

**“*CAPITANIA VALISSO CASTRUM DICTI LOCI*”:
SETTLEMENT PATTERNS AND DEFENCE ON
NORTHERN CHIOS, 9TH - 16TH CENTURIES**

by

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*TO THE REVERED MEMORY OF
MY FATHER
AND
OF MY GRANDPARENTS,
AND ALL OUR NORTH-CHIOT ANCESTORS
FOR THEY PLOUGHED THIS LAND
WITH THE TEARS OF THEIR TOIL.*

I PAY THIS TRIBUTE

ABSTRACT

This thesis is a survey of Mount Amani, the northwestern province of Chios island (east Aegean). The thesis examines the natural environment and explores the landscape using different kinds of information, in order to reconstruct the medieval historical topography of this region and to contribute to the *problématique* of the history and evolution of the Byzantine village and its remarkable longevity. The methodology applied ranges from the scanty literary sources, and visible archaeological evidence, and extends to the tracing of any sign of human activity on the landscape. Additionally, toponymy, ethnography and oral tradition are implemented for the examination of other aspects, such as the peasant architecture and material culture. From many perspectives, the study is paramount. It presents archaeological evidence for sites, for which there are no literary sources to rely upon. It highlights their share in the economy of Chios during the Byzantine and the Genoese periods. Finally, it aims to contribute to the debate over the 'depopulation' or 'demographic decline' of mountainous terrains in the ages prior to the eleventh century.

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ABBREVIATIONS

- ABME: Archeion Byzantinon Mnemeion Ellados
- AD: Archaiologikon Deltion
- AE : Archaiologike Ephemeris
- ABSA: Annual of the British School at Athens.
- BCH: Bulletin de Correspondence Hellenique.
- BF: Byzantinische Forshungen
- BMGS : Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies
- BSI: Byzantinoslavica
- Byz : Byzantina
- BZ : Byzantinische Zeitschrift.
- CBC : Codex Berianus Chiensis
- CFHB: Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae
- CSHB: Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae
- DHAE -ΔΧΑΕ : Deltion Christianikes Archaeologikes Etaireias
Δεληίον Χριζηιανικής Αρταιολογικής Εταιρείας
- DIEE : Δεληίον Ιζηορικής και Εθνολογικής Εταιρείας Ελλάδος.
- DOP : Dumbarton Oaks Papers
- EHB : Economic History of Byzantium.
- EMME: Εσρεηήριον ηων Μεζαιωνικών Μνημείων ηης Ελλάδος.
- JHS: Journal of Hellenic Studies
- NC / NX: Numismatic Chronicles / Νομιζμαηικά Χρονικά
- NE: Νέος Ελληνομνήμων (Neos Ellenommenon)
- ODB : Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium, 3 vols, ed. Al. Kazdhan, Oxford U.P., 1991
- PLP: Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit
- RE : Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft
- REB: Revue des Études Byzantines.
- RH: Revue Historique
- TM : Travaux et Mémoires du Centre de Recherche d'Histoire et Civilisation Byzantines.
- XX : Χιακά Χρονικά (Chiaka Chronika)
- XE: Χιακή Επιθεώρηζις (Chiake Epitheorisis)

CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. THE GEOGRAPHICAL REGION

The island of Chios is situated in the east Aegean, 38°22'58.88'' N and 26°02'40.05'' E. The Prefecture of Chios is part of the Greek administrative region of North Aegean, and consists of the islands of Chios, Psara and Oinoussai.

This study explores Mount Amani, the northwestern region of the island (Map IV). The province is named after its mountain range, Amani. Its largest settlement and administrative centre is Volissos. Natural boundaries delimit the area: to the east, it is bounded by the Pelinnaion (h: 1267m/4157 ft), the highest mountain of Chios, which splits the *Upper Area*, namely the northern area of the island, into two administrative districts: the NW district, the Amani, and the NE of Mount Pelinnaion, respectively; to the north and the west, our area fronts the Aegean sea; the southern boundary – line coincides with the narrowest point of the island, where the settlement of Anavatos is situated.

The present-day administrative territory of Mount Amani comprises a number of settlements and hamlets, among which Volissos is the focal point: it is the main centre of occupation and the seat of the modern municipality. Setting out from Volissos towards the northwest we come across the following small hamlets: *Pyramá, Parparia, Trypes, Melanios, Aghion Galas, Nenitouria, Kourounia, Egrigoros, Afrodisia, Leptopoda, Chalandra, Keramos, Potamia, Pispilounta, Fyta, Kipouries, Diefcha*. The entire area is incorporated in the legislation for the protection of traditional (vernacular) settlements of Greece (Act for the Protection of the Vernacular Architecture of Greece (September 2000). It is also a locality considered of special importance for the rare and vulnerable birds, therefore it was very early classified in the NATURA 2000 network for the protection of the natural habitats of special interest.

Why north Chios?

The present research was inspired by the visible remains of a series of defensive works dispersed around the mountain ranges of Chios. It deals with the examination of the settlement patterns, investigation of the defensive works, the material culture,

the society and the economy of the rural north-west of Chios, spanning a period of nine centuries : approximately from the ninth century until the end of the Genoese period (mid-sixteenth century). More particularly, the study intends to locate and record the Byzantine and Genoese sites and fortifications in the province of Mount Amani considering also those, which survive only in oral tradition.

The early and middle Byzantine periods on Chios are rather obscure in the historical and archaeological record. We have sporadic information for the period prior to the eleventh century and very good documentation from the early fourteenth century onwards; a good deal of information is obtainable in the archaeological record. The south province has been privileged having received systematic scholarly attention: in the mid-fifties of the twentieth century the British missions at Emporio (1952-1955) and later at Kato Phana (1997-2005, forthcoming monograph) took place; rescue excavations from the Ephorate of Antiquities in Chios town supplement our knowledge, as do the ongoing rescue excavations and restoration works on Anavatos, (works in progress, not published). The “big gap”, though, remains the northern division, which is practically unexplored, despite the fact that the area has its own share of reference in the historical record.

The historiography of the early twentieth century had considered that the earliest records for the medieval period in Chios begin in the eleventh century, on account of the foundation of the Nea Moni monastery. Since that time, ongoing historical and archaeological research changes this picture, providing a remarkably rich variety of information, which reveals an uninterrupted sequence in the history of Chios. The goal of the present study, therefore, is to collect the investigated material, and to incorporate it into the context of the island’s history and historical geography.

The core of the investigation is the chief military and administrative centre, the settlement of Volissos, and its wider locale. Volissos, which preserves its name since antiquity (since the fifth century BC), is the largest settlement of the area under examination. Its only remarkable remnant from the past is a castle on a hilltop, overlooking the sea. Because of its strategic location, it is seldom mentioned in the history of the Middle Ages. It was a bulwark against enemy attack. Yet its importance has attracted little attention. The town appears to have had a diachronic, uninterrupted occupation until nowadays and, according to G. Zolotas’ observations, never incurred enemy attacks, therefore it was never abandoned. Further, it still

dominates the entire area – as the largest settlement, it was chosen to be the seat of the modern administrative district – and there are reasons to believe that it has been so since the Byzantine ages. The primary sources and analysis drawn from the secondary bibliography testify the dynamism of the area in terms of social activity, economic development, demography, and other aspects. Therefore, I believe that, even though it is a regional study, nonetheless a variety of information can be extracted from the rural northern Chios, so that the historical and archaeological record of the island as a whole can be enhanced. A regional study cannot be completed without the simultaneous study of the rural aspect.

1.2. THE PAST HISTORIOGRAPHY

1.2.1. The first pioneers: historical research in the second half of the nineteenth century.

The first attempts at a recording of the Chiot antiquities go back to the first half of the fifteenth century with Cyriacus Anconensis (1391-1452)¹ and Ch. Buondelmondi (1386- c. 1430).² The bulk of information regarding ancient as well as medieval Chios comes from the travellers' accounts.³ These accounts are a first-hand testimony on the late- and post-medieval period of the island. In the early nineteenth century, Adamantios Korais (1748-1833) dedicated the third volume of his „*Atakta*’ to the Chiot folklore emphasising on the linguistic analysis of the local dialect; he concentrated his efforts in the etymology of toponyms, with the view to interpreting them as medieval and even classical derivatives. He entitled this volume: “*Χηθής Αρχαιολογίας Ύιε*” (Issues on Chiot Archaeology) published in Paris in 1830.⁴ Ten years later, in 1840, the physician Alexander Vlasto (1813-1844), offspring of a Chiot aristocratic family, published the first history of Chios:⁵ it is a compilation of events from the prehistory of the island down to the massacres of the

¹ E.W. Bodnar-C. Foss (eds), *Cyriac of Ancona, Later Travels*. Cambridge Mass., 2003.

² Ph. Argenti-S. Kyriakides, *Η Χίος παρά ηᾶς Γεωγράφου καί Περιηγητᾶς*, vol. I, Athens 1946, pp. 11-15.

³ See previous note.

⁴ A. Korais, *Άρθρα*, vol. III, Paris, 1830. Reprinted by the „Korais’ Public Library of Chios, 3 vols, Chios 2008. It is also available in e-format: <http://anemi.lib.uoc.gr>

⁵ A. Vlasto, *Χηθά ἡροηΤζηορία ηᾶς λᾶζο σ Χίοσ*, Hermoupolis, 1840.

population by the Turks in 1822, the most recent event in the history of the island at that time. During the same period, the first archaeological exploration took place on Chios harbour-town by Fustel de Coulanges, a French historian and archaeologist of the Sorbonne University (1830-1889).⁶ The results of that research were published in 1856.⁷ Even though it was delimited to a small investigation of the castle, this research was the first to have taken place on the island.

Other Chiot scholars dealt with Chios with emphasis mainly on the prehistoric and historical periods.⁸ Some of them do not fail to include brief information on some important medieval standing monuments in a – then – good state of preservation. However general their information is, and irrespective of the fact that the approaches consider almost exclusively the capital, these works were the first to treat in a scholarly manner several aspects of the regional culture. They formed the core upon which the future more systematic scholarly research was based. They should rather be described as “contemporary chronicles” or “guides” of the island.⁹

1.2.2. From the end of the nineteenth to the twentieth century:

Systematic scholarly work.

Not until the late nineteenth century did systematic historical and archaeological research begin on Chios. The last third of the nineteenth century is marked by the personalities of Konstantinos Kanellakis and George Zolotas, whose

⁶ F. de Coulanges came to Chios in 1854-55 leading a scientific mission sponsored by the French university of Sorbonne. This mission aimed to enquire into the history, archaeology and ethnography of Chios. It included a brief excavation that was conducted on the spot ‘Palaiokastron’, in Chios town proper. On that spot is allegedly placed the Byzantine castle of Chios. There is a long debate on this issue. See the more recent views in: A. Zacharou-Loutrari, «Αλαδερόλητος ζήρ Παι απθαζήρο ρες Χίος ηό βσδαληλό οσρό θαί ρελ αρταία αθρόποι ε», *Paper presented at the International Conference at Chios*, 26-28 September 2008 (Forthcoming).

⁷ F. de Coulanges, *Mémoire sur l'île de Chio. Missions scientifiques et littéraires*. Paris 1856. The interest in antiquities is documented in Chios as early as the eighteenth century. We learn from the French diplomatic dispatches (P.P.Argenti, *Diplomatic Archive of Chios (1577-1841)*, Cambridge U.P. 1954, *passim*. that French missions visited the island specially entrusted to enrich the French Royal Collections.

⁸ Ar. Karavas, *Τοπογραφία ρες Χίος*, Chios, 1866. Char. Alimonakis, *Η λήζος Χίος ἐλ ηή Αρταήρη* Erlangen, 1882.

⁹ We must bear in mind that these early works – with the exception of the travellers’ accounts – were compiled in the course of the last seventy years of the Ottoman occupation of Chios (liberated in 1912). Therefore, the primary concern for the early scholars was to rescue every relic related to the glorious past, known from the history. There are the testimonies of K.Kanellakis and F. de Coulanges that ‘the Turkish bey (lieutenant) had in his garden a marble block with a carved inscription, where he used to tie his horse’. Instances like this, are also documented by Hubert Pernot, during his travels in Chios in the late nineteenth century. Kanellakis, Zolotas, and other contemporaries had in many cases purchased antiquities from the Turkish authorities.

historical and archaeological researches sowed the seeds for the foundation of the Chiot studies.

