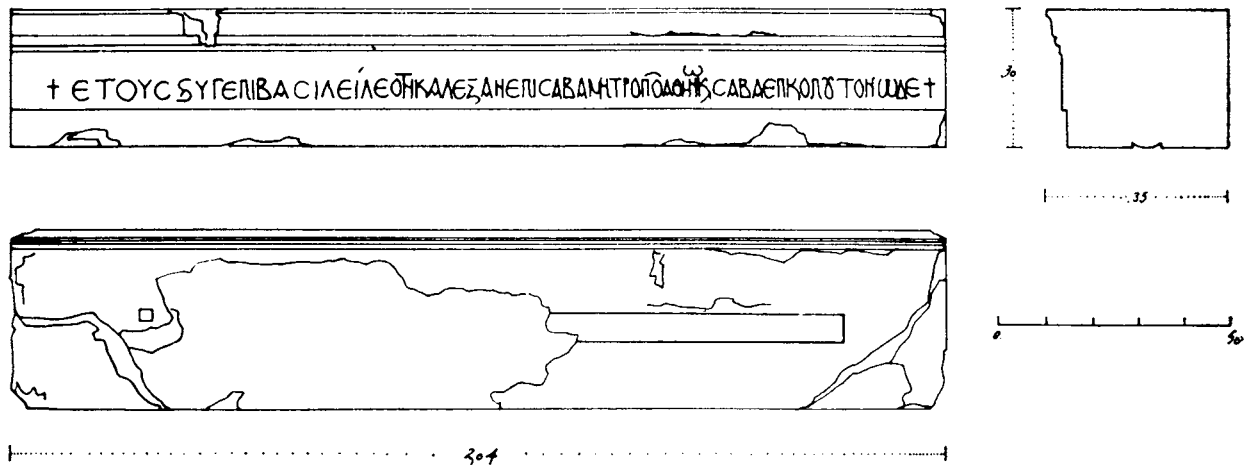


Fig. C.7: C01, the founding inscription of the church (after Bouras 1960-61, table 29.B).

cluded) of the Mid-Byzantine phase of the episcopal church. (see Chapter 12.2.3).

In the masonry behind the bishop's throne is incorporated an Early Christian pier-capital decorated with crosses. Early Christian screen-posts have also been used as arms of the episcopal throne. Further, there are stone piles gathered in the ruined church; 76 pieces were examined in July of 2008, and many definitely belong to an Early Christian basilica(s) (e.g. mullions, screen-posts, capitals, imposts, impost-capitals etc; the large number of the pieces does not permit an analytical presentation here).

Inscriptions: Among the stone piles of the ruined monument lies an architrave, length 2.04 m., which bears the founding inscription of the church. According to this, the church was founded at the time of the kingship of emperor Leo and his son Alexander, when the archbishop of Athens was Savas and the bishop of Skyros was another Savas: " *Ἔτους ϛΥΓ΄ ἐπὶ βασιλεί(ας) Λέοντ(ος) κ(αὶ) Ἀλεξάν(δρου) ἐπὶ Σάβα μητροπο(λίτου) Ἀθηνῶ(ν) κ(αὶ) Σάβα ἐπ(ισ)κόπου τὸν ὧδε*" (6403=895) (Fig. C.7).

Historical evidence: The church of Episkopi was the bishopric seat of the island from the time of its foundation in 895 until its collapse in April, 1841, and the final abolishment of the seat in December of the same year by the newly-established Hellenic Church. The local tradition attests that during the Frankish period a catholic bishop was based in the church and that the orthodox bishop moved to the church of Ayios Ioannis at *Kochilia* (C42) (Antoniadis 1995d, 111). This tradition rests on historical sources: a letter by Pope Innocent III to the new Archbishop of Athens Berard dated February 13, 1209, indicates that Skyros remained a bishopric under the jurisdiction of the Latin Archbishop of Athens. In the sources there also survives the name of the catholic bishop of Skyros, *Ugolinus de Auximo episc. Yscyrensis* (1315-1320) (Chapter 2). It is reasonable to assume that if a Latin bishop had indeed been appointed to the island, he would have certainly established himself within the area of the castle and presumably in the ancient bishopric church of the Dormition of Mary. Further, an active restoration of the building is attested during this period, as mentioned above (see more in Chapter 9).

After the collapse of the church in 1841, the icon of the Dormition of Mary, the gospel and other objects were moved to the church of Melikarou (C39), while the (wooden) *templon,* the (wooden) bishop's throne, the ambo and the chandelier went to the church of Ayios Ioannis at *Kochilia* (C42) (Atesis 1961, 239-40).

Chronology: 895 AD

Comments: The ecclesiastical dependence of the island to the Archbishopric seat of Athens, leads one to suspect that there was similarly an artisanal connection between Skyros and Athens, or generally central Greece, one visibly expressed through the wall paintings, the sculptures, or even the architecture of the episcopal church of Skyros discussed above.

References: Atesis 1961, 234-45; Bouras 1960-61 (and therein the rest of the bibliography).

C02. Ayioi Anargiroi

Architecture: a small single-nave flat-roofed church (type 4a). Internally it preserves its traditional roof consisting of uprights and bamboo but externally it is covered with cement, which apparently replaced the soil of the original construction. Because of the inclined terrain on which the church is erected, its shape is irregular. There is no indication of the apse externally, and the conch of the bema is set into the eastern wall. The entrance is located in the western wall and its sole window looks to the south.
Wall paintings: not discernible.
***Templon*:** wooden modern.
Icons: modern.
Architectural sculptures/*Spolia*: outside the church a fragment of monolithic column.
Inscriptions: -
Historical evidence: The church is mentioned in a dowry document of 1800 (Antoniadis 1990, 148/1800).
Chronology: of Ottoman times; 1800 *terminus ante quem*.
References: -

C03a-b. Ayios Gregorios Theologos (a) and Ayios Ioannis Chrisostomos (b)

Architecture: double single-nave barrel-vaulted church (a: type 3a; b: type 3b). Externally the roofs of both churches are now flat and covered with cement, apparently a later transformation of their original saddleback roofs. Their apses are semicircular, preserving traces of the original covering of the roof made by stone-slabs. The entrance for both churches is located in the western wall, crowned by small light-holes.

Internally an arcaded window in the partitioning wall permits visual communication between the churches. The conchs of their bema are semicircular, supplemented by smaller conchs. Along the northern and southern walls are low benches. The floors are paved with tiles of the mid-20th c. Internally the churches are plastered; externally whitewashed.
Wall paintings: not discernible.
***Templon*:** built.
Icons: modern.
Architectural sculptures/*Spolia*: -
Inscriptions: -
Historical evidence: -
Chronology: of Ottoman times.
References: -

C04. Ayios Vasileios

Architecture: a small single-nave flat-roofed church (type 4a). The monument was renovated extensively some years ago (plaster internally and externally, new roof with uprights, bamboo and cement, new wooden *templon*). The eastern wall is slightly bulging, indicating the apse. The entrance is set in the western wall; south of the entrance is a small semicircular conch.

Inside the bema the central conch is semicircular and relatively big. It is flanked by small auxiliary conchs to the north and to the south. The floor is paved with cement.
Wall paintings: not discernible.
***Templon*:** wooden, modern.
Icons: modern.
Architectural sculptures/*Spolia*: -
Inscriptions: -
Historical evidence: -
Chronology: of Ottoman times.
References: -

C05. Ayios Georgios (katholikon of the monastery)

Note: the entire monastery complex was under Restoration at the time of writing; led by the Direction of Restoration of Byzantine & Post-Byzantine Monuments, Hellenic Ministry of Culture.

Architecture: The church is erected upon inclined terrain. The eastern side is attached to the natural rock, and so lies outside the line of vision. Actually only the eastern part of the church is based on natural soil; the middle and western part are located on the second floor of the south-eastern wing of the monastery complex, the first consisting of ground-floor auxiliary rooms and the vaulted passage connecting the first level of the castle with the second (see Chapter 9). To the west the church is flanked by the western wing of the monastery complex. At a later time a large flat-roofed narthex was added at the northern side, situated on a slightly lower level.

Typologically the church belongs to the complex four-columned cross-in-square type with dome (type 1b) (Fig. C.8). A second smaller dome is located at the eastern arm of the cross, above the bema.

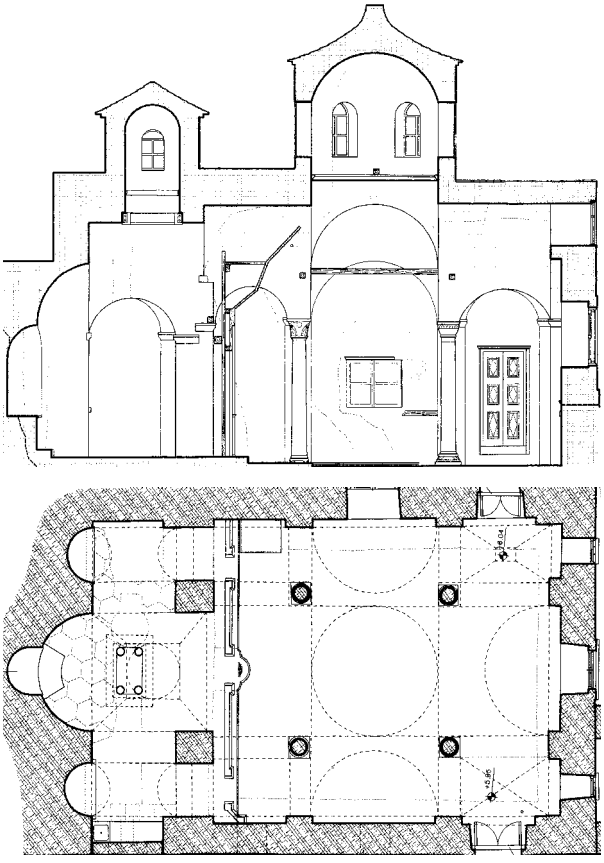


Fig. C.8: C05, longitudinal section and plan of the *katholikon* (Gounali & Kantzos, archive-courtesy 23rd Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities).

The arms of the cross are barrel-vaulted. Barrel-vaults also cover the eastern corner bays of the bema, while the respective western corner bays are covered with groin vaults (in later times the north-western groin vault was transformed into a calotte). The drum of the central dome has six windows, while that of the secondary dome has three. The roof of the church is covered with stone-slabs (cement was applied to the arms of the cross in the 20th c.; the restoration programme recoved the original situation).

The entrance to the church is located at the western end of the northern wall. A corresponding entrance in the southern wall leads to an auxiliary room and to the roof of the western monastery buildings. Three windows are set in the western wall, the central one being significantly larger than the others. Another window is set at approximately the middle of the southern wall. Finally three more windows (closed today) have been identified in the northern wall: one is rectangular with marbled frame and located in the face of the northern arm of the cross (it is visible from the side of the narthex; inside, the wall is covered with wall paintings); the second is pointed and located at the north-eastern side of the main church (behind the wooden *templon*); and the third is double-lobe pointed and set in the northern wall of the *prothesis*. The existence of several apertures in the northern wall signifies that formerly the church was free of buildings on that side. Their presence was useless after the addition of the narthex in the 17th c., and it was necessary to close them in order to allow for the satisfactory wall painting of the church in the 18th c. (see below).

The floor of the church is paved with marble-slabs. Above the north-western corner bay the belfry was later added (19th c.?).

The narthex has sustained extensive alterations through interventions in the 20th c. The roof was originally covered with wooden uprights and soil (*melagki*); the old structure was later replaced with cement (the restoration programme recovered the wooden construction of the roof). A wall separates the main narthex from its northern part beside the bema, which is occupied by a cistern. In the northern wall of the narthex is set the main entrance, flanked by two windows.

At the level of the roof and slightly to the east of the underlying bema is located the double chapel dedicated to the Annunciation of the Virgin Mary. The chapel is barrel-vaulted and entry is through the roof of the narthex, from the northern side. Each of the two spaces bears a double conch in the eastern side. A wall with east-west direction separates the two spaces, which communicate through an arcaded opening.

A trial trench in the floor of the chapel in the summer of 2012 led to the discovery of the older *katholikon* of the monastery. Moreover, the excavation revealed part of the bema (the central conch and part of the barrel-vault with which the bema was covered) which was more or less at the same altitudinal level as the present one and slightly to the south-east thereof. The entire area of the old church was found full of rubble and barred by the eastern wall of the present church. After the rubble was removed, there were revealed the wall paintings of the old *katholikon,* in impressively good condition, probably dating from the late 13th c., which is probably also the chronology of the old *katholikon* (Fig. C.9).

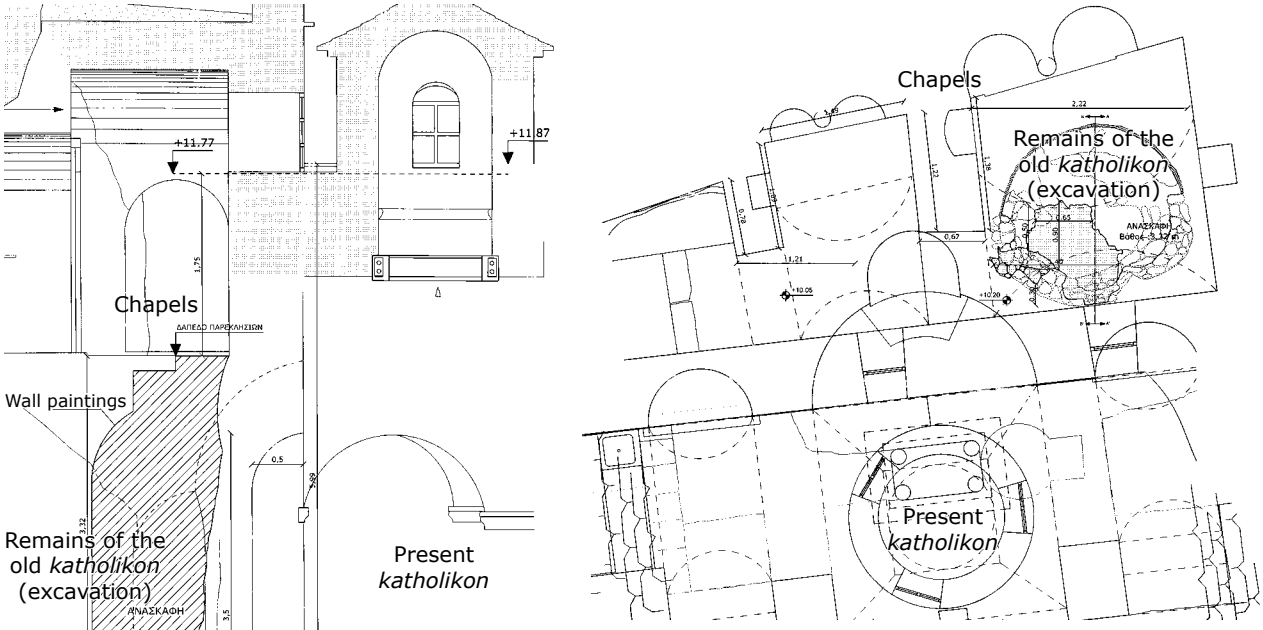


Fig. C.9: C05, longitudinal section and plan of the east part of the *katholikon* (bema and overlying chapels), indicating the exact position of the older *katholikon*, revealed by the excavation of 2012 (Y. Karagiannis, archive-courtesy Direction of Restoration of Byzantine & Post-Byzantine Monuments).

Apparently, after the damages sustained by the 13th c.-*katholikon,* perhaps due to a landslide from the overlying rock (such landslides are common in this area), the builders of the new church decided to move it slightly to the west as compared to the previous building. They removed any remnants of the old church which obstructed the construction of the new one, but the area of the old sacred bema, which apparently did not pose any problems, was left in place, full of rubble and closed-off by the eastern wall of the new church. In this way, a free space was left between the new church and the natural rock, which after the construction of the chapel was used as a 'buttress' against the overlying rock, protecting the new *katholikon* from possible landslides.

Wall paintings: The present *katholikon* was once fully decorated; today wall paintings are preserved in the northern and southern walls of the main church (at the lower level, frontal full-length saints and at the higher level scenes from the iconographic cycle of St. George), in some of the lower parts of the arches, and in the vault of *diakonikon*. Moreover, immediately outside the entrance, on the southern wall of the

Fig. C.10: C05, frontal full-length saint, from the painting decoration of the present *katholikon*, executed 1780.

narthex, there is large painting of St. George on his horse killing the dragon. According to an inscription (unfortunately not preserved today), the wall paintings were executed by the painter *Ralios Raliou* in 1780 (Chatzidakis-Drakopoulou 1997, 321-2) (Fig. C.10). Traces of a second, older, layer of paintings discovered in the central opening of the western wall, attest that the church was originally decorated with paintings older than the present ones, which were replaced in 1780.

As for the paintings (of the bema) of the old *katholikon,* the iconographical programme can be reconstructed -for now- as follows (the paintings were under Restoration at the time of writing): in the semi-dome is depicted the Virgin Mary, half-figured in medallion, her hands forming a gesture of praying; Christ (child) is on her chest, offering blessings with both hands. The central figures are flanked by the Archangels Michael and Gabriel. Below, in the semi-cylinder, are depicted four Officiating Prelates flanking the scene of *Melismos* (partitioning or fraction) in the middle. In the face of the conch the paintings are quite worn; however, there can be discerned the scene of the Ascension of Christ (Christ in medallion held by two angels from the right and left). At the top of the vault the paintings have collapsed; in the southern half is depicted the *Anastasis*; in the northern half an unidentified scene.

The surviving paintings of the old *katholikon* are clearly a provincial work, dated probably in the late 13th c. The depiction of the scene of *Melismos* flanked by officiating prelates does not leave any possibility for the date of the paintings to be earlier than the late 12th c. (Konstantinidi 2008, 49). Moreover, the plasticity of the figures, especially of the angels, their fluid drapery and the quality of the shiny colours connect to the artistic elaborations occurring during the Palaeologan period. The free painted manner in which the Archangel Michael is depicted would place it chronologically in the 14th c., a date which, however, would not be consistent with the figure of the (more archaic) Virgin Mary, unless this difference was due to the conservatism of the provincial artist (Fig. C.11).

***Templon*:** wood-carved and gilded; not a local product. From an inscription at the low-right side of the *templon* we learn that the gilding was done in 1806 and was sponsored by the ex-abbot of Megisti Lavra, Timotheos: *''Ἐχρισόθι τὸ παρὸν τέμπλεον διὰ ἐξόδων τοῦ πανοσιοτάτου ἁγίου προηγουμένου τῆς βασιληκῆς μεγίστις λάβρας κυρίου Τιμοθέου ψάλτου 1806 Ἀπριλίου 2''*.

Fig. C.11: C05, Decoration of the semi-dome of the old *katholikon*, at the time of its discovery; **a**: general view, the Virgin Mary flanked by the Archangels Michael and Gabriel; **b**: detail of the Archangel Michael.

Icons: of high quality post-Byzantine icons of Christ, Virgin Mary and St George, today located at the church of Ayios Georgios *metochi* (C50); not examined at the time of the writing.

Architectural sculptures/*Spolia*: Three of the four columns of the main church are nade of marble, crowned with simplified Corinthian capitals and bases of similar decoration. Both the capitals and the bases could date from the Late Byzantine period (Fig. C.12). The fourth column is of granite, crowned with an Early Christian two-zone Corinthian capital (Fig. C.13). Another Early Christian capital, lies in the courtyard of the monastery (Fig. C.14).

Of later date are the two *spolia* found as a lintel of the south-western door of the *katholikon* for

the first, and a fragment of a screen-post lying in the courtyard of the monastery for the second (Fig. C.15). Both pieces belong to the Mid-Byzantine marbled *templon* of the church of Episkopi (C01). In the same group seem to belong three more pieces identified in the church of Melikarou (C39) (see Chapter 12.2.3).

Inscriptions: In the external side of the western wall of the *katholikon,* above the central opening, is located the founding inscription of the *katholikon*, according to which the building was started in 1599 and finished in 1602, and was sponsored by the abbot Sosipetros "*Ἀνηγέρθη ὁ θεῖος κ(αὶ) ἱερὸς κ(αὶ) πάνσεπτος ναὸς οὗτος τοῦ πανενδόξου μεγαλομάρτυρος Γεωργίου ἐκ βάθρων διὰ συνδρομῆς κ(αὶ) ἐξόδου κόπου τε καὶ μόχθου παρὰ τοῦ ἐπιστάτου ἐν μοναχοῖς κυρίου Σωσιπέτρου κ(αὶ) οἰκονόμου ἐπὶ ἔτους ,ζρζ΄ (7107=1599) μηνὶ Ἰουλίου κ(αὶ) ἐτελιώθη ἐν τῷ ,ζρι΄ (7110=1602) μηνὶ Σεπτεμβρίου*" (Fig. C.16). Moreover, in the external side of the northern wall of the narthex is located an inscription attesting that the northward expansion of the narthex was undertaken in 1734 by the abbot Daniel (a first smaller narthex was probably in existence since 1641; see below). The inscription states "[…] *Ἀνιγέρθι τὸ παρὸν τιχῆον ἐκ βάθρον κὲ θεμελίον διὰ συνδρομῆς κὲ ἐξόδου τοῦ ὁσιοτάτου κιρίου Δανὺλ ἐκ τὶς νίσου [Ἄ]νδρου 1734 Ἰουλίου 14*" (Fig. C.17).

Historical evidence: According to local oral tradition, the monastery of St. George was founded by the emperor Nikiforos Fokas and Ayios Athanasios Athonitis, the legendary founder of Megisti Lavra on Mount Athos. However, historical research has shown that this tradition is not based on fact but was probably created after the conversion of Ayios Georgios into a *metochi* of the Athonite great monastery, showcasing the connection of the 'parent' monastery with its *metochi* (Oikonomou 2002, 30-32). Indeed, in 1289, after an intercession by the Archibishop of Thessalonica (his name is unknown), the Patriarch of Costantinople Athanasios I, conceded Ayios Georgios as a *metochi* of Megisti Lavra (*Actes de Lavra IV*, 149). Thus, the year 1289 can be used as *terminus ante quem* for the founding of the monastery of Ayios Georgios and apparently of its original *katholikon.*

The Codex of Ayios Georgios, published by Konstantinidis in 1981-82, provides us with much information for the years from 1494 onwards; if we limit ourselves to the building activity of the *katholikon,* we are informed of an 'expansion of the church' undertaken in 1641 by the *oikonomos* of the monastery, Ignatios. To obtain the necessary space, Ignatios bought some adjacent houses which apparently flanked the church from the northern side (Konstantinidis 1981-82, 53; Oikonomou 2002, 48). Gounali & Kantzos quite correctly see in this reference the first phase of instituting the narthex to the north of the church, which possibly occupied the southern part of the present narthex (Gounali & Kantzos 2003, 11).

Chronology: old *katholikon*: 13th c. (immediately after 1289 AD?); present *katholikon*: 1602; fisrt (small) narthex: 1641; second (large) present narthex: 1734; first layer of wall paintings: 1602-1780; second layer of wall paintings (visible today): 1780; marble floor: 1788; gilding (and probably the construction) of the *templon*: 1806.

Comments: The conversion of economically decayed Patriarchal monasteries to *metochia* of other thriving monasteries like that of Megisti Lavra, was a common practice in the Late Byzantine period. The chronology of the wall paintings of the old *katholikon* in the 13th c. is close to the date of the conversion of Ayios Georgios into a *metochi* of Megisti Lavra. It could be supposed then that the old katholikon was built immediately after the transformation of Ayios Georgios into a *metochi* of Lavra, part of the revival which the Skyrian monastery enjoyed through the economically powerful Athonite monastery of Great Lavra. If the old *katholikon* is dated immediately after 1289, and given that at that time Ayios Georgios was already in existence, then it must be assumed that the old *katholikon* which was discovered recently is not the original one, but replaced an even older *katholikon,* probably collapsed or decayed, which could date from the Middle Byzantine period. The historically assumed Mid-Byzantine date of Ayios Georgios, a fortified monastery established at the entrance of the medieval castle of Skyros, is perhaps not unconnected to the extensive fortification programme which was undertaken in this period on the castle of the island by a Byzantine official, the *sevastos* Georgios Chameas (see Chapter 9).

References: Gounali & Kantzos 2003; Oikonomou 2002; Chatzidakis 1987, 321-2 ; Konstantinidis 1981-82, 5-121; *Actes de Lavra IV*, 149; Atesis 1961, 132-95.

Fig. C.12: C05, One of the three Corinthian (probably Late Byzantine) capitals of the *katholikon.*

Fig. C.13: C05, The Early Christian Corinthian capital, reused in the *katholikon* of Ayios Georgios.

Fig. C.14: C05, Early Christian fold capital, in the courtyard of the monastery.

Fig. C.15:
C05, **a:** Door lintel above the south entrance of the *katholikon,* and **b:** fragment of *templon* post lying in the yard of the monastery; both pieces belong to the 9th c. marbled *templon* of Episkopi (C01).

Fig. C.16: C05 the inscription of abbot Sosipetros (1599-1602), attesting the founding of the present *katholikon*.

Fig. C.17: C05, the inscription of abbot Daniel, attesting the expansion of the narthex in 1734.

Extramural settlement

C06. Panayia Tou Douka (in ruins)

Immediately outside the central gate of the castle lies in ruins the church of Panayia Tou Douka. The church is today completely covered by modern rubble; the robust tufa doorposts of the entrance at the west side are just discernible.

The church must have collapsed at least a century ago: older residents remember it in ruins. However, they confirm the existence of the church according to oral tradition. No trace of it has been identified in the historical sources.

C07. Ayios Ioannis Spasokaroutis

Architecture: a small single-nave church, with a timber saddleback roof covered with tiles. The church consists of an orthogonal main church to which is 'added' from the eastern side a lower and narrower bema. The typological similarity of the church with many others in Chora, and the fact that the timber saddleback roof appears rarely and very late on the island, could suggest that the present roof is a result of a late repair of the church which originally must have been barrel-vaulted (type 3b).

Externally the eastern wall is straight, with no indication of the apse. On the top of the roof above the entrance stands the belfry, decorated with a *baccino* of late Kütahya production (19th c.). A rectangular window is set in the northern wall, and a second, smaller one above the entrance. Internally the roof is invested with a wooden ceiling. The floor is paved with modern tiles. The church is plastered internally and externally. The monument was completely restored in 2012 (Fig. C.18).

Fig. C.18: C07, view of the church from the north-west.

Wall paintings: -
***Templon*:** wooden, modern.
Icons: modern.
Architectural sculptures/*Spolia*: three fragments of monolithic columns built into the eastern wall.
Inscriptions: -
Historical evidence: -
Chronology: of Ottoman times.
References: -

C08. Ayios Nikolaos

Architecture: a small single-nave flat roofed church (type 4a). The apse is semicircular. The monument suffered a destructive renovation in 2006. Before this 'renovation', the church maintained its original *templon*, roof (consisting of uprights and bamboo), and floor (of natural rock covered with sand according to the traditional manner).
Wall paintings: -
***Templon*:** wooden, modern.
Icons: modern.
Architectural sculptures/*Spolia*: -
Inscriptions: -
Historical evidence: The church is referred to in a sale document of 1661 "*Ἐπούλησα τὸ σπίτι μου εἰς τὸν Ἅγ. Νικόλαο εἰς τὸν Μπόριο…*" (Antoniadis 1990, doc. 31/1661).
Chronology: 1661 *terminus ante quem.*
References: -

C09. Ayia Triada (in ruins)

Some metres above the church of Evangelistria (C11) and attached to the north-eastern side of the rock of the castle, lies in ruins the church of Ayia Triada. The date of its collapse is unknown; older residents remember it in ruins, and this was its situation in 1961 (Atesis 1961, 269).

The wild vegetation at the time of my visit at the site did not permit the extraction of conclusions regarding its architectural type. Only the doorstep of the entrance, of white marble, was discernible.

C10. Evangelistria (The Annunciation of Virgin Mary)

A small single-nave barrel-vaulted church (type 3b). Externally the church has sustained considerable alterations and today is flat-roofed, covered with cement. Access to the interior of the monument was not possible at the time of the survey.

C11. Ayios Georgios

Architecture: a small single-nave barrel-vaulted church (type 3b). Externally the upper part of the church has sustained considerable alterations and appears to be flat-roofed, covered with cement. However, this is a result of a later intervention. Originally the roof of the church was saddleback covered with stone-slabs; the traces of the original slabs are discernible in the northern, southern and eastern walls of the church. The apse is indicated through a rectangular protrusion in the eastern wall. The entrance is set in the northern wall.

Internally, the central semicircular conch of the bema is set in the eastern wall, flanked by two auxiliary rectangulars, the *prothesis* and *diakonikon*. The genesis of the barrel-vault of the main church features a step, indication of the timber centring for its construction. The floor is paved with modern tiles.
Wall paintings: not discernible.
***Templon*:** wooden, modern. The painted cross of Post-Byzantine times belong to a different, older *templon*.
Icons: among the modern items, three notable *templon*-icons of Post-Byzantine times (Christ, Virgin Mary and Ayios Georgios).
Architectural sculptures/*Spolia*: -
Inscriptions: -
Historical evidence: -
Chronology: of Ottoman times.
References: -

C12. Ayios Athanasios Athonitis

Note: the church was restored in 2009 by the personnel of the 23rd Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquites.

Architecture: The church is built in a cavity of the natural rock. The structure of the church is a cube on which is erected the low pendentive dome (the main church) and to which is 'added' a barrel-vaulted bema set into the orthogonal form of the building (type 6c). Stone-slabs must have covered the roof of the church (as in other cases), but are now lost.

The entrance is located in the northern wall. Four windows symmetrically located in the eastern wall (three are now blocked), originally provided light to the interior of the church. One window (the only one now open) is located in front of the altar and is rectangular. A second one, large and pointed, is located above the first, flanked by two small ogee windows (Fig. C.19).

Internally the dome is formed as a semi-cylindrical vault, low and wide as compared to the building's volume. It is based directly on the pendentives. The radius of the dome is slightly larger as compared to its circular base.

The blind arches start from pilaster(like)-capitals. In the eastern wall of the bema are set three semicircular conchs, of the bema, *prothesis* and *diakonikon*. The central conch bears the built altar. In the northern wall is set an auxiliary conch.
Wall paintings: not discernible.
***Templon*:** wooden, simple modern.
Icons: In 2009 only modern icons were visible. However, the archive of the Archaeological Service refers to three *templon*-icons (Christ, Virgin Mary and Ayios Athanasios) of Post-Byzantine times.
Architectural sculptures/*Spolia*: drums of columns built in the masonry.
Inscriptions: On the lintel of the entrance there is an inscription referring to the founding of the church by the monks of Megisti Lavra (of the monastery of Ay-

Fig. C.19: C12, view of the church from the east.

ios Georgios), specifically by the abbot Athanasios, in 1662. The inscription states that the church was transfered (after its apparent collapse) to its present location from the northern side of the cave, where it was originally located: "*ὁ θείος ναὸς οὗτος τοῦ ὁσίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἀθανασίου εἰς τὸ σπήλαιον (ὑ)πά(ρ) χ(ε)ι τοῦτο. Μετετέθη πρὸς τό βόρ(ε)ιον ἐκ λα(υριω) τῶν (ἀ)δε(λφῶν) μερί(μνῃ) δι' ὀβολοῦ καὶ κόπου τοῦ ὁσιωτάτου ἐν μοναχοῖς κυροῦ Ἀθανασίου ἐπι ἔτους 1662*" (Fig. C.20).

Historical evidence: Osios Athanasios, the founder of the monastery of Megisti Lavra in Mount Athos, and according to the local tradition, the founder of the monastery of Ayios Georgios in Skyros as well (C05; *metochi* of Megisti Lavra since 1289), spent some time in this cave. Even if the information regarding the stay of Osios Athanasios on the island and his founding of Ayios Georgios is probably untrue (see C05), the connection of the church of Ayios Athanasios with the monks of Lavra and Ayios Georgios is undoubtedly based on the aforementioned inscription. Even today the small church is under the custody of the monk of Ayios Georgios.

