

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

## 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. A 509; ). The first two 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 18<sup>th</sup> - 16<sup>th</sup> c. BC (Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1997a, 11-12; Parlama 1984, 359, n. 3). According to Diodorus, after the conquest of the island, the Cretan king Rhadamanthus assigned Enygeus as its king, son of Dionysus and Ariadne (Diod. V, 79, 2). In the *Iliad* Skyros is referred to as *Ἐννηος πολίεθρον* (Σ, 668), while the known king of Skyros Lycomedes is referred to as being Cretan (*Κρήτης ὁ Λυκομήδης φησὶν*; Hesiod fr. 202; Schol. T, 240). Some scholars connect the unidentified settlement of *Κρήσιον* mentioned by Plutarch (*Cim.* 8.3) with the Cretan occupation (Friedrich 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-Sakellarakis 1997a, 12; Graindor 1906, 25).<sup>1</sup> 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 return 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 5<sup>th</sup> c., Skyros, together with Skopelos and Alonissos were colonised by Euboeans (Chalkis?) probably in the 8<sup>th</sup> c. BC (Scymnus 580; Sapouna-Sakellarakis 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 10<sup>th</sup> 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-Sakellarakis 1997a, 13; Sapouna-Sakellarakis 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-

<sup>1</sup> 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-Sakellarakis 1997a, 14; Grainger 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*)<sup>2</sup> (Diod. 11.60.2). However, this must not be conceived as a total extinction of the local population. There is evidence from the 4<sup>th</sup> 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-Sakellarakis 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. Ap-

parently 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 3<sup>rd</sup> c. until 196 BC the island belonged to the Macedonians (Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1997a, 15; Grainger 1906, 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. Quintius Flaminus 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; Grainger 1906, 72). The situation changed after the revolt against Rome in Greece and its suppression in 86 BC by Sulla.

#### *The Roman period (1<sup>st</sup> c. BC – 7<sup>th</sup> 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 7<sup>th</sup> c. AD (*Synekdemos*), when the new Byzantine ad-

<sup>2</sup> 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 4<sup>th</sup> c., under the jurisdiction of the Metropolis of Corinth. Bishop Eirenaïos (*Ireneus ab Acaia de Sciro*) was in the Synod of Serdica in 343 AD (Hilarius, *Syn. Serd.*, 138; Koder 1998, 279).

#### *From the 7<sup>th</sup> c. to the Frankish Occupation in 1204 AD*

The 7<sup>th</sup> 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 (*thematata*); 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 7<sup>th</sup> 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)<sup>3</sup>.

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 6<sup>th</sup> c. source of *Synekdemos* as an alternative name for the aforementioned Roman province (*eparchia Hellados egun Achaïas*). 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 9<sup>th</sup> 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 *Karabisianoï*. 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 *Karabisianoï* 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 *Karabisianoï* 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 7<sup>th</sup> or early 8<sup>th</sup> 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 9<sup>th</sup> 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 (7<sup>th</sup> - 9<sup>th</sup>), 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 7<sup>th</sup> - early 8<sup>th</sup> 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 10<sup>th</sup> 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).<sup>4</sup> 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 9<sup>th</sup>-10<sup>th</sup> 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 (*ploi-mon*). 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 11<sup>th</sup> 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 11<sup>th</sup> 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.

<sup>4</sup> 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 VIII, 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 14<sup>th</sup> century was probably under Frankish rather than Byzantine occupation. It is known that during the last twenty years of the 13<sup>th</sup> 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).<sup>5</sup> 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-

<sup>5</sup> 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 Pasqualigo
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 life-long; 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 referred 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 Co-dex 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 Ἰωακεῖμ 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 16<sup>th</sup> 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 16<sup>th</sup> 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 16<sup>th</sup> 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 Othomantica* (see next Chapter).

This fruitful situation changed in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, a time of crisis for the Ottoman world (İnalçik 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 16<sup>th</sup> 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 16<sup>th</sup> 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 16<sup>th</sup> century and the first half of the 17<sup>th</sup>, 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 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> 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 18<sup>th</sup> century onwards, the lands, tax farming and commerce became gradually to be controlled by the Christians (Kolovos 2007, 58). The 18<sup>th</sup> 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 (Faltais 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 19<sup>th</sup> 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 (*nomar-*

*chia*) 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 4<sup>th</sup> 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).<sup>6</sup>

<sup>6</sup> 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,<sup>7</sup> 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 19<sup>th</sup> 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 Konstantinidis' 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 19<sup>th</sup> century the phylloxera epidemic destroyed most of the vineyards for wine grapes in Europe, most notably in France. The epidemic arrived in the early 20<sup>th</sup> 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.<sup>8</sup>

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.

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

<sup>8</sup> "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 20<sup>th</sup> 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).