Konstantinos Kanellakis (1846-1917), “an empirical ethnographer and archaeologist”,¹⁰ with his own endeavours collected systematically and preserved a bulk of Byzantine sources among which inscriptions, imperial documents, and post-medieval notarial documents, mainly the village cartularies from every part of the island. He published them in his monograph entitled: „Chian Miscellanea’.¹¹

George Zolotas (1845-1906), the renowned Chiot scholar, lived and worked during the same age. He was the first to compile the history of Chios as a whole, from the prehistoric times down to his days based on the written primary sources and documented by archaeological evidence. He devoted his life to an effort to put together an entire group of records for Chios alone.¹² At the initial stage which, unfortunately, was meant to be the only one,¹³ Zolotas conducted a one-man survey on the whole island. He presented an accurate and detailed report on the geophysical structure of the island providing an analysis of the physical relief. With an exhaustive study of the primary sources in conjunction with his personal observations all over the island, he rendered it possible to locate and identify prehistoric, ancient and medieval sites and create the first historical and archaeological map of Chios. He was the first scholar to study the archives of the Catholic bishopric of Chios. With a true scholarly point of view, he conducted meticulous surveys and his research tackled every sphere of the regional culture, extending from medieval prosopography to epigraphy and even landscape archaeology. Chios was formally introduced to the scholarly community on account of his seminal historical and archaeological researches. He planted the seeds of Chiot studies, achieving a successful visualisation of the diachronic Chiot landscape.

Equally important is the work of his daughter, Aimilia Sarou-Zolota (1882-1963), who devoted herself to the classification and publication of her father’s scholarly work, after his sudden death in 1906. Her contribution to the promotion of

¹⁰ St. Fassoulakis, “Δλα ἀγλφζ ηρ έργο ηρσ Κ.Ν.Καλει άθε γιή ηόλ Κ.Σ.Χφρέκε”, XX, vol. XII, Athens 1980, pp. 52-53.

¹¹ K. Kanellakis, *Χηθά Αλάι εθηρ*, Chios 1890. The first part of this volume treats the Chiot folklore: customs, traditions, songs, proverbs, myths and the like.

¹² G. Zolotas, *Ιζηορία ηής Χίος*, 5 vols, Athens 1922-1928. Pavlos Stefanovic Schilizzi, a merchant from the Chiot diaspora, was the sponsor of this research.

¹³ G. Zolotas died in 1906, without being able to see the work of his life published. This was realised by his daughter, Aimilia Zolota-Sarou, in his memory.

Chiot studies was equally significant. The objectives of her researches, based on unpublished archival material,¹⁴ revolved mainly around the diachronic evolution of the castle of Chios from the Byzantine and Genoese periods, to the short-term Venetian and Florentine occupations. The value of the works of both Zolotas and Sarou-Zolota, in respect to the topic that will be developed, is obvious. They were the first to turn the attention to the medieval and post-medieval period with an exhaustive study of the historical sources, access to foreign archives and first publications.¹⁵ In practice Zolotas offers the first well documented regional skeletal history upon which all future work on Chios can base.

The first half of the twentieth century marks the personality of another renowned Chiot medievalist, Konstantinos Amantos (1874-1960). Amantos was a prolific historian and filled to a great extent the gaps in Chiot medieval studies. A large part of his work on the Medieval Hellenism concerns the ecclesiastical history of Chios, for the compilation of which he exploited the archives of the Moundon Monastery – a deserted, ecclesiastical complex of northern Chios of unknown date – and published its cartulary. Until his days, the material was scattered and untouched.¹⁶ His contribution is further highlighted by the publication of his monograph on the notable seventeenth-century theologian and intellectual, Leo Allatius or Vestarches (ca. 1586 - 1669).¹⁷ It must also be pointed out that Amantos was perhaps the first scholar who shifted attention to another aspect of regional history, the rural economy, a topic to be dealt in this study.

The second third of the twentieth century is marked by the prolific historian and great patron of Chios, Philip Pandely Argenti (1891-1974). His monographs are based on primary material mainly from foreign archives, with a view to documenting the history of the island throughout its different occupation periods, from the late medieval (Palaeologan and Genoese periods) until the Second World War. He early

¹⁴ The records of the Chiot Catholic Bishopric as well as private archives and isolated testimonies were inaccessible by the first quarter of the twentieth century.

¹⁵ A large part of Chiot Byzantine documents vanished in the arson, which followed the massacres of 1822.

¹⁶ For example, K. Amantos, *Η Μολή ηὐτὸν Μοσλδῶν ἐλ Χίω*, offprint, Athens 1931. *Idem*, „Ἀπὸ ηὐτὸν Ἐθθι ἐζ τῆς ηὐτὸν Ἰζτηρίαλ ηὐτὸν Χίος”, *Hellenika* vol. 4 (1931), 47-68. *Idem*, „Σσκβοι ἡ εὐς ηὐτὸν Μεζαηρηλιηὐτὸν Ἰζτηρίαλ ηὐτὸν Ἐθθι ἐζ τῆς ηὐτὸν Χίος”, *Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici*, (Silloge Bizantina in onore di Silvio Giuseppe Mercati), Rome 1957, 9-13.

¹⁷ K. Amantos, „Ἀέφλ Ἀι τῆς ἠηρης”, in *Εὐς Μλήκελ Σπ. Ἀάκπροσ*, Athens 1935, pp. 557-66.

pinpointed the limitation posed by the lack of Turkish and Greek primary sources in the compilation of a complete history of Chios. Therefore he turned attention to the exploitation of diplomatic dispatches of Western State Archives. He was the first to publish the *Codex Berianus Chiensis*, the most important cartulary we possess for the Genoese occupation of Chios. The key aspects of his investigation focus on political, administrative, and fiscal issues. Other aspects include the ecclesiastical relations, minorities and social history. In reference to the publication of the Genoese archives, I would like to point out the limitation posed by the selection of exclusively official documents.¹⁸ Even though his work is in every aspect seminal, notarial deeds concerning acts between individuals of the lower social classes are absent. The majority of deeds were of no interest, because *they deal with transactions of everyday people who have left no mark on the Chian history*.¹⁹ Other limitations concern to a large extent the historical topography – he deals almost exclusively with the capital and Kambos – and the countryside. No mention is made for the northern regions, for instance. Furthermore, nothing touches upon archaeological evidence and monumental architecture. Personal observation is lacking, as well. But one should not underestimate the great value of these works, which comply fully with the scientific demands of historical scholarship and are fundamental for the study of the regional history. The lower social ranks are separately treated in a monograph on the Chiot folk-lore.²⁰

Argenti's fundamental research on the Genoese archives, well documented but not exhaustively, was to be supplemented in 1969 by the researches of Geo Pistarino (1917-2008),²¹ and by the publication, in 1979, of even more archival material by Antonella della Rovere.²² The latter published two important Genoese cartularies,

¹⁸ Ph.Argenti, *The Occupation of Chios by the Genoese and their Administration of the Island*. 3 vols, Cambridge U.P., 1958.

¹⁹ Ph.Argenti, "Chief primary sources for the medieval and modern history of Chios", *Εἰς κλήκελ Κωλ. Ἀκάληροσ*, Athens 1960, p. 239. See the counter-argument to this issue, in A. Kazdhan, *People and Power in Byzantium*, Washington, 1982, p. 21. Argenti, however, simply considered it more useful to publish notarial deeds containing information about real estate, and constructions; he explains that they were more illuminating for the social life. See also Antonella della Rovere, *Documenti della Maona di Chio, (secc. XIV-XVI)*, Genova 1979, pp. 8-9, n. 9.

²⁰ Ph.Argenti – H.M. Rose, *The Folk-Lore of Chios*, 2 vols, Cambridge, 1949.

²¹ G. Pistarino, "Chio dei Genovesi", in: *Studi Medievali*, n.s. X, 1969, pp. 3-69. Also, more recent, *Id., Chio dei Genovesi nel tempo di Cristoforo Colombo*, Rome 1995.

²² A. della Rovere, *op.cit.* For the most recent bibliography on the Genoese period of Chios see the article of Laura Balletto "Tra Genova e Chios nel tempo di Cristoforo Colombo", *Chemins d'outre-mer. Études d'histoire sur la Méditerranée médiévale offertes à Michel Balard*. Paris, 2004, I, 51-61.

which contain the conventions signed between the Republic of Genoa and the Giustiniani overlords of Chios. These documents complement the *Codex Berianus Chiensis* and offer to the student precious archival material to be used as a tool for historical reference; further, they shed light to the socio-economic and material-cultural organisation of Chios.

In the first half of the twentieth century – and more particularly in the 1930s – two works on the Chiot early modern and vernacular architecture and material culture were conducted by two prominent architects, Demetrios Pikionis (1887-1968) and Arnold Smith. Of those two works, that of Pikionis fell to oblivion for decades and it was not until 2000, when it was finally published. The latter work saw the light of publication in 1962, after the writer's early death. In terms of chronology, it is the first work dedicated to the topic of the Chiot urban and peasant architecture and material culture.²³

In 1982, Charalambos Bouras published a monograph about the history and architecture of the Nea Moni.²⁴ Irrespective of the topic itself, whose emphasis is on the architectural and artistic material of the monastic complex, the introductory part gives a meticulous and well documented survey of the historical background in the eleventh century. The writer does not fail to evaluate the surviving source material relating to the monastic foundation. A multi-faceted picture for the island emerges by means of the combination of different kinds of evidence, which spread chronologically from the Byzantine throughout the early modern period.

Michel Balard contributed to this topic with his study of unpublished archival material in reference to the Genoese establishment in the Levant. His work extends chronologically from 1204 to 1566, covering the entire period of the Genoese presence in the East. Chios is placed within the broader geographical context, thus its evolving role as the mainstream commercial and maritime post is better understood. A great part of the documents covers the everyday transactions of people,²⁵ an important aspect which is neglected in Argenti.

²³ See section 2.5.1, n. 1.

²⁴ Ch. Bouras, *Nea Moni on Chios: History and Architecture*, Athens, 1982.

²⁵ Michel Balard, "Escalaes génoises sur la route de l' Orient Méditerranéen au XIVe siècle", *Les Grandes Escalaes, Société Jean Bodin* 32, I, (1974), 243-264. *Idem*, «Les Grecs de Chio sous la Domination Génoise au XIVe siècle», in : *Byz.Forsch* 5 (1977), 5-15. *Idem*, *La Romanie Génoise (XIIIe-début du XVe siècle)*, 2 vols, Rome 1978. *Idem*, "The Genoese in the Aegean (1204-1566)", B. Arbel et al., *Latins and Greeks in the Eastern Mediterranean After 1204*, London, 1989, 158-174.

In 1988 and 1998 two works written by Elizabeth Malamut and Johannes Koder, respectively, have encompassed Chios within the broader context of the Aegean Archipelago. E. Malamut²⁶ makes use of published archaeological evidence to raise interesting questions about the administrative role of the island in the context of the Archipelago during the Middle Ages, spanning the eighth to the twelfth centuries. By the time of her publication, the excavations of the British School at Athens (BSA) at Emporio – the only large-scale project carried out on Chios until that time – had already been published. No other project was under way but minor rescue excavations of the local Ephorate. By and large her limitations comprise: firstly, the broad topic and the chronological frame, which – in reference to Chios – starts in the eleventh century; secondly, failure to consider significant information from other parts of the island. Despite that, in a brief catalogue of monuments²⁷ she includes two sites of Mount Amani – i.e. the castle at Volissos, and the cave at Aghion Galas. The broadness of the topic, in conjunction with the scarcity of written sources, and, consequently, lack of knowledge for local conditions in individual islands account for these limitations. The main idea that the reader draws from this study is that the northern Chios remained uninhabited during the period under examination, whereas life and activities were concentrated in the harbour town and the outskirts and in the south.²⁸ These observations give a false idea for the demography and socio-economic conditions.

Johannes Koder created a *tabula* for the historical and archaeological sites of the islands of the northern Aegean. The entries are categorised according to their function into fortifications, settlements, monasteries and *metochia*, *naydria*, toponyms, spanning the Middle and Late Byzantine period down to the Turkish occupation of the Aegean.²⁹ In reference to Chios, the volume covers its entire territory from the south to the north. In comparison with the objectives of the present study, the T.I.B. of Northern Aegean lists the sites in alphabetical order with a brief commentary and the relevant bibliography. However, the information is drawn only from the secondary bibliography, which, in many instances, is out-of-date and/or erroneous. Its value is not to be underestimated, though, given that sites of northern

Idem, “Le mastic de Chio, monopole génois (XIV-XVI)”, in: *Itinéraires d’Orient. Hommage à Claude Cahen. Res Orientales* 6 (1994), 223-228.

²⁶ E. Malamut, *Les îles de l’Empire byzantin (VIIIe-XIIe siècles)*, 2 vols, Paris, 1988.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, vol. I, pp. 236-237.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 278.

²⁹ J. Koder, *Tabula Imperii Byzantini*, Band 10: *Aigaion Pelagos*, Vienna, 1998.

Chios figure for the first time in the *Tabula* nearly a century or so after Zolotas' *History*.

Last but not least, the recent study of Piero Spagnesi on medieval Chios fills a gap in many respects.³⁰ This work marks a new stimulus to the study of the island in its own right. It is not merely a monograph on the history of the architecture of Chios from the seventh to the mid-sixteenth centuries inclusive; it equally examines the historical background and incorporates also the examination of the role of natural factors in the built environment. Spagnesi poses the problem of the lack of archaeological research in the north.