Chronology: 1662.

References: Skouras 1979, 23-32; Georgopoulou-Meladini 1972, 373; Atesis 1961, 262.

C13. Ayios Nikolaos (on the south-east tower of the classical wall)

Architecture: a small single-nave flat-roofed church (type 4b). Internally the roof maintains its original form, consisting of uprights and bamboo, but externally it is covered with cement, which apparently replaced the soil of the original construction. The conch of the bema is semicircular, sheltering the built altar. A second rectangular conch is located in the northern wall of the bema. The floor of the church is natural soil. The building has been plastered in its entirety. The monument is dilapidated, having sustained grave damages in the earthquake of 2001.

Fig. C.20: C12, the founding inscription of the church.

Wall paintings: not discernible.

***Templon*:** built.

Icons: modern.

Architectural sculptures/*Spolia*: -

Inscriptions: -

Historical evidence: The member of the *Filiki Etaireia* Manouel Venardos spent some time in isolation here, during his short visit on the island in 1833 (Antoniadis 1995g, 204).

Chronology: of Ottoman times (1833 *terminus ante quem*).

References: -

C14. Ayia Paraskevi (on the north-east tower of the classical wall).

Architecture: a small single-nave barrel-vaulted church (type 3c). The roof of the church is covered with stone-slabs. The eastern wall is bulging indicating the apse (today partially collapsed). Internally the central conch of the bema is semicircular, sheltering the built altar; a second smaller conch is located in the northern side of the eastern wall. Along the lateral walls are low-built benches. The monument is dilapidated, having sustained grave damages in the earthquake of 2001.

Wall paintings: not discernible.

***Templon*:** -

Icons: -

Architectural sculptures/*Spolia*: -

Inscriptions: -

Historical evidence: -

Chronology: of Ottoman times.

References: -

C15. Ayios Konstantinos & Eleni

Architecture: a small single-nave flat-roofed church (type 4b). The apse is semicircular, while due to the highly inclined terrain in which the church is erected, the eastern side is supported by robust buttress walls. The roof of the church was originally wooden with

local soil (*melagki*) at the top; today there survives only the wooden construction consisting of cedar uprights and branches covered with seaweed; the soil was replaced after the 1960s by cement, which was in turn replaced ten years ago with stone slabs by the 1st Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities.

In the eastern wall is set the central conch, which shelters the built altar. The conch bears a light-hole. Three more rectangular conchs are set in the northern and southern walls. Another is located in the southern wall of the main church, immediately outside the *templon*. The floor is paved with large stone slabs.

Wall paintings: not discernible.

***Templon*:** wooden modern of local production, with minimal carved decoration.

Icons: modern.

Architectural sculptures/*Spolia*: outside the church three fragments of monolithic columns: 1) [h: 0.43, d: 0.27], 2) [0.43, d: 0.27], 3) [h: 0.18, d: 0.27].

Inscriptions: -

Historical evidence: The church is referred to in a dowry document of 1581 (Antoniadis 1990, doc. 10/1581).

Chronology: 1581 *terminus ante quem.*

References: -

C16. Ayia Triada

Architecture: a small single-nave domed church with blind arches and barrel-vaulted bema. The structure of the church is a cube on which is erected the low pendentive dome (the main church) and to which is 'added' a lower and narrower barrel-vaulted space from the eastern side (the bema) (type 6b). Externally the low drum of the dome is cylindrical with no openings. Both the dome and the rest of the roof are covered with stone-slabs. The apse is rectangular. Above the entrance of the western wall there is a stone-emblem bearing a cross.

Internally the dome is shaped as a semi-spherical vault, low and wide as compared to the size of the church, erected directly on the pendentives. In the eastern wall is set the central conch which shelters the built altar. Two more conchs are set in the northern wall. In the southern wall of the main church is set a rectangular window. The floor is paved with glazed tiles of the mid-20th c. (Figs. C.21-22).

Wall paintings: not discernible.

***Templon*:** wooden, modern.

Icons: Among a few modern icons, there is an icon of the Holy Trinity in the bema, dating from late Post-Byzantine times.

Fig. C.21: C16, view of the church south-east.

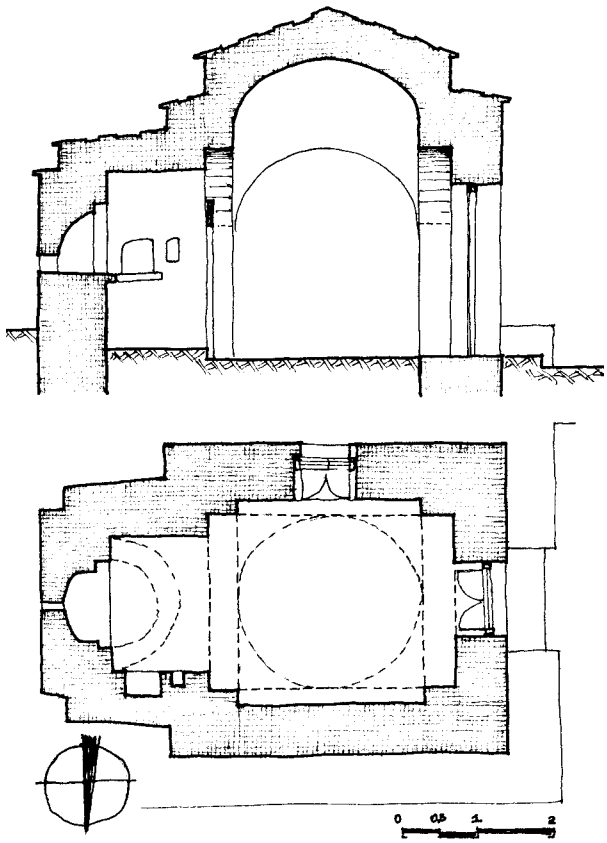


Fig. C.22: C16, longitudinal section and plan of the church (S. Papazoglou).

Architectural sculptures/*Spolia*: The upper part of the altar is from an Early Christian mullion.
Inscriptions: -
Historical evidence: -
Chronology: of Ottoman times.
References: -

C17. Ayios Georgios

Architecture: a single-nave flat-roofed church (type 4a). The apse is semicircular and has a small light-hole. The entrance is set in the western side. The roof of the church was originally wooden with local soil (*melagki*) at the top; today there survives only the wooden construction consisting of uprights and ceiling; the soil was replaced by cement.

Internally, the bema occupies almost half of the church. The central conch is relatively small and shelters the built altar. At the northern wall is set a second conch. In the main church a low-built bench runs along the southern wall. The floor is paved with cement. The building is plastered internally and externally.
Wall paintings: not discernible.
***Templon*:** wooden, local modern.
Icons: modern.
Architectural sculptures/*Spolia*: -
Inscriptions: -
Historical evidence: -
Chronology: of Ottoman times.
References: -

C18. Evangelistria (The Annunciation of Virgin Mary)

A single-nave flat-roofed church. The monument is located in the private plot of the Varlamidi family and it was not possible to access it at the time of the survey.

C19. Pente Martires

Architecture: a small single-nave domed church with blind arches and barrel-vaulted bema. The structure of the church is a cube on which is erected the low pendentive dome (the main church) and to which is 'added' a barrel-vaulted bema set into the orthogonal plan of the building (type 6c). Externally, the low drum of the pendentive dome is cylindrical with no openings. A rectangular protrusion on the eastern wall attests the apse of the bema, which is in any case set into the wall. The only opening of the building is the entrance of the church in the western wall. Two barely discernible geneses of arches flanking the entrance and having an east-west direction probably indicate a supplementary construction which originally stood by the church.

Internally the dome is shaped as a semi-spherical vault, low and wide in comparison to the volume of the church, erected directly on the pendentives. The radius of the dome is slightly larger in respect to its aforementioned circular base. The four pendentives are ribbed and start from pilaster(like)-capitals at the four corners of the main church.

In the eastern wall are set three semicircular conchs of the same size, for the bema, the *prothesis* and the *diakonikon*; a fourth rectangular conch is set in the northern wall. The floor of the church is the natural rock, covered with whitewash, as is most of the external and internal surface of the building (Figs. C.23-24).
Wall paintings: They are preserved at several points, where the whitewash has not covered them. In the dome, in medallion, is depicted Christ Pantokrator surrounded by the Heavenly Powers; in the pendentives Evangelists; on the eastern front of the Bema is a series of medallions with half-figured prophets; the vault of the bema depicts two scenes, the Nativity of Christ and His Baptism; on the southern wall Prelates;

Fig. C.23: C19, view of the church from the north-west.

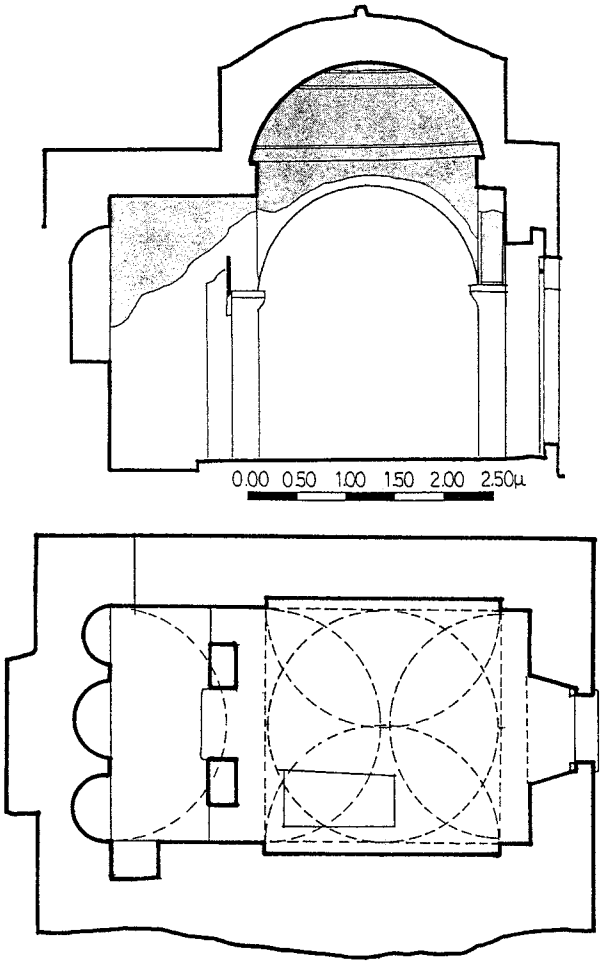


Fig. C.24: C19, longitudinal section and plan of the church (Argyros & Apostolou, archive-courtesy of the 23rd Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities).

the front of the central conch of the bema depicts the Hospitality of Abraham. Fragments of paintings are also preserved on the western and northern wall of the main church. Based on style, the paintings can be roughly dated to the 17th-18th century (Fig. C.25).

***Templon*:** built, with a wooden element overlying the central entrance.

Icons: few, modern.

Architectural sculptures/*Spolia*: a fragment of monolithic column in front of the southern half of the *templon* [h: 0.71, d: 0.20].

Inscriptions: not related to the church.

Historical evidence: -

Chronology: 17th-18th century?

Fig. C.25: C19, half-figured prophets, from the painted decoration of the church.

Comments: Outside the church in front of the entrance is a cist grave. A second smaller cist grave is located internally. Above the entrance is a Classical funerary inscription mentioning "*Ἀπολλωνία Μοιραξαμένους ἐξ (Ση)μαχιδῶν*" (initially published by Girard 1879, 65).

References: -

C20. Christos Lipari (Nativity of Christ)

Architecture: a small single-nave barrel-vaulted church (type 3a). Externally the roof is saddleback covered with stone slabs (restored in 2009 by the personnel of the 23rd Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities). The east wall is bulging and it is partially thicker than the others in order to shelter the apse.

Internally, in the eastern wall of the bema is set the central semicircular conch which shelters the built altar. To the south there is a smaller rectangular conch and one more is located in the northern wall of the bema. In the main church there is a window set in the southern wall. The floor is paved with modern glazed tiles (Fig. C.26).

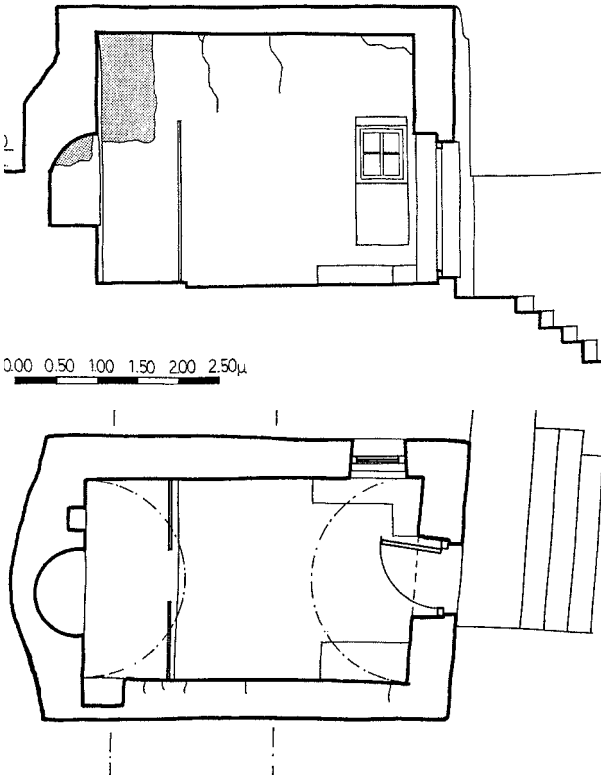


Fig. C.26: C20, longitudinal section and plan of the church (Argyros & Apostolou, archive-courtesy 23rd Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities).

Wall paintings: They are preserved in the area of the bema. The upper part of the eastern wall depicts the Hospitality of Abraham; lower, the Holy Handkerchief and a band with half-figured Prelates in medallions; in the central conch the Virgin Mary; on the key of the vault a decorative band flanked by medallions of half-figured saints; on the lower part of the vault scenes of *Dodekaorton* (Feast Cycle): on the southern half the Annunciation and on the northern half the Dormition of the Mother of God; in the upper zone of the lateral walls of the bema medallions with half-figured saints and Prelates and lower Officiating Prelates. The paintings are of good quality and could be roughly dated to the 17th - 18th c. (Fig. C.27).
***Templon*:** simple, wooden, of modern times; but its architrave is older, carved in low relief decorated with vines; of local production.
Icons: modern.
Architectural sculptures/*Spolia*: Outside the church lies a fragment of a column base of *breccia di settebasi* (apparently Roman) [h: 0.55, 0.28x0.28] and a fragment of a column [h: 0.24, d: 0.17]. Inside the church there is a fragment of spiral column [h: 0.43, d: 0.23].
Inscriptions: -
Historical evidence: In 1767 the bishop of Skyros Ioasaf wrote (or copied) the Codex (*thesis*) of the church (Atesis 1961, 71). The last attested entry in the Codex is from 1788 (Antoniadis 1990, 57, n.1). In a document of 1667 there appears the family surname Liparis; a member of the family must have been the founder of the church (Antoniadis 1990, doc. 33). Antoniadis states that the church stands on a location bearing the toponym 'Akamatria' (Antoniadis 1990, 57, n.1).
Chronology: Based on the Codex of the church, the year 1767 is suggested as a *terminus ante quem.*
References: Antoniadis 1990, 57, n.1; Atesis 1961, 262-3.

Fig. C.27: C20, the Hospitality of Abraham (eastern wall of the church).

C21. Profitis Ilias

Architecture: a small single-nave barrel-vaulted church (type 3c). The roof is now flat, covered with cement, apparently a result of repair work on the original saddleback. The protruding apse is semi-cylindrical. Above the entrance is inserted as *baccino*, a dish of Polychrome Italian Maiolica Ware, decorated with a two-headed eagle with hooked nails and open wings (mid 18th - early 19th c.). Inside, in the eastern wall of the bema, are three semicircular conchs. Two more rectangular conchs are constructed along the lateral walls. The altar is set into the central conch. In

the main church a small window is set in the northern wall. The floor of the church is natural rock, covered with sand according to the traditional manner.
Wall paintings: not discernible. The church is completely covered with whitewash internally and externally.
***Templon*:** wooden, modern.
Icons: Among the few modern icons, a notable one is that of Profitis Ilias, of Post-Byzantine times.
Architectural sculptures/*Spolia*: in front of the northern half of the *templon*, a base of a phiale [h: 0.38, max d: 0.24]. To the south of the entrance is an Early Christian Ionic impost capital, bearing on one of its narrow sides a Latin cross (6th c.) [h: 0.17, l: 0.60, w: 0.35, d: 0.20].
Inscriptions: Above the entrance (externally) and under the whitewash is discernible in capital letters the word "*Ηλίας*".
Historical evidence: -
Chronology: Based on the *baccino* I would suggest the mid-18th century as *terminus ante quem.*
References: -

C22. Ayios Ioannis sta Dromania

Architecture: a small single-nave cross-vaulted church (type 2). Externally, the roof is flat, and has sustained modern repair with cement. The eastern wall is bulging in the middle in order to inset the semicircular apse of the bema. A rectangular window is set in the southern wall of the main church. The floor of the church is paved with cement. All surfaces internally and externally are whitewashed (Fig. C.28).
Wall paintings: not discernible.
***Templon*:** built, with a wooden, modern upper part.
Icons: modern.
Architectural sculptures/*Spolia*: -
Inscriptions: -
Historical evidence: According to the Codex (*Thesis*) of the church, the building was constructed in 1574 (Zarkia 1991, 206 n.3, 216). However, Zarkia does not clarify if she examined the Codex herself; she does not provide any other historical data retrieved from the Codex.
Chronology: 1574? The architectural type of the church does not contradict this date.
References: -

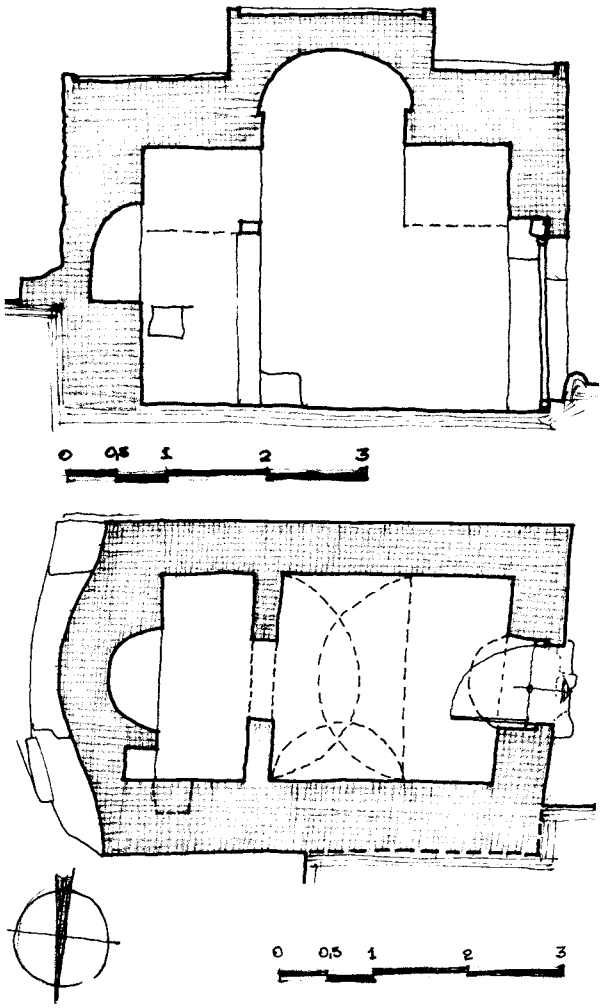


Fig. C.28: C22, longitudinal section and plan of the church (S. Papazoglou).

C23. Archontopanayia or Panayia tou Tselepi (The Birth of the Virgin Mary)

Architecture: a single-nave domed church with blind arches and a three-parted barrel-vaulted bema (type 6e). This core was supplemented at a later time by a barrel-vaulted narthex at the western side, with a Π-shaped gallery (Figs. C.29-30).

Externally, the dome is cylindrical and relatively high. It has four arched windows and it is covered with tiles. The rest of the main church is covered with stone-slabs, except the narthex which is covered with cement. On the top of the southern wall of the narthex, above the entrance to the church, is located the

Fig. C.29: C23, view of the church from the north.

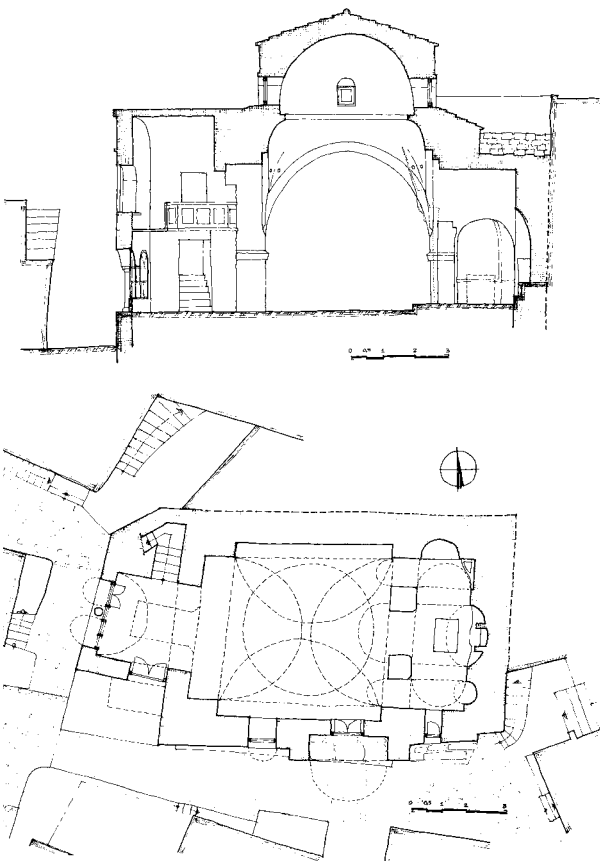


Fig. C.30: C23, longitudinal section and plan of the church (S. Papazoglou).

belfry (repaired after the earthquake of 1981). It is adorned with modern local ceramics, copies of the Polychrome Italian Maiolica. In the western wall of the narthex is set a large double-light window. On the southern side a monumental deep arch crowns the biggest window of the church. Two more windows flank this monumental opening, one to the westward and a second to the eastward, looking to the bema. The eastern and northern sides of the church are attached to adjacent houses.

Internally the dome is low and wide in comparison to the volume of the church. The pendentives are ribbed. The large eastern arch which divides the main church from the bema is supported by two robust pillars. From these there begin two smaller arches with east-west direction which divide the bema in three parts (bema, *prothesis, diakonikon*). The central one is higher and bears a large semicircular conch equipped with a built episcopal throne. The altar is free-standing in the middle of the bema. Undoubtedly the bema has a monumental appearance (for Skyros); the only parallels are the church of Ayios Ioannis (C42) and the *katholikon* of Ayios Georgios (C05).

The floor of the church is paved with glazed tiles of the 1950s. The building is plastered internally and externally, except the tiles and slabs of the roof which are only whitewashed.

Wall paintings: not discernible.

***Templon*:** wood-carved. It is probably unfinished as no overlying gilded and/or painted decoration has been added. In the Codex of *Christos tou Miga* (C39) there is reference to a certain Fragkoulis from the island of Chios who came to Skyros in 1824 to finish the *templon* of *Archontopanayia,* which had been started but never completed (*ἀρχευόμενον καὶ μὴ τελειούμενον*) by an artisan, one Ioannis from Crete, probably in the early 19th century (Atesis 1969, 19) (Fig. C.31).

Icons: numerous, of good quality. All are of Post-Byzantine date. Apart from thirteen small icons decorating the upper part of the *templon* with scenes from the *Dodekaorton* (Feast Cycle) there are the four central icons of the *templon* (Christ, Virgin Mary, St. John the Baptist -the latter bearing the date 1771 at the back- and of the birth of the Mother of God). A second icon of the Birth of the Virgin Mary is located beside the entrance, while two more, the Lamentation and the Crucifixion (the latter Russian), are located inside the bema.

Fig. C.31: C23, the Annunciation of Virgin Mary; detail from the *templon* of the church.

Architectural sculptures/*Spolia*: The monumental arch at the southern side of the church is made of dressed tufa stones and it is decorated with low-relief motifs of western influence. The upper part of the arch is traversed by a dentil cornice. On the vertical edges it bears double Latin crosses and above them half rosettes; on the curved part, shoots adorned with foils and flowers. At the top of the arch is an emblem decorated with a cross. Below the arch lay an ancient column base [h: 0.16, d: 0.29] and immediately outside the window of the bema three fragments of monolithic columns and an Early Christian screen post [h: 1.27, w: 0.16x0.16] (all whitewashed).
Inscriptions: -
Historical evidence: a parish church to this day. From a report of the owner Georgios Avlonitis to the bishopric commissioner Serafim Koutsoupis in 1833, we learn that the church was private, had a capacity of 40 people, and owned fields and vineyards at several sites on the island. The annual income they yielded amounted to 32 kuruş, of which 25 represented the annual salary of the priest (Atesis 1961, 248).
Chronology: The oral tradition refers to the 17th century as the date of construction. The archaeological evidence does not contradict this suggestion.
References: Atesis 1961, 248-50.

C24. Ai Stratis (Taxiarchs Michael and Gabriel)

Architecture: a single-nave calotte church with blind arches and elongated barrel-vaulted spaces the east and west for the bema and a similar to a narthex respectively. In plan the structure of the church can be described as a central cube on which is erected the calotte (the main church) and to which are 'added' from the eastern and western sides the two aforementioned barrel-vaulted spaces. Externally the situation is quite different and the church appears as an orthogonal structure with a saddleback roof covered with tiles. The apse is invisible, attached to the wall of the adjacent house. The western wall of the building is crowned by an ogee belfry. The entrance is flanked by two rectangular windows (Figs. C.32-34).

Internally the church is dominated by the large and shallow calotte which covers all the main church (Fig. C.36). The blind arches are notably low. The bema has four conchs, of which the central is bigger and semicircular, bearing the built altar. The floor is paved with glazed tiles of the 1950s-70s.
Wall paintings: The church is fully decorated. On the callote is depicted the *Christ Pantokrator* surrounded by the Heavenly Powers; on the pendentives Evangelists; on the central conch of the bema the Virgin Mary. On the northern and southern walls, scenes from the *Dodekaorton* (the Nativity, the Raising of Lazarus, the Triumphal Entry into Jerusalem, the Betrayal, the Crucifixion); the lower parts of the wall resemble a marble effect (*c.* 17th-18th c.).

Fig. C.32: C24-C25, view of the churches from the north-west.

***Templon*:** built and wall painted, in front of which a later wooden templon is erected, bearing a simple wood-curved and painted decoration.
Icons: The church preserves relatively numerous noteworthy icons of Post-Byzantine times. The most significant are the icon of Christ Pantokrator and of Panayia Odigitria (*c.* 17th c.), the miracle of the Archangel Michael at Chonae, the Archangel Michael leading the souls (both of *c.* 17th c.), the icon of the *Sinaxis ton Asomaton* (with a dedicatory inscription of the 16th-17th c.), the wood-curved and painted Cross of the church, and the *templon* door with the scene of the Annunciation.
Architectural sculptures/*Spolia*: -
Inscriptions: -
Historical evidence: The Codex (*Thesis*) of the church attests that in 1714 the monument was already in existence. At that time the brothers of the fraternity appointed as priest of the church a certain papa-Dimitrakis.[4] Moreover, from a report of the priests Dimitrios Oikonomou, Konstantinos Aulonitis and Georgios Dimitrakis in August of 1833 to the bishopric commissioner, Archimandrite Serafim Koutsoupis, we learn that the church was private but not parochial. Also, that at that time it had among its possessions the islet of Skyropoula and one half of the islet of Rinia (Atesis 1961, 262; Faltaits 1972f, 6).
Chronology: 1714 *terminus ante quem.*
References: Atesis 1961, 262.

C25. Panayia Ktsou or Tou Thodori (The presentation of the Virgin Mary to the Church)

Architecture: combination of the cross-in-square – complex four-columned type and the three-aisled basilica (type 1c). From the western side it is flanked by an arcaded portico, added at a later time; a second one, unfinished, flanks the building from the southern side. Externally the roof is saddleback covered with tiles. The apse is three-sided. The entrance of the western wall is crowned by a semicircular conch (now located above the portico), and flanked by two rectangular windows. At the top of the roof is located the pointed belfry (Figs. C.32-33, 35).

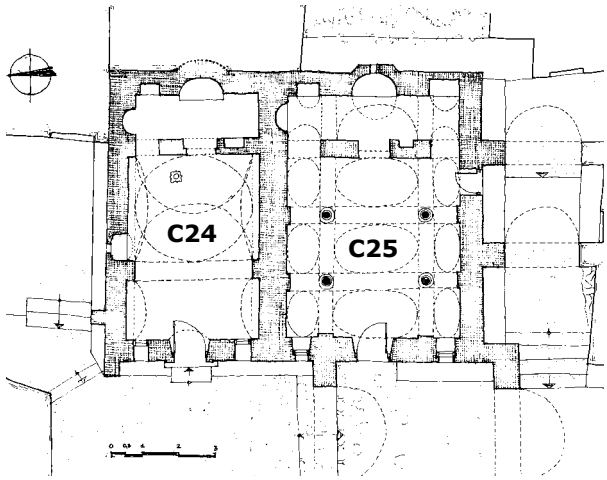


Fig. C.33: C24-C25, plan of the churches (S. Papazoglou).

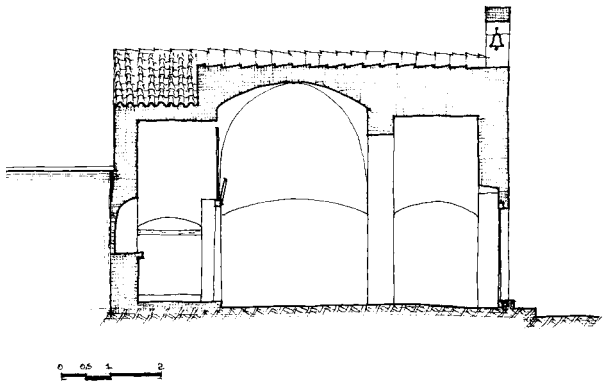


Fig. C.34: C24, longitudinal section of the church (S. Papazoglou).

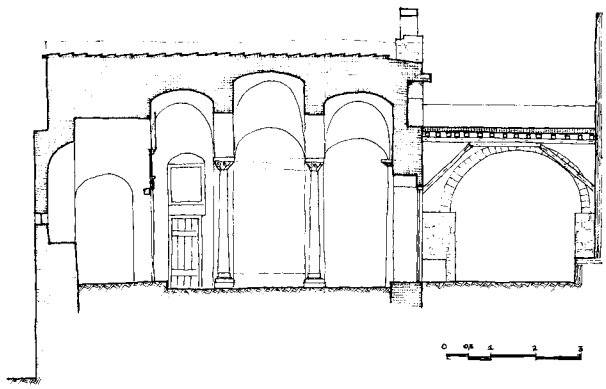


Fig. C.35: C25, longitudinal section of the church (S. Papazoglou).

4 The Codex was originally studied by Kostas Faltaits in 1939, but his effort remained unpublished. The information was copied and published by his son Manos Faltaits (1972f, 5), and from there copied by Zarkia, who however, does not refer to her source (Zarkia 1991, 209, n.8).

Fig. C.36: C24, internal view of the church.

Fig. C.37: C25, internal view of the church.

Internally the church is covered with vaults. The central vault, standing on four columns, has the form of a raised central bay (Fig. C.37). The bema is barrel-vaulted and divided in three parts (bema, *prothesis, diakonikon*), through two arches with east-west direction connecting the eastern pillars with the eastern wall. The central conch is high, semicircular with a small light-hole and the built altar. In the *prothesis* and *diakonikon* are three smaller conchs. At the eastern end of the southern wall there is another aperture. The floor of the church is the natural rock.

Wall paintings: The church is fully decorated. The eastern vault depicts Christ Pantokrator surrounded by the Heavenly Powers (Fig. C.38); the pendentives depict Evangelists; the central raised bay depicts *Ainoi* (hymns); and the northern wall of the main church depicts the Last Judgment. On the rest of the surfaces are depicted scenes from the *Dodekaorton*, the cycle of the Passion and the miracles of Christ, without an organised iconographical programme. Based on the style of execution, the paintings could be possibly dated to the 17th c. More than one painter can be discerned.

***Templon*:** wood-carved in low relief with painted decoration; not a local product.

Icons: a significant number of Post-Byzantine date. Most significant are the icons of the presentation of the Virgin Mary to the Church, the Panayia Odigitria, Christ as *Megas Archiereus*, the Nativity of Christ and the *templon* door with the scene of the Annunciation.

Fig. C.38: C25, Christ *Pantokrator* on the eastern vault of the church.

Architectural sculptures/*Spolia*: Capitals with spear-leaves in the corners and double spirals in the faces crown the four columns of the main church (*in situ,* most probably contemporaneous to the church).

Inscriptions: Above the entrance is a dedicatory inscription of the *archon* Theodoros Bozikis who built the church in 1560: "*ὁ θεῖος οὗτος κ(αὶ) πάνσεπτος ναὸς τῆς Θ(εοτό)κου τῶν Εἰσοδίων ἀνοικοδομήθη ἐκ βάθρων δι᾽ἐξόδου κ(αὶ) συνδρομῆς τοῦ εὐλαβεστάτου ἄρχοντος κυρίου Θεοδωρῆ Μποζίκη ἐν ἔτει ,ζξη΄ (7068=1560) Μαΐω ιε΄ (15)*" (Fig. C.39).

Fig. C.39: C25, the dedicatory inscription of the *archon* Bozikis.

Historical evidence: In August 11, 1833, the owner of the church Ioannis D. Aulonitis submitted a report to the bishopric commissioner, Archimandrite Serafim Koutsoupis, according to which the church is parochial, has a capacity of 40 people, owns "several fields in different locations" and enjoys an annual income of 90 kuruş. Given that the expenses were higher than the revenue, he and his brothers maintained the church "which [they] have inherited from their parents" (Atesis 1961, 254).
Chronology: 1560 AD
References: Atesis 1961, 252-4.

C26a-b. Ai Stratis (Taxiarchs Michael and Gabriel)

Architecture: twin church in its present form; consisting of a single-nave barrel-vaulted church with a lower and narrower bema at the northern side (a: type 3b), and a single-nave flat-roofed church at the southern side (b: type 4a). The latter is probably a later addition. This is attested by the irregular plan of the southern church which seems to take into account the adjacent road, and by some further architectural anomalies: i.e. the north-eastern alcove in the bema of the southern church - originally it was the corner of the southern external wall of the northern main church, by reason of the smaller width of its bema (the corresponding corner is at the northern side; today it stands inside the adjacent house). The entrance to the churches is located at the northern side of the northern church, while communication between the two is through a large arcaded opening at their western side. Both churches are internally (and partially externally) plastered (Fig. C.40).

Externally the roof of the northern church is saddleback covered with whitewashed stone-slabs, while that of the southern is flat covered with cement (cement is also applied above the stones-slabs of the bema of the northern church; however, the slabs are clearly visible in the eastern facade of the church). Apparently the cement in the southern church has replaced the soil of the original construction. The rest of the traditional roof (uprights and bamboo) is still preserved. It seems that the church was designed as flat-roofed from the beginning. In fact the walls of the southern church are thinner in comparison to those of the northern. The apse of the southern church is semicircular while that of the northern church is rectangular (the conch of the bema of the northern church is set into the wall). At the top of the western side of the roof of the northern church is the belfry, crowning a rectangular window.

Internally the bema of the northern church bears a semicircular central conch supplemented by a second rectangular one. The floor of the church is paved with modern cement slabs. The southern church has three conchs in the eastern wall of the bema, regularly distributed. Its floor is slightly higher than that of the northern church and it is paved with cement.
Wall paintings: traces of an unidentified figure (probably Christ), on the southern half of the original built *templon* of the northern church (behind the present wooden icon of Christ). Another trace of a full-length figure was preserved until some years ago on the northern wall of the bema of the northern church.
***Templon*:** The original *templon* of the northern church was built and wall-painted, probably including some wooden elements. After its paintings had worn-off, sometime in the late 19th-early 20th century, a second wooden *templon* was erected in front of the original,

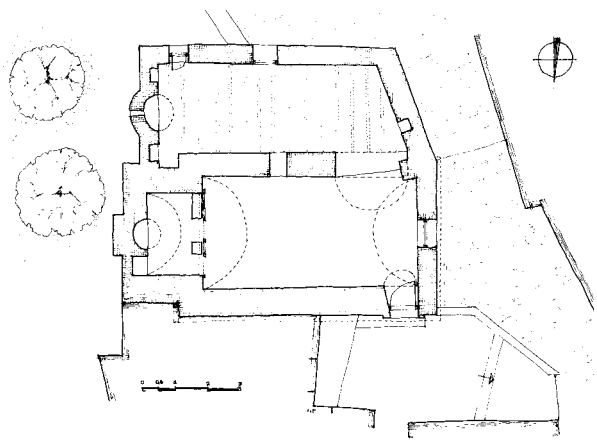


Fig. C.40: C26, plan of the church (S. Papazoglou).

incorporating some wooden elements of the built *templon*, i.e. the architrave (*apostolikon*), and the *templon* door. This is clearly visible in the completely different style of the two aforementioned elements of Post-Byzantine date, in comparison to the simple style of the wooden *templon* with decorative elements inspired by neoclassicism (Fig. C.41). The southern church lacks both *templon* and icons.

Icons: in the northern church only; three *templon*-icons of Christ, Virgin Mary and the Archangels Michael and Gabriel (the first two by the same artist). In the architrave of the *templon* are fourteen icons (*Deisis* in the centre, flanked by the twelve Apostles). The *templon* door bears the scene of the Annunciation; all are of good quality and of Post-Byzantine date. Another naïf icon of the Archangel Michael is located on the northern wall, bearing an inscription of the date 1847.

Architectural sculptures/*Spolia*: fragment of a solid column inside the northern church [h: 0.45, d: 0.15].

Inscriptions: -

Historical evidence: In the historical sources there is confusion with the adjacent church of the Taxiarchs (C25), some metres to the north. In any case, it seems that the report of Dimitrios Tzikouris to the bishopric commissioner, Archimandrite Serafim Koutsoupis, in 1833, must be related to this church. According to this report, the church was parochial and had a capacity of 80 people. The annual income of the church was 60 kuruş, while the respective expenses (the priest's salary included) amounted to 160 kuruş, thus leaving the church in debt. Moreover, Dimitrios Tzikouris attests that he made a new *templon* for the church (the wooden one of the northern church?), which cost 1,200 kuruş (Atesis 1961, 261).

Chronology: of Ottoman times.

References: Georgopoulou-Meladini 1972, 372; Atesis 1961, 261.

Fig. C.41: C26, internal view of the northern church, and its *templon*.

C27. Ayioi Apostoloi

Architecture: a single-nave flat-roofed church, with a (probably later) longitudinal flat-roofed narthex (type 4b). The roof is now covered with cement, which apparently has replaced the soil (*melagki*) of the original construction; inside, the uprights and bamboo of the original structure are still preserved. The entrance to the church is set in the northern wall of the narthex. Above the entrance is located the belfry (probably modern).

Internally, in the eastern wall is set a central semicircular conch which bears the built altar. The floor is paved with modern glazed tiles.

Wall paintings: not discernible.

***Templon*:** wooden, much worn.

Icons: Among the modern icons some are of late Post-Byzantine date: icons of the *Dodekaorton* (Feast Cycle), the principal icon of the *templon* with enthroned Christ, two shrines of the Holy Apostles, a painted cross at the top of the *templon* and the *templon* door with the scene of the Annunciation.

Architectural sculptures/*Spolia*: -

Inscriptions: -

Historical evidence: The church is referred to in a document of 1706 "…*τὸ σπίτι εἰς τὸ Κρόκο εἰς τοὺς Ἁγίους Ἀποστόλους*..." (Antoniadis 1990, doc. 53/1706). The 'brother' of the fraternity Dimitrios Antonakis in his report to the bishopric commissioner, Serafim Koutsoupis, in 1833, writes that the church is private, and that it owns some field possessions (including one half of the islet of Rinia) providing to the fraternity an income of 50 kuruş. He also states that the annual instalment paid by the members of the fraternity is 120 or 140 kuruş. The church is referred to as being ex-parochial by Atesis (1960, 251).

Chronology: 1706 *terminus ante quem.*

References: Atesis 1961, 251.

C28. Ayia Triada

Architecture: a single-nave domed church with blind arches (type 6a). The semicircular apse is notably wide, reaching the lateral walls and constituting the bema of the church. The structure of the church is a cubic main church on which is erected the pendentive dome and to which a wide apse from the eastern side is 'added', actually the bema of the church. The type is unique among the churches of Skyros. Externally the drum of the dome is cylindrical, having a small opening on its western side. Both the dome and the rest of the roof are covered with stone-slabs (restored in 2007 by the personnel of the 23rd Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities). The western facade of the church is crowned by a belfry, its posts decorated with Iznik tiles II & III (16th - 17th c.) (Figs. C.42-44).

Internally the dome is shaped as a semi-spherical vault, low and wide in comparison to the volume of the church, erected directly on the pendentives. The radius of the dome is slightly larger in respect to its circular base. The pendentives are ribbed. The blind arches start from pilaster(like)-capitals and are slightly pointed.

The bema-apse of the church is covered by a semi-dome. The altar stands free in the middle of the holy area. Three small rectangular conchs are set in the wall of the apse. A rectangular window in the southern wall of the main church was probably opened after the execution of the wall paintings. The floor of the church is paved with cement.

Wall paintings: The church is fully decorated. The dome depicts Christ Pantokrator surrounded by the Heavenly Powers (Fig. C.45). In the pendentives Evangelists; in the eastern halves of the north-eastern and south-eastern pendentives the scene of the Annunciation. In the semi-dome of the bema, the Mother of God in the scene of *Anothen oi Profitai* (the Virgin Mary in Glory, enthroned with Christ in her lap, attended by archangels and below full-length prophets in arcades); lower, a band with half-figured saints in medallions in the guise of the fruit of a tree. In the semi-cylindrical wall, Officiating Prelates. On the

Fig. C.42: C28, view of the church from the west.

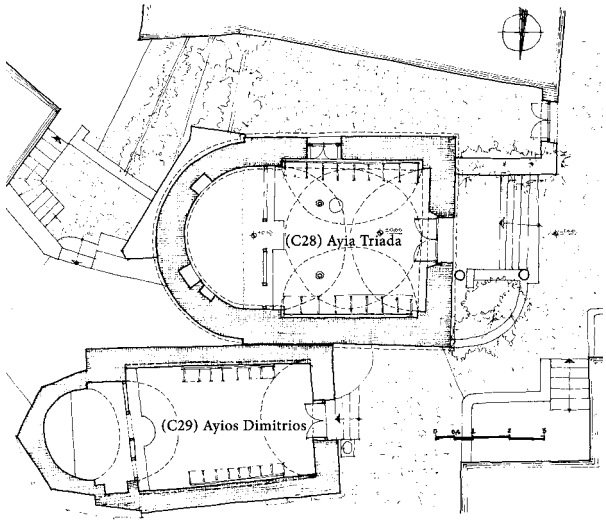


Fig. C.43: C28-C29, plan of the churches (S. Papazoglou).

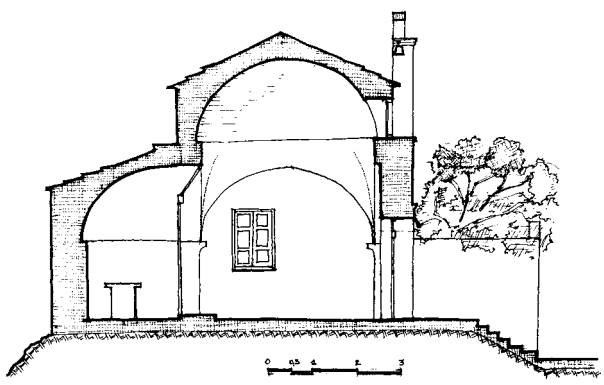


Fig. C.44: C28, longitudinal section of the church (S. Papazoglou).

north wall of the main church, the Last Judgment, and in the south the Pentecost, the Baptism, the beheading of St. John the Baptist, etc.

According to a painted inscription on the northern wall, the decoration of the church was executed by the painter Michael in the 17th c.

***Templon*:** wooden, with many elements bearing carved decoration in low relief (i.e. the architrave); almost certainly of local production (Fig. C.46).

Icons: of late Post-Byzantine times (18th-19th c.); eight small icons of the *Dodekaorton* (Feast Cycle) in the architrave, two principal icons of the *templon* (the Virgin Mary enthroned with Christ in her lap, and the Hospitality of Abraham), a fragment of an icon with a scene from the life of St. George, and a *templon* cross with carved and painted decoration.

Architectural sculptures/*Spolia*: outside, two monolithic marbled columns: 1) [h: 2.05, d: 0.30] 2) [h: 1.51, d: 0.24]. Inside the main church, the base of a phiale [h: 0.54, max d: 0.41].

Inscriptions: At the northern edge of the semi-cylindrical wall of the bema close to the *templon*, there is a dedicatory inscription referring to the wall paintings of the church, made by the painter Michael in the 17th c.: "*ἀνγωρήθει ὁ [πάνσε]πτος ναὸς τῆ[ς] ...] ἀδηερέτου τριάδ[ος] [...] κόπου τὸν [...] τῆς τι[...] σικοπηὸν τὸν ἀδελφ[ῶν] κ(αὶ) δηὰ χηρὸς [...]μου Μιχαὴλ ἁγιογράφου [ἐ]ν ἔτη ,αχ[...](=16...) μηνὶ Σεπτεμβρίου κε΄ (25)*".

Historical evidence: In his report to the bishopric commissioner, Archimandrite Serafim Koutsoupis, in 1833, the 'brother' of the fraternity Nikolaos Ioannou writes that the church is private; it has a capacity of 30 people and has an annual income of 15 kuruş, derived from 'some' fields. Moreover, that the church is cared for by the brothers of the fraternity, through an annual instalment of 129 kuruş. The church is referred to by Atesis as being ex-parochial.

Chronology: 17th c. *terminus ante quem*.

References: Atesis 1961, 250-51.

Fig. C.45: C28, painted decoration of the pendentive dome.

Fig. C.46: C28, the *templon* of the church; the work of local workshop.

C29. Ayios Dimitrios

Architecture: The architectural type is the common on the island single-nave barrel-vaulted church, which however, bears a noteworthy large apse, almost equal to the width of the entire bema (type 3b). This last element is clearly an influence of the adjacent and apparently older church of Ayia Triada (C28) with the large apse-bema, which the builders of Ayios Dimitrios have tried to imitate (Fig. C.43).

The roof of the church is now flat covered with cement but must have been saddleback originally. The entrance is set in the western side of the church.

Inside the bema, apart from the large semicircular conch which bears the equally large built altar, a secondary conch is set in the northern wall. Above the entrance is set the only window of the church. The floor is paved with glazed tiles of the mid-20th c. The building is internally and externally plastered.

Wall paintings: not discernible.

***Templon*:** local, simple wooden.

Icons: modern.

Architectural sculptures/*Spolia*: outside the entrance: a column base [h: 0.20, d: 0.21], column fragment [h:1.00], and pier column [h:0.15, l:0.42x0.42]; as lintel of the entrance, a column fragment (all *spolia* are whitewashed).
Inscriptions: -
Historical evidence: -
Chronology: of Ottoman times; probably later than the adjacent Ayia Triada (based on the topographical plan of the area).
References: -

C30a-b-c. Christos, Panayia Katapoliani, Ayios Ioannis (triple church)

a. Christos (The birth of Christ)

Architecture: a small single-nave flat-roofed church (type 4a). The monument sustained a destructive renovation some years ago with new plaster inside and outside, new floor etc.). Externally the roof is covered with cement, which apparently has replaced the soil of the original construction; internally it preserves the (restored) wooden structure. The entrance is located at the western side.

Internally, the central conch of the bema is semicircular, flanked by a smaller conch in the northern wall. Along the northern wall of the main church is a low bench. The floor is paved with modern stone-slabs.
Wall paintings: not discernible.
***Templon*:** built.
Icons: modern.
Architectural sculptures/*Spolia*: 1) The northern post of the *templon* is a robust granite column, apparently of Roman times [h: 2.00, d: 0.35]; 2) in front of the southern part of the *templon* in the main church, a fragment of a solid column of local polychrome marble [h: 0.35, d: 0.25]; 3) in the yard a marble block [0.31x0.34x0.15]; 4) in the yard a fragment of solid column [h: 0.39, d: 0.35].
Inscriptions: -
Historical evidence: -
Chronology: of Ottoman times?
References: -

b. Panayia Katapoliani (The birth of the Mother of God)

Architecture: a small single-nave barrel-vaulted church with flat roofed narthex at the western side (type 3a) (Fig. C.47). The narthex is probably a later addition; originally there was a flat-roofed portico attached to the church, with arcaded openings on the northern, southern and western sides, blocked-off in later times. The original arch outside the western wall and the blind (today) arch inside the southern wall are still discernible.

Externally the roof of the narthex is covered with cement, which apparently has replaced the soil of the original construction. Above the entrance on the western side is located a pointed belfry. In the main church is visible the external side of the vault, deprived of its original covering, apparently of stone-slabs or tiles. The eastern wall bears the semicircular apse.

Internally, the narthex preserves its original roof consisting of uprights and bamboo. The entrance to the main church is crowned by an ogee arch. In the main church an arcaded opening in the western side of the northern wall allows communication between the church and the adjacent Ayios Ioannis (C30c). The only window of the church is set in the southern wall of the main church. The bema is dominated by a large semicircular conch in which is built the altar. Smaller and rectangular conchs are set in the northern and southern sides. A second free-standing altar is located in the north-eastern corner of the bema. The floor is paved with modern tiles.

Fig. C.47: C30b, view of the church from the northwest.

Wall paintings: not discernible.
***Templon*:** wood-carved; not a local product.
Icons: among the modern icons, two *templon*-icons of Christ and the Virgin Mary, of late Post-Byzantine times.
Architectural sculptures/*Spolia*: The secondary altar is erected on a fragment of monolithic column.
Inscriptions: -
Historical evidence: -
Chronology: of Ottoman times?
References: -

c. Ayios Ioannis (St. John the Baptist)

Architecture: a small single-nave barrel-vaulted church (type 3c). Externally the roof is covered with cement, but it is thought that originally it was saddle-back. The apse in the eastern wall is rectangular. The entrance is located in the western wall.

Internally the central conch is semicircular, supplemented by two small rectangular conchs on the northern side. A rectangular window is set in the northern wall of the main church. The church is internally and externally plastered. The floor is paved with modern tiles.
Wall paintings: not discernible.
***Templon*:** wooden, Early Modern, with minimal carved decoration; a Skyrian product.
Icons: among the modern icons, a *templon*-icon of the beheading of St. John, of Post-Byzantine times.
Architectural sculptures/*Spolia*: outside the entrance a fragment of monolithic column [l:1.40].
Inscriptions: -
Historical evidence: -
Chronology: of Ottoman times?
References: -

C31. Ayia Theofano

Architecture: a single-nave barrel-vaulted church, with longitudinal barrel-vaulted narthex at the western side (type 3a). The church is built on the edge of a cliff. From the northern and southern sides it is flanked by houses. Externally the roof is flat covered with cement, but originally must have been saddle-back covered with stone-slabs. The apse is semicircular. Above the entrance is a semicircular conch.

Internally the conch of the bema is semicircular and relatively wide. Auxiliary rectangular conchs are found on the northern and southern sides. The floor of the church is natural rock covered with sand, according to the traditional manner (Figs. C.48-49).
Wall paintings: badly preserved, only on the western side and mainly on the lateral walls of the narthex, including a composition of the Last Judgment (Fig. C.50). Hell is depicted on the northern wall and Paradise on the southern wall. The depiction of Christ on the western wall is very badly preserved. Based on their style and in comparison to the context of the

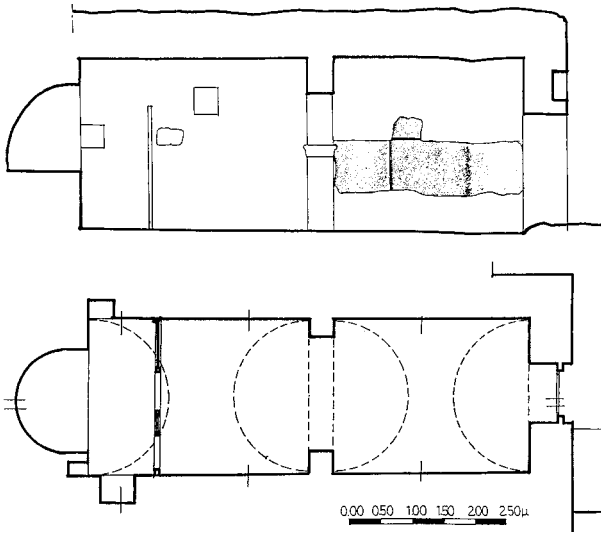


Fig. C.48: C31, longitudinal section and plan of the church (Argyros & Apostolou, archive-courtesy 23rd Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities).

Fig. C.49: C31, internal view of the church.

Fig. C.50: C31, part of the composition of the Last Judgment, on the north wall of the church's narthex.

Fig. C.51: C32, view of the church from the west.

churches of Chora, the wall paintings could be roughly dated to the 17th-18th c.
***Templon*:** simple wooden, with painted *templon* door.
Icons: noteworthy icons of late Post-Byzantine times: *templon*-icons of Christ, Ayia Theofano and the Virgin Mary, the latter bearing the inscription "*Δέησις τοῦ δούλου τοῦ Θεού Δημητρίου προσκυνητού τοῦ Παναγίου Τάφου*". In addition, 15 naïf icons of the *Apostolikon* (*Deisis* in the centre flanked by the twelve Apostles), a painted cross which crowns the *templon* and a high-quality icon of the Annunciation on the *templon* door, with the inscription "*Δέησις τοῦ δούλου τοῦ Θεού Μανουήλ κ(αὶ) Μαρίας κ(αὶ) τῶν τέκνων αὐτῶν*" in the lower part. In the central conch of the bema, a high-quality Post-Byzantine icon of Christ (quite worn).
Architectural sculptures/*Spolia*: -
Inscriptions: -
Historical evidence: -
Chronology: 17th-18th c. (based on the wall paintings)
References: -

C32. Ayios Ioannis of Fragkos

Architecture: a small single-nave barrel-vaulted church with a precinct courtyard at the western side (type 3b) (Fig. C.51). Externally the saddleback roof is covered with stone slabs. The eastern wall is bulging, indicating the apse. The entrance is located on the western side. The only window of the church is set in the southern side. Internally the conch of the bema is semicircular, sheltering the built altar. The floor is paved with glazed tiles of the mid-20th c.
Wall paintings: not discernible.
***Templon*:** wooden. The architrave is carved in low relief, gilded and painted. The other parts bear only painted decoration.
Icons: two of Post-Byzantine times in the *templon*: The Mother of God and Christ as *Megas Archiereus*.
Architectural sculptures/*Spolia*: -
Inscriptions: -
Historical evidence: -
Chronology: of Ottoman times.
References: -

C33. Panayia Kyra Psomou (The Birth of the Mother of God)

Architecture: a single-nave domed church with blind arches and elongated barrel-vaulted spaces eastward and westward (type 6d) (Figs. C.52-53). Due to the inclined terrain the eastern side of the church is attached to the natural rock and thus not visible. To the northern there is attached an auxiliary building. Both the church and the adjacent building were restored by the Direction of Restoration of Byzantine and Post-Byzantine monuments and by the 23rd Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities, during the years 2002-2009.

Externally the drum of the dome is cylindrical with four arcaded windows. The roof of the church (the dome included) was covered with cement before the restoration. The Archaeological Service restored the apparently original stone-slabs of the construction. The entrance to the church is located on the western side. Originally it was covered by a kind of

Fig. C.52: C33, view of the church from the south-east.

portico (now demolished) covered with the traditional flat roof, consisting of uprights, bamboo and local soil.

Internally the bema is very regular. It consists of a wide semicircular conch and two smaller conchs set in the northern and southern walls (for the *prothesis* and the *diakonikon* respectively). Outside the bema in the northern wall there is a blocked opening, which originally enabled communication of the church with the auxiliary building. The floor is paved with marble slabs.

The interior of the church bears a stucco 'Baroque style' relief decoration. This is identified on the dome (oval medallions adorned with floral patterns) and on the cornice of its base, on the pendentives (oval medallions adorned with floral patterns), on the top of the western piers of the main church (Corinthian style pier(like)-capitals), and on the drums of the blind arches (oval medallions adorned with floral patterns). Apparently the relief decoration was prepared to receive painted decoration (i.e. the empty medallions on the dome, pendentives and the drums); this was never executed, except for some coloured backgrounds identified on the walls of the narthex, imitating a marble effect. This example of relief architectural decoration in Kyra Psomou is a unique case in Skyros.

Wall paintings: not discernible, except for the coloured backgrounds imitating a marble effect of the relief decoration (see immediately above).

***Templon*:** wood-carved, of high quality. It bears gilded and painted decoration; definitely not a local product (Fig. C.54).

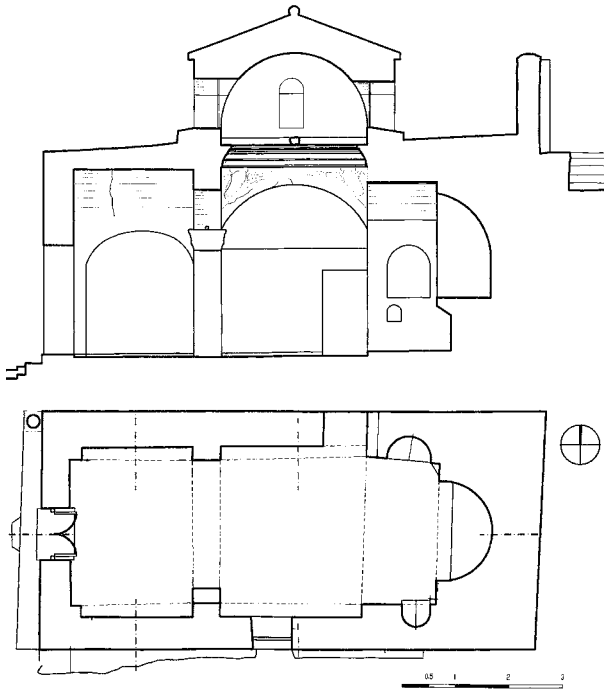


Fig. C.53: C33, longitudinal section and plan of the church (Petrioli, Koutsi, Salemi & Chandrinos; archive-courtesy 23rd Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities).

Fig. C.54: C33, the *templon*-door of the church; definitely not a local product.

Icons: in the *templon*, of late Post-Byzantine times: thirteen icons of the *Dodekaorton* (Feast Cycle) in the architrave, an icon of Christ Pantokrator, a *templon* door with a western-style Annunciation and a painted cross crowning the *templon*.
Architectural sculptures/*Spolia*: Inside the church is an Ionic column capital of CL-HEL times [h: 0.18, w: 0.27], an Early Christian cubical capital decorated with a Latin cross [h: 0.18, w: 0.35x0.35]; outside the church is a solid marble column (originally the post of the western portico) [h: 1.53, d: *c.* 0.26].
Inscriptions: -
Historical evidence: The church is referred to by Atesis as being ex-parochial (1961: 251).
Chronology: of Ottoman times.
Comments: Oral tradition refers to the church as 'Catholic'. No evidence supports this hypothesis.
References: Atesis 1961, 251.

C34a-b. Ayia Paraskevi (a) and Ayios Dimitrios (b)

Architecture: twin church. The southern church, dedicated to Ayia Paraskevi, is a small single-nave barrel-vaulted church (type 3b). Its saddleback roof is covered with stone-slabs (Fig. C.55). The northern church, dedicated to Ayios Dimitrios, is also a small single-nave but flat-roofed church, constructed with uprights, bamboo and (originally) soil, according to the traditional manner (type 4a). Today the soil has been replaced with cement. Entrance to both churches, which on the western side are elevated in relation to the road, is via two ladders from the northern and southern sides of a tiny terrace, one for each church.

Fig. C.55: C34a, view of the church from the west.

Internally, the churches communicate through a rectangular opening in their common wall. It seems that originally this opening was much wider, as the traces of the initial arcaded construction attest. The bema of both churches bears a central semicircular conch, supplemented by auxiliary conchs distributed along the rest of the walls. The floor of both churches is paved with glazed tiles of the mid-20th c. The interior of Ayios Dimitrios and the western external side of both churches are plastered.
Wall paintings: a much worn small fragment in the eastern wall of Ayia Paraskevi, in which is discernible a medallion with a half-figured Prelate (Fig. C.56).
***Templon*:** wooden modern in both churches.
Icons: in Ayia Paraskevi all are modern. In Ayios Dimitrios are three *templon*-icons depicting Christ, the Virgin Mary and Ayios Dimitrios, probably by the same artist. In the lower part of the latter the date 1836 can be discerned.
Architectural sculptures/*Spolia*: -
Inscriptions: -
Historical evidence: -
Chronology: of Ottoman times.
References: -

Fig. C.56: C34a, the last survived fragment of the painted decoration of the church.

C35. Ayia Anna

Architecture: a single-nave flat-roofed church with blind arches and elongated barrel-vaulted spaces to the eastward and westward (type 6d). It seems certain that the core of the church was originally domed; this explains the robust lateral walls and the arches.

Fig. C.57: C35, view of the church from the west.

Apparently the dome collapsed at some time and was replaced by the traditional flat roof consisting of uprights, bamboo and soil.

On the northern and southern sides the core of the church is flanked by longitudinal rooms, originally open spaces between the church and the adjacent houses, later closed-off and incorporated into the church as auxiliary rooms. Only the western side of the church is visible, the rest being attached to the adjacent houses and natural rock (Figs. C.57-59).

Externally the roof of the church is now flat, covered with cement (which apparently replaced the original soil). The roof of the central and western part of the church is higher than that of the bema. This of course is a result of the later phase of the monument, after the collapse of the dome and probably of the western barrel-vault as well. Actually in the first phase of the church, apart from the dome which naturally should be significantly higher than the rest of the building, the western part should be of the same altitudinal level as the eastern part (see the section of the same church-type C36). In fact, inside the church in the (fortunately) non-plastered western vault, there is clearly discernible in the masonry a joint of the lateral arches, attesting that the present vault (built with dressed tufa stones) is a later repair, making the vault more vertical in comparison to the original. This was apparently done in order for the vault to reach in height the pendentives of the collapsed dome and thus be easily roofed with a flat (external) construction.

Internally the communication of the church with the lateral auxiliary rooms is via two arcaded openings at the western side of the building. A window on the north-east side of the main church communicates

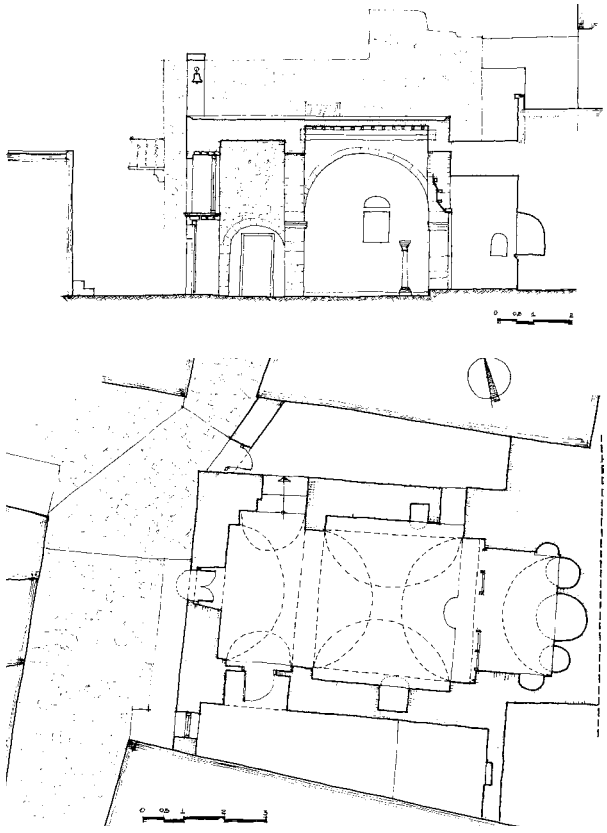


Fig. C.58: C35, longitudinal section and plan of the church (S. Papazoglou).