The value of the above-mentioned works is evident for they render clear a variety of facets of the Chiot civilization: the social and administrative structure; the economy and culture; the military history of the period with which they deal. Thus, the present study can found itself on the analysis of the Genoese period in order to speculate and trace what was going on particularly in the north during the previous period, when Chios was a Byzantine soil. The present study will examine a) the settlement and military patterning and the extent to which this system was retained since the time of the Byzantine rule and after the Ottoman conquest; b) the society and economy of the island under the Byzantines and the Genoese and to what extent Chios was affected in the social and economic level in the aftermath of the Genoese occupation; c) the material culture of the carriers of the island's economy, namely the peasant population.

1.2.3. The history of the archaeological exploration on Chios

The dawn of the twentieth century witnessed the first systematic scholarly expedition on Chios of purely archaeological nature: it was the excavation conducted by Konstantinos Kourouniotes on behalf of the Greek Archaeological Society, between 1913-15, at the site *Kato Phana*, a natural harbour in southwest Chios. Twenty years later, new excavations took place on the same site by W. Lamb under the auspices of the British School at Athens (1934).³¹ Those surveys aimed at the

³⁰ P. Spagnesi, *Chios Medioevale*, Rome, 2008.

³¹ K. Kourouniotes, "Ἀλαζθοαίθαι ἔρεσλαηὲλ Χίω", *AD* 1 (1915), 72-85. *Idem*, "Ἀλαζθοαίθαι ἔρεσλαηὲλ Χίω 2", *AD* 2 (1916), 190-212. W. Lamb, "Excavations at Kato Phana in Chios", *BSA* 35, (1934-35), 138-164.

identification of the temple of Apollo Phanaios, a sanctuary recorded by Thucydides, Livy, and Strabo. Though both the Greek and the British expeditions focused on the investigation of the sanctuary and its use during the early historical periods, i.e. from the ninth century B.C. until the Archaic period, the finds revealed a broad diachronic occupation of the site spanning the Geometric to Early Christian periods. The site during the Early Christian period had a Christian basilica and an adjacent complex, a settlement and a cemetery. For the construction of the Early Christian basilica, which was dated by the excavators in the early sixth century, stones taken from the ancient temple were used. According to the excavator's report "we have a long tradition of worship on the site, first pagan then Christian".³²

In the late 1930s the British School at Athens conducted another archaeological project at the cave of Aghion Galas, a settlement of the northwest province, built on a ridge of Mount Amani.³³ Inside the cave there are two thirteenth-century churches, but traces of prehistoric occupation have also been revealed. Unfortunately, the journals of that survey were lost during the Second World War. It was not until the early 1980s that the results of that survey were published by S. Hood.³⁴

The project at Kato Phana was recommenced by the British School at Athens in the late twentieth century, and in particular, in 1997.³⁵ The expedition applied new methodologies by means of modern archaeological techniques. The project consisted of an intensive survey followed by new excavations, whose objectives were: (i) the knowledge of the wider topographical and historical context of the cult centre of Apollo Phanaios and the construction of the stratigraphic site profile of the sanctuary; (ii) the relationship between the sanctuary, the settlement, and the rural territory; (iii) the location of the ancient harbour facilities and the ancient coastline; (iv) the relationship of the site at Kato Phana to the opposite SE site of Emporio, which has been fully excavated.³⁶ The results of the resumed expedition confirmed a diachronic occupation of the coastal site from the classical through the Early Byzantine periods

³² Lamb, *op.cit.*, *ABSA* 35, (1934-35), p. 139.

³³ The director was Edith Eccles.

³⁴ Sinclair Hood, *Excavations in Chios, 1938-1955: Prehistoric Emporio and Ayio Gala*, 2 vols., London, 1981-82. See also D.W.S.Hunt, „An archaeological survey of the classical antiquities of the island of Chios' *ABSA* XLI (1939-1945), 29-52.

³⁵ L. Beaumont, "New work at Kato Phana, Chios: The Kato Phana Archaeological Project". *ABSA* 94 (1999), 265-287. Beaumont, "Excavations at Kato Phana, Chios: 1999, 2000 and 2001". *ABSA* 99 (2004), 201-255.

³⁶ *Infra*, n. 38.

by means of the coin finds, which spanned the sixth and seventh centuries AD.³⁷ The material found in the coastal area testified to the conversion of the sanctuary of Apollo into an Early Christian basilica.³⁸

In the first half of the 1950s the third mission of the BSA conducted systematic excavations at Emporio, a natural harbour in the SE coast of Chios.³⁹ Although the project focused mainly in the Prehistoric and Archaic periods, the investigation bore witness to continuous occupation of the site throughout the entire Byzantine period. A fortified acropolis hill, a settlement by the harbour, an Early Christian basilica complex, and a cemetery concentrated the efforts of the excavators.⁴⁰ The finds were dated to the sixth and seventh centuries AD. The coin finds from the area of the church complex assigned the construction of the basilica to the second half of the sixth century.⁴¹ Occupation assignable to the sixth and seventh centuries AD, namely the period of the construction of the church complex, was also identified in the surrounding area.⁴² All the coins unearthed in the fortress belong to the seventh century;⁴³ so does the pottery, because it comes from the destruction level. This evidence in conjunction with the architecture and the historical record allowed the excavators to propose a date for the construction of the fortress from the reign of Constans II (641-668). The excavators concluded that the church complex pre-existed the fortress. The reason for the construction of the fort was, in all probability, the Arab raids by sea. Arab invasions accounted for its destruction, as well, in *ca.* AD 670.⁴⁴ A subsequent re-occupation period of short duration was testified in both the fortress and the basilica area, which ended around the ninth century, again as a result of Arab attacks.⁴⁵ The reoccupation period was identified by coins and ceramic finds

³⁷ L. Beaumont, *ABSA* 99 (2004), p. 251.

³⁸ The dating of the basilica to the 6th c. AD was based on stylistic considerations. But Lamb believed that it dates earlier than the sixth century: "Excavations at Kato Phana in Chios", *ABSA* 35 (1934-35), pp. 146-7. Beaumont, *op.cit.*, (2004), p. 254.

³⁹ The project was conducted by S. Hood and J. Boardman. J. Boardman, *Excavations in Chios 1952-1955: Greek Emporio*, BSA Suppl. Vol. No 6, London, 1967. S. Hood, *Excavations in Chios, 1938-1955: Prehistoric Emporio and Ayio Gala I, II*, London, 1981, 1982.

⁴⁰ M. Ballance et al., *Excavations in Chios, 1952-1955: Byzantine Emporio*. BSA, suppl. vol. no. 20. London 1989, p. 11ff.

⁴¹ Probably not earlier than the reign of Justin II (565-78). Ballance et al., *Byzantine Emporio*, pp. 30, 33-4.

⁴² Ballance, *op.cit.*, p. 2.

⁴³ *Ibid*, p. 89.

⁴⁴ Ballance, *op.cit.*, pp. 3, 28-31.

⁴⁵ J. Boardman, *op.cit.*, p. xiv. Ballance, *op.cit.*, p. 7. According to the excavators, the protection of the mastic crop accounted for the building of the fortress at the harbour of Emporio from the (barbarian invasions in the Balkans, invasions in the eastern frontier of the Empire by the Persians and the Arabs).

on the floors of the fortress and the basilica complex.⁴⁶ The later medieval settlement, dated between the eleventh and the fifteenth centuries, was located in the neighbouring hinterland, the site of *Dotia*, where there is a defensive tower with a surrounding wall.⁴⁷

The Anavatos Project

Since 1997 the „Anavatos Project’, has been carried out by the Byzantine Ephorate of Chios.⁴⁸ Anavatos is a settlement in central Chios, situated in one of the most strategic points, built on top of a steep conical cliff, 450 m above sea level, and is naturally defensible from its three sides.⁴⁹ Its harbour, the bay of Elinda, falls into the southern boundary of the survey area which is described in the following chapters. The settlement has a tripartite arrangement broken down into upper- middle- and lower town. The oldest settlement – called *acropolis* or *kastro* – is situated on the top of the escarpment forming an outer circular fortalice with the outer thick walls of the houses accessible only from the northeast slope by means of a narrow path. The first phase of the „Anavatos Project’ concentrated efforts on repair works on the inner acropolis, in the period 1997-2001.⁵⁰ In 2006, restoration works began in the middle settlement, the *Mesochori*, conducted and supervised by the 3rd Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities, and funded by the Third Community Support Framework. The works combine archaeological surveys and excavations; conservation of buildings and restoration of units and groups; promotion and designation of the archaeological site.⁵¹ The numismatic evidence from the rescue excavations on the upper acropolis shows that the earliest occupation phase of the acropolis, uncovered so far, goes back to the sixth century AD,⁵² something that goes in parallel with similar finds from the excavated southern sites of the island, the Phana and the Emporio.

⁴⁶ Ballance, *op.cit.*, pp. 8, 32, 34, 114.

⁴⁷ Ballance, *op.cit.*, p. 10.

⁴⁸ The Anavatos Project in 2001 stopped to be resumed a few years later. <http://www.tdpeae.gr/Chios>.

⁴⁹ Andreas Axiotakis, *Ο Αλάβαρος της Χίου*. 3rd edition, Chios, 1994.

⁵⁰ The programme was funded by the 2nd Community Support Framework supervised by the Ministry of the Aegean, the Greek Ministry of Culture, the Archaeological Receipts Fund, the North Aegean Region, The Prefecture of Chios, and the Municipality of Homeroupolis on Chios.

⁵¹ The ongoing works were recently presented to the International conference “The Anavatos Project and the Fortifications in the Aegean”, Chios, Homereion, 26-28 September 2008.

⁵² A. Kavnadia, «Ο κεζαηλιθός οθηζικός ηος Αλαβάηος σπό ηο θφς ηες λεώηηρες αρταηη ογηθής έρεσλας θαί ηό εθηηιο ύκελο έργο ζε ασήλ ζή ηι αίζ ηη ηος Γ’ Κ.Π.Σ». International conference “The Anavatos Project and the Fortifications in the Aegean”, Chios, 26-28 September 2008, forthcoming.

Assessment

The importance of the Greek and British early archaeological campaigns at Emporio and Kato Phana is obvious, as they laid the foundation stone for the shift of scholarly research to an island at the extreme eastern margin of the Greek state. At the time of Kourouniotes' expedition, the island was only a newly annexed Greek territory.⁵³ The first excavations revealed a significant centre of the ancient world with uninterrupted sequence in occupation from the early historical periods onwards. The resumed British expedition at Kato Phana of the late twentieth century with the employment of a range of modern archaeological techniques in the survey, such as geophysics and site mapping, aided in a better understanding of the human occupation and activity at this site and to a great extent it fills a gap in our knowledge, given the overall fragmentary state of research on the island.

On the other hand, official archaeological and architectural research from the regional Ephorate of Antiquities or individual scholarly interest focus unilaterally on individual settlements of the southern Chios, disaggregating them from their surroundings, the natural landscape and their relation with other contexts. Some interest in the castle of Chios town arises from time to time, and rescue excavations take place occasionally. Because of the nature of habitation pattern – the area of the castle of Chios is uninterruptedly inhabited until nowadays – systematic excavation cannot take place. In the course of the very last few years however, there is an effort to the conservation and restoration of the city- and the sea-wall, mainly with the initiative of a private forum, the „Forum for the castle of Chios’, one of whose members is also the author of this thesis.

The contextualisation of the three neighbouring places (Emporios, Phana and Anavatos) and a parallel assessment of their objectives and their results undoubtedly shed light to issues of military, ecclesiastical and secular architecture of the early Christian and early Byzantine periods and to issues of site occupation in the Dark Ages, a much needed desideratum of the current scholarly research. The value of the ceramic finds of both Emporio and Phana is evident. The Roman and Byzantine

⁵³ Chios was liberated from the Ottomans with the Balkan wars in 1912.

pottery from both sites correspond stylistically and chronologically.⁵⁴ The quantities unearthed at Emporio comprised a number of complete vases from the destruction level of the fortress, they are consistent in date and permitted a stylistic arrangement.⁵⁵ The earliest pieces have been assigned to the Late Roman period, more specifically they range from the fourth to the early fifth centuries AD.⁵⁶ The vases from the destruction level were in use in the mid seventh century AD, at the time of the destruction. The material evidence of the two southern sites is now supported by archaeological evidence from the central part of the island, the citadel of Anavatos, as the recent discoveries reveal, including, of course, the harbour – town of Chios and the area of its castle. The limitation of Chios town is its uninterrupted habitation sequence until nowadays, which prohibits a systematic excavation to take place. Be it as it may, rescue excavations in land plots within the medieval circuit of Chios revealed coin hoards concealed in the seventh century and maybe earlier.⁵⁷ The conclusive archaeological and numismatic evidence from all the investigated sites shows prosperous societies throughout the fifth and sixth to the seventh century AD. Indeed, the Chiot evidence corroborates correlated contexts from the Aegean coastlands, which show a *floruit* deriving from the commercial importance of these regions, in contrast to the picture in mainland Greece, which did not seem to enjoy prosperity.⁵⁸ On the other hand, we do not yet have enough archaeological evidence to speculate what the circumstances were at the same time in the upland Chios, as even its very few known sites are not recorded in the official archaeological map. Should the material evidence from the above-mentioned investigated sites be set alongside the material provided by the sites of the north, it would lead to the probability that the same picture should be envisaged for the north provinces, as well. For this reason, the present study is particularly valued.