Fig. C.59: C35, internal view of the church.

with the northern auxiliary room. The barrel-vaulted bema bears five semicircular conchs regularly distributed (five in the eastern wall and two more in the northern and southern walls). The central one is bigger and bears the built altar. Two more rectangular conchs are set in the northern and southern walls of the main church. The floor is paved with stone-slabs, while that of the lateral rooms with cement (cement repairs are also identified in the bema).

Wall paintings: Worn traces were preserved until some decades ago.

***Templon*:** wood-carved in low relief and with painted decoration. On the architrave the large inscription "*ἐν ἐκκλησίαις εὐλογεῖτε τὸν Θεόν*". Definitely not a local product.

Icons: of good quality and Post-Byzantine date: 12 icons of the *Dodekaorton* (Feast Cycle) in the architrave and three *templon*-icons of Christ, the Virgin Mary and the Dormition of St. Anna. The icon of Christ bears an inscription on its front side: "*Ἐπὶ Ἔτι 1744*". Two more naïf icons of the late 19th c. (of St. John the Baptist and Prophet Elias), products of the same artist, are located in front of the *templon*. The latter has a written inscription at the back: "*1873*".

Architectural sculptures/*Spolia*:-

Inscriptions: -

Historical evidence: The church was parochial. The brother of the fraternity Dimitrios Kosmas, in his report to the bishopric commissioner, Archimandrite Serafim Koutsoupis, in 1833, mentions that the church is private, has a capacity of 60 people and that the annual instalment of the members of the fraternity for the needs of the church amounts to 157 kuruş (Atesis 1961, 252).

Chronology: of Ottoman times (17th c.?)

References: Atesis 1961, 252.

C36. Christos Miga (The Birth of Christ)

Architecture: a single-nave domed church with blind arches and elongated barrel-vaulted spaces to the east and west (type 6d). In the 19th century a separate room was added to the west, now the narthex of the church (Fig. C.60). The 19th c. narthex was roofed with the traditional flat construction consisting of uprights and bamboo overlaid by local soil (*melagki*); today the soil has been replaced with cement. The rest of the roof of the church (the dome included) is covered with stone slabs. Externally the drum of the dome is cylindrical and relatively low; it bears a small window on the western side. The eastern wall of the church is quite thick and slightly bulging, an indication of the apse. At the top of the western wall of the main church is located the belfry.

Internally the church is dominated by the large dome, formed as a semi-spherical vault, low and wide in comparison to the volume of the church, erected directly on the pendentives. The radius of the dome is slightly larger in respect to its circular base.

In the eastern wall of the bema are set three conchs regularly distributed amid the bema, the *prothesis* and the *diakonikon.* The central conch is bigger, semicircular and bears the built altar. One more rectangular conch is set in the northern wall of the bema.

The four blind arches in the main church start from a relatively low height. The southern wall has a rectangular opening. A window is set above the western arch of the main church. The floor of the church is paved with glazed tiles of the mid-20th century.

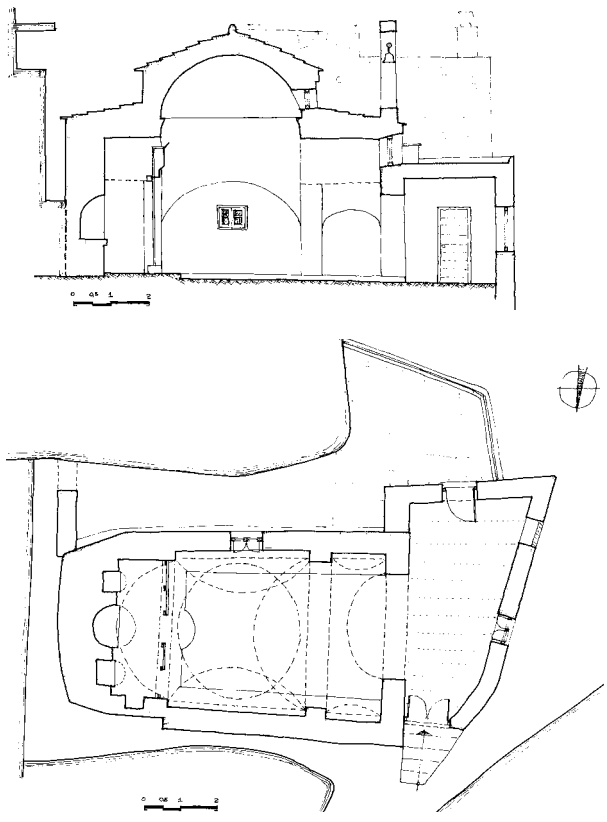


Fig. C.60: C36, longitudinal section and plan of the church (S. Papazoglou).

On the northern side of the narthex is the entrance of the church. A second door on the southern side enables communication between the church and a courtyard. The large arcaded opening between the narthex and the main church is a result of extensive works in 1820, including construction of the present narthex and enlargement of the original (apparently smaller) entrance to the church (see below in *historical evidence*). This is why the axis of the arcade does not coincide with the axis of the church. The floor of the narthex is paved with modern glazed tiles.

Wall paintings: not discernible. The church is internally and externally plastered.

***Templon*:** wood-carved, of high quality, without additional gilded and/or painted decoration, executed in 1808. Supplementary work was undertaken in 1824 by a certain Fragkoulis from the island of Chios (see below, *historical evidence*).

Icons: The cross, the *Dodekaorton* (Feast Cycle) and the Nativity of the Christ are contemporaneous to the *templon* (1808) (see below *historical evidence*). The other two icons of the *templon* (Christ and the Virgin Mary) are probably of earlier date (17th - 18th c.).

Architectural sculptures/*Spolia*: -

Inscriptions: Behind the bema, Papageorgiou mentions an illegible Latin inscription (Papageorgiou 1909, 40).

Historical evidence: It is one of the few churches preserving its Codex (*Thesis*), written in 1806 by the priest Dimitrios Samiotis Oikonomou. The Codex was published by Atesis in 1969. Here the basic elements of the text are presented: According to the Codex, the church of *Christos tou Miga* was parochial and was founded by an ancestor of the writer, the priest Georgios Migas (whence the appellation). After the death of his wife Georgios became a monk, taking the new name of Gabriel (Migas). Some members of the fraternity disputed Gabriel as being the founder of the church, obliging him to seek redress from the Archbishop of Athens, Daniel (1636-1655) during his visit to Skyros between the years 1636-1638. The Archbishop confirmed the rights of Gabriel as indicated in the relevant judgment, which was inscribed into the Codex in 1638. We can thus use the year 1638 as *terminus ante quem* for the founding of the church.

From the Codex we also learn that the descendants of Gabriel created a first narthex in 1806, and in 1808 made the *templon*, adorned with the cross at the top, the icons of the *Dodekaorton* (Feast Cycle) and an icon of the Nativity of Christ. Moreover, the writer of the Codex, Dimitrios Oikonomou, informs us with a new entry that in 1820 the present large narthex was built and the arcaded opening connecting the narthex with the main church created, while in the next year (1821) the present belfry was constructed. Moreover, in 1824 he employed for 15 days a certain Fragkoulis from the island of Chios (who originally came to Skyros to finish the *templon* of Archontopanayia, C23), to enrich the wood-carved decoration of the church of Christos. Lastly, in 1878 Georgios and Stamatis Oikonomidis repaired the roof of the narthex. At the end of the Codex is provided a full catalogue of the numerous land offers to the church by members of the fraternity, as well as three agreements (dated 1878, 1881 and 1885) between the owners of the church at that time -Stamatis and Georgios Oikonomidis- and the priests, regarding the rights and obligations of each party.

Chronology: 1638 *terminus ante quem* (early 17th century at the earliest).The present narthex dates from 1820; the belfry from 1821; the *templon* from 1808 and 1824.

References: Atesis 1969, 13-30; Atesis 1961, 251-2.

C37. Panayia Eleimonitria (Fountain of life Almoner)

Architecture: The core of the church is a single-nave, domed, with blind arches and elongated barrel-vaulted spaces to the east and west (type 6d). The two flat-roofed longitudinal rooms which flank the church from the northern and southern sides (or perhaps even the present barrel-vaulted narthex to the west) are possibly later additions (Figs. C.61-62).

Externally the drum of the dome is cylindrical with four windows and covered with stone-slabs, now plastered. Stone-slabs also cover the rest of the roof of the main church, while the vaults of the two western spaces are covered with cement. Cement has also been applied on the flat roofs of the lateral wings, apparently replacing the soil of the original construction (internally the rooms preserve the original wooden support). The eastern wall of the church is bulging, indicating the apse.

The church bears three entrances, all on the western side: one in the narthex and two more set in the lateral wings. The lintel of the central entrance bears the founding inscriptions of the church. It is

Fig. C.61: C37, view of the church from the north-west.

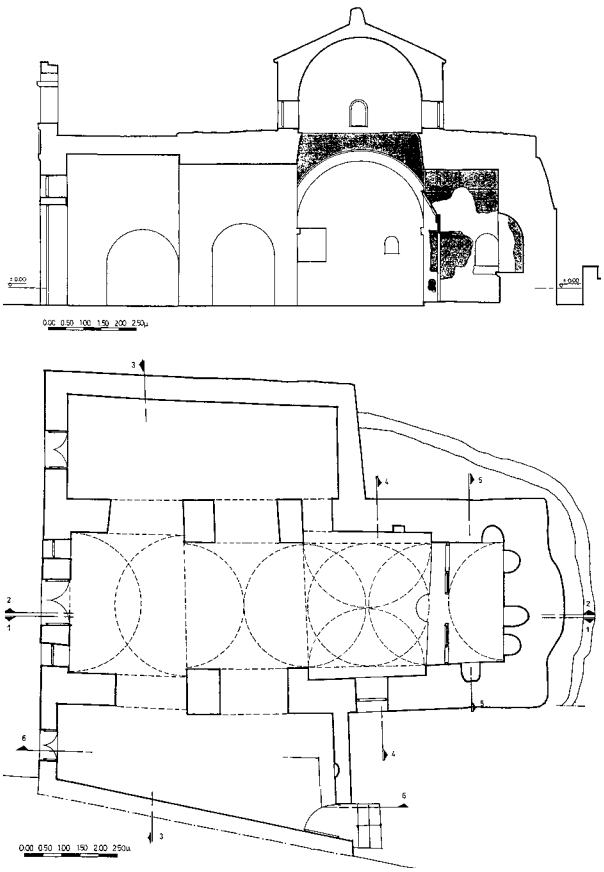


Fig. C.62: C37, longitudinal section and plan of the church (Argyros & Apostolou, archive-courtesy of the 23rd Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities).

crowned by a relieving arch, for the support of the gabled facade of the roof and the robust belfry. Both the gable and the belfry are decorated with EMOD *baccini,* local copies of the Polychrome Italian Maiolica Ware. The central entrance is flanked by two arcaded windows.

Internally, the radius of the dome is slightly larger in respect to its circular base, an indication that the timber centring for the construction of the dome was based not only on the church floor, but also on the pendentives. The communication of the lateral wings with the narthex is via arcaded openings. In the barrel-vaulted bema are set five semicircular conchs, three in the eastern wall and another two in the northern and southern walls, irregularly distributed. The floor of the church is paved with glazed tiles of the mid-20th c. The building complex is plastered externally and in the major part of its interior.

Wall paintings: preserved mainly in the upper parts of the church (dome, vaults) and the bema, but quite worn. On the dome is the *Christ Pantokrator* surrounded by the Heavenly Powers and Prophets; in the pendentives Evangelists; in the southern blind arcade scenes in three bands: on the upper part the Presentation of Christ in the Church, in the middle medallions of half-figured saints, and below full-length frontal saints. In the central conch of the bema the Virgin Mary enthroned with Christ in her lap. In the middle of the vault of the bema, band with medallions of half-figured Prophets; on the northern half of the vault the questioning of Thomas(?) and the Myrrh-bearers; on the southern half the Annunciation of the Virgin and the Birth of Christ. Lower, on the northern side, the Eucharist; on the southern wall of the bema medallions of half-figured Prelates and at lower level full-length Prelates. According to the inscription the paintings date from 1682 (see below).

***Templon*:** wood-carved in low relief. It is equipped with double architrave; not a local product.

Icons: Among the many modern icons, some are of late Post-Byzantine date, such as the *templon*-icons of Christ and the Virgin Mary, the small icons of the *Dodekaorton* (Feast Cycle) and the icons of St. Nicholas and the Lamentation, both in the main church.

Architectural sculptures/*Spolia*: -

Inscriptions: On the marble lintel above the central entrance two inscriptions are found: at the lowest part of the plaque is inscribed "[...] *,αχπβ΄ (=1682) Δικ(ε) β(ρ)ήου 106 (16)*". At a higher level is a second in-

scription, with smaller and shallower letters than the first, in which is written "*ἠστορήθη οὗτος ὁ ναὸς τῆς Θεοτόκου ἠπὸ τηνὸς Θεοδούλου μοναχοῦ 1682 ἔτι Δηκ(ε)βρ(ί)ου 6*" (Fig. C.63).

Historical evidence: The Codex (*Thesis*) of the church survives. It was donated to the local historical archive in the 1930s by Kleomenis Antoniadis. The first sheet of the Codex has the narrative of the church's foundation, written by the Skyrian monk Serafeim in 1818. At the end of the text there is a full catalogue of the brothers of the fraternity of the church at that time, who co-sign it along with Serafeim. According to this narrative, two hundred years before the text was written (1818), a certain monk, Theodoulos, discovered an icon of the Virgin Mary hidden in a well located in the area of the present church, after a miraculous intervention by the Virgin Mary herself. After the discovery, both Theodoulos and the local clergy decided that the foundation of a church must be dedicated to Panayia, Fountain of Life Almoner (Atesis 1961, 254-8). Two hundred years elapsed before the narrative of 1818, which is roughly in accordance with the chronology of 1682 mentioned in the inscription, and the monk Theodoulos, who according to the inscription painted the church, could be the same person who played the prime role in its foundation. An interesting note in the text states that the house of the monk Theodoulos was close to the church of Ayios Minas (C38). It is not known whether the reference to Ayios Minas concerns the year in which the text was written (1818) or the time of the church's foundation (1682). In any case, as we shall see below, the earliest historical reference to Ayios Minas is in a document of 1773 (Antoniadis 1990, doc. 104/1773).

Chronology: 1682.

References: Atesis 1961, 254-8; Faltaits 1930.

Fig. C.63: C37, the dedicatory inscription of the church.

C38. Ayios Minas

Architecture: a single-nave barrel-vaulted church (type 3c). The church is built on a rocky outcrop; the southern wall is buttressed at its base. The church is completely plastered, both internally and externally. The roof is covered with stone-slabs, now plastered with cement (traces of the plaques are easily discernible in the faces of the walls). The entrance is set in the western wall, crowned by the belfry (Fig. C.64).

Internally, the altar is set into the central eastern conch. Two more conchs are set in the northern and southern walls of the bema. The floor is paved with modern tiles.

Wall paintings: not discernible.

Templon: wooden, modern, with minimal carved decoration; local product.

Icons: Among the modern icons are three *templon*-icons of Christ, the Virgin Mary and Ayios Minas dating from the 19th c.; many icons of the same style occur on the island (e.g. Ayios Antonios & Ayios Charalambos C40, Ayia Anna C35, Metamorfosis Sotiros C49, or even in private collections).

Architectural sculptures/*Spolia*: -

Inscriptions: -

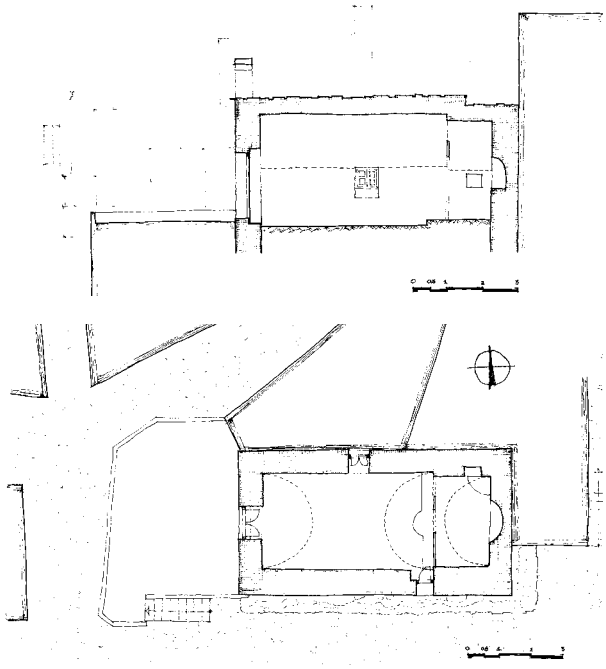


Fig. C.64: C38, longitudinal section and plan of the church (S. Papazoglou).

Historical evidence: The church is referred to in a document of 1773 (Antoniadis 1990, doc. 104/1773).
Chronology: 1773 *terminus ante quem.*
References: -

C39. Panayia Melikarou (The presentation of the Virgin Mary to the Church)

Architecture: a single-aisled timber saddleback roofed church covered with tiles (type 5) (Fig. C.65). The church was erected on highly inclined terrain, creating a two-storey building at the western side. The lower floor is the storeroom of the church. Internally and externally the building is plastered. Inside, the (wooden) roof ceiling is painted light blue, adorned with gold-painted stars and floral motifs (renovated in 2009 by the personnel of the 23rd Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities). Apparently the intention was for this wooden construction to simulate the sky, according to western ecclesiastical models (i.e. the panelling of western churches in Greece). In the centre of the ceiling are western style oil-paintings of the *Christ Pantocrator* and the Evangelists. At the western side of the church is a wooden Π-shaped gallery (Fig. C.66). Large arcaded windows are set along the lateral and western walls of the church. There are two entrances to the building; the central entrance is set in the southern wall and a second auxiliary entrance is set in the northern wall and leads to a small courtyard where the modern bell-tower is located. The floor is modern and is paved with marble slabs.
Wall paintings: -
***Templon*:** EMOD of 'neoclassical' style; not local.
Icons: Among the many modern icons are four *templon*-icons of the Presentation of the Virgin Mary to the Church, the Virgin Mary enthroned with Christ in her lap, Christ and St. John the Baptist, and thirteen *Dodekaorton* (Feast Cycle) icons on the architrave with the Last Supper in the middle, all of Early Modern times. In addition, a Post-Byzantine icon of the Dormition of the Mother of God and a *templon* door of high quality on the northern wall close to the *templon*; both probably originate from the episcopal church at the castle (see C01).
Architectural sculptures/*Spolia*: The two supports of the gallery are undoubtedly posts from the Mid-Byzantine marbled screen of the episcopal church at the castle (C01) (Figs. C.67-68). The posts bear grooves on one side for application of the screen panels, and one has an attached support for the fitting of the door. One of the posts bears an Early Christian fold capital, apparently incorporated into the Mid-Byzantine screen [h: 2.77, w: 0.20x0.20] (Fig. C.69). An identical Early Christian capital was identified in the courtyard of the monastery of St. George (C05).

Outside, above the northern entrance, is a white-washed oblique architrave with sculpted decoration with crosses, birds and geometrical motifs [l: 2.36] (Fig. C.70). The piece is similarly an architrave of the Mid-Byzantine marble screen of the episcopal church at the castle (C01) (for the mid-Byzantine sculptures of the Episkopi, see Chapter 12.2.3).
Inscriptions: of 1967, on the steeple.
Historical evidence: In unidentified times the church was dedicated not only to the Virgin Mary but also to Ayios Artemios (Atesis 1961, 246). The present form of the church seems to be the result of a renovation. After the death of the last bishop of Skyros, Gregorios, in 1837 and the final abolishment of the bishopric on December 20, 1841 by the Hellenic Church, the church of Panayia Melikarou gradually assumed the primary position among the other churches of Skyros, ultimately becoming the cathedral of the island (to this day). After the collapse of the episcopal church at the castle on April 9, 1841, the icon of the Dormition of the Mother of God, the Gospel and other secondary liturgical items of the Episkopi were transported to the church of Melikarou. The (wooden) episcopal throne, the *templon*, the ambo and other items were transport to Ayios Ioannis *sta Kochilia* (C42), the second most important church in Chora after Episkopi.
Chronology: the present form, 19th c. (1841 *terminus ante quem*).
Comments: The *templon* and its icons could be imported pieces from Syros (see C49).
References: Atesis 1961, 246.

C40a-b. Ayios Antonios & Ayios Charalambos

Architecture: twin church; the northern church is dedicated to Ayios Antonios (a) and the southern to Ayios Charalambos (b). This is a small single-nave barrel-vaulted construction (type 3a), to which the southern flat-roofed and greater in length church (type 4a) was attached at a later time. The western side of the added church was expanded northwards, in front of the church of Ayios Antonios, taking the form of a narthex of the old church.

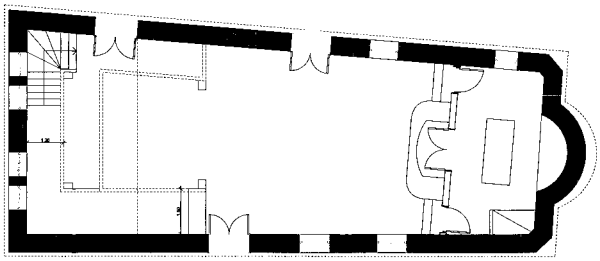


Fig. C.65: C39, plan of the church (L. Mantika; archive-courtesy 23rd of Byzantine Antiquities).

Fig. C.66: C39, internal view of the church from the east.

Fig. C.67: C39, the two marble-supports of the church's gallery; originally posts of the 9th c. *templon* of the Episkopi (C01).

Fig. C.68: C39, detail of the capital of the one of the posts.

Fig. C.69: C39, Early Christian fold capital crowing one of the posts; the piece was probably incorporated into the 9th c. screen of the Episkopi (C01).

Fig. C.70: C39, oblique architrave in second use above the northern entrance of the church; originally part of the 9th c. *templon* of the Episkopi (C01).

Externally, both churches present in form a large orthogonal construction. Both buildings are now covered with cement. However, the northern church presumably had a saddleback roof and the southern church a final covering of the local soil (*melagki*). The apse of the northern church is rectangular while that of the southern is three-sided. Both churches are externally and internally plastered.

Internally the barrel-vault of Ayios Antonios traverses the main church and the bema at the same height. In the eastern wall is set the semicircular conch of the bema, which had a small light-hole (now closed). Two more conchs, smaller and rectangular in shape, are set in the northern and southern walls of the bema. The southern conch was transformed after the addition of the southern church into a window between the churches. Another rectangular conch is set in the northern wall of the main church, immediately outside the *templon.*

The church of Ayios Charalambos preserves internally the wooden construction of the roof, consisting of uprights and bamboo (restored). In the eastern wall are set the three conchs of the bema. In the southern wall of the bema there is a rectangular window. Another is set in the southern wall of the main church, flanked by a rectangular conch to the eastward. Another rectangular conch is located in the western wall. The floor of both churches is paved with modern glazed tiles.

Wall paintings: not discernible.

***Templon*:** Ayios Antonios: wooden. The architrave and the frame of the sanctuary door belong to the original *templon.* The rest is modern. The old pieces bear naïf champlevé decoration with vines and birds. Not a local product. Ayios Charalambos: wood-carved decorated with peacocks, lions, etc. In the arch which crowns the sanctuary gate there is a carved inscription mentioning that the *templon* was ordered by a certain Athanasios from the island of Mykonos "[…]*ἐκοσμήθι τὸ παρὸν τέμπλο ἐξόδου τε Ἀθανασίου ἐκ νὶσου Μηκόνου*" (Fig. C.71).

Icons: *Ayios Antonios*: The icons of the *templon* are modern. On the northern wall are icons of the Virgin Mary and Christ and in the arcaded opening between the two churches the icon of Ayios Antonios; all date from the 19th c. That of the Virgin Mary and Ayios Antonios are of the same style and size and originally must have belonged to the *templon*.

Fig. C.71: C40b, the dedicatory inscription on the *templon* of the church.

Ayios Charalambos: Among the modern icons, there are three *templon*-icons of Christ, the Virgin Mary and Ayios Charalambos; they are made by the same artist and certainly belong to the present *templon.* All three bear an inscription on the reverse side with the date 1797. This is probably the date of the *templon* too. In a different style but probably of the same date are the *templon* door and one more icon of Ayios Antonios in the central conch of the bema.

Architectural sculptures/*Spolia*: Outside the church are two bases of a phiale, of which one is of Skyrian polychrome marble [h: 0.83, up d: 0.19]; [h: 0.61, up d: 0.26].

Inscriptions: -

Historical evidence: -

Chronology: of Ottoman times.

References: Georgopoulou-Meladini 1972, 373.

C41. Ayia Marina

Architecture: a small single-nave flat roofed church, covered with the traditional construction consisting of uprights, bamboo and soil (type 4a). The soil has now been replaced by cement. The apse is semicircular. The entrance is set in the western wall.

Internally, in the eastern wall is set the semicircular conch of the bema which bears the built altar. In the northern wall of the bema is a small rectangular window. The floor is paved with mid-20th c. tiles.

Wall paintings: not discernible.

***Templon*:** built; a wooden modern *templon* is attached over it.

Icons: modern.
Architectural sculptures/*Spolia*: -
Inscriptions: -
Historical evidence: -
Chronology: of Ottoman times.
References: -

C42. Ayios Ioannis (St. John the Baptist)

Architecture: a single-nave domed church with blind arches and a three-parted barrel-vaulted bema (type 6e). This core was supplemented at a later time by a flat-roofed narthex on the western side, longitudinal rooms on the northern, and recently (in the 20th c.) a monumental belfry (Fig. C.72).

Externally, the dome is octagonal and relatively high. It has two windows in the eastern and western sides. The roof of the church is covered with stone slabs. The narthex and the auxiliary rooms are flat-roofed and covered with cement, which apparently has replaced the original soil of the traditional construction. The apse at the eastern wall is three-sided. The entrance to the church is set in the southern wall of the narthex.

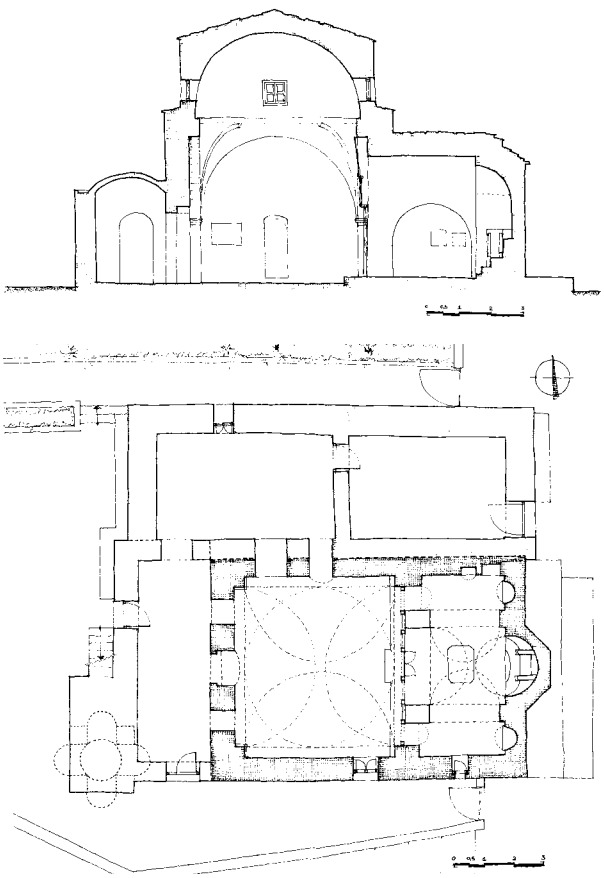


Fig. C.72: C42, longitudinal section and plan of the church (S. Papazoglou).

Internally the dome is low and wide as compared to the volume of the church. The eastern and western arches of the cubic main church are each supported by two robust pillars. Those of the western arch create a triple entrance to the church. From the pillars of the eastern arch begin two smaller arches with east-west direction, which divide the bema into three parts (bema, *prothesis, diakonikon*). The central part is higher, bears a large semicircular conch equipped with a built episcopal throne, and has in the middle a free-standing altar. Two more conchs are set in the *prothesis* and the *diakonikon* while two more rectangular conchs are set in the northern wall of the bema. Undoubtedly the bema has a 'monumental' (for Skyros) appearance, the only parallels being that of the church of Archontopanagia (C23) and of the *katholikon* of Ayios Georgios (C05).

The floor of the church is paved with glazed tiles which according to the relevant inscription were applied in 1954. The building is plastered internally and externally; the slabs of the roof are only whitewashed.
Wall paintings: A fragment of wall painting is preserved at the upper part of the northern wall of the main church. The painting is much worn and the scene of the depiction unidentified.
***Templon*:** wood-carved in deep relief decorated with floral motifs; in the architrave and the *apostolikon* vine scrolls. In the architrave in low relief reads the inscription "*ἐν ἐκκλησίαις εὐλογεῖτε τὸν Θεόν*". The craftwork must be dated to the 19th c. and it is definitely not a local product. This was the last wooden *templon* of the episcopal church (C01), which after its collapse in 1841 was transported and established in Ayios Ioannis (Atesis 1961, 240). This is confirmed by the fact that the *templon* is cut along the lateral sides, so as to fit in the narrower church of Ayios Ioannis (Fig. C.73).
Icons: The cross of the *templon* is of high-quality Post-Byzantine work. At the edges of the three arms of the cross are depicted the symbols of the Evangelists. The cross is flanked by the small icons of the Virgin Mary and St. John the Theologian (*lypira*). Of similar style and date is the *templon*-icon of the Birth

of St. John the Baptist. The other three (Christ, enthroned Virgin with Christ in her lap and the Baptism of Christ) are of late Post-Byzantine period (19th c.?), and probably set with the *templon.* The *templon* door has among the carved floral motifs tiny painted scenes (the Annunciation of Virgin Mary, two full-length Prelates and between them medallions with half-figured Prophets). In the narthex are two more icons of late Post-Byzantine times (Christ and the Beheading of St. John the Baptist).

Architectural sculptures/*Spolia*: The sides of the episcopal throne in the bema are of Early Christian mullions, probably of Proconessian marble [0.97x0.44x0.12.5] (Fig. C.74).

Fig. C.73: C42, internal view of the church; the *templon* was originally the 19th c. *templon* of the Episkopi (C01).

Fig. C.74: C42, Early Christian mullions, reused in the bishop's throne of the church.

Inscriptions: only one, referring to the floor renovation in 1954.

Historical evidence: There is a strong local tradition to the effect that during the Frankish-Venetian period a catholic bishop was based in the episcopal church at the castle (C01) and that the orthodox bishop was moved to the church of Ayios Ioannis (Antoniadis 1995d, 111; Atesis 1961, 247). Papageorgiou actually states that in his time the house of the orthodox bishop was lying in ruins beside the church of Ayios Ioannis (Papageorgiou 1909, 128). Although the typology of the church indicates a probable Ottoman date for the building, this does not necessarily contradict the oral tradition, as the present aspect of the church could be a result of later renovation or complete replacement of an older and perhaps more modest church. Further, the episcopal throne in the bema is an important element which supports the historical information. In any case the church was, and still is, parochial.

Chronology: of Ottoman times?

Comments: The church is of identical type with that of Archontopanayia (C23). The similarity extends to further morphological elements, such as the episcopal throne in the central conch of the bema, maybe because of the special character of the monuments as secondary episcopal churches.

References: Atesis 1961, 247.

C43. Zoodochos Pigi (Fountain of life Almoner)

Architecture: a small single-nave flat-roofed church, covered with the traditional construction consisting of uprights, bamboo and soil (type 4a). The latter has now been replaced with cement. The monument was recently plastered internally and externally. Externally are discernible the traces of the original apse. The conch of the bema is set into the eastern wall.

Along the long walls of the main church are low built benches. The floor is paved with tiles of the mid-20th c.

Wall paintings: not discernible.

***Templon*:** built, modern.

Icons: among the modern icons a high quality early Post-Byzantine *templon*-icon of the Virgin Mary with Christ in her lap.

Architectural sculptures/*Spolia*: -

Inscriptions: -

Historical evidence: -

Chronology: of Ottoman times.

Comments: Some meters north of the church lies a natural spring which apparently was the reason for the dedication of the church to the Fountain of Life Almoner. The spring is rectangular and built with undressed stones set with lime mortar. The internal surface is also plastered with lime and hydraulic mortar. The date of the construction could be Ottoman or even medieval.
References: -

C44. Ayios Georgios Sirivli

Architecture: a small single-nave domed church with blind arches and barrel-vaulted bema (type 6c) (Fig. C.75). Externally the drum of the dome is cylindrical and relatively high. Neither the dome, nor the rest of the church preserves its original covering; today it is covered with cement. A rectangular protrusion in the eastern wall indicates the apse. The northern wall is supported by a buttress. In this wall is set the only window of the church. Above the entrance on the western wall is constructed a rectangular conch.

Internally the dome is shaped as a semi-spherical vault, low and wide in comparison to the volume of the church, erected directly on the pendentives. The radius of the dome is slightly larger in respect to its circular base. The four pendentives are ribbed and start from pilaster(like)-capitals.

In the eastern wall of the bema is set the central semicircular conch which bears the built altar. Two more conchs are found at its northern and southern sides, for the *prothesis* and *diakonikon* respectively.

Fig. C.75: C44, view of the church from the south-west.

Along the northern and southern walls of the main church are low-built benches. The floor of the church is paved with cement.
Wall paintings: not discernible.
***Templon*:** built, modern.
Icons: modern.
Architectural sculptures/*Spolia*: numerous Greco-Roman *spolia* built into the masonry or lying inside the bema: 1) pedestal of Skyrian polychrome marble, built in the yard [0.25x0.18x0.16]; 2) solid column fragment of Skyrian polychrome marble, built upon the western top of the church [h:0.30, d: 0.23]; 3) fragment of monolithic column of grey marble, built upon the western top of the church [h:0.37, d: 0.17]; 4) small statue of white marble, probably classical, built upon the western top of the church [h:0.20, w: 0.16]; 5) Ionic column-capital, inside the bema [h: 0.15, d: 0.26]; 6) column-base of Skyrian polychrome marble, inside the bema [h: 0.25, w: 0.26, d: 0.19]; 7) column-base of white marble, inside the bema [h: 0.10, d: 0.16]; 8) column-base of grey-white marble, inside the bema [h: 0.14, w: 0.34, d: 0.28]; 9) column-base of grey marble, inside the bema [h: 0.15, d: 0.34] 10) base of phiale of grey marble, inside the bema [h: 0.33, d: 0.16]; 11) pedestal of a statue of grey marble, inside the bema [h: 0.11, w: 0.30]; 12) fragment of monolithic column built into the north-east corner of the church [h: 0.78, d: 0.32]; 13)upper part of an ancient funerary stele with two human figures built above the entrance.
Inscriptions: not related to the church.
Historical evidence: -
Chronology: of Ottoman times.
References: Georgopoulou-Meladini 1972, 373.

C45a-b-c. Atreklisa (The presentation of the Virgin Mary to the Church, the birth of Christ and St. John the Bapist) (triple church).

Architecture: a triple church; consisting of three single-nave barrel-vaulted adjoined churches (type 3); the central (b) projects slightly to the westward (Fig. C.76). The bema of the central church is lower and narrower than the main church. The entrance to all three churches is located in their western wall; above that of the central one is set a semicircular conch. The apses are semicircular. All the churches are now flat-roofed covered with cement.

Fig. C.76: C45, view of the churches from the west.

Internally, communication between the three churches is via large arcaded openings in the western side of their walls. The bema of the central church communicates with that of the northern church via an arcaded opening. The altar of the central and main church is free-standing, while those of the lateral churches are set into their central conchs. Along the long walls of the churches are low-built benches. The floor is paved with glazed tiles of the mid-20th c.
Wall paintings: not discernible.
***Templon*:** built.
Icons: modern.
Architectural sculptures/*Spolia*: -
Inscriptions: -
Historical evidence: The church is referred to in a document of 1626 (Antoniadis 1990, doc. 19/1626).
Chronology: 1626 *terminus ante quem*.
References: -

C46. Panayia Katratsila (The Dormition of Virgin Mary)

Architecture: a small single-nave flat-roofed church, with barrel-vaulted bema. Externally the bema is set into the orthogonal form of the building but internally it is narrower and lower as compared to the main church. The flat roof consists of uprights, bamboo and cement (the latter has apparently replaced the soil of the traditional construction). The eastern wall is slightly bulging for the indication of the apse. The southern wall bears two buttresses; among them is set a small window. The entrance is located in the western wall. Internally, in the eastern wall of the bema is set the semicircular central conch which bears the built altar. Two smaller rectangular conchs are set to the northward and southward of the central conch. The floor is paved with tiles of the mid-20th c. The building is internally and externally plastered.

The architectural type of the church, orthogonal with a lower and narrower internally barrel-vaulted bema, is identical with a number of churches in Chora, the only difference being that the main church of C46 is flat-roofed. We could conjecture that originally the roof of the main church was also barrel-vaulted, and after an apparent collapse it was replaced by the traditional wooden flat roof (type 3c). This hypothesis is supported by the two buttresses in the southern wall: there would be no reason for their presence if not for the barrel-vaulted roof.
Wall paintings: not discernible.
***Templon*:** wooden, with minimal carved decoration in deep relief; not a local product; 19th c. (?).
Icons: modern. The *templon* door is decorated with a naïf Annunciation of the Virgin Mary, apparently contemporaneous with the *templon* (19th c.).
Architectural sculptures/*Spolia*: -
Inscriptions: -
Historical evidence: -
Chronology: of Ottoman times.
References: -

C47. Ai Stratis (Taxiarchs Michael and Gabriel)

Architecture: a small single-nave domed church with octagonal drum and arcaded windows. Its apse is three-sided; the entrance is set in the western wall. In the northern and southern walls of the main church are set arcaded windows; the floor is modern.
Wall paintings: not discernible.
***Templon*:** built.
Icons: modern.
Architectural sculptures/*Spolia*: -
Inscriptions: -
Historical evidence: The present church was built in the early 20th c. on the position of the original building which had collapsed. The old church was also dedicated to the Taxiarchs, and was parochial.
Chronology: 20th c.
References: (Atesis 1961, 254, 264).

C48. Christos (The birth of Christ)

Architecture: a small single-nave barrel-vaulted church (type 3c). Externally the roof is flat covered with cement, lending a cubic form to the building, but this is probably the result of a later transformation of the original saddleback roof. The eastern side of the church is not visible, being attached to the natural rock due to the inclined terrain on which the church stands. The entrance is set in the western wall, crowned by a small light-hole.

Internally the barrel-vault is slightly pointed. In the eastern wall is set the central conch of the bema, slightly pointed and shallow. It is flanked by the smaller *prothesis* conch on the northern side. Another three small and rectangular conchs are set in the northern and southern walls of the bema. Another, again rectangular, is located on the southern wall of the church, immediately outside the *templon*.

The building is internally and externally plastered. The floor is modern.

Wall paintings: not discernible.

***Templon*:** wooden, modern.

Icons: among the modern icons two high quality Post-Byzantine *templon*-icons, one of Christ and the other of enthroned Virgin Mary with Christ in her lap.

Architectural sculptures/*Spolia*: -

Inscriptions: -

Historical evidence: -

Chronology: of Ottoman times.

Comments: Next to the church (north) lies in ruins a second, unknown church, of identical size and probably of the same architectural type. The building is now full of rubble; however, there is preserved the genesis of the barrel vault which covered it. The still standing eastern side of the bema bears, like the adjacent church, an identical pointed and shallow conch. In addition, there is preserved the lower part of the western wall, in which is discernible the doorstep of the entrance. The church must have been wall-painted, as the plaster on the internal surface attests; no colour traces survive.

There is no historical information about the ruined church.

References: -

C49. Metamorfosi tou Sotiros (The transfiguration of Christ) (the church of the cemetery of Chora, founded in 1840).

Architecture: a single-aisle, flat-roofed church (type 4b). Externally, a small semicircular protrusion indicates the apse. The church has been completely renovated (plastered internally and externally, modern floor paved with marble plaques, etc.). The entrance is located in the western wall. Two arcaded windows are set in the northern and southern walls of the main church.

Internally, in the eastern wall of the bema are set three semicircular conchs, the central flanked by that of the *prothesis* and the *diakonikon.* Another rectangular conch is located in the northern wall of the bema.

Wall paintings: -

***Templon*:** simple wooden, with neoclassical elements similar to those of the 19th c. *templon* of Melikarou (C39); not a local product.

Icons: among the modern icons, four *templon*-icons (St. John the Baptist, Virgin Mary, Christ and the Transfiguration of the Christ) made by the same artist. All bear a painted inscription stating that they were executed in Ermoupolis, Syros in 1866, and were donated by a certain Ioannis I. Skordanas, who was also the founder of the church (see below) "*Ἐρμούπολεις Σύρου τὴν 12, Φεβρουαρίου 1866 Διεξόδων Ἰωάννου Ι. Σκορδανάς*". The icons were ordered to fit the present *templon*.

Architectural sculptures/*Spolia*: -

Inscriptions: Above the entrance is an inscription attesting that the church was founded by Ioannis I. Skordanas in 1866: "*Ἀνηγέρθη ἐκ θεμελίων ὁ ναὸς οὗτος καὶ ἐκοσμήθη δαπάνι τοῦ εὐσεβοῦς χριστιανοῦ Ἰωάννου Ι. Σκορδανά 1866*".

Historical evidence: -

Chronology: 1866 (building, *templon*, icons).

Comments: The building, the *templon* and the icons belong to the same 'class' of 1866. The fact that the icons and the *templon* were probably ordered together and that the former were certainly executed in Syros, could indicate Syros as the origin of the *templon* workshop as well. The neoclassical elements of the *templon* are in line with the artistic trends prevalent in the Cycladic island during the 19th c. This in its turn could suggest that the *templon* and the icons of Melikarou (C39), which bear great similarities with

those of this church, were also produced on the island of Syros. In addition to the aforementioned churches, similar icons are also found in certain others (e.g. Ayia Anna C35) or in private collections. This indicates that during the 19th c. there was a traffic in imports of ecclesiastical items from the island of Syros to that of Skyros.
References: -

Fig. C.77: C50, view of the church from the south-east.

Suburbs

C50. Ayios Georgios (Metochi)

Location: 500 m. from the northern edge of Chora, at *Kambos.*
Architecture: a small single-nave cross-vaulted church (type 2) (Figs. C.77-78). Externally the apse is three-sided and bears a bi-lobe window. A similar window is set in the southern arm of the cross, in the main church. The entrance is located in the southern side of the church. The roof is covered with tiles and stone-slabs.

Internally the church is plastered and completely renovated, with a modern floor. The central conch of the bema is large and semicircular. Two small auxiliary conchs are set in the northern side of the bema.
Wall paintings: not discernible.
***Templon*:** wooden, modern, in front of an older built templon.
Icons: not examined at the time of writing.
Architectural sculptures/*Spolia*: -
Inscriptions: -
Historical evidence: The church is a *metochi* of the monastery of Ayios Georgios and consequently of Megisti Lavra.
Chronology: 15th c.?
References: Küpper 1990, 231.

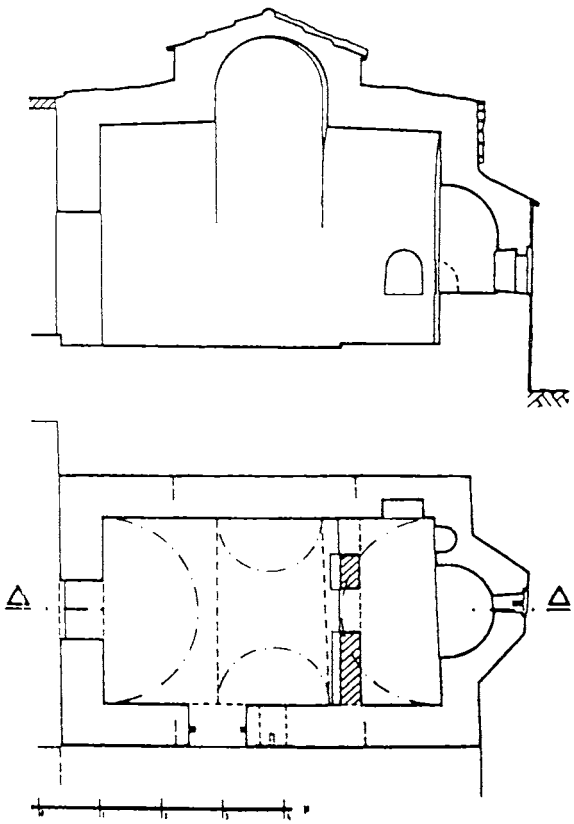


Fig. C.78: C50, longitudinal section and plan of the church (after Küpper 1989-90, 231).

C51. Ayios Georgios Charilaou or sti Themi

Location: 500 m. from the northern edge of Chora, on the hill of *Themis.*
Architecture: a small single-nave cross-vaulted church (type 2) (Figs. C.79-80). Externally the roof does not preserve its original covering; now it is cov-

Fig. C.79: C51, view of the church from the north-east.

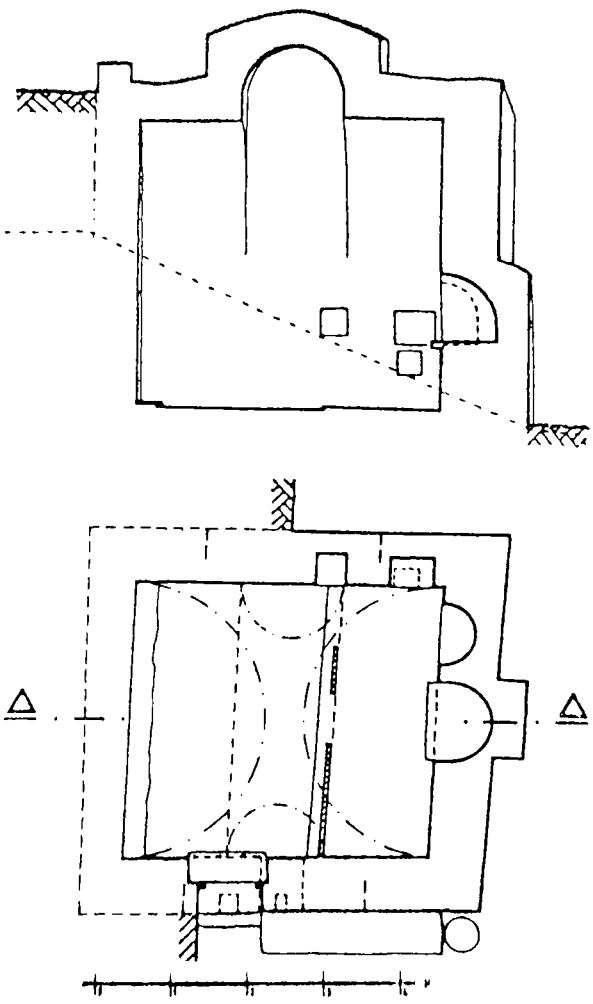


Fig. C.80: C51, longitudinal section and plan of the church (after Küpper 1989-90, 232).

ered with cement. The apse is small and rectangular. Windows are set in the southern arm of the cross and lower in the southern wall, where the entrance is located.

Internally the conch of the bema is large and semicircular, supplemented by a smaller one at the northern side. The floor is paved with cement.

Wall paintings: not discernible.
***Templon*:** wooden, modern.
Icons: modern.
Architectural sculptures/*Spolia*: -
Inscriptions: -
Historical evidence: The church is referred to in a dowry document of 1581 (Antoniadis 1990, doc. 10/1581).
Chronology: 1581 *terminus ante quem*.
References: Küpper 1990, 232.

C52. Christos Mavrouna (The Birth of Christ) (Katholikon of monastery).

Location: 2 km to the west of Chora, on the mountain of Mavrounas.
Architecture: a small single-nave barrel-vaulted church (type 3b), with a later, lower flat-roofed narthex at the western side. Externally the whole building (the roof included) is covered with cement. The entrance to the church is located on the western side. Internally, in the eastern wall of the bema are set three semicircular conchs. A rectangular arcaded window is set in the southern wall of the main church and a second rectangular window is in the respective wall of the narthex. The narthex preserves internally its original construction, consisting of wooden uprights and bamboo. The floor of both the main church and the narthex is paved with tiles dating from the 1950s. (Figs. C.81-82).
Wall paintings: The major part of the internal surfaces is whitewashed. However, traces of paintings in the bema and the main church attest that once the church was fully decorated. The eastern wall of the bema bears traces of Officiating Prelates; the conch of the *diakonikon* an Archangel. On the northern and southern walls of the main church are full-length frontal saints and above them half-figured saints in medallions (Fig. C.83). On the western wall above the entrance the Dormition of the Mother of God; lower, the entrance is flanked by the Archangel Michael and the *Anastasis*; in the arch of the entrance the Holy

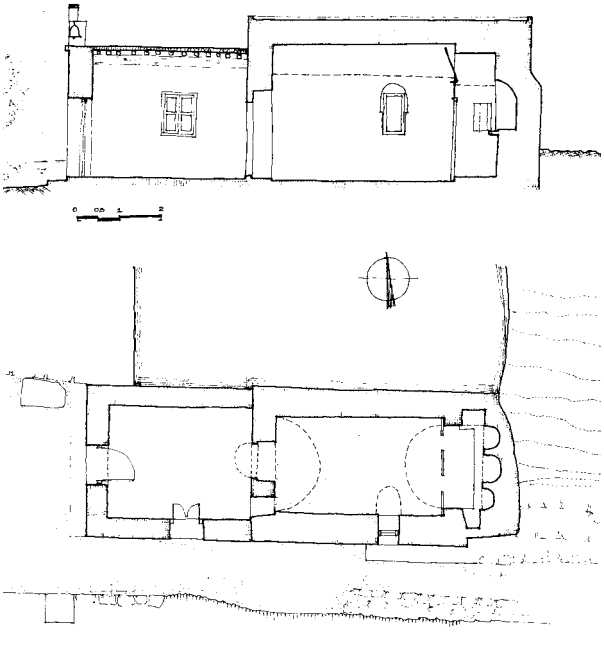


Fig. C.81: C52, longitudinal section and plan of the church (S. Papazoglou).

Fig. C.82: C52, internal view of the church.

Handkerchief. According to the inscription the visible wall paintings were executed in 1586.

***Templon*:** wooden; consisting of various parts of different chronology. Its major part is a local wood-carved product of modern times. It is crowned by a Post-Byzantine painted *Apostolikon.* The size of the piece fits exactly with the internal width of the church, indicating that it was designed specifically for it. However, this is not the case with the cross above, which is notably large as compared to the dimensions of the church, and was apparently transferred from another monument (Fig. C.82).

Icons: three *templon*-icons of early Post-Byzantine times, Christ *Archiereus,* the Virgin Mary enthroned with Christ in her lap, and the Birth of Christ. Of similar style and date must be the luxury cross at the top of the *templon.*

Architectural sculptures/*Spolia*: in the courtyard ancient and Early Christian pieces: a small pedestal [h: 0.38x0.13]; two fragments of monolithic column [h: 0.34, d: 0.18 & h: 0.23, d: 0.20]; two fragments of an Early Christian doorframe decorated with sprouting leaves and grapes [w: 0.23] (Fig. C.84); a worn Early Christian Corinthian capital (Fig. C.85).

Inscriptions: To the south of the entrance of the main church is a painted inscription giving us the date of the building and of the painting, 1580 and 1593 respectively: "*[οἰκοδομήθ]η ὁ θεῖος [τ]ε κ(αὶ) πάνσεπτος ναὸς [...]ς τοῦ Κ(υρί)ου κ(αὶ) Θ(ε)οῦ κ(αὶ) Σ(ωτῆ)ρ(ος) ἡμῶν Ἰ(ησ)οῦ Χ(ριστ)οῦ ἐκ βάθρων διὰ συνδρομῆς κ(αὶ) ἐξόδοις κόπου τε κ(αὶ) μόχθου [...] ἐπὶ ἔτους τῷ ,ζπη΄ (7088=1580). Ἱστορίθη δὲ κ(αὶ) ἐν ἑτέροις κόπ(ο)ις τε καὶ διά χειρὸς ἐμοῦ Δανιὴλ μοναχοῦ τῷ ,ζρα (7101=1593) μηνὶ μαΐῳ*".

Historical evidence: This is identified as the small monastery of the nun Glykeria (wife of Ioannis Kouvouklisios), who in 1012-1016 AD dedicated to Eustratios, the abbot of Megisti Lavra (Mount Athos), extensive lands in the southern, mountainous part of the island (*Actes de Lavra I* nos. 16, 20; Koder 1998, 283; Atesis 1961, 214-5).

According to the report of the bishopric commissioner Serafim Koutsoupis, the monastery had one monk and 4 nuns in 1833. In the next year the monastery was dissolved by the newly-founded Greek State and its possessions were confiscated and auctioned.

Chronology: 1580 *terminus ante quem* (historically in existence since the early 11th c.).

Comments: Around the church are several buildings or traces of the auxiliary constructions of the monastery, today used as a shepherd's *mandra.*

References: Koder 1998, 283; Georgopoulou-Meladini 1972, 373; Atesis 1961, 214-23;

Fig. C.83: C52, traces of the painted decoration of the church on its southern wall.

Fig. C.84: C52, Early Christian doorframe, in the yard of the church.

Fig. C.85: C52, Early Christian Corinthian capital, in the yard of the church.

C53. Panayia Limbiani (The Birth of the Mother of God)

Location: 4 km west of Chora, in the mountainous area of Olimbos.
Architecture: a small single-nave (pseudo) cross-vaulted church (type 2). The church is built in a cavity of the natural rock and thus presents irregularities. The southern and western 'walls' are natural rock and only the eastern (actually the semicircular apse) and the northern walls are built. The entrance is located in the northern wall. The only window of the church is set in the apse. The roof is flat, covered by cement (Fig. C.86).

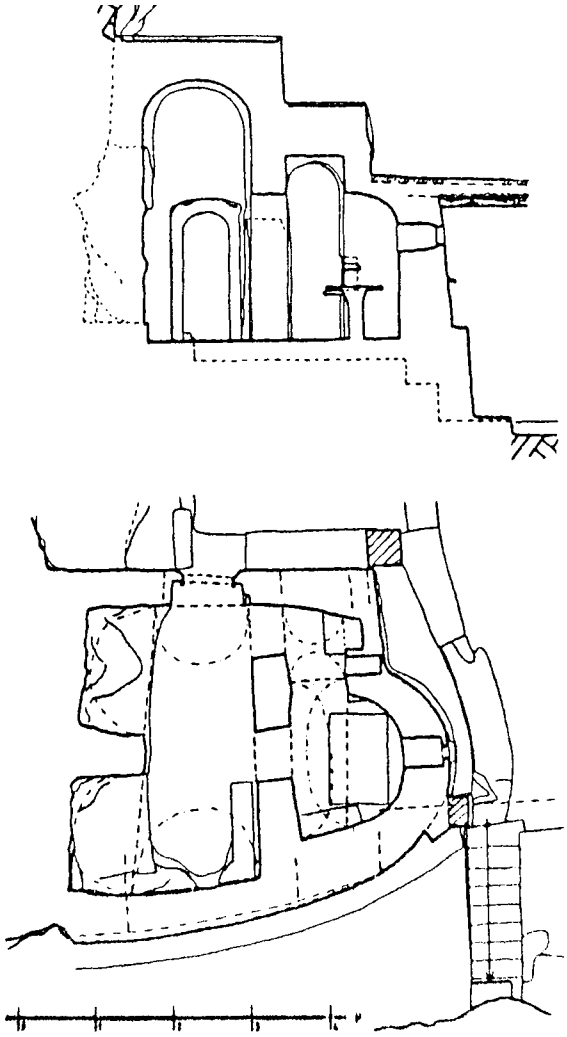


Fig. C.86: C53, longitudinal section and plan of the church (after Küpper 1989-90, 230).

Internally, the western side of the main church has a rectangular rock protrusion. The bema is barrel-vaulted and is equipped with a monumental semicircular conch which actually frames the whole width of the bema, and an equally grand free-standing altar in the middle. The floor is paved with modern tiles.
Wall paintings: not discernible.
***Templon*:** built.
Icons: modern.
Architectural sculptures/*Spolia*: two open work early Christian panels, one re-used as the altar of the church and the second built in the *templon*, decorated with fish patterns [0.75x1.17x0.10] (Fig. C.87); fragment of monolithic column, where the altar is erected [h: 0.50, d: 0.17]; Ionic Early Christian(?) capital, re-used as a base where the altar is located (between the column and the altar) [h: 0.09, w: 0.29]; fragment of monolithic column, built over the roof of the church [h: 0.13, d: 0.09]; fragment of monolithic column, built over the roof of the church [h: 0.16, d: 0.12].
Inscriptions: -
Historical evidence: -
Chronology: of Ottoman times.
References: Küpper 1990, 230; Skouras 1979, 61-65.

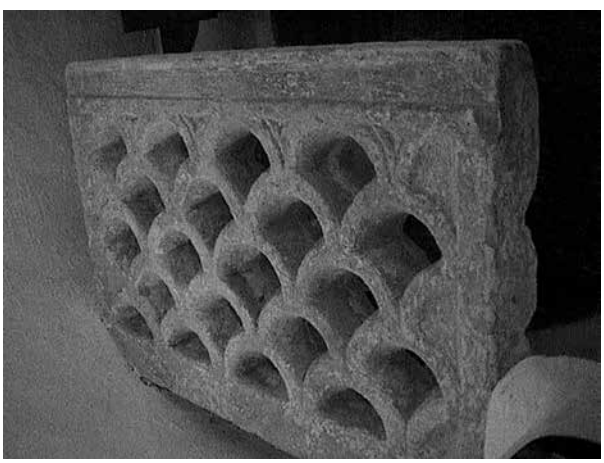


Fig. C.87: C53, one of the two Early Christian closure panels re-used as the alter of the church.

C54. Ayios Nikolaos Achladonas

Location: 5 km west of Chora.
Architecture: a single-nave domed church (type 6). Although the monument can be included into the known Ottoman-type church building of the island, it presents several differences and anomalies compared to the classified subtypes, which renders it distinct. Firstly, the dome is not erected directly on the pendentives, as in the other churces, but it is a 'proper' dome based on a cylindrical drum with four openings. Moreover, the church bears elongated barrel-vaulted spaces, not only to the eastward and westward (as in the subtype 6d), but to the northward as well - of smaller length in comparison to the other two. The southern wall of the main church has a blind arch but slightly deeper than the usual type. These elements identify the church as an irregular variation of the single-nave cruciform with dome. Apparently its present status is a result of the implementation of the known Ottoman single-nave domed type on an older, typologically different building (Fig. C.88).

Externally the dome is covered with stone-slabs, but the rest of the roof is now flat and covered with cement. The apse of the church is semicircular with several repairs. Along the southern wall the building is supported by a buttress. The northern side of the church is partially below ground level due to the inclined terrain. The entrance is set in the western side of the building.

Internally, in the eastern wall of the bema is set the large conch which almost reaches the lateral

Fig. C.88: C54, view of the church from the south-east.

walls, sheltering the built altar. A second conch is set in the northern wall and a third rectangular one is set beside the *templon*, in the southern wall of the main church. The floor is paved with modern tiles.
Wall paintings: not discernible.
***Templon*:** wooden, modern, local.
Icons: modern.
Architectural sculptures/*Spolia*: in the conch of the main church an ancient Ionic capital [h: 0.16, 0.40x0.33]. The wooden *templon* is supported by two monolithic marble columns. Another is re-used as the lintel of the door and a fourth is located in the courtyard.
Inscriptions: -
Historical evidence: -
Chronology: of Ottoman times.
Comments: The monument definitely went through an older, medieval phase. It is located at the margins of the medieval hamlet S38.
References: Georgopoulou-Meladini 1972, 373.

C55. Ayios Dimitrios (katholikon of monastery)

Note: the monastery complex was restored in 2004-2006 by the Direction of Restoration of Byzantine & Post-Byzantine Monuments, Greek Ministry of Culture.

Location: 3 km south-west of Chora, in the valley of *Ferekambos*.
Archiecture: The monastery complex is built on a hill at the western edge of the valley and consists of the *katholikon* in the middle, surrounded by the residential, storage and auxiliary buildings at the northern, western and southern sides. On the eastern side no space was available due to the steep incline of the rock on which the monastery was erected. The monastery complex is enclosed by a high precinct constructed in 1677, as the inscription located above the central gate of the monastery informs us (Fig. C.89). Both the precinct and the monastery buildings went through an older phase, prior to 1677 (Papanikolaou-Petrioli *et al.* 2013, 210-1).

The *katholikon* itself belongs to the type of the single-nave domed with blind arches and elongated barrel-vaulted spaces to the eastward and westward (type 6d) (Fig. C.90). Externally the drum of the dome is octagonal with four windows. Both the dome and the rest of the building are covered with stone-

Fig. C.89: C55, view of the monastic complex from the south-west.

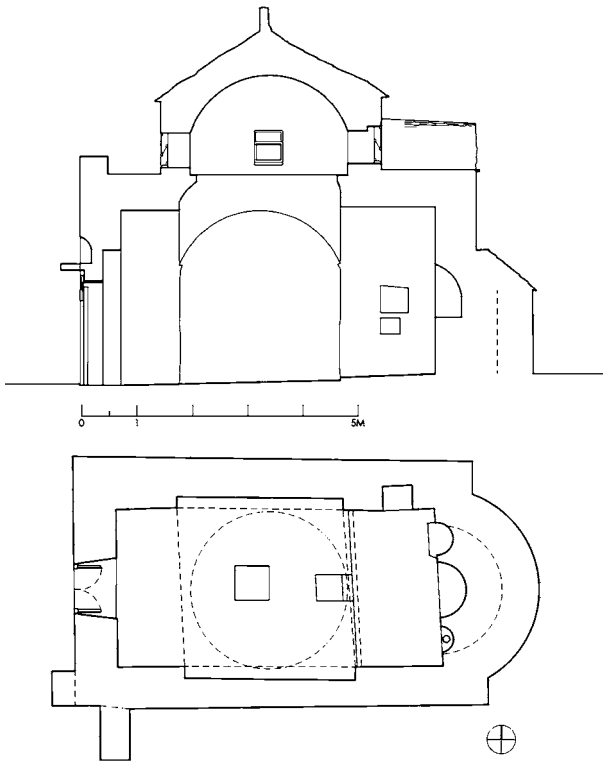


Fig. C.90: C55, longitudinal section and plan of the church (after Papanikolaou-Petrioli *et al*. 2013, figs. 4,6).

slabs. The eastern wall of the church features a wide semicircular apse, reaching in width the lateral walls of the bema. All the external surfaces of the building are simple, whitewashed without any articulation.

The entrance to the church is from the western side, through a rectangular door crowned by a semicircular conch and, at the top of the roof, by a single-lobe belfry. Three semicircular conchs are inset into the eastern wall. Another rectangular conch is set in the northern wall of the bema. The original floor was made in 1751, according to the relevant inscription, and it was paved with large slabs (restored during the 2004-2006 restoration project).