Although the focus of the two British expeditions was the Archaic and Classical phases, an uninterrupted sequence of occupation appears, which carries on in the Late Roman and Early Byzantine periods (from the late fourth to the seventh centuries

⁵⁴ Beaumont, *ABSA* 99 (2004), p. 231ff. The contexts were disturbed.

⁵⁵ Ballance, *op.cit.*, p. 88 ff.

⁵⁶ *ABSA* 99 (2004), p. 235.

⁵⁷ For Chios town see the most recent paper: O.Vassi, “Απόθρυσε ζεζ ασρού ζ ηε Χίο ζ ηα κέζα ηρο εβδόκοσ απόλα κ.Χ.”, in: *Τό λόκηζκα ζ ηά λεζ ηά ηροσ Αηγάοσ*, Mytilene, 2006.

⁵⁸ D.M. Metcalf, „The Aegean coastlands under threat: Some coins and coin hoards from the reign of Heraclius”, *ABSA* 57 (1962), 14-23. Ballance, *op.cit.*, p 100.

AD)⁵⁹ and further. The Mount Amani Research Project relies on the evidence provided by these two well excavated sites.

1.3. AIMS

By and large, the aim of the „Mount Amani Research Project’ is to investigate, record, describe and interpret as accurately as possible the archaeological and historical-topographical landscape of Mount Amani and its features. It takes into consideration and tries to understand its component parts and how they relate to one another. Finally, it tries to assess how the area under investigation relates to the local and regional context. To achieve this, it focuses on two objectives:

i) Firstly, the compilation of a record: I attempted to tabulate the sites and their component features (standing monuments, human activity on land, uses of buildings), and place them alongside the toponymy. Rather than tabulating the sites in alphabetical order, I considered it more convenient to place the entries according to their topographical order. Combination with and comparison between the more modern features and the data of older records aim to define the historical topography in terms of the understanding of the landscape and the site distribution on it; to define the settlement pattern and any changes which the environment underwent in the course of time. This definition will enable the identification of sites, their nature, and land use in the period under examination. The simultaneous study of the modern settlement location aids in the understanding of the gradual evolution of the landscape, in terms of the abandonment of coastal sites and location transfers. A brief description of the natural geography aims to show the advantages and limitations of the landscape and how it impacted on the formation, development and communication of the sites. The contrasting physical environment aims also to raise to the reader questions in reference to the interaction between the different areas of the island and, in general, to the particularities of the north-Chiot physical and settlement patterning and organisation.

ii) Secondly, an attempt will be made to establish the problems of defence in north Chios during the middle ages. For this reason, the primary aim of the „Mount Amani Research Project’ revolves around the investigation and an – as far as possible

⁵⁹ Beaumont, *ABSA* 99 (2004), p. 206.

– in-depth study of the defensive works of the area. The surviving monuments are the most eloquent witnesses of the military network created in this area during the period under consideration. The defensive works include castles, towers, watch-towers (*vigles - vigilie*) and *castelli*. The latter are mentioned in the text either as ‚*castelli*’ or as ‚dependent settlements’. Essential questions involve site location and its advantages or limitations, the chronology of the foundation of the castles, chronological relationship between different military works, and construction phases. Particularly, the examination of the large castles addresses questions about the regional military jurisdiction of our district (in terms of functional and spatial relationship between castles), links between castle sites and the hierarchy of sites.

The contextualisation of the castles and the other elements of the defensive network, in addition to the examination of the relationship between settlement and rural space, will supplement the meagre historical record by providing evidence of the strategic points and areas, which were considered worthy of protection; further, it will cast light to the diachronic evolution of the settlement pattern, the architectural arrangement, and the socio-economic, political, and military organisation of the area of Amani.

Thus, it becomes possible to outline the evolution of the settlement pattern of Mount Amani; to envisage its physical and historical-topographical environment; to put a sensible answer to the question on what grounds the particularity of this physical relief impeded a proper scholarly study of such a significant region. Hopefully, the contribution of this regional centre to the historical and archaeological record of Chios will at last be evaluated.

1.4. METHODOLOGY

1.4.1. The problems

Until the time of Philip Argenti, historical reference had very little to add in respect to Northern Chios and its place in regional history. The archaeology of the “Upper Area” had not had a better fortune. From a broader perspective, the study of Chiot Byzantine archaeology has been neglected with the exception of the large-scale British expeditions on the southern part and, only very recently, with the Greek

Anavatos project.⁶⁰ Until nowadays official interest has concentrated efforts on conservation works of the monastic churches of Nea Moni and Panaghia Krina, and rescue excavations of architectural remains of the Genoese and early Ottoman periods.

Another problem poses the ambiguity of the term „medieval period’, which, in respect to Chios, is used misleadingly to define the long-lasting Genoese period and particularly its second phase (1346-1566).⁶¹ To a great extent, the term „medieval period / medieval Chios’ applies to the period of the economic boom of Chios, renowned for the commercial activities and especially the mastic culture, of which it always had the monopoly. The transformation of the village architecture and the layout of the southern Chiot settlements – in whose soil the mastic tree grows – into compact fortified unities, are attributed to the Genoese commercial management. In order to protect the mastic output from theft and illicit trade, the Genoese organised the architectural layout of the villages in an enclosed, nucleated plan, so that they could ensure its monopoly and the profits deriving from it unscathed. It is these villages proper which are mentioned in the bibliography as “medieval”. And yet, the south is the most surveyed area, where significant Byzantine occupation has been revealed! The archaeologists as well as scholars of other disciplines have praised the Genoese unconditionally for the transformation of these settlements, overlooking the fact that what we actually see in the layout of the settlements are reconstructions, rebuilding, and reinforcement of earlier establishments and networks, and therefore their chronology should be reconsidered. G. Zolotas was the first to pinpoint this inaccuracy saying that: “...In the majority of cases, the medieval Byzantine monuments are hardly discernible from the Genoese; the latter have covered and completely transformed the former down to their substructure...”. And further : “...The erection of a series of watch towers along the whole coastline is explained by the danger of the piratical attacks. The towers were built at high peaks...at regular

⁶⁰ Anavatos is a settlement (village) which was abandoned in 1822, in the aftermath of the massacres of the Chiot by the Turks. Very recently it attracted attention. It is situated in the narrowest point of the island of Chios in a very strategic location. Scholarly interest in the Anavatos was resumed after the commencement of a large-scale programme of conservation of the acropolis and the middle settlement, funded by the EU (1997 onwards). In fact, it is the first large-scale project concerning an entire settlement which is immediately held and carried out by the Archaeological authorities on Chios. The excavations and the numismatic evidence on its upper acropolis revealed an occupation date to the Early Christian period, ca. the sixth century AD.

⁶¹ See recent papers in the International Colloquium “Fortification in the Aegean and the Medieval settlement of Anavatos”, Homereion, Chios, 26-28 September 2008 (forthcoming).

intervals ... for the sake of the protection of the mastic produce as well as for the defence of the inhabitants”.⁶² The attribution to the Genoese of all these changes in architecture and town planning can be explained by the orgasm of reconstructions and rebuilding of the older defences of the villages around the dawn of the sixteenth century. It was the period when the Turkish menace increasingly threatened Chios and the lords of the island provided for the defence by taking military precautions against the Turks.⁶³ This period is fully documented and the Genoese archives provide a wealth of material for study. This fact in conjunction with absence of archaeological research gave rise to such views.

These generalised views seem to be reconsidered gradually, by taking into account the more recent publications of the Genoese state and private archives – and the eloquent finds of the ongoing Anavatos project – all of which give a considerable proof of the Byzantine presence, confirming the self-evident, that the Genoese organisation was based on Byzantine substructures.

In respect to the rest of the island, the “Upper Area” of Chios – the *Pars superiore* or *Apanomorea*, as the travellers’ accounts describe it – is ignored by modern scholarship. The importance of this mountainous and harsh region was first recognised in the late nineteenth century by Zolotas, who conducted meticulous surveys on the whole of the Chiot countryside. His ground observations were part of his project to document archaeologically to the fullest possible extent the historical sources referring to Chios. In respect to the northern province, his remarks gave much ground for testifying a diachronic occupation of Mount Amani from the Prehistoric period down to the post-medieval to the early-modern period. He reported that the western coastal zone abounds with pottery concentrations, marble *spolia*, inscriptions, and other material remains. He was able to identify the classical period occupation along the littoral and to claim with certainty that the medieval withdrawal of the population to the hinterland occupied sites not previously inhabited. Unfortunately, his premature death resulted in an abrupt end of this endeavour. Zolotas was the first to shed light to the historical and archaeological potential of the area of Amani.

⁶² Zolotas, *Τζηπορία η̃ς Χίου*, vol. B, p. 432-33.

⁶³ Argenti, *Chios Vincta*, Cambridge, 1941, pp. xcii ff.

In the twentieth century – with the exception of two small-scale investigations, the first at the cave of Aghion Galas (to the NW), in 1938,⁶⁴ and the second at Porto-Delphini (NE Chios) in the 1950s, both led by British missions⁶⁵ – no-one has attempted to carry out any long-scale investigations in the North a hundred years or so after Zolotas' death.⁶⁶ The project at the cave of Aghion Galas was never to be published properly; with the outbreak of the Second World War, the finds from the excavation were kept for protection in the store rooms of the Museum of Chios (Mosque). They did not have a good fortune since the majority of them disappeared after the end of the war along with the records of that excavation.

The project at Porto Delphini, a bight in NE Chios, was described by the excavator as a *parergon* of the excavations conducted by the BSA in southern Chios, during the expedition of 1952-1955. The investigation focused on the classical acropolis of the harbour Delphini and included little excavation of the fifth-century BC fort, in order to determine measurements and clarify certain features. The project included also excavation of a ‚farmhouse’ and a complex of ‚outbuildings’.

It is evident from the above that the bulk of works emphasise and deal mainly with Chios town and the south province cutting off the hinterland, namely the 50% of the territory. The neglect of the study of this area blurs the picture for the history of the entire island. Already in the late 1930s D.W.S. Hunt remarked that ‚the north-western corner of the island is its most primitive part’.⁶⁷ Its physical structure makes it less attractive; access to it is not easy even nowadays with the relative improvement of the road network.

Despite these limitations, the present topic focuses on the north Chiot hinterland aiming to create an awareness of its position and its role. The only method of circumventing the limitation of the paucity of research is by synthesising and examining all the available documentary and factual evidence: epigraphic, numismatic, and sigillographic discoveries, primary sources, descriptive and pictorial material of churches, monasteries, defensive works, toponyms, settlements, and hamlets. Integration of analysed and published data from previous and ongoing

⁶⁴ The expedition at Aghion Galas was conducted by Mrs. Eccles of the British School at Athens in 1938, but it was only published fifty years later by S. Hood.

⁶⁵ J.Boardman, „Delphinion in Chios”, *ABSA* 51 (1956), 41-54. S. Hood, *op.cit.*

⁶⁶ In the late twentieth century the BSA, under L. Beaumont, conducted a brief excavation at Aghion Galas; however, I am not aware of the particulars and the publication of this report.

⁶⁷ Hunt, *op.cit.*, pp. 39-40.

surveys from Chios itself and from other Aegean lands will also be reviewed in order to assist the study of our area and to place it into its context.

1.4.2. Methods

This is the reason why I chose this area to be my case-study. The core of the research area is the chief settlement, Volissos, which was the seat of the local municipality until 2010. The survey area was divided in three zones: in each zone I attempted to study all relevant fortification constructed and/or rebuilt during the Byzantine and the Genoese periods, a time span which extends roughly from the ninth (?) to the sixteenth centuries. The majority of these monuments date naturally from the late Genoese period, but there are grounds to believe that they overlay the Byzantine substructures.

More particularly, the zones include:

- The first zone sets out from Volissos, running north-westwards to Pyrama, Parparia, Melanios and Aghion Galas. Regrettably, it was not made possible to cover the latter settlement, namely Aghion Galas, even though it has been a significant medieval administrative area under the Genoese.
- The second zone runs from Volissos to a north/north-easterly direction, that is, to the eastern slopes of Amani, which leads towards Diefcha, Moundon Monastery, Angelos, Ta Markou, Pispilounta.
- The third runs from Volissos southwards to the hamlet of Siderounta and its territory⁶⁸ covering a large part of the coastline.

In each case, the research will present an historical and geographical outline, a detailed account of the surviving remains, an analysis of the types of construction and methods of defence, and a discussion of chronology. These will be accompanied by maps and photographs. The castles will be presented in geographical order, with that of the provincial capital first. The latter, Volissos, is the only castle site that presents diachronic occupation until nowadays. Of the settlements investigated, the majority are still-inhabited villages.