Wall paintings: The church is fully decorated with wall paintings executed, according to the painted inscription, in 1691. Traces of an older layer are preserved on the lower parts of the northern and southern walls of the main church, as well as on the northern side of the bema. A third, post-1691 layer, was probably applied during the renovation of the *katholikon* in 1831; perhaps due to the low quality of the materials used, this layer has not survived (see under historical evidence).

The iconographical programme of the 1691 layer, visible today, is as follows: on the barrel-vault of the bema the Birth of Christ, the Pentecost, the *Anastasis* and the Ascension of Christ; on the conch of the apse, the Virgin Mary; on the northern side of the bema, the vision of St. Peter of Alexandria and the deacon Stefanos; on the southern side, three Prelates. In the centre of the dome was apparently depicted the *Pantokrator,* today lost; the Prophets and Heavenly Powers surrounding Him are preserved. On the pendentives Evangelists are depicted. The northern wall of the main church is covered in its entirety by a depiction of the Second Coming. The southern wall is dedicated to St. Dimitrios; at the upper zone there are scenes of his life, while at the lower Ayios Dimitrios is depicted enthroned along with seven full length saints. The blind arch is surrounded by half-figured Prophets. On the western side, barrel-vault medallions of busted prophets, the Crucifixion, the Triumphal Entry into Jerusalem, the Last Supper and at a lower level saints (St. Minas, St. George, St. Dimitrios, Sts. Constantine and Elena). On the western wall the upper part is covered with the scene of the Dormition of the Mother of God, while to the northward and southward four saints are depicted (Antonios, Athanasios and Eythimios, Savas respectively) (Figs. C.91-92).

Fig. C.91: C55, part of the 1691 painted decoration of the northern wall.

Fig. C.92: C55, full-length frontal saint on the southern wall, from the 1691 painted decoration of the church.

***Templon*:** wood-carved in deep relief decorated with floral and pseudo-neoclassical motifs (conchs, pseudo-Corinthian capitals on the posts, etc.). Definitely not a local product; dates from the 18th or (more probably) the 19th c.

Icons: modern. The Post-Byzantine icon of Ayios Dimitrios is now kept at the *metochi* of Ayios Georgios (C50).

Architectural sculptures/*Spolia*: The central gate of the external precinct is flanked by two marbled monolithic columns. The internal gate of the courtyard is flanked on one side by a monolithic marbled post decorated with relief crosses, flower container, etc., a work of the Ottoman period; on the other, a reused fragment of an ancient female statue of the

classical period. Above these two pieces is a marbled plaque decorated with a resting lion in deep relief, among crosses, trees, floral motifs and human figures in smaller scale; a naïve work of the Ottoman period (Fig. C.93).

Inscriptions: On the lintel of the external gate of the monastery there is an inscription informing us that the monastery precinct was built in 1677 by the abbot Germanos: "*Ἐτελειόθη διὰ χυρὸς τοῦ μαστρο-Νηκολάου μηνὸς Ὀκτωβρήου 10/+1677 ἀνηγέρθη τὸ ἔξοθεν τηχόκαστρο τοῦ μοναστηρήου διὰ ἐξόδου καὶ σην[δ]ρομῆς τοῦ πανοσυοτάτου καθυγουμένου κιρίου Γερμανοῦ καὶ ἔστε ἠς μνημόσινο αὐτου"* (Fig. C.94). Internally, the painted inscription above the entrance states that the visible decorative programme was done in 1691 by the well-known painter Damaskinos from Ioannina and his colleague Dimitrios, after an invitation by the abbot Ezekiel: "*+Ἀνιστωρήθη ὁ ἱερὸς πάνσεπτος ναὸς τοῦ ἁγίου ἐνδόξου μεγαλομάρτυρος Δημητρίου τοῦ μυρο/βλίτου διὰ ἐξώδου [τε καὶ δαπ] άνης τοῦ [...] α[...], διὰ σινδρομεὶς δὲ τοῦ πανοσιωτάτου καθηγουμένου [κυρί]ου Ἰεζεκιὴλ Παπαχαράτου τοῦ ἐκ τῆς νήσου ταύτης. Ἔτος ˛αχϡα΄ (=1691) Νοεμβρίου ε΄. Διά χειρὸς δὲ ζωγράφου Δαμασκηνοῦ ἱερομονάχου καὶ Δημητρίου ἐξ Ἰωανίνων*". Lastly, a marble plaque located at the centre of the floor informs us about its construction: "*Ν(ι)Κ(η)Φ(ό)Ρ(ου) Μ(ο)Ν(α) ΧΟΥ / 1751"*.

Historical evidence: The first historical mention of the monastery is in 1659, in a patriarchal letter by Parthenios IV (1657-1662), where the monastery is recognised as *stavropigiako*. Pitton de Tournefort describes it as "small and poor"; however, the historical archive suggests a relatively thriving situation in the 17th and 18th centuries. The decay of the monastery must have occurred during the War of Independence; the last mention of the existence of a small monastic fraternity is in 1825. During the third decade of the 19th century the monastery was depopulated and its administration held by the *Dimogerontia*. In 1830-31 the ex-abbot of the monastery of Ayios Georgios (C05), Neofytos Skouloudakis, established himself in the monastery and renovated the *katholikon.* Lastly, in 1834 the monastery was dissolved by the newly-founded Greek Kingdom and its possessions were confiscated and then auctioned (Papanikolaou-Petrioli *et al.* 2013, 207-8).

Fig. C.93: C55, the internal gate of the monastery courtyard; the lintel and the post on the left are products of the Ottoman period; the right post is part of an ancient statue.

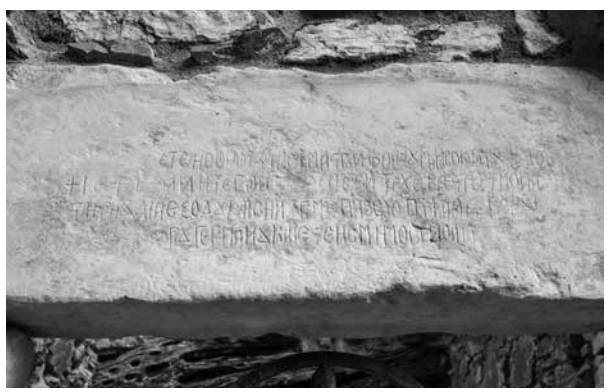


Fig. C.94: C55, the dedicatory inscription of the monastery precinct (1977).

Chronology: monastery: 1659 *terminus ante quem*; present monastic precinct: 1677; *katholikon*: 1691 *terminus ante quem*; present wall paintings: 1691; floor: 1751.
References: Papanikolaou-Petrioli *et al.* 2013, and therein the rest of the bibliography.

C56. Ayios Ioannis Vourlos (St. John the Baptist)

Location: 5 km south-west of Chora, in the valley of *Ferekambos*.
Architecture: a small single-nave barrel-vaulted church (type 3a). The roof is saddleback covered with stone-slabs (restored by the 1st Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities). The apse is wide and semicircular. The entrance is set in the western side (Figs. C.95-96).

Internally, there are built benches along the long walls. The conch is small, semicircular and has a light-hole, the only opening of the building excepting the entrance.
Wall paintings: The church is fully decorated. Two layers are discernible. The older one is identified in the main church and includes mainly full-length frontal saints on a big scale, covering almost the entire height of the lateral walls: on the northern wall the saints Nestor, Dimitrios and Georgios, on the southern wall St. John the Baptist and an unidentified saint and monk, and on the western wall the Prophet Abbacum and the scene of the Crucifixion. The paintings bear elements of the Palaeologan art inherited from the first centuries after the final fall of the Byzantine state, and before the full development of the various 'schools' of the Post-Byzantine period. The elegant figures of Ayios Ioannis Vourlos could date the paintings in the late 15th early 16th c., making them a precious transitional example for the chronological and stylistical sequence of the wall paintings of Skyros, from the 11th-12th c. of the Episkopi (C01) and the 13th-14th c. of Ayios Georgios (C05), to the late 16th c. onwards Post-Byzantine examples of the island (Fig. C.97).

Traces of the second layer dating from the late Post-Byzantine period (based on the style of the paintings) are identified in the bema: on the conch the Virgin Mary, in front of the conch traces of the Annunciation, and on the northern wall a trace of a Prelate.
***Templon*:** built, with simple wooden architrave.
Icons: modern.

Fig. C.95: C56, view of the church from the south-west.

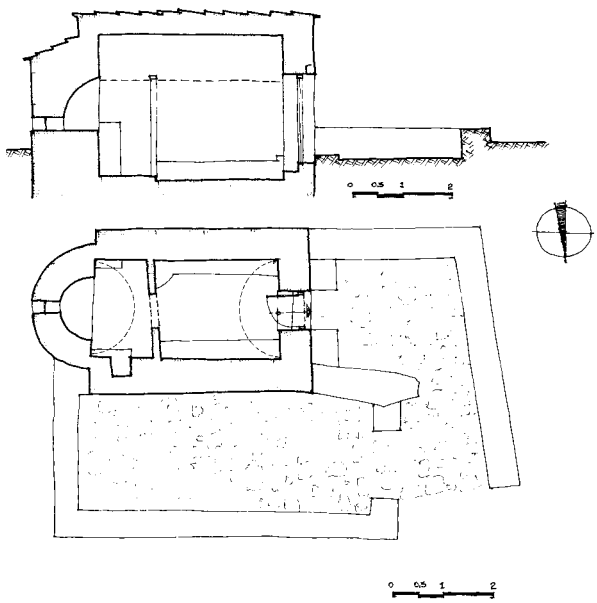


Fig. C.96: C56, longitudinal section and plan of the church (S. Papazoglou).

Architectural sculptures/*Spolia*: In a report of the personnel of the 1st Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities (28.07.2001) are attested a column fragment, an impost, and a base of phiale inside the church. During my visit in 2006 none of these pieces was identified.
Inscriptions: -
Historical evidence: -
Chronology: Late 15th – 16th c. *terminus ante quem*.
References: -

Fig. C.97:
C56, Ayios Nestor and Ayios Georgios; from the late 15th – early 16th c. painted decoration of the church.

C57. Panayia (The Dormition of the Virgin Mary)

Location: in the southern outskirts of Chora, on the height of Stavros.
Architecture: a small single-nave barrel-vaulted church (type 3b), with a later, lower, flat-roofed narthex at the western side. Externally, the roof of the main church is now flat, covered with cement. Cement has also been applied to the roof of the narthex and apparently replaced the soil of the original construction. The eastern wall is slightly bulging for the indication of the apse. The entrance is set in the western wall of the narthex.

Internally, in the eastern wall of the bema, a semicircular conch is inset bearing the built altar. Three more conchs are distributed among the rest of the bema. Two rectangular windows are set in the southern walls of the main church and the bema. The floor is paved with modern glazed tiles. The narthex preserves the wooden uprights of its original roof.
Wall paintings: Traces of Post-Byzantine paintings are preserved at the south-west corner of the main church and in the southern half of the built *templon*. In the latter there is just discernible the face of Christ, an indication that the front face of the *templon* was painted with figures of Christ and the Virgin Mary in place of icons (Fig. C.98).

***Templon*:** built.
Icons: modern.
Architectural sculptures/*Spolia*: -
Inscriptions: -
Historical evidence: -
Chronology: of Ottoman times.
References: -

Fig. C.98:
C57, Christ, depicted in the front side of the built templon of the church.

Appendix D
The synoptic Ottoman tax register (*icmal*) of the year 1670/1 for Skyros (TK 180, p. 37)

Archival research: Mackiel Kiel

Transliteration/translations: Fokion Kotzageorgis

TRANSLITERATION IN THE TURKISH ALPHABET

Hassha-ı
Cezire-i İşkira
Tarla, pinak: 6.430,5
Bağ, pinak: 1.478
Eşçar-ı incir dib ? 1.772
Eşçar-ı zeytun dib ? 159
Eşçar-ı müsmere dib ? 1.255
Bostan ... pinak: 46
Asiyab abi bab 6

Hasıl hams-ı ğallat

İspence	hane 326 – baha 8.150
Hınta	pinak 1.408 – baha 16.896
Şair	pinak 1.571,5 – baha 7.857
Fik	pinak 442,5 – baha 4.425
Bakla	pinak 176 – baha 2.094
Nohud	pinak 42 – baha 504
Resm-i küğül	lidre 59 – baha 7.110
Mahsul-ı incir	
maa eşçar-ı müsmere	baha 6.054
Mahsul-ı zeytun	baha 250
mahsul-ı palamud	baha 354
resm-i bostan	baha 2.300
resm-i penbe	kıyya 80 – baha 480
resm-i ketan	kıyya 40 – baha 480
resm-i gerdek	baha 300
resm-i tapu-ı zemin	
maa deştbani	baha 3.000
resm-i asiyab-ı abi	bab 6 baha 360
resm-i gevvare	baha 5.120

resm-i otlak-ı ağnam ba mukabele-i haracı-ı arazi baha 13.682
mahsul-i bağat-ı şire mistate 4.729,5 becay-ı kıyya 47.295 – baha 94.590
mahsul-ı gümrük-i iskele-i cezire-i mezbur baha 3.000
bad-ı hava ve cürm-ü cinayet ve beytülmal-ı amm ve hassa ve mal-ı ğayıb ve mal-ı mütekaid ve yava ve kaçkun ve mürdegânı-ı mükayyed .... bervech-i emanet – baha 6.000
bıdaat-ı hınzır maa böjik – baha 500
maktu-ı ... – baha 500
YEKUN: 183.006

Mutesarrıfan-ı arazı-ı müslümanan

Tarla	pinak 130
Bağ	pinak 18
bostan .... pinak	5,5

eşçar-ı incir dib ? 37
eşçar-ı zeytun 4
eşçar-ı müsmere 49

Hasılat-ı ğallat

resm-i bennak – baha 36	
hınta	pinak 20,5 – baha 246
şair	pinak 41 – baha 205
fik	pinak 3 – baha 30
bakla	pinak 1,5 – baha 18
nohud	pinak 1 – baha 12

resm-i güğül lidre 1 – baha 120
r bostan – 275
mahsul incir maa eşçar-ı müsmere – 123
mahsul-ı zeytun – 7
mahsul-ı bağat-ı şire mistate 64 becay-ı kıyya 640 – baha 1.280
resm-i tapu-ı zemin maa deştbani – 50
adet-i ağnam – 40
YEKUN: 2.442

Maktuat-ı manastıran-ı cezire-i mezbur
Maktu-ı arazı-ı metoh-ı manastır-ı Ayo Yorgi
Hasıl hams-ı ğallat maa cizye-i rahiban metoh-ı mezbur fi sene 15.600.
Maktu-ı arazı-ı manastır-ı Ayo Dimitri
Hasıl hams-ı ğallat maa cizye-i rahiban manastır-ı mezbur fi sene 6.200.
YEKUN: 21.800

CEMİYEN: 207.248.

ENGLISH TRANSLATION

[Note above]
Sakızlı Mühürdar ? Paşa / mutassarıf dır Ağribos sancağına / tabı havass-ı hümayunundan olub / bundan elli bin akçe yazusı ile / sancaklık üzere ... ...

The pasha entrusted with the seal of the state, of Sciot origin, is the owner of the imperial revenues, which belonged to the province of Euboea; from these he takes 50,000 akçes.

Defter-i haracı arazı-ı zimmiyan cezire-i İşkire der liva-ı mezbur ba emr-i şerif-i ali tahrir şüd fi 10 Cemaziyülahır sene-i 1081.

Register of the land tax of the Christians of the island of Skyros, attached to the above-mentioned province. The registration was held after [the promulgation] of a noble order in the 10th of the month Cemaziyulahir of 1081 [25.10.1670].

Tax revenues:

The island of Skyros	
Fields:	6430.5 *pinek*
Vineyards:	1478 *pinek*
Fig trees:	1772
Olive trees:	159
Fruit trees:	1255
Vegetable gardens:	46 *pinek*
Watermills:	6

Tax revenues from the one-fifth of the yield.

Ispence:	326 households[1] – 8150 akçes.[2]
Wheat:	1408 *pinek* – 16,896
Barley:	1571.5 *pinek* – 7857
Vetch:	442.5 *pinek* – 4425
Broad beans:	176 *pinek* – 2094
Chickpeas:	42 *pinek* – 504
Tax on cocoons:	7110
Revenue on figs and fruit-trees:	6054
Revenue on olive-trees:	250
Revenue on acorns:	354
Tax on vegetable gardens:	2300
Tax on cotton:	480
Tax on flax:	480
Tax on marriages:	300
Tax on title-deeds and vacant lands:	3000
Tax on watermills:	6 – 360
Tax on beehives:	5120
Tax on pasturage instead of the land tax (*harac*):	13,682
Revenue on vineyards:	94,590
Tax customs:	3000
Various taxes and fines:	6000
Tax on pigs:	500
Lump sum tax on ...	500
TOTAL [OF THE REVENUES OF THE CHRISTIANS]:	183,006

Farm-tax holders of the Muslim lands

Fields:	130 *pinek*
Vineyards:	18 *pinek*
Vegetable gardens:	5,5 *pinek*
Fig trees:	37
Olive-trees:	4
Fruit-trees:	49

Revenues from the yield

Farmers' tax:	36[3]
Wheat:	20,5 *pinek* – 246
Barley:	41 *pinek* – 205
Vetch:	3 *pinek* - 30
Broad beans:	1,5 *pinek* – 18
Cheakpeas:	1 *pinek* – 12
Tax on cocoons:	120
Tax on vegetable gardens:	275
Revenue of figs and fruit-trees:	123
Revenue on olive-trees:	7
Revenue on vineyards:	1280
Tax on title-deeds and vacant lands:	50
Sheep tax:	40
TOTAL [OF THE TAXES OF THE MUSLIMS]:	2442

1 Multiplying the number of households with the number 5 we can estimate the number of the Christians on Skyros, approximately 1630 souls.
2 The amount of taxes is given in akçes.
3 Knowing the height of the given tax per head we can estimate the number of the Muslims on Skyros, approximately 6 families.

Lump sum taxes of the monasteries of the above-mentioned island
Lump sum tax on land of the metochion of the St. George monastery
Revenue of the one fifth of the yield with the poll-tax of the monks of the above-mentioned monastery, per year 15,600.
Lump sum tax on land of the St. Dimitrios monastery
Revenue of the one-fifth of the yield with the poll-tax of the monks of the above-mentioned monastery, per year 6200.
TOTAL: 21,800

GENERAL TOTAL
[FOR THE WHOLE ISLAND]: 207,248

GREEK TRANSLATION
ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΗ ΜΕΤΑΦΡΑΣΗ

[Σημείωση από πάνω]
Ο Χιώτης σφραγιδοφύλακας πασάς είναι επικαρπωτής από τις αυτοκρατορικές προσόδους που ανήκουν στο σαντζάκι Ευβοίας και από αυτές λαμβάνει 50.000 άσπρα.

Sakızlı Mühürdar ? Paşa / mutassarıf dır Ağribos sancağına / tabı havass-ı hümayunundan olub / bundan elli bin akçe yazusı ile / sancaklık üzere ... ...

Κατάστιχο χαρατσιού γαιών των χριστιανών της νήσου Σκύρου του αναφερθέντος σαντζακιού. Η απογραφή έγινε ύστερα από υψηλή ιερή διαταγή στις 10 του μηνός Τζεμαζιουλάχιρ του έτους 1081 [25.10.1670].

Defter-i haracı arazı-ı zimmiyan cezire-i İşkire der liva-ı mezbur ba emr-i şerif-i ali tahrir şüd fi 10 Cemaziyülahır sene-i 1081.

Πρόσοδοι:
Νήσος Σκύρος

Χωράφια:	6.430,5 *πινάκια*
Αμπέλια:	1.478 *πινάκια*
Συκιές:	1.772 ρίζες
Ελαιόδεντρα:	159
Καρποφόρα δέντρα:	1.255
Μποστάνια:	46 *πινάκια*
Νερόμυλοι:	6

Πρόσοδος του πέμπτου της σοδειάς

Σπέντζα:	326 χανέ[4] – 8.150 άσπρα[5]
Σιτάρι:	1.408 πινάκια - 16.896
Κριθάρι:	1.571,5 πινάκια – 7.857
Βίκος:	442,5 πινάκια – 4.425
Κουκιά:	176 πινάκια – 2.094
Ρεβίθια:	42 πινάκια – 504
Τέλος κουκουλιών:	59 λίτρες – 7.110
Πρόσοδος συκιών και καρποφόρων δέντρων:	6.054
Πρόσοδος ελιών:	250
Πρόσοδος βαλανιδιών:	354
Τέλος μποστανιών:	2.300
Τέλος βαμβακιού	80 οκάδες – 480
Τέλος λιναριού	40 οκάδες – 480
Τέλος γάμων	300
Τέλος μεταβιβάσεων τίτλων και έρημων γαιών	3.000
Τέλος νερόμυλων	6 – 360
Τέλος κυψελών	5.120
Τέλος βοσκής προβάτων έναντι χαρατσιού γαιών	13.682
Πρόσοδος αμπελιών	4.729,5 *μίστατα* μούστου, σε οκάδες 47.295 – 94.590 άσπρα
Τελωνειακά τέλη	3.000
Διάφοροι φόροι και πρόστιμα	6.000
Τέλος χοίρων και χοιροσφαγίων	500
Κατ' αποκοπή ...	500

ΣΥΝΟΛΟ [ΦΟΡΟΥ ΓΙΑ ΧΡΙΣΤΙΑΝΟΥΣ]: 183.006

Επικαρπωτές μουσουλμανικών γαιών

Χωράφια:	130 πινάκια
Αμπέλια:	18 πινάκια
Μποστάνια	5,5 πινάκια
Συκιές	37 ρίζες
Ελαιόδεντρα	4 ρίζες
Καρποφόρα δέντρα	49 ρίζες

4 Πολλαπλασιάζοντας τον αριθμό με το 5 βρίσκουμε περίπου τον πληθυσμό των χριστιανών του νησιού, δηλαδή 1.630 άνθρωποι.
5 Όλα τα ποσά των φόρων είναι σε άσπρα.

Πρόσοδοι από τις σοδειές

Φόρος αγροτών	36[6]
Σιτάρι	20,5 πινάκια – 246
Κριθάρι	41 πινάκια – 205
Βίκος	3 πινάκια - 30
Κουκιά	1,5 πινάκιο – 18
Ρεβίθια	1 πινάκιο – 12
Τέλος κουκουλιών	1 λίτρα – 120
Τέλος μποστανιών	275
Πρόσοδος συκιών και καρποφόρων δέντρων	123
Πρόσοδος ελιών	7
Πρόσοδος αμπελιών	64 *μίστατα* μούστου, σε οκάδες 640 – 1.280 άσπρα
Τέλος μεταβιβάσεων τίτλων και έρημων γαιών	50
Έθιμο προβάτων	40

ΣΥΝΟΛΟ
[ΦΟΡΟΥ ΓΙΑ ΜΟΥΣΟΥΛΜΑΝΟΥΣ]: 2.442

Κατ' αποκοπή φόροι μοναστηριών του προαναφερθέντος νησιού[7]

Κατ' αποκοπή φόρος γης μετοχιού μονής Αγίου Γεωργίου
Πρόσοδος πέμπτου σοδειάς μαζί με τον κεφαλικό φόρο των μοναχών του προαναφερθέντος μετοχίου, ετησίως 15.600.
Κατ' αποκοπή φόρος γης μονής Αγίου Δημητρίου
Πρόσοδος πέμπτου σοδειάς μαζί με τον κεφαλικό φόρο των μοναχών του προαναφερθέντος μοναστηριού, ετησίως 6.200.
ΣΥΝΟΛΟ: 21.800

ΟΛΑ ΣΥΝΟΛΙΚΑ (ΓΙΑ ΟΛΟ ΤΟ ΝΗΣΙ): 207.248.

6 Γνωρίζοντας το ύψος του συγκεκριμένου φόρου για τον καθένα, πιθανώς οι μουσουλμάνοι φορολογούμενοι ήταν 6 οικογένειες.

7 Όπως φαίνεται στη συνέχεια, γίνεται σαφής διάκριση των δύο μοναστηριών στο εξής: το ένα, του Αγίου Γεωργίου, ήταν μετόχι, ενώ το άλλο, του Αγίου Δημητρίου, ήταν μονή.

References

Actes de Lavra I. Lemerle, P., Guillou, A., Svoronos, N. & Papachrysanthou, D. (eds.), Archives de l'Athos V, première partie, des origines à 1204, Paris 1970.

Actes de Lavra IV. Lemerle, P., Guillou, A., Svoronos, N. & Papachrysanthou, D. (eds.), Archives de l'Athos XI, Études historiques – actes serbes, compléments et index, Paris 1982.

Hilarius, Syn. Serd. Feder, A. (ed.), *S. Hilarii episcope Pictaviensis opera*, pars IV. (CSEL 65), 48-143. Vienna-Leipzig.

Synekdemos. Honigman, E. (ed.), *Le Synekdèmos d'Hieroclès et l'opuscule géographique de Georges de Chypre. Texte, introduction, commentaire et cartes,* Brussels 1939: Institut de philologie et d'histoire orientales et slaves.

Abadie-Reynal, C. 1989. Céramique et commerce dans le bassin égéen du IV au VII siècle. In C. Morrisson & J. Lefort (eds.), *Hommes et richesses dans l'Empire byzantine,* I, 143-159. Paris: P. Lethielleux.

Acheimastou-Potamianou, M. 1994. *Ελληνική τέχνη:Βυζαντινές τοιχογραφίες.* Athens: Ekdotiki Athinon.

Ahrweiler, H. 1966. *Byzance et la mer.* Paris: Presses Universitaires de France.

Alcock, S. 1993. *Greacia Capta. The landscapes of Roman Greece,* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Alcock, S., Cherry, J. & Davis, J. 1994. Intensive survey, agricultural practice and the classical landscape of Greece. In I. Morris (ed.), *Classical Greece: ancient histories and modern archaeologies,* 137-170. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Alcock, S., & J. Cherry 2004. Introduction. In S.E. Alcock & J.F. Cherry (eds.), *Side by Side Survey. Comparative Regional Studies in the Mediterranean World*, 1-9. Oxford: Oxbow books.

Alexiou, S. & Aposkiti M. 1995. *Μαρίνου Τζάνε Μπουνιάλη του Ρεθυμναίου: Ο κρητικός πόλεμος 1645-1669.* Athens: Stigmi.

Amanatidis, A. 2005. *"Coming into being": Metaphors of self and becoming in carnival on the Aegean island of Skyros*. PhD diss., University of Adelaide.

Antoniadis, X. 1977. *Η Σκύρος στους περιηγητές και γεωγράφους (1400-1900).* Athens: Society of Euboean Studies, Archeion Evoikon Meleton, supplement of vol. 21.

Antoniadis, X. 1990. *Αρχείο εγγράφων Σκύρου.* Athens: Syllogos Skyrianon.

Antoniadis, X. 1995a. Σκυριανά πριβελέγγια. In X. Antoniadis, *Σκυριανά ανάλεκτα,* 39- 51. Athens: Syllogos Skyrianon.

Antoniadis, X. 1995b. Βενετοκρατία και τουρκοκρατία στη Σκύρο. In X. Antoniadis, *Σκυριανά ανάλεκτα,* 53-62. Athens: Syllogos Skyrianon.

Antoniadis, X. 1995c. Σελίδες από τη βενετοκρατούμενη Σκύρο. In X. Antoniadis, *Σκυριανά ανάλεκτα,* 63-107. Athens: Syllogos Skyrianon.

Antoniadis, X. 1995d. Υπήρχε λατίνος επίσκοπος στη Σκύρο; In X. Antoniadis, *Σκυριανά ανάλεκτα,* 109-114. Athens: Syllogos Skyrianon.

Antoniadis, X. 1995e. Πόλεις και κάστρα στη Σκύρο. In X. Antoniadis, *Σκυριανά Ανάλεκτα*, 115-126. Athens: Syllogos Skyrianon.

Antoniadis, X. 1995f. Οι βοεβόδες της Σκύρου στην Τουρκοκρατία. In X. Antoniadis, *Σκυριανά ανάλεκτα,* 141-162. Athens: Syllogos Skyrianon.

Antoniadis, X. 1995g. Ο Φιλικός Μανουήλ Βερνάρδος στη Σκύρο. In X. Antoniadis, *Σκυριανά ανάλεκτα,* 199-216. Athens: Syllogos Skyrianon.

Antoniadis, X. 1997. *Η Σκύρος στην τουρκοκρατία. Κοινωνία-Διοίκηση-Δικαιοσύνη.* Athens: Society of Euboean Studies, Archeion Evoikon Meleton, supplement of vol. 31.

Armstrong, P. 2009. Trade in the East Mediterranean in the 8th century. In. M. Mango (ed.), *Byzantine trade, 4th-12th centuries*, 157-178. Oxford: Society for the Promotion of Byzantine Studies 14, Ashgate.

Arnaoutoglou, Ch. 1982. *Ελληνική παραδοσιακή αρχιτεκτονική: Σκύρος.* Athens: Melissa.

Arthur, P. 1992. Amphoras for bulk transport. In F.D'Andria & D.B. Whitehouse (eds.), *Excavations at Otranto II: The finds,* 197-217. Galatina: Congedo.

Arthur, P. & Auriemma, R. 1996. A search for Italian wine: Middle Byzantine and later amphoras from Southern Puglia. *The INA Quarterly* 23, 14-17.

Arthur, P. 1998. Eastern Mediterranean amphorae between 500 and 700: a view from Italy. In L. Saguì (ed.), *Ceramica in Italia VI-VII sec.,* 157-183. Florence: Edizioni All'insegna del giglio.

Atesis, V. 1961. *Ἡ Ἱστορία τῆς ἐκκλησίας τῆς Σκύρου.* Athens: Society of Euboean Studies, Archeion Evoikon Meleton, supplement of vol. 7.

Atesis, V. 1969. *Ἐκκλησιαστικά ἱστορικά σημειώματα τῆς νήσου Σκύρου*. Athens.

Aupert, P. 1980. *Objets de la vie quotidienne à Argos en 585 ap. J.-C.* In *Études Argiennes*, 395-457. Paris: Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique Supplément 6.

Bakirtzis, Ch. 2003². *Βυζαντινά τσουκαλολάγηνα.* Athens: Hellenic Ministry of Culture.

Bennet, J. & Voutsaki, S. 1991. A synopsis and analysis of travellers' accounts of Keos (to 1821). In J.F. Cherry, J.L. Davis & E. Mantzourani (eds.), *Landscape archaeology as long-term history*: *Northern Keos in the Cycladic islands from earliest settlement until modern times,* 365-382. Los Angeles: University of California Press.

Bes, P.M., forthcoming. A World within a World. First Impressions of Hellenistic to Late Roman Ceramic Patterns in Boeotia, Central Greece. In D. Zhuravlev-U. Schlotzhauer (eds.), *Late Hellenistic and Roman Tableware in the Black Sea, Eastern Mediterranean and in the West (150 BC-250 AD)*, Berlin.

Bes, P.M. & Poblome, J. 2009. African Red Slip Ware on the Move: the Effects of Bonifay's Etudes for the Roman East. In J.H. Humphrey (ed.), *Studies on Roman Pottery from Africa Proconsularis and Byzacena (Tunisia). Hommage à Michel Bonifay*, 73-91. Portsmouth: *Journal of Roman Archaeology Supplementary Volume* 76.

Bevan, A. & Conolly, J. 2013. *Mediterranean islands, fragile communities and persistent landscapes.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Bezeczky, T. 2013. *The Amphorae of Roman Ephesus*, Vienna: Forschungen in Ephesos 15.2.

Bintliff, J.L. 1977. *Natural Environment and Human Settlement in Prehistoric Greece*, vol. 1. Oxford: BAR Supplementary Series 28.

Bintliff, J.L. 1992. The history of the Greek countryside: as the wave breaks, prospects for future research. In P.N.Doukellis & L.G. Mendoni (eds.), *Structures Rurales et Sociétés Antiques,* 7-15. Besançon: Université de Besançon.

Bintliff, J.L. 1994. Territorial behaviour and the natural history of the Greek polis. In E.Olshausen & H.Sonnabend (eds.), *Stuttgarter Kolloquium zur Historischen Geographie des Altertums, 4,* 207-249. Amsterdam: Hakkert Verlag.

Bintliff, J.L. 1996. Frankish countryside in central Greece: the evidence from archaeological field survey. In P. Lock & G. Sanders (ed.), *The archaeology of Medieval Greece,* 1- 18. Oxford: Oxbow monograph 59.

Bintliff, J.L. 1997. Regional Survey, Demography, and the Rise of Complex Societies in the Ancient Aegean: Core-Periphery, Neo-Malthusian, and Other Interpretive Models. *Journal of Field Archaeology* 24.1, 1-38.

Bintliff, J.L. 1999. Settlement and Territory. In G. Barker (ed.), *The Routledge Companion Encyclopaedia of Archaeology*, 505-545. London: Routledge.

Bintliff, J.L. 2000a. Beyond dots on the map: the future of artefact survey in Greece. In J. Bintliff, M. Kuna & N. Venclova. (eds.), *The Future of Archaeological Field Survey in Europe*, 3-20. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press.

Bintliff, J.L. 2000b. Reconstructing the byzantine countryside: new approaches from landscape archaeology. In K. Belke, F. Hild, J. Koder & P. Soustal (eds.), *Byzanz als Raum*, 37-63. Vienna: Verlag der Osterreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.

Bintliff, J.L. 2006. Issues in the economic and ecological understanding of the *Chora* of the Classical Polis in its social context: a view from the intensive survey tradition of the Greek homeland. In P. Guldager Bilde & V.F. Stolba (eds.), *Surveying the Greek Chora: The Black Sea Region in a Comparative Perspective*, 13-26. Aarhus: Aarhus University Press.

Bintliff, J.L. 2007. Considerations for creating an Ottoman Archaeology in Greece. In S. Davies & J.L. Davis (eds), *Between Venice and Istanbul: Colonial Landscapes in Early Modern Greece*, 221-36. Princeton: The American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Hesperia Supplement 40.

Bintliff, J.L. 2012. *The Complete Archaeology of Greece. From Hunter-Gatherers to the 20th century A.D*. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell.

Bintliff, J.L. 2013. Poverty and resistance in the material culture of Early Modern rural households in the Aegean. In J. L. Bintliff & M. Caroscio (eds.), Pottery and Social Dynamics in the Mediterranean and Beyond in Medieval and Post-Medieval Times, 41-46. Oxford: BAR International series, 2557.

Bintliff, J.L. & A. Snodgrass 1985. The Cambridge/ Bradford Boeotia Expedition: The first four years. *Journal of Field Archaeology* 12, 123-161.

Bintliff, J.L., P. Howard & A. Snodgrass 2007. *Testing the hinterland. The work of the Boeotia Survey (1989–1991) in the southern approaches to the city of Thespiai.* Cambridge: McDonald Institute Monographs.

Blitzer, H. 1990. ΚΟΡΩΝΕΪΚΑ: Storage-jar production and trade in the traditional Aegean. *Hesperia* 59.4, 675-711.

Bonifay, M. 2004. *Études sur la céramique romaine tardive d'Afrique*. Oxford: BAR International Series 1301.

Bouras, Ch. 1960-61. Η αρχιτεκτονική του ναού της επισκοπής Σκύρου. *Deltion Christianikis Arxaiologikis Etaireias,* 2 (series 4), 57-75.

Bouras, Ch. 2006. *Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Architecture in Greece*. Athens: Melissa.

Bowden, H. & Gill, D. 1997. Late Roman Methana. In Ch. Mee & H. Forbes (ed.), *A rough and rocky place. The landscape and settlement history of the Methana peninsula, Greece,* 84-91. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press.

Boyazoglou, J. & L. de Neuville 1980. *Les faïences de Delft.* Paris: Grancher.

Bruno, M. 2002. The quarries at Cape Latomio on Valaxa Island, Skyros (Greece). In J. Herrmann, N. Herz & R. Newman (eds.), ASMOSIA 5: proceedings of the fifth international conference of the Association for the Study of Marble and Other Stones in Antiquity, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 27-35. London: Archetype Publications.

Bruzza, L. 1870. Iscrizioni dei marmi grezzi. *Annali dell'Istituto di Corrispondenza Archaeologica* 42, 106-107.

Cavanagh, W., J. Crouwel, R.W.V. Catling & G. Shipley 2002. *The Laconia Survey.* London: Annual of the British School at Athens, Supplementary Volume 27.

Chatzidakis, M. 1987. *Έλληνες ζωγράφοι μετά την άλωση (1450-1830),* vol. I. Athens: Kentro Neoellinikon Ereunon E.I.E., 33.

Chatzidakis, M. & Drakopoulou, E. 1997: *Έλληνες ζωγράφοι μετά την άλωση (1450-1830),* vol. II. Athens: Kentro Neoellinikon Ereunon E.I.E., 67.

Chatzimichali, A. 1925: *Έλληνική λαϊκῆ τέχνη, Σκῦρος.* Athens: A.E.B.E. Makris.

Cherry, J.F. 1982. A preliminary definition of site distribution on Melos. In C. Renfrew & M. Wagstaff (eds.), *An Island Polity. The Archaeology of Exploitation in Melos*, 10- 23. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Cherry, J.F. 1983. Frogs round the pond: Perspectives on current archaeological survey projects in the Mediterranean region. In D. Keller & W. Rupp (eds.), *Archaeological Survey in the Mediterranean Area,* 375-416. Oxford: BAR International series 155.

Cherry, J.F. 2003. Archaeology beyond the site: Regional survey and its future. In J.K. Papadopoulos & R.M. Leventhal (eds.), *Theory and Practice in Mediterranean Archaeology: Old World and New World Perspectives*, 137-59. Los Angeles: Cotsen Institute of Archaeology University of California.

Cherry, J.F. 2004. Cyprus, the Mediterranean, and Survey: current issues and future trends. In M. Iacovou (ed.) *Archaeological Field Survey in Cyprus. Past History, Future Potentials*, 23-35. London: British School at Athens Studies 11.

Cherry, J.F. & Sparkes, B. 1982. A note on the topography of the ancient settlement of Melos. In C. Renfrew & M. Wagstaff (eds.), *An island Polity. The archaeology of exploitation in Melos*, 53-7. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Cherry, J.F., Davis, J.L. & Mantzourani, E. (eds) 1991. *Landscape Archaeology As Long- Term History: Northern Keos in the Cycladic Islands from Earliest Settlement until Modern Times.* Los Angeles: University of California Press.

Cherry, J., Davis, J. & Mantzourani, E. 1991. Greek and Roman settlement and land use. In J. Cherry, J. Davis & E. Mantzourani, *Landscape archaeology as long term history. Northern Keos in the Cycladic islands from earliest settlement until modern times,* 327-347. Los Angeles: University of California Press.

Choremis, A. 1972. Σκύρος. *Archaiologikon Deltion* 27.B (Chronika), 352-55.

Choremis, A. 1973. Σκύρος. *Archaiologikon Deltion* 28.B1(Chronika), 303.

Christofilopoulou, A. 1996². *Βυζαντινή Ιστορία, vol. A, 324-610*. Thessaloniki: Vanias

Christofilopoulou, A. 1998². *Βυζαντινή Ιστορία vol. B1, 610-867.* Thessalomiki: Vanias.

Clark, D. 1973. Archaeology: the loss of innocence. *Antiquity* 47, 6-18.

Copeland, R. 2003. *Blue and White transfer-printed pottery.* Buckinghamshire: Shire Library.

Darrouzès, J.A.A. 1981. *Notitiae Episcopatuum Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae*. Paris: Institut Français d'Ètudes Byzantines, Géographie Ecclésiastique de l'Empire Byzantine, 1.

Davis, J.L. 1991. Contributions to a Mediterranean rural archaeology: historical case studies from the Ottoman Cyclades. *Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology* 4.2, 131-215.

Davis, J.L. & Davies, S. 2007. Introduction. In S. Davies & J.L. Davis (eds), *Between Venice and Istanbul: Colonial Landscapes in Early Modern Greece,* 1-24. Princeton: The American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Hesperia Supplement 40.

Dawkins, R.M. 1904-05. A visit to Skyros. *Annual British School at Athens* 11, 72-80.

Defner, M. 1923. Τὰ ἀρχαῖα λατομεῖα τῆς Σκύρου. *Archaeologiki Efimeris*, 102-116.

Defner, M. 1925-26. Ἡ ἀρχαία ὀχύρωσις τῆς πόλεως Σκύρου. *Archaeologiki Efimeris*, 138- 67.

Defner, M. 1926. Τοπωνυμίαι τῆς νήσου Σκύρου. *Deltion Ellinikis Laografikis Etaireias* 9, 564-97.

Deligianni-Dori, E. 1990. *Εισαγωγή στη μεταβυζαντινή αρχαιολογία και τέχνη (15ος – 16ος αι.). Σημειώσεις για τους φοιτητές,* Athens: University of Athens

Deligianni-Dori, E. 1993. *Επιβίωση της βυζαντινής και νέες μορφές της μεταβυζαντινής αρχιτεκτονικής.* Athens: Goulandri-Chorn Foundation, Όψεις της βυζαντινής κοινωνίας, 14.

Delivorias, A. 1995. Η παραδοσιακή τέχνη των νησιών του Αιγαίου. In L. Vagena- Papaioannou & D. Komini-Dialeti (eds), *Το Αιγαίο, Επίκεντρο Ελληνικού Πολιτισμού,* 281-360. Athens: Melissa.

Desborough, V.R. 1980. A group of vases from Skyros. In K. Schefold & J. Pouilloux (eds.), *Στήλη,* Τόμος εις μνήμην N. Κοντολέοντος, 55-8 Athens: Somateio filon tou Nikolaou Kontoleontos.

Dimitrakopoulou-Skilogianni, N. 2005-07. Γλυπτά των «σκοτεινών» χρόνων στη νέα μόνιμη έκθεση του Βυζαντινού και Χριστιανικού Μουσείου. *Vizantina Simeikta* 17, 23-48.

Dori, E., Velissarioy, P. & Michailidis, M. 2003. *Κάτω Κάστρο, η πρώτη φάση των ανασκαφών στο βενετικό φρούριο της Χώρας Άνδρου.* Andros: Kaireios Vivliothiki, Andriaka Chronika 34.

Dubois, M.Ch. 1908. *L'administration et l'eploration des carrières dans le monde romain*. Paris.

Dunnell, R.C., & W. Dancey 1983. The siteless survey: a regional scale data collection strategy. In M. Schiffer (ed.), *Advances in Archaeological Method and Theory*, VI, 267-87. New York: Academic Press.

Dworakowska, A. 1972. Carrières antiques à Scyros et dans les îles Carie. Matériaux pour l'inventaire. *Archaeologia Warszawa* 23, 7-20.

Evangelidis, D. 1918. Ἀνασκαφαί καὶ ἔρευναι ἔν Σκῦρω. *Archaiologikon Deltion* 4, 34-45.

Faltaits, K. 1919. *Ἡ γρίππη στὴ Σκῦρο.* Athens.

Faltaits, K. 1930. *Ἡ Παναγία ἡ Ἐλεημονήτρια*. Athens.

Faltaits, K. 1931. *Τὸ ἔργον τοῦ Συνδέσμου Σκυρίων.* Athens: Ektaktos ekdosis tis efimeridos *Skyros.*

Faltaits, M. 1972a. Η 'αλώνη' του σκυριανού σπιτιού. Offprint of *Elliniki Laiki Techni* 8, 3- 14.

Faltaits, M. 1972b. Σκυριανή μικροξυλογλυπτική. Offprint of the 30th sheet of *Voreies Sporades*, 3-10.

Faltaits, M. 1972c. Σκυριανή κεντητική. Offprint of the 27th sheet of *Voreies Sporades*, 3-14.

Faltaits, M. 1972d. Σκυριανή κεραμική. Offprint of the 29th sheet of *Voreies Sporades,* 3-10.

Faltaits, M. 1972e. Η Τουρκική παροικία της Σκύρου. Offprint of the 24th sheet of *Voreies Sporades,* 3-8.

Faltaits, M. 1972f. *Σκυριανών συσσωματώσεις. Α΄ Τα εκκλησιαστικά αδελφάτα.* Offprint of the 22nd sheet of *Voreies Sporades*, 3-7.

Faltaits, M. 1973a. *Οι σκυριανές φορεσιές από κοινωνιολογική άποψη.* Α΄: Άνδρικές φορεσιές. Offprint of the 35th sheet of *Voreies Sporades*, 3-14.

Faltaits, M. 1973b. *Σκυριανή ξυλοτεχνία.* Offprint of *Elliniki Laiki Techni* 10, 3-14.

Faltaits, M. 1973c. *Ο Γιαννούλης Μπαμπούσης και η νεώτερη σκυριανή ξυλογλυπτική.* Offprint of the 33rd sheet of *Voreies Sporades,* 3-7.

Faltaits, M. 1973d. *Σκύρος.* Athens: Ekdosi efimeridos Voreion Sporadon.

Faltaits, M. 1974. Τα διακοσμητικά αντικείμενα του Σκυριανού σπιτιού από ιστορική και κοινωνιολογική άποψη. *Archeion Evoikon Meleton* 19, 57-96.

Faltaits, M. 1975. Λιναριά. Η γέννηση και εξέλιξη της κοινωνίας του Σκυριανού λιμανιού. Offprint of the 66th sheet of *Voreies Sporades,* 3-14.

Faltaits, M. 1976: *Σκυριανών συσσωματώσεις. Β΄ Οι Σμίχτες. Η οικονομικο-επαγγελματική συσσωμάτωση των Σκυριανών τσοπάνηδων.* Athens.

Farandos, D. 2003-04. Θαλαμοειδής Μυκηναϊκός τάφος στη θέση "Μπάσαλες" της Σκύρου. *Archeion Evoikon Meleton* 35, 81-166.

Fedalto, G. 1973: *La chiesa latina in Oriente,* vol. I, II. Verona: Studi religiosi 3.

Flannery, K.V. 1976. (ed.) *The early Mesoamerican village.* London & New York: Academic Press.

Forbes, H. 1997. Turkish and modern Methana. In C. Mee & H. Forbes (eds.), *A Rough and Rocky Place: The Landscape and Settlement History of the Methana Peninsula, Greece,* 101-117. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press.

Forsén, J., & Forsén B. 2003. *The Asea Valley Survey: An Arcadian mountain valley from Palaeolithic period until Modern times.* Stockholm: Paul Åströms Förlag.

François, V. 1995. *La céramique byzantine à Thasos.* Athens: École Française d'Athènes, Études Thasiennes XVI.

Frazee, Ch. 1988. *The island princes of Greece. The dukes of the archipelago.* Amsterdam: A.M. Hakkert.

Fredrich, C. 1906. Skyros. *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archaeologischen Instituts Athenische Abteilung* 31, 257-78.

Gaffney, V.L., & M. Tingle 1984. The tyranny of the site: method and theory in field survey. *Scottish Archaeological Review* 3, 134-40.

Georgopoulou-Meladini, M. 1972. Σκύρος. *Archaiologikon Deltion* 27.B2 (Chronika), 372- 3.

Gill, D., Mee, Ch., & Taylor, G. 1997. Artefact catalogue. In Ch. Mee & H. Forbes (ed.), *A rough and rocky place. The landscape and settlement history of the Methana peninsula, Greece,* 282-343. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press.

Girard, P. 1879. Antiquités des Sporades Septentrionales. *Bulletin Correspondance Hellénique* 3, 59-69.

Gkiasta, M. 2008. *The Historiography of Landscape Research on Crete.* Leiden: Archaeological Studies Leiden University 16.

Gkioles, N. 1992. *Βυζαντινή ναοδομία (600-1204).* Athens: Kardamitsa.

Gnoli, R. 1988. *Marmora Romana*, 198-201. Rome: Edizioni dell'Elefante.

Gounali, Ch. & Kantzos, Th. 2003. *Μελέτη αποκατάστασης και στερέωσης του νοτίου συγκροτήματος της Ι.Μ. Αγίου Γεωργίου-Κάστρο Σκύρου.* Athens: Hellenic Ministry of Culture, (unpublished study).

Graindor, P. 1906. *Histoire de l'île de Skyros jusqu'en 1538.* Liege.

Graves, T. 1849. The isle of Skyros. *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society of London* 19, 152-60.

Gregory, T. 2005. *A history of Byzantium.* Oxford: Blackwell.

Guidobaldi, F. & Salvadori, A. 1988. The introduction of polychrome marbles in Late Republican Rome: the evidence from mosaic pavements with marble insertions. In N. Herz & M. Waelkens (eds.), *Classical Marble: geochemistry, technology, trade*, 171-175. Dordrecht.

Günsenin, N. 1990. *Les amphores byzantines (Xe-XIIIe siècles): typologie, production, circulation d'après les collections turques.* Paris.

Haldon, J.F. 1997. *Byzantium in the seventh century: the transformation of a culture.* Cambridge: Cambridge University press.

Hansen, H.D. 1951. Prehistoric Skyros. In G.E. Mylonas, *Studies presented to David Moore Robinson on his seventieth birthday*, 54-63. Saint Louis, Washington University.

Hansen, M.H. 2006. *Polis*. *An introduction to the ancient Greek city-state*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Hansen, M. and Nielsen, Th. 2004. *An inventory of Archaic and Classical Poleis.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Hayes, J.W. 1972. *Late Roman Pottery.* London: The British School at Rome.

Hayes, J.W. 1992. *Excavations at Saraçhane in Istanbul.* The Pottery, vol. 2. Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection.

Hirth, K.G. 1978. *Interregional trade and the formation of prehistoric gateway communities.* American Antiquity 43, 35-45.

Hopf, Ch. 1873. *Chroniques gréco-romanes inédites ou peu connues.* Berlin: Weidmann.

Iakovidis, Ch. 1978. *Χώρα Πάτμου 1088-1912,* Athens.

İnalcik, H. 1972. The Ottoman decline and its effect upon the *Reaya.* In H. Birnbaum and S. Vryonis (eds), *Aspects of the Balkans: Continuity and Change,* 338-354. The Hague.

Jacoby, D. 1989. From Byzantium to Latin Romania: Continuity and change. In B. Arbel, B. Hamilton & D. Jacoby (eds.), *Latins and Greeks in the Eastern Mediterranean after 1204,* 1-44. London: Frank Cass.

Jameson, M.H. 1978. Agriculture and slavery in Classical Athens. *Classical Journal* 73, 122-145.

Jameson, M.H., Runnels, C.N. vanAndel., T.H. 1994. *Countryside: The Southern Argolid from Prehistory to the Present Day,* Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Kalogeropoulou, A. 1983. Δείγματα άγνωστου κεραμικού εργαστηρίου στη Σκύρο του 7ου π.Χ. αι. *Annuario Scuola Archeologica di Atene* LXI n.s. XLV, 137-52.

Kalopisi-Verti, S. & Panayotidi-Kesisoglou, M. 2010. *Multilingual illustrated dictionary of Byzantine architecture and sculpture terminology*, Herakleion: Crete University Press.

Karagiorgou, O. 2001. LR2: a container for the military annona on the Danubian border? In S.A. Kingsley & M.J. Decker (eds.), *Economy and exchange in the East Mediterranean during Late Antiquity. Proceedings of a conference at Somerville College, Oxford, 29th May, 1999*, 129-166. Oxford.

Karambinis, M. & Lazzarini, L. forthcoming. The Roman marble quarries of Aliko bay and of the islets of Rinia and Koulouri (Skyros, Greece). In P. Pensabene (ed.), 10th International conference of the Association for the Study of Marble & Other Stones In Antiquity (ASMOSIA X), Rome, 21-26 May 2012.

Karapaschalidou, A. 2008. *Κιβωτιόσχημος τάφος από το δημοτικό σχολείο Σκύρου.* Chalkida.

Kasdagli, A. 2004. Εγγραμματοσύνη και παιδεία στο Αιγαίο κατά τον 'σκοτεινό' 17ο αιώνα από τις μαρτυρίες των νοταριακών εγγράφων: Μια πρώτη προσέγγιση. In A. Argyriou (ed.), *Η Ελλάδα των νησιών από τη Φραγκοκρατία ως σήμερα* 2, 535-548. Athens: Ellinika Grammata.

Kasdagli, A. 2007. Notarial documents as a source for agrarian history. In S. Davies & J.L. Davis (eds), *Between Venice and Istanbul: Colonial Landscapes in Early Modern Greece*, 55-70. Princeton: The American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Hesperia Supplement 40.

Kazhdan, A., Talbot, A., Cutler, A., Gregory, T. & Ševčenco, N. (eds) 1991. *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium.* New York-Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Kazhdan, A. & Ronchey, S. 1999². *L'aristocrazia bizantina.* Palermo: Sallerio editore.

Keay, S.J. 1984. *Late Roman amphorae in the western Mediterranean. A typology and economic study: the Catalan evidence.* Oxford: BAR International Series 196.

Kiel, M. 2007. The smaller Aegean islands in the 16th-18th centuries according to Ottoman administrative documents. In S. Davies & J.L. Davis (eds), *Between Venice and Istanbul: Colonial Landscapes in Early Modern Greece*, 35-54. Princeton: The American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Hesperia Supplement 40.

Kitzinger, E. 1954. The cult of images in the age before Iconoclasm, *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 8, 85-150.

Kitzinger, E. 1955. On some icons of the seventh century. In K. Weitzmann (ed.), *Late Classical and Medieval studies in honour of Albert Mathias Friend,* Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Koder, J. 1977. Topographie und bevölkerung der Ägäisinseln in Spätbyzantinischer zeit: probleme der quellen. *Byzantinische Forschungen* 5, 217-34.

Koder, J. 1998. *Tabula Imperii Byzantini 10. Aigaion pelagos.* Vienna: Verl. der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.

Kolodny, E.Y. 1974. *La population des îles de la Grèce. Essai de géographie insulaire en Méditerranée orientale*. Aix-En-Provence: Edisud.

Kolovos, E. 2007. Insularity and island society in the ottoman context: The case of the Aegean island of Naxos (sixteenth to eighteenth centuries). *Turcica* 39, 49-122.

Konstantinidi, Ch. 2008. *Ο μελισμός.* Thessaloniki: Centre for Byzantine Research, Byzantine Monuments 14.

Konstantinidis, K. 1981-82. Ο Κώδικας της Μονής του Αγίου Γεωργίου Σκύρου (1494 – 1852). *Archeion Evoikon Meleton* 24, 5-121.

Konstantinidis, K. 1988. *Η ληστεία και η πειρατεία στη Σκύρο, Σκιάθο και Σκόπελο κατά τη διάρκεια της επανάστασης του 1821 μέχρι της αντιβασιλείας του 'Οθωνα.* Vol. 1. Athens: Syllogos Skyrianon.

Konstantinidis, M. 1901. *Ἡ νῆσος Σκῦρος: Ἱστορικὸν δοκίμιον ἀπὸ τῶν ἀρχαιοτάτων χρόνων μέχρι τῶν καθ' ἡμάς.* Athens.

Kontogiannis, N. forthcoming. A Pottery that doesn't like itself or a pre-industrial kitsch? Marbled Ware in Ottoman Greece. In J. Vroom (ed.), *Fact and Fiction in Medieval and Post-Medieval Ceramics in the eastern Mediterranean. The First Meeting on Byzantine and Ottoman Archaeology,* University of Amsterdam 21-23 October 2012.

Korre-Zografou, K. 1995. *Τα κεραμικά του ελληνικού χώρου.* Athens: Melissa.

Koukkou, E. 1980. *Οι Κοινοτικοί Θεσμοί στις Κυκλάδες κατά την Τουρκοκρατία*. Athens: Istoriki kai Ethnologiki Etaireia tis Ellados.

Koukoulis, Th. 1997. Medieval Methana. In Ch. Mee & H. Forbes (ed.), *A rough and rocky place. The landscape and settlement history of the Methana peninsula, Greece,* 92-100. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press.

Küpper, H.M. 1990. *Der Bautypus der griechischen Dachtranseptkirche* I-II. Amsterdam: Verlag Adolf M. Hakkert.

Ladstätter, S. 2010. Keramik. In: M. Steskal, *Das Prytaneion in Ephesos*, 85-172. Vienna: *Forschungen in Ephesos* 9/4.

Ladstätter, S. & Sauer, R. 2005. Late Roman C Ware in Ephesos. The significance of imported and local production by petrological and mineralogical methods. In V. Kilikoglou, A. Hein & Y. Maniatis (eds.), *Modern trends in scientific studies on ancient ceramics. Papers presented at the Fifth European Meeting on Ancient Ceramics, Athens 1999*, 323-334. Oxford: BAR International Series 1011.

Ladstätter, S. & High, N.M. 2010. Katalog. In M. Steskal, *Das Prytaneion in Ephesos*, 103- 172. Vienna: *Forschungen in Ephesos* 9/4.

Laiou, A. 2002. Introduction. In A. Laiou (ed.), *The Economic history of Byzantium. From the seventh through the fifteenth century,* vol. 1, 3-8. Washington D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Studies 39.

Lambeck, K. 1996. Sea-level change and shore-line evolution in Aegean Greece since Upper Palaeolithic time. *Antiquity* 70, 588-611.

Lamprou, A. 1994. *Οι Σκυριανές φορεσιές.* Nauplion: Peloponnesian Folklore Foundation.

Lamprou, A. 2004. *Τραγούδια και έθιμα της Σκύρου.* Skyros.

Lamprou, G. 1954. *Περιληπτικός ἀπολογισμός τῶν συντελεσθέντων εἰς Σκῦρον δημοτικῶν ἔργων κατὰ τὰ ἔτη 1951-54.* Athens: Dimos Skyrou.

Lazaridis, P. 1971. Σκύρος. *Archaiologikon Deltion* 26.B1(Chronika), 278-9.

Lazos, S., Petiniotis, N. & Stefoulis, M. 1989. *Συμπληρωματική έκθεση της Γεωλογικής - κοιτασματολογικής έρευνας των μαρμαροφόρων περιοχών της νήσου Σκύρου*. Athens: Ι.Γ.Μ.Ε (unpublished study).

Lazzarini, L. 1999. Marmo Sciro e semesanto. *Recupero e Conservazione* 27, 64-69.

Lazzarini, L. 2007. *Poikiloi Lithoi, Versiculores maculae: I marmi colorati della Grecia antica.* Pisa-Roma: Fabrizio Serra.

Lazzarini, L. & Turi, B. 1999. Characterisation and differentiation of the Skyros marbles (Greece) and the Medici's breccias (Italy). In M. Schvoerer (ed.), Actes de la IVe Conférence internationale de l'Association pour l'étude des marbres et autres roches utilisés dans le passé. Talence: CRPAA.

Lazzarini, L. & Canceliere, S. 2000. Characterisation of the white marble of two unpublished ancient Roman quarries on the Islands of Fourni and Skyros (Greece). *Periodico di Mineralogia* 69, 49-62.

Le Quien, M. 1740. *Oriens Christianus,* Parisiis 1740, vol. II, Graz 1958.

Lebeque, A. 1873. Notes sur Skyros. *Revue Archéologique* 25, 173-81.

Legrand, P. 1889. Deux inscriptiones latines de Carystos. *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* 13, 519-23.

Lock, P. 1995. *The Franks in the Aegean. 1204-1500.* London: Longman.

Loenertz, R.J. 1975. *Les Ghisi, dynastes vénitiens dans l'Archipel, 1207-1390.* Florence.

Lohmann, H. 1993. Ein Turmgehoeft Klassischer Zeit in Thimari (Attika). *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archaeologischen Instituts Athenische Abteilung* 108, 101-149.

Malamut, E. 1988. *Les îles de l'Empire Byzantin, VIII-XII siècles,* vol. I-II. Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, Byzantina sorbonensia 8.

Mamaloukos, S., Polyviou, M. Theocharides, P. & Kizis, Y. 1996. Aspects of post- byzantine architecture. In XIX International Congress of Byzantine Studies. Kopenhagen, 18-24 August 1996, Abstracts 282-305.

Mango, C. 2002. *The Oxford history of Byzantium.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Mayer, M. 1893. Skyros. *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* 17, 207-8.

McDonald, W.A. & Rapp G.R. 1972. *The Minnesota Messenia Expedition: Reconstructing a Bronze Age Regional Environment.* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Mee, C., & Forbes, H. 1997. *A Rough and Rocky Place: The Landscape and Settlement History of the Methana Peninsula, Greece.* Liverpool: Liverpool University Press.

Melentis, I. 1973. Η γεωλογία της νήσου Σκύρου. *Deltio Ellinikis Geologikis Etaireas* 10. 2, 298-322.

Miller, W. 1908. *The Latins in the Levant: A history of Frankish Greece (1204 – 1566).* London: John Murray.

Nesbitt, J. & Oikonomides, N. 1994. *Catalogue of Byzantine seals at Dumbarton Oaks and in the Fogg Museum of Art,* Vol. 2.Washington: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection.

Neustupny, E. (1991). Community areas of prehistoric farmers in Bohemia. *Antiquity* 65, 326-331.

Oikonomou, K. 2002. *Ι.Μ. Αγίου Γεωργίου Σκύρου-Μετόχιο της Μεγίστης Λαύρας (13ος-19ος αι.).* PhD diss., University of Athens.

Orlandos, A. 1933. Μεσαιωνικά μνημεία της πεδιάδος των Αθηνών και των κλιτύων Υμηττού-Πεντελικού-Πάρνηθος και Αιγάλεω. In A. Orlandos (ed.), *Euretirion Mesaionikon Mnimeion Ellados* 3. Athens.

Orlandos, A. 1935. Οι σταυρεπίστεγοι ναοί της Ελλάδος. In A. Orlandos, *Archeion Byzantinon Mnimeion Ellados A'*, 41-52. Athens: Estia.

Orlandos, A. 1954. *Ἡ ξυλόστεγος παλαιοχριστιανική βασιλική τῆς Μεσογειακῆς λεκάνης,* τ. 2. Athens: Archaeologiki Etaireia.

Osborne, R. 1985. Buildings and residence on the land in Classical and Hellenistic Greece: the contribution of Epigraphy. *Annual British School at Athens* 80, 119-128.

Osborne, R. 1986. Island towers: the case of Thasos. *Annual British School at Athens* 81, 167-178.

Osborne, R. 1987. *Classical landscape with figures. The ancient Greek city and its countryside.* London: G. Philip.

Pallas, D. 2007. *Αποφόρητα,* (D. Triantafyllopoulos & E. Chalkia eds.). Athens: Potamos.

Pallis, G. 2009. *Τοπογραφία του αθηναϊκού πεδίου κατά τη μεταβυζαντινή περίοδο. Οικισμοί, οδικό δίκτυο και μνημεία.* Thessaloniki: Centre for Byzantine Research, Metabyzantina Mnimeia 1.

Papadimitriou, J. 1936. Ausgrabungen auf Skyros, *Archäologischer Anzeiger*, 228-234.

Papageorgiou, D. 1909. *Ἱστορία τῆς Σκύρου ἀπὸ τῶν ἀρχαιοτάτων χρόνων.* Patras.

Papanikola-Bakirtzis, D. (ed.) 1999. *Βυζαντινά εφυαλωμένα κεραμικά: η τέχνη των εγχαράκτων*. Athens: Archaeological Receipts Fund.

Papanikolaou-Petrioli, A., Perrakis, G. & Salemi-Sotiriou, N. 2013. Το καθολικό της μονής Αγίου Δημητρίου στον Φερεκάμπο της Σκύρου. In Ch. Bouras & St. Mamaloukos (eds.), *Εκκλησίες στην Ελλάδα μετά την άλωση 7,* 207-223. Thessaloniki: Mygdonia.

Papastamatiou, I. 1959. Παρατηρήσεις τινὲς ἐπὶ τῆς γεωλογίας καὶ μεταλλογενέσεως τῆς νήσου Σκύρου. *Deltion Ellinikis Geologikis Etaireias* 4.1, 219-37.

Parlama, L. 1984. *Η Σκύρος στην Εποχή του Χαλκού.* PhD diss., University of Ioannina.