⁶⁸ The settlement of Siderounta administratively does not belong to the modern municipality of Amani. Its position though connects it directly with Volissos, so there are reasons to believe that the medieval settlement belonged to Volissos.

At a first stage, the approach to the present topic is based on a theoretical background: this is the role of the primary sources. Evidence of the available primary sources is dispersed throughout the text, in order to support my argumentation. We have a relatively large body of information at our disposal for the medieval period in Chios, which includes: Byzantine imperial documents, coins and lead seals of officials, Byzantine historians and the Lives of the Saints, all of which range in date from the sixth to the early fourteenth century. Later medieval and post-medieval realities, include monastic archives, the travellers' accounts, portulans and maps, and the published Genoese archives. The latter cover the entire period of the Genoese occupation of the island, i.e 1346-1566; the travellers' accounts date from the early fifteenth century onwards; the earliest, however, dates from the twelfth century. All furnish important documentation not only for the significant position of the island itself, but also for the historical topography, the examination of its society – apart from the urban, which is very well known, also the rural; the economy; the topography; the demography; the ecclesiastical administration. Some diplomatic dispatches from the Ottoman period of Chios are also considered, for they reflect older administrative realities.

Information from imperial documents and lead seals has been proven particularly useful in my endeavour to find the slightest sign, which could help me illuminate the role of the island during the early period – certainly the period before the eleventh century, when the renowned imperial monastery of Nea Moni was founded. More than any other type of archaeological evidence, the surviving imperial documents form a valuable source of information for the history of Chios, the social geography, and topography. Unfortunately the catastrophe of Chios by the Turks, in 1822, resulted in the extinction of a large number of primary sources and private archives related to the history of the island. Those documents, codices and cartularies were kept in the archives of Nea Moni; on the other hand, family archives were private possessions of Chiot aristocrats, who were executed by the Ottoman onslaught and whose possessions and estates were burned down. Notwithstanding this misfortune, there is a small number of extracts of imperial documents preserved in the secondary literature, (see for example Gr. Photeinos). A small number of them survives in a *metochi* of Nea Moni on Samos; they are included in a book published in

the mid-nineteenth century; despite the efforts, nowhere could I find this edition.⁶⁹ Other extracts were copied by a deacon of Nea Moni, Nicephoros of Chios, in the late nineteenth century and were published in a volume entitled: *Ἡ ζεία θαί ἱερά ἀθροισζία ἡδὲ Ὀζίωλ θαί Θεοθόρωλ Παηέρωλ ἡκῶλ, Νηθήα, Ἰωάλλοσ θαί Ἰωζήθ...* by Nicolaos Glykys from Ioannina. This book is fairly easily accessible; one can find it either in the Gennadeion Library in Athens and the „A. Korais’ Public Library of Chios.

Related to the imperial documents is also a series of lead seals of civil, military, and ecclesiastical officials, ranging from high ranking dignitaries to local servants. Those seals document eloquently the political, ecclesiastical, military, and naval importance of the island from as early as the sixth-to-seventh until the fourteenth century, when the Genoese took hold of Chios. Names and titles of officials and servants, whose residence was Chios figure in both groups of sources. There is a series of lead seals belonging to various collections. For reasons of convenience, this study makes use of solely the edited material. More particularly, the publications of Schlumberger, Zacos-Veglery, V. Laurent, J. Nesbitt & N. Oikonomides and I. Koltsida-Makri are used. The number of this material is large enough to give a clear picture; however, on account of the chronological gaps of the sources it raised a scholarly debate about the political and military role of Chios within the Byzantine empire, an issue to be examined in this thesis.⁷⁰

The maps of the travellers and old portulans as sources are decisive for the study of the historical-geographical and topographical details. They can be used as historical evidence, even though the topographic accuracy of the maps is sometimes questioned. But they are of prime importance since they indicate a large number of medieval sites, early town plans, and many other features, such as defensive works or other installations, ports, and place names. Visualisation and interpretation of the medieval landscape can be achieved through the reading of the early maps. Old maps of Chios belong to private and public collections (individuals and libraries). A large number has been published and is easily accessible. The most recent edition of maps of Chios includes a fairly large number, which belongs to a private collector and were

⁶⁹ Δ. Kritikides, *Περιβαζήσεις ἡς Μολάς θαί ἡἀκερήταΣάκοσ θαρά ἡό 1854*. 1st ed. 1866, 2nd ed. Hermoupolis, 1873.

⁷⁰ See section 1.5.

reproduced in 1992.⁷¹ Other maps belong to collections of public libraries and are accessible.⁷² Another edition which includes maps of Chios is the renowned edition of Ph. Argenti and St. Kyriakides, *Η Χίος παρά ηᾶς Γεωγράφου θαι Περηγεηᾶς*, published in 1946. The portulans are equally valuable by their very nature for the information on historical topography and toponymy.⁷³ They are useful because they mention the names of sites, ports and bays, and indicate the details of coastlines. They give us a vivid idea of the landscape and seascape of the island.

Another valuable source of information is the *History of Chios* of Hieronymo Giustiniano, edited by Ph. Argenti in 1943. Two of the thirteen books (chapters) of this book are devoted to the description of the peasantry. Hieronymo is a first-hand source for many aspects of post-medieval Chios; he was a member of the ruling family of the island, therefore, his narrative gives sidelights on the folklore and customs of the Chiot peasantry, but also provides first-hand testimony about the topography of the island during his times, i.e. the sixteenth century. Valuable details are described also by the abbot Michele Giustiniani, a member of the ruling family, as well (1658).⁷⁴ In addition to those sources, there is the unpublished Anonymous Manuscript of Chios, now in the possession of the „Korais’ Public Library, and the rich Genoese archives, which provide the lion’s share of information in reference to the economy, military organisation and administration of Chios. The Genoese period in Chios was one of long and uninterrupted sequence and, luckily, is richly documented. Only by means of this group of sources are we able to get indispensable information on several aspects, for many Genoese arrangements reflect Byzantine origins; in this respect, the Genoese archives complement to a large extent the historical record for Byzantine Chios.

At a second stage, the study will base on the evidence provided by the archaeological record. Apart from the standing monuments, which are examined in their own right, there is the testimony from coin finds. For the Byzantine period, the numismatic evidence comes from the large-scale projects at Emporio and Kato Phana and, lately, the cliff of Anavatos; there are also chance finds and products from rescue

⁷¹ K. Koutsikas, *The Engravings of Chios*, Vol. B: *The Maps*, Athens, 1995.

⁷² For example, the British Library and the Library of Chios possess an extraordinary collection of maps.

⁷³ P. Gaultier-Dalché, “Portulans and the Byzantine World” in : R. Macrides (ed.), *Travel in the Byzantine World*, Variorum, London, 2002, 59-71.

⁷⁴ Hieronymo Giustiniani, *History of Chios*, Ph.P.Argenti (ed.), Cambridge, 1943. Michele Giustiniani, *Scio Sacra del Rito Latino*, Avellino, 1658.

settlement patterns, and by and large human activity, especially in deserted sites, because it is largely undisturbed. However, during two field seasons in the middle of the summer, I was unable to accomplish this goal, mainly due to heavy vegetation in the abandoned surveyed areas. Other inhabited sites produced very few pieces. To a certain extent this deficiency has been overcome by other indicators of human activity, described in the following chapters. For the area of Amani the only testimony about pottery concentrations is recorded by Zolotas; but those are general remarks, with no mention of diagnostic pieces (sherds), therefore of no value for the purpose of the thesis.⁷⁸

Time span and focus

While the present research focuses on the ninth/tenth - sixteenth centuries, practically it extends until the early nineteenth century (1822), examining by analogy early modern patterns and features of the historic landscape. This was done on purpose, in order to fill in gaps and reconstruct by analogy the physical and built environment of the medieval countryside. The surroundings did not change dramatically – if at all – after 1566 (this, however, is a topic to be treated in its own right). The time, when rural activity reached its peak, can be placed securely in the Genoese period, extended in the Ottoman period, when it ended abruptly in 1822.⁷⁹

For the tabulation of the sites the field survey based largely on Zolotas' information and database.⁸⁰ The entries included here have not changed at all since the nineteenth century. The description in the relevant chapter helps to the making of the historical topography of Mount Amani. My aim is to further continue to the fullest possible extent this exploration and be able to document the existence of a strong north-Chiot Byzantine and Genoese stronghold, confirming the area's

⁷⁸ As it was mentioned, the publication of the 'History of Chios' was made by Aimilia Zolota, 'according to her father's drafts'. But given Zolotas' scrupulous researches, it would be likely that he could have included in his drafts information on diagnostic ceramics, which, eventually, were not included in the publication.

⁷⁹ The massacres accounted for a sudden demographic drop to an average of 50 % of the population with subsequent abandonment of land. G. Zolotas, *History of Chios*, vol. III, Athens 1921-28. Ph. Argenti, *The massacres of Chios*, London, 1932.

⁸⁰ In the "History of Chios" (A. Sarou-Zolota ed.), the methodology is not described in a separate section. But we understand that Zolotas' methodology consisted of a one-man survey throughout the island, which included a meticulous data-base in respect to various aspects: toponymy, surface finds, standing monuments, epigraphy, genealogy, numismatics, and so on.

diachronic efflorescence. The information used in the database is drawn from the following categories:⁸¹

- I. The toponymy surviving in the written record and in oral tradition. These two categories encompass names of settlements, districts of settlements, entire sites, as well as family names.
- II. The standing monuments (fortifications, rural infrastructural installations).
- III. Abandoned and still-inhabited settlements.⁸²
- IV. Isolated shrines.⁸³
- V. Rural estates and properties of the local magnates (aristocrats and/or imperial monasteries).⁸⁴

The limitation defining the construction of my database is the lack of archaeological research in the NW region, and, consequently, the absence of any mention of north Chios in the annual reports of the Greek Department of Antiquities. The bulk of work of the local Ephorate is restricted primarily to rescue excavations – whenever needs arise – in small land allotments in Chios town and its suburbs; secondly, a great deal of the budget is absorbed in restoration works on renowned ecclesiastical and monastic foundations, such as Nea Moni, and Panaghia Krina. Thus, my work endeavours to be the framework for the evaluation of architectural and artifactual data, unknown until now.

On the basis of the above, other questions arose in reference to the people who organised and inhabited this area and interacted with each other. Consequently, an entire chapter examines the Chiot society and the economy, that is, the props of the development of the countryside. Practically, the analysis of the economy brings together information extracted from travellers' accounts, ethnographic and folklore studies of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, supplemented by the record of the British Naval Intelligence Division; the latter compiled in the 1930s, before the outbreak of the Second World War.⁸⁵ The available published diplomatic archives for study cover the period from *ca.* 1700 to the early twentieth century.⁸⁶ The use of

⁸¹ Zolotas, A1, pp. 283ff.

⁸² Zolotas, *op.cit.*, B, pp. 436-40.

⁸³ *Ibid.*

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

⁸⁵ British Naval Intelligence Division, *GREECE*, 3 vols, 1944-1945.

⁸⁶ The reason is that scholars publish mainly Genoese official documents and diplomatic archives, which contain acts between ruling bodies. Such work is the two volume „Diplomatic Archive of Chios’

various documentary evidence extending throughout a long span of time, shows that the same agricultural practices continued uninterrupted until the 1950s. For this reason, I enhanced my research with information from my family and interviews I conducted with villagers.

The analysis of the society revolves around the structure of the Chiot social pyramid with emphasis on those behind the scene, the productive forces of the countryside, whose role in the prominent commercial position of Chios must have been not negligible. Here, again, the contribution of my family has been paramount, for they were my primary source providing first-hand testimony of the peasant life and its daily routine. The second most valuable contribution is the monograph „The Folk-Lore of Chios’, compiled by Ph.P. Argenti and H.J. Rose, Cambridge, 1949, for it gave me the bibliographical reference I needed, in order to support my testimonies with the aid of an accurate bibliographical reference. The above-mentioned sources and studies extend chronologically through a broad span, therefore can aid in the discussion of the topic.

The study of the settlement patterning involves inevitably consideration of the regional architecture. A discussion about the rural society would not be complete without a glimpse into the village layout, domestic architecture and material culture. The value of this examination is realised from the fact that in Chios (and undoubtedly in other Hellenic rural lands) it had a diachronic continuity and survived almost unscathed well into the twentieth century. Its examination advances the study of the medieval housing, for the regional context is considered in reference to the more general context of the Byzantine household described in the renowned book of Ph. Koukoules.⁸⁷ This is the basic book for the private life of the Byzantines, according to which folk traditions and material culture are an indispensable part of the Byzantine legacy, a view with which I agree.

The description of the surveyed areas is accompanied by a wide range of illustrations: the photographic and cartographic documentation (map IV) is accomplished by maps of the Greek Army Geographical Service and aerial

by Philip Argenti, which classifies the different topics in different chapters, but concerns only acts of the official diplomacy.

⁸⁷ Ph. Koukoules, *Βυζαντινὸν βίος καὶ ποιητικὸς*, vol. II, Household and furniture, Athens, 1948, pp. 60ff.

photographs (see, for example, pl. 1), which have wide coverage and are very accurate. The latter present clearly the traces of past human activity and the soil erosion, something which was very difficult for me to distinguish during field walking. Illustrations of individual monuments, of the settlements and the landscape, plans of the archaeological features, are used to supplement the description of the survey area and help the reader to form a coherent idea about the topic.

A long walk was demanded during the field reconnaissance, for the area was very large and craggy and – apart from the features dispersed in the landscape – different activity areas had to be distinguished, accessed and, subsequently, recorded. In a few instances access was particularly difficult.

Surface artefact collection was not done intentionally, for the reason that the Mount Amani Research Project was designed to be a one-man survey, to cover needs demanded by my small-scale topic. My contribution will be to unveil the medieval historical and archaeological profile of the rural communities of the north and highlight their role in the context of the rest of the island.

1.5. PRIMARY SOURCES

1.5.1. Provincial administration : the testimony of lead seals

Of all sources the most important is the lead seals, for it offers the most eloquent testimony for the provincial administration. However, it raised a long scholarly debate in respect to the precise position of Chios within the provincial administration of the Byzantine empire. For the needs of the present research, a large part of the bibliographical references which I consulted, concerned specialised work on lead seals. From the bulk of the edited seals, I singled out ninety specimens, which were relevant to my research and I broke them down into three groups, according to their relation, direct or indirect, to my case study. The specimens were classified according: a) to the geographic / administrative organisation of the Byzantine Empire, to which they belong, and b) to their chronological order, that is:

- I. Nesoi (Islands).
- II. Aigaion Pelagos.
- III. Chios.

Among them, seven seals relate to the ecclesiastical administration; all the rest relate to the civil and military administration. The reader may find the list in the following Appendices: I. (the Nesoi), II (Aigaion Pelagos), III (Chios).

I. *Geographical - administrative unit of the Nesoi : Seals of the Nesoi*

During the Early Christian period, in the sixth century, the province of the *Nesoi – Insulae* appears in the *Synekdemos* of Hierokles;⁸⁸ the name *Nesoi* designated the Cyclades, a name applied by and large to describe collectively the Aegean islands.⁸⁹ Nesbitt and Oikonomides observe that the term ‚*Nesoi*’ replaced that of the geographical/administrative unit of ‚Cyclades’.⁹⁰ The administrative province of *Nesoi* comprised the district from Rhodes to Tenedos.⁹¹ This province is practically identical to the ecclesiastical province of Cyclades – whose metropolitan seat was Rhodes – with the main difference that some of the islands were not bishoprics, because no bishop figures in the Conciliar lists; one island, Mitylene, was an archbishopric and for this reason it does not figure as a suffragan of the metropolitan of Rhodes.⁹²

In the late seventh century appear seals bearing the legend: ‚*kommerkiarioi of the Cyclades*’. Other seals dated in the early eighth century bear the legend ‚of the *Nesoi*’, which appears to be a different name for the Cyclades, according to the editors.⁹³ In 721/722, appears a seal of a ‚*kommerkiarios of Asia, Karia, and of all the islands of the land of Hellenes*’, obviously indicating that the authority of this official extended beyond the province of the *Nesoi* and comprised all the Aegean islands, including those of the western Aegean. During the same period the term *Aigaion*

⁸⁸ E. Honigmann, *Le synekdemos de Hierokles et l'opuscule géographique de Georges de Chypre*, Brussels 1939, p. 32, no. 29.

⁸⁹ D. Zakythinou, ‚Περὶ τῆς Γριθηνητικῆς Γκιρρέζ εφς ἐν τῷ Βσδαλητικῷ Κράτει’, *EEBS*, 17, 1941, pp. 254-256.

⁹⁰ J. Nesbitt – N. Oikonomides, *Catalogue of Byzantine Seals at Dumbarton Oaks and in the Fogg Art Museum*, vol. 2: South of the Balkans, the Islands, South of Asia Minor. Washington D.C., 1994, p. 126.

⁹¹ J. Nesbitt – N. Oikonomides, *Catalogue*, 2, p. 110, 128.

⁹² Nesbitt-Oikonomides, p. 110.

⁹³ *Op.cit.*, p. 110.

Pelagos makes its appearance in the administrative terminology and as a term covers the islands of the Archipelago.⁹⁴ Nesbitt and Oikonomides mention that the islands disappear as an administrative unit until the second half of the tenth century, on account of the turbulent period of the Arab raids. Then, the theme of Cyclades reappears, as is indicated by a number of eleventh century seals with the legend „of *Nesoi*’.⁹⁵ This group numbers eight seals, the earliest of which dates to the sixth century, and the latest to the eleventh. They are presented in Appendix I.

II. *Geographical – administrative unit of Aigaion Pelagos:*

Seals of the Aigaion Pelagos

In the eighth century the term „*Aigaion Pelagos*’ appears for the first time: in 734/5, the seal of the „kommerkiarios of the islands of the *Aigaion Pelagos*’⁹⁶ shows that by that century the islands of the Archipelago were a separate entity attached to the new administrative unit for *kommerkia*, called „*Aigaion Pelagos*’. Later in the eighth century, in 784 (or in 780/1, according to Zakythinos and Nesbitt - Oikonomides), we have naval commands of *droungarioi*, and we meet a „droungarios of Dodekanese’; the term „Dodekanese’ designates the former province of *Nesoi* or Cyclades.⁹⁷

The early form of the administrative district of *Aigaion Pelagos* was the *droungos*, placed under the orders of a *droungarios*. The *droungos* division provided the seamen.⁹⁸ The *droungarios* is the head of the fleet, which supervises the territorial waters. He was responsible for the defence of the islands and the coastlands of the empire, after the maritime command of the Karabisianoï was disbanded around the early eighth century. The office of the *droungarios* of the *Aigaion Pelagos* is attested for the first time in the ninth century in the *Taktikon* Uspenskij (842-843) and it appears on seals of the late eighth and the ninth centuries, as well.⁹⁹ The administrative unit of the *Aigaion Pelagos* covers the southern part of the Propontis

⁹⁴ *Op.cit.*, p. 110.

⁹⁵ *Op.cit.*, p. 129.

⁹⁶ G. Schlumberger, *Sigillographie de l’empire byzantin*, Paris, 1884, pp. 195-6. Zacos-Veglery, *Byzantine Lead Seals*, I/1, Basel, 1972, no 249, p. 328. Nesbitt-Oikonomides, p. 110.

⁹⁷ D. Zakythinos, *Meletai*, 17, p. 254-57 and n. 1 on p. 254. Nesbitt-Oikonomides, p. 110.

⁹⁸ N. Oikonomides, *Les listes de préséance byzantines de IX et X siècles*, Paris 1972, pp. 342, 353; H. Ahrweiler, *Byzance et la Mer*, Paris 1966, pp. 62, 76 ff.

⁹⁹ Nesbitt-Oikonomides, p. 112. Oikonomides, *Listes*, p. 53-18, 57-10, 46, 342, 353. Malamut, *Les îles*, I, pp. 304-6. Zakythinos, *Meletai*, 17, p. 256. Ahrweiler, *Mer*, 76ff.

and the extreme north of the Aegean Sea, including the islands of Tenedos, Lemnos, Imbros, Samothrace, and Mitylene (and maybe Thasos, Skopelos, Skiathos). In the course of time it included other islands, as well, increasing its territory.¹⁰⁰

Around the second half of the ninth century, with the reorganisation of the Byzantine army and the marine, the islands of the Aegean were incorporated in the new administrative and military districts, the themes (*themata*), placed under the command of a *strategos*. The *strategos* of the *Aigaion Pelagos* appears for the first time in 843. His authority extended over the northern part of the Aegean and over the littoral of the Propontis.¹⁰¹ The characteristic feature of the new maritime divisions is that they include the islands along with a part of the littoral of the opposite continent.¹⁰² The war fleet is stationed in either coastland. The prevalent scholarly view is that Chios formed part of the district of the *Aigaion Pelagos*, when the first *themata* appeared.¹⁰³ There are fifty eight specimens of lead seals of the *Aigaion Pelagos* presented in Appendix II.

III. Chios

The last group has assembled twenty eight seals related to the island bearing the name „Chios’ or „Nea Moni’. Of those, ten specimens belong to ecclesiastical and monastic officials (the percentage is five specimens of ecclesiastical officials and five specimens of Nea Moni alone), and the rest belong to military and civil officials. Their presentation here assists the clarification of the scholarly debate as to where Chios belonged administratively. Apart from the bibliography on the large collections, on which this section owes the bulk of information, a recent article of I. Koltsida-Makri was also used for consultation. Koltsida-Makri assembles and studies the twenty nine published known specimens, breaking them down into ecclesiastical and civil officials.¹⁰⁴ Her intention is to shed light to the ecclesiastical and administrative status of Byzantine Chios between the sixth and twelfth centuries. The result, however, is rather unsuccessful, since the article merely repeats the views of Zolotas,

¹⁰⁰ Zakythinios, *op.cit.*, p. 255. Malamut, *Les iles*, p. 304.

¹⁰¹ Oikonomides, *Listes*, p. 47, 353. Malamut, *op.cit.* p. 305-6. Nesbitt-Oikonomides, p. 110, 112.

¹⁰² Malamut, *op.cit.*, p. 306.

¹⁰³ Ahrweiler, *Mer*, p. 86, questions whether Chios formed at all part of the thema of Aigaion Pelagos.

¹⁰⁴ I. Koltsida-Makri, „Η ζσκιβοι ή ης ζ η η ι ο γραθηθής καρησρίας ζ η ε κειέ η ε ης δ η η θ ε η η θής θ α η ε θ θ η ε ζ η η ζ η η θής ο ρ γ ά λ φ ζ ε ε ης ης Χ ί ο σ (7th – 12th c),’ in: *Το λό κ η ζ κ α ζ η ά λ ε ζ η ά η ρ σ Α η γ ά ο σ*, Mytilene, 2006 (in press).

Zakythinos, and Nesbitt - Oikonomides adding nothing new. Its only value lies in the fact that it is the only publication, which presents together the known edited Chiot seals. The seals of Chios are presented in Appendix III.

Geographical Definition of the insular complexes

a. Aigaion Pelagos

Before we examine the position of Chios in the Byzantine provincial administration, we need to clarify the geographical / administrative divisions referred here under the names: Aigaion Pelagos, Nesoi, Cyclades, Dodecanese and Sporades. The problem of the geographical definition of some districts may be simplified, if we take into account that the regions should be distinguished: firstly, in respect to their administrative position and, secondly, in respect to the military. The islands of the Aegean had been divided since antiquity into groups: Cyclades, Sporades, Dodecanese.¹⁰⁵

The „Aigaion Pelagos”¹⁰⁶ of the Byzantine sources is an independent maritime unit of the provincial administration, which provided the seamen. In its early appearance, during the seventh and eighth centuries, the name of the division is *droungos*, commanded by the *droungarios*, a high ranking official of the provincial army, as it was mentioned earlier.¹⁰⁷ The *droungarios* has full authority on his base.¹⁰⁸ According to the scholarly research, the precise date of the creation of this dignity is not known.

In the second half of the ninth century, during the reign of Leo VI, the reorganisation of the Byzantine naval forces witnessed the elevation of the *droungos* of the *Aigaion Pelagos* into a maritime theme commanded by a *strategos*.¹⁰⁹ The creation of the office of the *strategos* is precisely dated by the *Taktikon* Uspenski,

¹⁰⁵ K. Amantos, “Γφδεθάλεζος”, in: *BZ* 30 (1929-30), pp. 244-246. P. Yannopoulos, “Η οργάνωζε ηροσ Αργάιοσ”, *Parnassos* 32, (1990), pp. 212-3, 215, n. 74.

¹⁰⁶ Oikonomides, *Listes*, p. 353.

¹⁰⁷ The independent droungarioi of this period were designated with their geographical name: droungarios of Aigaion Pelagos, The Kolpos, of the Cyclades or the Dodecanese etc. Ahrweiler, *Mer*, pp. 63-65.

¹⁰⁸ Antoniadis-Bibicou, *Histoire maritime de Byzance*, p. 115. Ahrweiler, *Mer*, p. 50, 65, 76.

¹⁰⁹ Zakythinos, *Meletai*, 17, pp. 256-258. Antoniadis-Bibicou, *Études d' is toire Maritime de Byzance* p. 97. Oikonomides, *Listes*, pp. 46-47, 101ff. Ahrweiler, *Mer*, p. 69.

which mentions the *droungarios* of *Aigaion Pelagos* and the *strategos* of Mytilene, simultaneously.¹¹⁰ The *strategos* of *Aigaion Pelagos* is first attested in 899 in the Treaty of Philotheos.¹¹¹ The theme of *Aigaion Pelagos* retains its *strategos* until the end of the tenth century. It had full civil and fiscal administration, as the surviving seals of its civil officials show.