Parlama, L. 1994. Το τέλος της Πρώιμης Χαλκοκρατίας στο Παλαμάρι της Σκύρου, Σχέσεις και προβλήματα χρονολογήσεως. *Archaiologikon Deltion* 42.A, 1-7.

Parlama, L. 1999. Σκύρος Cycladum and Sporadum extima. In N. Stampolidis (ed.), *Φως Κυκλαδικόν, Μνήμη Ν. Ζαφειρόπουλου* 44-53. Athens: Nicholas P. Goulandris Foundation.

Parlama, L. 2003. Το Παλαμάρι της Σκύρου και οι οχυρώσεις της Πρώιμης Χαλκοκρατίας. In *The prehistoric research in Greece and its Perspectives: Theoretical and Methodological Considerations*, *Πρακτικά Διεθνούς Συμποσίου στη μνήμη Δ. Ρ. Θεοχάρη*, 281-288. Thessaloniki: Greek Ministry of Culture.

Parlama, L. 2007. Παλαμάρι Σκύρου. Παρατηρήσεις στην εξέλιξη του οικισμού κατά την 3η π.Χ. χιλιετία και προβλήματα χρονολόγησης. In E. Simantoni-Bournia, A. Laimou, L. Mendoni & N. Kourou (eds), *Αμύμονα έργα,* τιμητικός τόμος για τον καθηγητή Βασίλη Κ. Λαμπρινουδάκη, 25-48. Athens: University of Athens.

Parlama, L. & Theochari M. 1997. Παλαμάρι Σκύρου. Η οχυρωμένη πόλη της Πρώιμης Χαλκοκρατίας. In Ch. Doumas & V. La Rosa (eds.), *Η Πολιόχνη και η Πρώιμη Εποχή του Χαλκού στο βόρειο Αιγαίο.* Athens: Scuola Archeologica italiana di Atene, University of Athens.

Patrinelis, Ch. 1963-64. Ἐκκλησιαστικαὶ εἰδήσεις ἐκ τοῦ ἡμερολογίου τοῦ Marino Sanuto. *Deltio Istorikis & Ethnologikis Etaireias tis Ellados* 17, 15-38.

Pavlopoulos, K., Karimpalis, E., Karkanas, P., Parlama, L., Triantafillou, M. & Theochari, M. 2004. Γεωμορφολογική εξέλιξη του όρμου Παλαμαρίου κατά το Ανώτερο Ολόκαινο. *Deltion Ellinikis Geologikis Etaireias* 36, 1044-53.

Peacock, D.P.S. & Williams, D.F. 1986. *Amphorae and the Roman economy.* London: Longman.

Penna, V., Lampropoulou, A. & Anagnostakis H. 2008. Γλυπτά μεταβατικών χρόνων από τη βασιλική του θεάτρου της αρχαίας Μεσσήνης. In Ch. Pennas & C. Vanderhayde (eds.), *La sculpture Byzantine VII-XII siècles,* 375-392. Athens: École francaise d'Athènes, BCH Supplement 49.

Pennas, Ch. 1983. Προκαταρκτικές αρχαιολογικές έρευνες στο φρούριο 'Κότζινον' Λήμνου. In E. Ahrweiler (ed.), *Activité byzantine*, *Rapports des missions effectuées en* 1982, 75-108. Paris: Fondation Européenne de la Science.

Perdika, N. 1940. *Σκῦρος*. Athens: Pyrsos.

Perisoratis, K. & Vidakis, M. 2003. *Έκθεση καθορισμού παλαιού αιγιαλού στην περιοχή από «Μαγαζιά» έως «Γυρίσματα» της νήσου Σκύρου.* Athens: IGME (unpublished study).

Pettegrew, D. 2007. The busy countryside of Late Roman Corinth. Interpreting ceramic data produced by regional archaeological surveys. *Hesperia* 76, 743-784.

Philippson, A. 1901. *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Griechischen Inselwelt,* 15-123. Gotha: Justus Perthes.

Philippson, A. 1959. *Die griechiscen Landschaften, band IV,* 53-60. Frankfurt: Vittorio Klostermann.

Pieri, D. 2005. *Le commerce du vin oriental à l'époque byzantine (Ve-VIIe siècle). Le temoignage des amphores en Gaule*. Paris: Bibliothèque Archéologique et Historique 174.

Pieri, D. 2007. Les centres de production d'amphores en Mediterranée orientale durant l'antiquité tardive: quelques remarques. In M. Bonifay & J.Ch. Tréglia (eds.), *LRCW 2. Late Roman coarse wares, cooking wares and amphorae in the Mediterranean: archaeology and archaeometry,* vol. II, 611-625. Oxford: BAR Interational Series 1662.

Pitari-Maioletti, E. 1973. Αντικείμενα ευρωπαϊκής τέχνης στη Σκύρο. *Zigos* 4, 6-9.

Pitari-Maioletti, E. 2008. *Τα λαήνια. Συλλογή Έφης Μιχελή.* Athens: The Panayotis & Effie Michelis Foundation.

Poulou-Papadimitriou, N. 2001. Βυζαντινή κεραμική από τον ελληνικό νησιωτικό χώρο και από την Πελοπόννησο (7ος – 9ος αι.): Μια πρώτη προσέγγιση. In E. Kountoura-Galake (ed.), The Dark Centuries of Byzantium (7th-9th c.), 231-66. Athens: National Hellenic Research Foundation, Institute for Byzantine Research, International Symposium 9.

Poulou-Papadimitriou, N. & Didioumi, S. 2010. Nouvelles données sur la production de l'atelier céramique protobyzantin à Kardamaina (Cos-Grèce). In S. Menchelli-S. Santoro, M. Pasquinucci & G. Giuducci (eds.), *LRCW 3. Late Roman Coarse Wares, Cooking Wares and Amphorae in the Mediterranean. Archaeology and Archaeometry. Comparison between western and eastern Mediterranean*, 741-749. Oxford: BAR *International Series* 2185. 1.

Psachos, K. 1910. *Δημώδη ἄσματα Σκύρου, τρία Θεσσαλικά, ἔν τῆς Σαλαμίνος καὶ ἔν τῶν Ψαρρῶν, εἰς βυζαντινὴν καὶ ευρωπαϊκὴν παρασημαντικήν*. Athens: Typografeio Spyridonos Kousoulinou.

Psaropoulou, B. 1984. *Last potters of the East Aegean.* Nauplion: Peloponnesian Folklore Foundation.

Quercia, A., Johnston, A., Bevan, A., Conolly, J., & Tsaravopoulos, A. 2011. Roman pottery from an intensive survey of Antikythera, Greece. *Annual British School at Athens* 106.1, 47-98.

Rautman, M.L. 1995. Two Late Roman Wells at Sardis. The *Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 53, 37-84.

Renfrew, C. 1980. The great tradition versus the Great Divide. *American Journal Archaeology* 84.3, 287-298.

Reynolds, P. 2004a. The Roman Pottery from the Triconch Palace. In R. Hodges, W. Bowden & K. Lako (eds.), *Byzantine Butrint: Excavations and Surveys 1994-99*, 224-269. Oxford: Oxbow books.

Reynolds, P. 2004b. Catalogue of Roman ceramics and selected medieval pottery from Butrint 1994-99. In R. Hodges, W. Bowden & K. Lako (eds.), *Byzantine Butrint. Excavations and surveys 1994-99,* 325-395. Oxford: Oxbow books.

Reynolds, P. 2010. Trade Networks of the East, 3rd to 7th Centuries: The View from Beirut (Lebanon) and Butrint (Albania) (Fine Wares, Amphorae and Kitchen Wares). In S. Menchelli, S. Santoro, M. Pasquinucci & G. Giuducci (eds.), *LRCW 3. Late Roman Coarse Wares, Cooking Wares and Amphorae in the Mediterranean. Archaeology and Archaeometry. Comparison between western and eastern Mediterranean*, 89-114. Oxford: BAR International Series 2185.1.

Riley, J.A. 1979. The coarse pottery from Berenice. In J.A. Lloyd (ed.), *Excavations at Sidi Khrebish, Benghazi (Berenice)*, Libya Antiqua Supplements 5.2, 91-467. London: Society for Libyan Studies.

Ruschenbusch, E. 1985. Die Zahl der griechischen Staaten und Arealgrösse und Bürgerzahl der 'Normalpolis. *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 59, 253-63.

Samson, A. 1983. Σκύρος. *Archaiologikon Deltion* 38.B1(Chronika), 155.

Sanders, G.D.R. 2000. New relative and absolute chronologies for 9th to 13th century glazed wares at Corinth: methodology and social conclusions. In K. Belke, F. Hild, J. Koder & P. Soustal (eds), *Byzanz als Raum: Zu Methoden und Inhalten der Historischen Geographie des Ostlichen Mittelmeerraumes*, 153-73. Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.

Sapouna-Sakellaraki, E. 1986. Από την Εύβοια και τη Σκύρο. *Archaiologika Analekta Athinon* 19, 37-44.

Sapouna-Sakellaraki, E. 1997a. *Skyros (archaeological guide)*. Athens: Greek Ministry of Culture.

Sapouna-Sakellaraki, E. 1997b. A Geometric electrum band from a tomb on Skyros. In Olga Palagia (ed.), *Greek offerings, Essays on Greek art in honour of John Boardman,* 35-42. Oxford: Oxbow monographs 89.

Sapouna-Sakellaraki, E. 2001-02. Η Σκύρος στην πρώιμη εποχή του Σιδήρου. Νέα στοιχεία. *Archeion Evoikon Meleton* 34, 163-92.

Sathas, K. 1867. *Ελληνικά ανέκδοτα. Β΄: Αθανασίου Σκληρού. Κρητικός πόλεμος.* Athens.

Sathas, K. 1883. *Μνημεία Ελληνικής Ιστορίας,* vol. V. Paris.

Scranton, R.L. 1941. *Greek walls*. Cambridge (Mass.): Harvard University Press.

Sigalos, E. 2004. *Housing in Medieval and Post-Medieval Greece*. Oxford: BAR International Series 1291.

Sklavou-Mavroeidis, M. 1983. Ομάδα υπερθύρων του Βυζαντινού Μουσείου. *Deltion Christianikis Arxaiologikis Etaireias*, 11 (series 4), 99-108.

Sklavou-Mavroeidis, M. 1999. *Γλυπτά του Βυζαντινού Μουσείου Αθηνών. Κατάλογος*. Athens: Hellenic Ministry of Culture.

Skouras, Th. 1979. *Υπόσκαφες και σπηλαιώδεις εκκλησίες στη Σκύρο*. Athens: Syllogos Skyrianon.

Slane, K. & Sanders, G. 2005. Late Roman horizons. *Hesperia,* 74.2, 243-297.

Slot, B.J. 1982. *Archipelagus turbatus: les Cyclades entre colonisation latine et occupation ottomane, c. 1500-1718*, 2 vols. Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten.

Snodgrass, A. 1982. The fruits of Insularity. *Times Literary Supplement* 4135 (2 July), 721.

Snodgrass, A. 1985. The New Archaeology and the Classical Archaeologist. *American Journal Archaeology* 89.1, 31-37.

Sodini, J.P. 1977. Remarques sur la sculpture architectural d'Attique, de Béotie et du Péloponnèse à l'époque Paléochrétienne. *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* 101.I, 423-450.

Spinelli, K.D. & Evangelinidou, M. 1974. *Σκύρος. Η κοινωνιολογική κάτοψη του νησιού.* Athens: Deree Pierce Colleges.

Stavropoulos, F. 1937. Skyros. *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* 61, 473.

Stefanidis, M. 1941. *Τὸ συντελεσθὲν ἔργον τῆς κοινότητος Σκύρου μιᾶς ἑπταετίας 1934-1940.* Athens.

Sutton, S.B. 1991. Population, economy, and settlement in post-revolutionary Keos: a cultural anthropological study. In J.F. Cherry, J.L. Davis, & E. Mantzourani (eds), *Landscape Archaeology As Long-Term History: Northern Keos in the Cycladic Islands from Earliest Settlement until Modern Times*, 383-402. Los Angeles: University of California Press.

Tartaron, T.F, Gregory, T.E., Pullen, D.J., Noller, J.S., Rothaus, R.M., Rife, J.L., Tzortzopoulou-Gregory, L., Schon, R., Caraher, W.R., Pettegrew, D.K. & Nakassis D. 2006. The Eastern Korinthia Archaeological Survey: Integrated Methods for a Dynamic Landscape. *Hesperia* 75.4, 453-523.

Themelis, T. 1976. *Frühgriechische Grabbauten.* Mainz.

Theochari, M.D. & Parlama, L. 1986. An Early Bronze Age Settlement at Skyros. In R. Hägg & D. Konsola (eds.), *Early Helladic Architecture and Urbanisation*, 51-55. Göteborg: P. Åström, Studies in Mediterranean archaeology 76.

Theocharidis, A. 2009. *Υλικός πολιτισμός, κοινωνική οργάνωση και μνήμη. Κειμήλια και αντικείμενα «λαϊκής τέχνης και χειροτεχνίας» στη Σκύρο και η κυκλοφορία τους μέσα και έξω από τα όρια του τοπικού.* PhD diss., University of the Aegean.

Theocharis, D. 1945-47. Προϊστορικαὶ ἔρευναι ἐν Σκύρῳ καὶ ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ. *Archaiologiki Efimeris*, 1-9.

Theocharis, D. 1959. Ἐκ τῆς προϊστορίας τῆς Εὐβοίας καὶ τῆς Σκύρου. *Archeion Evoikon Meleton* 6, 279-328.

Theocharis, D. 1979. *Ἡ Σκύρος κατά τήν ἐπανάστασιν τοῦ 1821*. Athens: Syllogos Skyrianon (study of 1944).

Thiriet, F. 1961. *Régestes des déliberations du Sénat de Venise concernant la Romanie,* III. Paris and The Hague.

Topping, P. 1986. Latins on Lemnos before and after 1453. In A.M. Bryer & H.W. Lowry (eds.), *Continuity and change in Late Byzantine and Early Ottoman society,* 217-234. Birmingham: University of Bermingham Centre for Byzantine Studies.

Touloupa, E. 1978. Skyros. *Archaiologikon Deltion* 33.B1 (Chronika), 120.

Treadgold, W. 2002. The struggle for survival. In C. Mango (ed.), *The Oxford history of Byzantium,* 129-150. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Troiano, D. 2004. Le maioliche di Castelli (TE) rinvenute nell'isola del Lazzaretto Nuovo a Venezia e l'esportazione di ceramica abruzzese in laguna, in G. Fazzini (ed), *Venezia, Isola del Lazzareto nuovo,* 123-126. Venice.

Tsianis, S. 2003. *Δημοτικά τραγούδια της Σκύρου, του νησιού του χρυσοπράσινου αετού. Εθνομουσικολογική έκδοση.* Athens-Nauplion-Irakleion: Hellenic Folkloric Research Centre of Academy of Athens-Peloponnesian Folklore Foundation, Crete University Press.

Vaag, L.E. 2005. Phocaean Red Slip Ware – Main and secondary productions. In M. Berg Briese & L.E. Vaag (eds.), *Trade relations in the Eastern Mediterranean from the Late Hellenistic period to Late Antiquity: The ceramic evidence. Acts from a Ph.D. seminar for young scholars, Sandbjerg Manorhouse, 12-15 February 1998*, 132-138. Odense: Halicarnassian Studies 3.

Vamvakeridis, E. 2008. *Λαογραφική και γλωσσική συλλογή Σκύρου, 1933-37,* (N. Lamprou ed.). Athens: Syllogos Skyrianon.

Vionis, A. 2012. *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 A.D.).* Leiden: Archaeological Studies Leiden University 22.

Vionis, A.K., Poblome, J. & Waelkens, M. 2009. The hidden material culture of the Dark Ages. Early Medieval ceramics at Sagalassos (Turkey): new evidence (ca AD 650- 800). *Anatolian Studies* 59,147-65.

Vita-Finzi, C. & Higgs, E. S. 1970. Prehistoric economy in the Mt. Carmel area of Palestine: site catchment analysis. *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society* 36, 1-37.

Vlavianou-Tsaliki, K. 1998. Πρωτογεωμετρικοί τάφοι στη Σκύρο. Συμβολή στην Πρωτογεωμετρική κεραμική. *Archaiologikon Deltion* 53.A, 113-145.

Vokotopoulos, P. 1975. *Ἡ ἐκκλησιαστική ἀρχιτεκτονική εἰς τήν δυτικήν Στερεάν Ἑλλάδα καί τήν Ἤπειρον.* Thessaloniki: Centre for Byzantine Research, Byzantina Mnimeia 2.

Voyatzoglou-Sakellaropoulou, M. 2009. *Παραδοσιακή κεραμική της νεότερης Ελλάδας.* Athens: Papazisi.

Vroom, J. 2003. *After Antiquity. Ceramics and society in the Aegean from the 7th to the 20th century A.C. A case study from Boeotia, Central Greece.* Leiden: Archaeological studies Leiden University 10.

Vroom, J. 2005. *Byzantine to Modern Greek pottery in the Aegean. An introduction and field guide.* Utrecht: Parnassus press.

Vroom, J. 2007. Kütahya between the lines: Post-medieval ceramics as historical information. In S. Davies & J.L. Davis (eds), *Between Venice and Istanbul: Colonial Landscapes in Early Modern Greece*, 71-93. Princeton: The American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Hesperia Supplement 40.

Wagstaff, M. & Cherry, J. 1982. Settlement and resources. In C. Renfrew & M. Wagstaff (eds.), *An island Polity. The archaeology of exploitation in Melos*, 246-263. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Waksman, S.Y. & Girgin, Ç. 2008. Les vestiges de production de céramiques des fouilles de Sirkesi (Istanbul). Premiers éléments de charactérisation. *Anatolia Antiqua* 16, 443-469.

Waksman, S.Y., Erhan, N. & Eskalen, S. 2009. Les atelies de céramiques de Sirkesi (Istanbul). Résultats de la campagne 2008. *Anatolia Antiqua* 17, 457-467.

Whitelaw, T. 1998. Colonisation and competition in the polis of Koressos: the development of settlement in North-West Keos from the Archaic to the Late Roman periods. In L.G. Mendoni & A.J. Mazarakis Ainian (eds.), *Kea-Kythnos: History and Archaeology*, 227-57. Paris: De Boccard.

Whitelaw, T. & Davis, J. 1991. The *Polis* center of Koressos. In J. Cherry, J. Davis & E. Mantzourani, *Landscape archaeology as long term history. Northern Keos in the Cycladic islands from earliest settlement until modern times,* 265-281. Los Angeles: University of California Press.

Wickham, C. 2005. *Framing the early middle ages. Europe and the Mediterranean, 400- 800,* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Winter, F.E. 1971. *Greek fortifications.* Toronto: Toronto University Press.

Xanthoulis, E. 1984. *Το τοπωνυμικό της Σκύρου.* Athens.

Yangaki, A. 2012. *Glazed pottery from the "Hagioi Theodoroi" site in Akronauplia (11th – 17th c.).* Athens: National Hellenic Research Foundation, Institute of Historical Research, Department of Byzantine Research, Research series 7.

Young, J. 1956. Studies in south Attica. Country estates at Sounion. *Hesperia* 25, 122-146.

Zarkia, C. 1991. *Société et espace dans l'île de Skyros.* PhD diss., University of Paris.

Zarkia, C. 1995. Τα εκκλησιαστικά αδελφάτα στη Σκύρο. In *Άξονες και προϋποθέσεις για μια διεπιστημονική έρευνα,* 121-32. Athens: Pneumatiko Idryma Samou Nikolaos Dimitriou.

Nederlandse samenvatting

Skyros van de laat-Romeinse tot en met de vroegmoderne tijd
Een archeologische prospectie

Michalis Karambinis

De archeologie van het Egeïsch gebied heeft zich altijd in het bijzonder geconcentreerd op de Prehistorie en de Griekse en Romeinse perioden, waarbij onderzoek naar menselijke activiteit en materiële cultuur gedurende de middeleeuwen in sterkere mate onderbelicht is gebleven. Hoewel historisch onderzoek naar de middeleeuwen in het Egeïsch gebied voldoende ontwikkeld is, richtte archeologisch onderzoek zich daarentegen hoofdzakelijk op kunst en architectuur. De geringe hoeveelheid aan beschikbare informatie aangaande nederzettingspatronen, landgebruik en materiële cultuur is veelal verzameld door archeologische projecten van de 'longue durée', waarvan de voornaamste onderzoekstechniek systematische oppervlakteprospectie is, aangevuld met onderzoek van historische bronnen en archieven. Noodopgravingen, uitgevoerd door de Griekse Archeologische Dienst, alsook systematische opgravingen door buitenlandse en (hoofdzakelijk) Griekse universiteiten, dragen verder bij tot de beschikbare informatie. Slechts van enkele eilanden bestaat een meer volledig beeld voor de middeleeuwse en post-middeleeuwse perioden, te weten Kea, Antikythera en Kythera (deze laatste betreft evenwel lopend onderzoek); een meer fragmentarisch beeld is beschikbaar voor Kreta, Melos en de Cycladen.

Voorliggende studie stelt zich tot doel in deze lacune te voorzien, waarbij het verleden wordt aangewend om continuïteit en verandering te onderzoeken die het eiland Skyros vanaf de laat-Romeinse periode heeft ondergaan. In chronologische zin is deze studie dan ook sterk geïnspireerd door de traditie van Byzantijnse studies. Door twee archeologische 'scholen' samen te brengen, te weten het prospectieonderzoek gericht op de 'longue durée' enerzijds, en de 'traditionele' Byzantijnse en post-Byzantijnse archeologie anderzijds (gericht op kunst en architectuur), ontstaan nieuwe perspectieven over nederzettingspatronen, kunst en architectuur alsmede de materiële cultuur van Skyros van de laat-Romeinse tot en met de vroegmoderne tijd. Door archeologische data met gegevens uit historische bronnen te combineren kan, als uiteindelijke doelstelling van deze studie, de regionale geschiedenis van Skyros gereconstrueerd worden.

De archeologische resultaten van de oppervlakteprospectie van Skyros, waarop dit werk bovenal gebaseerd is, vormen het kader van deze studie. Hierbinnen ligt de nadruk op het verklaren van de verandering, van het Grieks-Romeinse naar het post-middeleeuwse tijdperk, van een verspreid naar een geconcentreerd nederzettingspatroon. Het catalogiseren van de middeleeuwse en post-middeleeuwse kerken in Chora en haar suburbia, en in bredere zin een analyse van trends in kerkelijke architectuur op het eiland, vormt hierop een aanvulling. De discussie omtrent architectuur behelst eveneens residentiële gebouwen (voor de laat-Ottomaanse en vroegmoderne perioden) alsook fortificaties (de post-Romeinse fortificaties in de burcht van Chora).

Naast de topografische en architecturale nadruk, vormt de beschouwing van de laat- en post-Romeinse materiële cultuur van Skyros een essentieel onderdeel binnen deze studie. Met name voor meer recentere eeuwen wordt beoogd, naast aardewerk ook andere categorieën van materiële cultuur in het onderzoek te betrekken, zoals bijvoorbeeld meubelen en kleding. Deze benadering lijkt op het eerste zicht onconventioneel, aangezien archeologische studies zich bijna normatief richten op strikt archeologisch materiaal, aardewerk in het bijzonder; andere objectcategorieën

worden van oudsher geschaard onder (de studie van) folklore. Deze benadering weerstaat echter een kritischer beschouwing niet. De nadruk op aardewerk binnen de post-middeleeuwse archeologie is feitelijk een erfenis van een oudere traditie, die zich uitsluitend richtte op het Grieks-Romeinse verleden. Aangezien organische materialen slechts zeer zelden bewaard blijven, althans in het Middellandse Zeegebied, werd aardewerk de facto de voornaamste vorm van archeologisch bewijs in het onderzoek naar gemeenschappen uit het verleden. In de zeldzame gevallen dat organisch materiaal wel bewaard is gebleven, kreeg en krijgt dit vanzelfsprekend de aandacht van archeologen. Met inachtneming dat archeologie tastbaar, materieel bewijs uit het verleden onderzoekt, tezamen met de ontwikkeling die de post-middeleeuwse archeologie heeft doorgemaakt en als gevolg hiervan zich niet meer 'beperkt' tot kunst en architectuur, kan deze (onbewuste) houding van post-middeleeuwse archeologen als onjuist worden bestempeld. De voorbije eeuwen zijn andere artefacten dan aardewerk veelvuldig aan het licht gebracht die, in combinatie met geschreven bronnen, voldoende informatie bieden die ons in staat stellen het dagelijks leven van post-middeleeuwse gemeenschappen te reconstrueren; daarnaast bevat dergelijke data vanzelfsprekend ook voldoende getuigenissen voor oudere perioden. Kortom, de tijd is rijp voor de post-middeleeuwse archeologie om artificiële 'muren' te slechten en de contextuele horizon te verbreden. Tegelijkertijd is het onderzoek naar post-middeleeuwse materiële cultuur anders dan aardewerk in voorliggende studie niet voldoende omvattend. Hoewel beschikbare kennis geen alomvattende analyses toeliet, is de kleine stap die hier gezet wordt, naar de mening van de auteur, illustratief voor de richting die toekomstig onderzoek kan inslaan.

De brede thematiek van deze studie weerspiegelt de waaier aan methodologische hulpmiddelen die het onderzoek ten dienste zijn. Het archeologisch veldwerk (intensieve en extensieve oppervlakteprospectie, het in kaart brengen van structuren en monumenten, etc.), werd aangevuld met bezoeken aan huizen en musea (in het bijzonder betreffende post-middeleeuwse materiële cultuur), mondelinge interviews, het raadplegen van (veelal gepubliceerde) historische archieven, en vanzelfsprekend eerder archeologisch en historisch onderzoek.

Voorliggende studie bestaat uit vier delen, gevolgd door vier appendices. Deel 1 voorziet in archeologische en historische achtergrondinformatie over het eiland, en vormt feitelijk het startpunt voor deze studie. Deel 2 is geheel gewijd aan de methodologie van archeologische oppervlakteprospectie, en bevat gedetailleerde informatie over de archeologische methoden die zijn aangewend; het dient ter ondersteuning van de betrouwbaarheid van de gepresenteerde data; en staat toe de oppervlakteprospectie van Skyros te evalueren binnen een bredere, Egeïsche context. In deel 3 worden de resultaten gepresenteerd betreffende die sites die in meer detail onderzocht zijn, te weten de 16 rurale sites die geselecteerd werden voor een intensieve prospectie, alsook de meest prominente site in de extensieve prospectie, zijnde het stedelijk centrum van het eiland, Chora (zie deel 2). In deel 4 wordt zowel de reeds bekende als de nieuw-verzamelde archeologische data samengebracht met de gegevens uit de historische bronnen (zie deel 1). Deze gecombineerde data staat toe, binnen het kader van deze studie, de geschiedenis van Skyros op te splitsen in vier perioden: Grieks-Romeins, laat-Romeins tot en met de vroege middeleeuwen, mid- tot laat-Byzantijns/Frankisch-Venetiaans, en tot slot Ottomaans tot en met vroegmodern. Het laatste hoofdstuk van deel 4 bevat conclusies betreffende twee thema's waarop deze studie zich richt, te weten het nederzettingspatroon, en de connecties die Skyros onderhield binnen en buiten het Egeïsch gebied; beide worden benaderd vanuit de 'longue durée'. Appendix A bevat een lijst van de archeologische sites (inclusief samenvattingen van de 16 intensief geprospecteerde sites zoals besproken in deel 3). Appendix B omvat een gedetailleerde catalogus van het verzamelde aardewerk, en appendix C een catalogus van de 57 kerken in Chora en haar suburbia die in deze studie bestudeerd worden. Appendix D, tot slot, bevat het Ottomaanse belastingregister (icmal) voor het jaar 1670/1 voor Skyros, hier voor het eerst gepubliceerd. Deze omvat een foto van het originele document, de transcriptie in het Turks, en Engelse en Griekse vertalingen. Korte introducties aan het begin van elk deel, en in sommige gevallen van een hoofdstuk, zijn bedoeld ter oriëntatie van de lezer.

About the author

Michalis Karambinis was born on the island of Skyros, Greece in 1977. He lived on the island until finishing High School. He started his higher education initially studying conservation of paintings in the Petra Institute at Athens (1998-1999) and afterwards archaeology in the University of Athens (2000-2005). In 2003 he spent an academic semester in the University of Rome Tor Vergata through the 'Socrates – Erasmus' EU programme. After graduating University of Athens he moved in Rome and entered a Master programme on early Christian archaeology in the Pontifical Institute of Christian Archaeology – The Vatican (2005-2007). He received his M.Phil. with the thesis "L'affresco di Turtura nella catacomba di Commodila: Dal culto delle reliquie al culto delle icone. Un esempio di opere devozionali nell'arte romana dell'alto medioevo", later published in the journal *Bollettino della Badia Greca di Grottaferrata* III s. 6, (2009). In 2007 he returned to Greece where he worked continuously for the Hellenic Archaeological Service till 2015. In 2009 he registered at the Faculty of Archaeology at Leiden University as a PhD extramural student under the supervision of Prof. J. Bintliff, carrying out a survey research on the island of Skyros. This book is the result of this research. Michalis is currently a Post-Doctoral researcher at Leiden University in the ERC project "Empire of 2000 cities: urban networks and economic integration in the Roman Empire", directed by Prof. L. de Ligt and Prof. J. Bintliff.

Apart from his personal survey research in Skyros, Michalis has been involved in a number of fieldwork projects in Greece, including the surface survey of the Leiden University Boeotia project, the excavation of the French archaeological school on the island of Thasos, the excavations of the University of Athens on the islands of Andros and Kos, as well as the documentation of contemporary monuments of Athens, a project initiated by the 1st Ephorate of Contemporary Monuments. In the Archaeological Service, among others, Michalis has been involved in rescue excavations (e.g. Thebes, Boeotia) and restoration projects (e.g. Castle of Skyros). His research interests include Survey Archaeology, Early Christian Archaeology, as well as Material Culture and matters of Art & Architecture from Roman to Early Modern times, with a geographic focus in Greece, Italy and the Eastern Mediterranean. He has participated in international conferences and has a number of published articles under his name on the aforementioned research aspects.

ASLU 28

The island of Skyros from Late Roman to Early Modern times

An archaeological survey

M. Karambinis

Aegean archaeology has mainly concentrated on Prehistoric and Greco-Roman times and has provided relatively little information on human activity and material culture in the medieval period. Historical research concerning the medieval era is sufficiently developed but archaeological research on the medieval Aegean has mainly focused on matters of art and architecture. In fact, we have an overall picture of the medieval and post-medieval periods for only a few islands of the Aegean.

This ASLU volume fills this gap. It uses the ancient past as background for examining the continuity and change that the island of Skyros experienced from the Late Roman period onwards. It brings together two different archaeological 'schools', that of long-term survey research (based mainly on material culture) and that of 'traditional' Byzantine and Post-Byzantine archaeology (focused on art and architecture), offering new perspectives on settlement patterns, art and architecture, and the material culture of Skyros from Late Roman to Early Modern times. The combination of archaeological data and information from historical sources reconstructs the regional history of Skyros during that time span, which is ultimately the main purpose of this study.

Michalis Karambinis took his BA on archaeology in the University of Athens and his MA in the Pontifical Institute of Christian Archaeology in Rome. In 2009 started his PhD dissertation at Leiden University, with this book being the outcome of this research. In 2007-2015 he worked for the Hellenic Archaeological Service (Archaeological Ephorate of Euboea). He is currently a Post-Doctoral researcher at Leiden University in the ERC project "Empire of 2000 cities: urban networks and economic integration in the Roman Empire".

Archaeological Studies Leiden University (ASLU) is a series of the Faculty of Archaeology, Leiden University since 1998.

The series' aim is to publish Research and PhD theses of Archaeology and covers the international research fields of European Prehistory, Classical-, Near Eastern-, Indian American- and Science-based Archaeology.

LEIDEN UNIVERSITY PRESS
www.lup.nl