The limits of the district are hard to define.¹¹² The tenth century testimony of Porphyrogennitus, precisely mentions that:

«προζωθειόληαηδέ ηῶ ζηραηεγῶ ηοῦ Αἰγαίος Πειάγοσς ἤ ηε Μησιήλε θαί Χίος θαί αὐήή Λήκλος...ἀπό δέ ηοῦ Λεθηρῶ θαί ἔφς ηῆς Προποληίδος, ηῆς ηε Κσδίθοσ θαί ηοῦ Παρίος θαί αὐήός ό θαί ούκελος Ἐιιήζποληος ἤ ηε Προηθόλλεζος θαί κέτρη ηοῦ Ρσλδαθοῦ ποηακοῦ θαί ἔφς ηοῦ Γαζθσιίος θαί ηοῦ Κσαλοῦ θόίποσ ηῶ ηοῦ Αἰγαίος Πειάγοσς θραηοῶλλη προζεθεθῶρφηη».¹¹³

A. Sarou-Zolota, commenting on this paragraph believes that the theme included “apart from the entire complex of the (modern) Cyclades”,¹¹⁴ the islands of Chios, Mytilene, Tenedos, Skyros, Lemnos, Imbros, the Hellespont, the littoral of Thrace called *Chersonesos*, the Troad, and the Asian (southern) littoral of the Propontis, including Cyzicus.¹¹⁵ According to H. Ahrweiler, we should not take Porphyrogennitus’ description at face value, for the study of other sources reveals that the Aigaion Pelagos comprised the southern littoral of the Propontis, and the northern littoral of Asia Minor with the adjacent islands of Lesbos, Lemnos, and Chios.¹¹⁶ The mouth of the Hellespont with the customs port was also part of this administrative unit. Malamut also believes that the testimony of Porphyrogennitus is ambiguous and mentions that in the mid-tenth century the theme of Aigaion Pelagos comprised the southern Cyclades,¹¹⁷ Skyros, Milos, Amorgos, Thera, Therasia, Rheneia, and the

¹¹⁰ Oikonomides, *Listes*, pp. 46-47, 53(18), 57(10), 101-30, (29th in hierarchy), 105-22, 342, 353. Zakythinos, *Meletai*, 17, p. 256-8. Malamut, *Les iles*, pp. 311-12. The *strategos* of Mitylene, which belonged to the district of Aigaion Pelagos, appears in 843 and is included in all the *Taktika*.

¹¹¹ Oikonomides, *Listes*, p. 101-30 (29th in the hierarchy), 105-22.

¹¹² Ahrweiler, *Mer*, p. 76.

¹¹³ Constantino Porphyrogennito, *De Thematis*, (A. Pertusi ed.), p. 83.

¹¹⁴ The use of the term ‘Cyclades’ by Sarou-Zolota is not clear. Does she mean the modern district of ‘Cyclades’ or, on the contrary, does she use it to denote the Byzantine district of Cyclades?

¹¹⁵ Sarou-Zolota, *To kastron tis Chiou*, p. 40.

¹¹⁶ Ahrweiler, *Mer*, pp. 77-9. Zakythinos, *Meletai*, 17, p. 259.

¹¹⁷ Ahrweiler, *Mer*, p. 79, is against the view that the Cyclades formed ever part of the thema of Aigaion Pelagos. According to her the Cyclades never formed part of the Aigaion before the Macedonian dynasty. On p. 108, adds that the Cyclades were probably included in Aigaion Pelagos

„Sporades’, that is, Mitylene, Chios, and Lemnos.¹¹⁸ The last three islands are considered to belong to the insular complex known in the Byzantine sources under the term „Sporades’.

b. Cyclades and Dodecanese

There is another ambiguity in the Byzantine sources in respect to the definition of the geographical term „Cyclades’: two terms are used to designate the Aegean islands, namely „Cyclades’ and „Dodecanese’. The most representative example is given by Porphyrogennitus.¹¹⁹ The Byzantine definition of Cyclades, as known since antiquity, does not correspond to the ancient geography, but applies to an administrative unit.¹²⁰

In the sixth century the islands of the Archipelago belonged to the province of the *Nesoi*, a district which coincided with the ecclesiastical province of the Cycladic islands; in the late seventh century it is renamed „province of Cyclades’ and in the early eighth is encountered as „province of *Nesoi*’.¹²¹ Professors Amantos and Zakythinos showed that the term „Dodekanese’ in the Byzantine sources designates the insular complex known nowadays as Cyclades.¹²² The modern Dodecanese during the Byzantine period formed the theme of the Kibyrraiotai.¹²³ The islands of the north-east Aegean were called Sporades.¹²⁴ In addition, from the seventh century onward the two terms, „Sporades’ and „Cyclades’, are used equally to denote both a geographical and an administrative unit.¹²⁵ As early as the eighth century, the popular term „Dodecanese’ in the administrative terminology is substituted by the term „Aigaion Pelagos’, designating the islands of the Archipelago, which belonged

during the first half of the tenth century. On the contrary, Schlumberger, *Sigillographie*, p. 190 believes that the Cyclades were comprised in the Aigaion.

¹¹⁸ Malamut, *op.cit.*, I, p. 311.

¹¹⁹ *De Thematibus*, p. 83.

¹²⁰ Ahrweiler, *Mer*, p. 402. *Ead.*, „Recherches sur l’administration de l’empire byzantin aux IX – IX siècles’ *BCH LXXXIV* (1960), pp. 78-79. Malamut, *Les iles*, I, pp. 311-12. Nesbitt-Oikonomides, *Catalogue*, 2, pp. 109-110.

¹²¹ Nesbitt-Oikonomides, *op.cit.*, p. 110.

¹²² The term „Dodekanese’ in the Byzantine texts by no means applies to the modern use of the term. Amantos, *BZ* 30 (1929/30), 244-46. Zakythinos, „Meletai’, *EEBS*, 17, pp. 254-56. Ahrweiler, *Mer*, p. 80. Malamut, *Les iles*, I, p. 47ff.

¹²³ Ahrweiler, *Mer*, p. 80.

¹²⁴ Zakythinos, „Meletai’, *EEBS*, 25, pp. 146-7.

¹²⁵ Malamut, *Les iles*, I, pp. 34, 47ff., 311-12.

formerly to the province of *Nesoi (Insulae)*.¹²⁶ Malamut compares the tenth-century text of Porphyrogennitus with that of Eustathios, the twelfth-century archbishop of Thessaloniki, in order to set the geographical position of the Aegean islands in the Byzantine sources:¹²⁷ both writers mention two insular complexes in the Aegean, the Sporades and the Cyclades. She concludes that Eustathios' information is drawn from Strabo, without any addition of personal remarks. Eustathios counts Chios among the islands of the Ionian coast of Asia Minor,¹²⁸ and Lesbos among the islands of Aeolis. Porphyrogennitus and other Byzantine sources mention Chios as part of the „Sporades’.¹²⁹ Oikonomides¹³⁰ admits that the term Cyclades in the sources is not always clear. Nesbitt and Oikonomides claim that “...Before that (the twelfth century), in all cases where the term is used in an administrative context, Cyclades seem to mean *grosso modo* the ancient province of the *Nesoi*, centred in today's Dodecanese and all the way to Lesbos”.¹³¹ This means that the western Aegean islands are not included in this entity. This view creates further confusion if we take into account the fact that the same writers mention previously that the administrative unit Cyclades, which practically included all the Aegean islands, was identical with the ecclesiastical province of Cyclades, whose part was Chios (see above paragraph)!

In the late tenth to early eleventh century, a new reorganisation of the administrative system witnesses the fragmentation of the old large themes, which are replaced by smaller themes. At that period the theme of *Aigaion Pelagos* disappears from the sources and is fragmented in smaller maritime divisions.¹³² The Taktikon Escorial mentions the „*strategos of Aigaion Pelagos*’, and the „*strategos of the Cyclades*’ simultaneously,¹³³ whereas other sources mention the *strategos* of Abydos and the *strategos* of Chios. Therefore, it is surmised that among the newly created small themes, the theme of Chios emerges, even though Chios does not figure in any list of the Byzantine themes. Thus, in the eleventh century the maritime district of the

¹²⁶ Nesbitt-Oikonomides, *Catalogue*, vol. 2, p. 110. Ahrweiler, *Mer*, 81, states that « Les Nesoi, circonscription différent de celle de la mer Egée, désigne l'ensemble des îles connues sous le nom de Douze Îles, englobant les Cyclades actuelles, souvent appelées dans les sources byzantines sous l'appellation Cyclades ».

¹²⁷ Malamut, *Les îles*, I, pp. 34-48.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, I, p. 36, 50, n. 135.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 48.

¹³⁰ Oikonomides, *Listes*, p. 361, n. 404.

¹³¹ Nesbitt-Oikonomides, *Catalogue*, 2, p. 126.

¹³² Ahrweiler, *Mer*, pp. 79, 132-33. *Eadem*, *Recherches*, pp. 82ff. 89-90.

¹³³ Oikonomides, *Listes*, p. 267. It is the period when the new thema of Cyclades appears, which is created after 949 and before 971.

Aigaion Pelagos seems to have been limited to the littoral of Propontis and the surroundings of Constantinople. The commanders of the smaller themes are again the *strategoï*, whose importance diminishes comparing to that formerly enjoyed by the *strategoï* of the older large maritime themes.¹³⁴

What do the sources reveal about the status of Chios?

Of all the sources, the seals¹³⁵ of civil and ecclesiastical officials and a number of imperial chrysobulls – the latter dated from the eleventh century onwards – contribute significantly to the early history of Chios, rendering clear that a number of military and civil officials are associated with an island of significant importance for the Empire. The earliest seals connected with Chios date from the late sixth and early seventh centuries and are related to ecclesiastical affairs: they belong to bishops and other officials of the clergy. In respect to the civil and military officials, the earliest seals date from the seventh century, as well. Chronologically, all the edited seals which I used for the needs of this study cover the period from the seventh to the twelfth centuries. The earliest datable specimen mentions a ‚George, *scribon* and *genikos kommerkiarios* of the Apotheke of Asia, Chios and Lesbos’ of the seventh century. Next come five seals bearing the title ‚archon of Chios’;¹³⁶ chronologically their date ranges from the ninth to the tenth centuries. Another seal of the ninth century mentions a ‚Nikolaos *dioiketes* of Chios and Samos’. In the eleventh century the first seals bearing the legend ‚*strategos* of Chios’ appear. At the same time, the historical record confirms the sigillographic evidence: Byzantine historians and imperial chrysobulls mention the ‚*strategos* of Chios’ along with a number of other officials.

The majority of the civil officials mentioned in the imperial documents have fiscal responsibilities related to the tax impositions on subjects, exemptions granted, and tax control on land. In reference to the tax exemptions, these concern mainly grants to the pious institution of Nea Moni,¹³⁷ which is renowned for having been under the imperial patronage of the empresses Zoe and Theodora and the emperor Constantine Monomachos.

¹³⁴ Ahrweiler, *Recherches*, p. 46.

¹³⁵ For the relevant references, cf. Appendices.

¹³⁶ Oikonomides, *Listes*, pp. 342-43, n. 317 on p. 343. Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium, I, p. 160.

¹³⁷ Oikonomides, ‚L’ évolution de l’ organisation administrative de l’ empire byzantin au XI siècle’, *TM* 6 (1976), pp. 138-140. *O.D.B.*, 2, p. 736.

As historians observe, Chios probably formed part of a maritime district; more particularly, the views converge to the assumption that the island belonged to the maritime theme of Aigaion Pelagos. In addition, as early as the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, scholars put forward the hypothesis that Chios should rather be identified with the capital of Aigaion Pelagos.¹³⁸ The only written source confirming indirectly the above-mentioned assumption is Porphyrogennitus, who clearly states that the islands of Mitylene, Chios and Lemnos belonged to the theme of Aigaion Pelagos.¹³⁹ However, his testimony dates from the tenth century. Which was in reality the district to which Chios belonged? Was it indeed the Aigaion Pelagos? What do the sources tell for the period prior to and during the tenth century? The evidence in the sigillographic record and the written sources for the ‚archon of Chios’ in the period between the ninth and the tenth century, poses questions about the military organisation of the island during that period: the office of the *archon* of Chios is not mentioned in the earliest of the Taktika, the so-called *Uspenski* (842-843).¹⁴⁰ Nesbitt and Oikonomides explain that probably it might have been a lacuna of two or three lines in the part of the Taktikon, where the *archontes* are listed. Using this evidence, Ahrweiler attempts to interpret the office of the archon of Chios as follows: the island was one of the naval bases of the Byzantine fleet and had its own fleet stationed there, whose commander was the *archon*, an officer dependent on Constantinople. The archon had also administrative jurisdiction over the district.¹⁴¹ In addition, she wonders whether Chios formed in reality part of the theme of the Aigaion Pelagos, and further, what its administrative status was during the ninth century, when the administrative and military entity of Aigaion Pelagos was still a *droungos*. According to her argumentation, from the information in the Life of Saint Paul of Latros it is inferred that, between the late ninth and the early tenth century Chios formed an independent maritime unit, an *archontia*, placed under the jurisdiction of an archon. The presence on the island of a high ranking official, namely the *komes tou ploimou stratou*¹⁴² – an official directly dependent on Constantinople – favours the view that during the ninth century, and especially after the date of the redaction of the Taktikon Uspenski, the

¹³⁸ Schlumberger, *Sigillographie*, p. 196. Zolotas, *passim*. A. Sarou-Zolota, *To θάλασσολ ης Χίος*, pp. 34-35. Zakythinios, *Meletai*, 17, pp. 259ff.

¹³⁹ Pertusi, *C.Porphyrogennito, De Thematibus*, p. 83.

¹⁴⁰ Ahrweiler, *Mer*, p. 86. Nesbitt-Oikonomides, *Catalogue*, p. 124.

¹⁴¹ Ahrweiler, *Mer*, p. 90.

¹⁴² *Op.cit.*, p. 86, n. 2.

island must have received a special status.¹⁴³ During this period, Chios was considered a frontier due to the presence of the Cretan Arabs in the Aegean. Thus, Ahrweiler concludes that Chios was ruled by an archon in the ninth century, an official whose office was abolished sometime in the tenth century, when the island's status was elevated. Malamut is also in favour of this view assuming plausibly that the island could have been detached either from the *droungarios* of the Dodecanese or from the Aigaion Pelagos in order to constitute an autonomous administrative area attached directly to Constantinople. She claims that plausibly this status did not last long, and was abolished before or around 842/3, that is, before the compilation of the earliest Taktikon Uspenski.¹⁴⁴

Ahrweiler argues persuasively about the special or elevated position of Chios in the early period, that is, between the seventh and the ninth century. For this reason, and considering the above-mentioned data I would not hesitate to follow her view. Besides, ever since antiquity throughout the ages the diachronic history of this island shows how much its geo-strategic position was appreciated.

The seals of *kommerkiarioi*

In Appendix II two seals are listed dating from the seventh to the eighth centuries: the first bears the legend ‚*kommerkiarios* of the Apotheke of Asia, Chios and Lesvos’ and the second, the ‚imperial *kommerkia* of the Aigaion’. The harbour-towns of the Empire during the early period had customs houses, for which the responsible functionaries were the *kommerkiarioi*, subaltern officers to the *Logothetes of the Genikon*. The earliest of the two seals of *kommerkiarioi* dates to the seventh century (reign of Justinian II) and bears the name of the island. It stands on its own as an eloquent testimony of the State's interest in Chios.¹⁴⁵ It is not surprising that Chios is incorporated in one context along with Lesvos and Asia. The proximity of both islands to the opposite littoral – particularly of Chios – and the fact that their harbour-towns are on the eastern coast, facilitated the commercial exchanges with the neighbouring mainland of Asia Minor. Practically, the hinterland of Asia Minor had always been considered as the islands' hinterland. Obviously, significant commercial reasons must account for the setting up of a customs house in that area, which linked the three

¹⁴³ *Op. cit.*, p. 86.

¹⁴⁴ Malamut, *Les îles*, I, pp. 300-303.

¹⁴⁵ Koltsida-Makri, *Σοκβοιή*.

neighbouring coasts in one entity. The fact itself is an eloquent witness of state and private activities in that part of the Aegean. Concluding, an eloquent sign of commercial interests with state involvement appears along the coasts of this region already in the seventh century – and probably even earlier – as the existing sources reveal. It is important to note that during this period the Aegean is under the Arab menace. The historical record enhances the information of the seals in respect to the commercial importance of Chios for the empire: the eighth and ninth Miracle of Saint Demetrius narrate the important role of Chios as a port of call in the north - south trade route of the Aegean, from the granaries of Alexandria to Constantinople.¹⁴⁶

Another valuable testimony from an early seal sheds light to an important aspect for the early history of Chios. In the ninth century the two islands, Chios and Samos, constituted a joint fiscal entity being under the jurisdiction of the same tax collector, Nicolaos, *dioiketes*. Zakythinios first has shown that the *dioiketes* was a fiscal official, whose jurisdiction was to supervise the tax collection. He explicitly explains that the fiscal administration was distinct from the provincial civil and military administration.¹⁴⁷ Therefore, the seal cannot necessarily mean that the two islands belonged to the same administrative unit.

Chios: Capital of the theme of Aigaion Pelagos or a theme in its own right?

The question arises if Chios ever belonged to the territory of the Aigaion Pelagos and, if it did, what its position was. Despite the comparatively large number of seals in combination with the few lines, which the Byzantine historians have dedicated to Chios, the status of its administrative position is not clear. The result from the obscurity of the historical and archaeological record was a long scholarly debate, which started as early as the nineteenth century. Views vary. Below, the summarised views of some eminent scholars will be presented in chronological order of publication.

G. Schlumberger was the first to study and publish the then few specimens of lead seals of dignitaries related to the island. In his commentary, he observed that the

¹⁴⁶ P.Lemerle, *Les plus anciens recueils des miracles de Saint Démétrius e la pénétration des Slaves dans les Balkans*, vol. I, Paris, 1979, p. 102,8 [70], 107,19 [76], 108,9 [77], 108,21 [79], and n. 2 on p. 104,5 [76].

¹⁴⁷ Zakythinios, *Meletai*, 17, p. 260. Some scholars raise the question whether the *dioikesis* of Samos and Chios was part of the thema of Aigaion Pelagos or of Samos, when the latter became a thema in its own right in the late ninth century.

assembled evidence suggests that Chios should with all probability be considered the capital of the maritime theme of the Aigaion Pelagos.¹⁴⁸

G. Zolotas, and A. Sarou-Zolota, reviewed the problem in the light of other historical evidence and are in favour of Schlumberger's suggestions. Both scholars based their assumptions on the study of the Byzantine historians and on the surviving chrysobulls of Nea Moni as well as on research in the Vallicelliana Library of Rome.¹⁴⁹ Their impression was that the testimony of Leo the Deacon, who mentions that the general Bardas Phocas remained exiled on Chios for seven years (in 921), is eloquent in respect to the island's military organisation.¹⁵⁰ Sarou claimed that, since the place-name „Chios' appears on the lead seals, is itself a strong indication in favour of the hypothesis that the island formed an independent theme.

The above-mentioned view is rejected by Professor Zakythinios, who discusses solely the possibility that Chios could have been the capital of the theme of Aigaion Pelagos.¹⁵¹ He recognizes, however, a special status for Chios.

A. Pertusi, commenting on *De Thematibus*, also makes the supposition that the text of Porphyrogennitus in conjunction with the Chiot seals leads one to believe that the seat of the Aigaion Pelagos was probably Chios.¹⁵²

Ahrweiler's views are interesting, but contradictory. She rejects Schlumberger's view that Chios was the capital of the Aigaion Pelagos, because it cannot be confirmed in the historical record. In addition, she notes that the historical record proper provides the evidence in the argument that Chios formed a separate, independent theme: two *strategoï*, one of Chios and one of Samos are mentioned simultaneously.¹⁵³ She adds that it is not at all certain if Chios formed ever part of the Aigaion Pelagos.¹⁵⁴ If it did, she wonders, what was its position when the Aigaion Pelagos was still a *droungos*? On the other hand, she advances the view that Chios might after all have belonged to the Aigaion Pelagos after the abolition of the office of its archon and before the nomination of the strategos in the late tenth century.¹⁵⁵ Finally, she proposes that Chios did belong to the maritime theme of Aigaion Pelagos,

¹⁴⁸ Schlumberger, *Sigillographie*, p. 196; *De Thematibus*, p. 154. Zakythinios, *Meletai* 17, pp. 260-1.

¹⁴⁹ Zolotas, *Ιζηροία ης Χίοσ, Β'*, 246-7, 250. Sarou – Zolota, *Τό Κάζηρολ ηης Χίοσ*, pp. 34-35, 40-41.

¹⁵⁰ Leo Deacon, *Historiae* VII.9, 126.4. Bonn 1828.

¹⁵¹ Zakythinios, *Meletai*, 17, pp. 259-261. *Idem*, *Meletai*, 25, p. 147.

¹⁵² *De Thematibus*, pp. 154-5.

¹⁵³ Ahrweiler, *Recherches*, p. 51, and n. 6.

¹⁵⁴ Ahrweiler, *Mer*, p. 86.

¹⁵⁵ *Op.cit.*, p. 108.

from which it was detached at a later date to become an independent maritime unit.¹⁵⁶ She maintains her opinion that a special status for Chios should be recognised for the early ages: in the eighth to ninth centuries it was an *archontia* directly connected to Constantinople.

Antoniadis-Bibicou believes that Chios remained for good under the jurisdiction of the strategos of the Aigaion Pelagos.¹⁵⁷

Nesbitt and Oikonomides follow Ahrweiler, agreeing that the status of Chios between the eighth and tenth centuries is not very clear. They support the view that Chios initially formed part of the theme of Aigaion Pelagos, from which it was detached to become part of the theme of Samos.¹⁵⁸ Later, appears on the island the supreme leader, namely the ‚archon of Chios’. Samos became a separate theme, named ‚theme of the sailors (πιφιροκέφλι)’ in the mid-eighth century, having its own strategos, information confirmed by Porphyrogennitus.¹⁵⁹ But Nesbitt and Oikonomides claim the administrative connection of Chios and Samos by basing their assumption to the evidence of the early seal of the *dioiketes*, ‚who ensured local administration’. However, they change view later and do not claim administrative authority for the *dioiketes* of Samos and Chios nor do they recognise such mandate for Arsavir, the ninth-century *dioiketes* of Mytilene.¹⁶⁰ Zakythinos, as we have seen, shows clearly that the testimony of the seal of the *dioiketes* is unquestionable:¹⁶¹ he is a tax-collector and his jurisdiction over an entity is only financial; he did not have administrative jurisdiction, at least the sources do not imply that he did. Finally, the same scholars add that sometime between 971 and 1027 Chios formed a separate maritime theme. In reference to its early position in provincial administration, they recognise that the existing sources imply that the island appears to have had a distinct position from as early as the eighth century.¹⁶² They observe: „...it becomes clear that we have an insular administration, which is not called a *strategeia*”.¹⁶³ In respect to the issue of the capital of the theme of Aigaion Pelagos, their views deviate,

¹⁵⁶ *Op.cit.*, p. 133.

¹⁵⁷ H. Antoniadis-Bibicou, *Études d'histoire maritime de Byzance a propos du th me des Caravisiens*, Paris 1966, p. 98.

¹⁵⁸ Nesbitt-Oikonomides, *Catalogue*, 2, p. 111, 123, See, however, Zakythinos, *Meletai*, 17, p. 259 ff.

¹⁵⁹ Porphyrogennitus, vol. III, *De Thematibus*, p. 41. Zakythinos, *op.cit.*, pp. 261-2. Nesbitt – Oikonomides, pp. 110-11, 123, 130-131.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 124, 141.

¹⁶¹ *Cf.* p. 40, n.147.

¹⁶² Nesbitt-Oikonomides, *op.cit.*, p. 112.

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*

proposing that Mitylene and Abydos are the two most likely seats of the strategos of the Aigaion.¹⁶⁴ This is rejected by Malamut, who believes that one should also equally claim that Chios or Lemnos could be counted as likely candidates for the seat of the theme.¹⁶⁵

To sum up, the majority of the scholarly debate converges in the view that Chios held a special status during the early period, for which our sources are fragmentary. Scholars agree that it is very likely that from the late tenth or definitely in the early eleventh century the island was elevated to a theme in its own right; the reason is found in the historical record: it was the period of the Byzantine victories against the Arabs, when the old, large themes were fragmented to be replaced by many smaller themes. The former hold of power by an *archon* of Chios fits in the historical data. When the *archon* disappears from the scene, he is replaced by a *strategos*.¹⁶⁶ Again, we rely on the sigillographic evidence and the literary sources to support this view: lead seals dated from the early eleventh century mention the *strategos* of Chios, whereas in the texts the first official information on the elevation of Chios is encountered in the testimonies of the historians Zonaras, Skylitzes and Kedrenos, who mention the strategos of Chios.¹⁶⁷ The chrysobulls of Monomachos and Nicephoros Botaneiates enhance the testimony.¹⁶⁸

Considering collectively the above evidence, I think that we are not able to give a definite answer to the question of the position of Chios in the provincial administration before and after the thematic system. Only speculations can be made until research advances. The views of Nesbitt and Oikonomides have many weaknesses, many times are ambiguous, others are contradictory, therefore cannot stand. To me, the most plausible argumentation on the topic is offered by Zakythinos and Ahrweiler. Their views are undoubtedly more helpful in forming a more coherent assumption. Zakythinos argues that Chios remained until the late tenth or the eleventh century the capital of the theme of Aigaion Pelagos and it was never elevated to a theme in its own right; the testimony of Skylitzes and Kedrenos, who refer to the strategos of Chios must lead to the assumption that Chios, as the most

¹⁶⁴ Oikonomides, „On Sigillographic Epigraphy’, *SBS* 6, Washington D.C, 1999, p. 38. Nesbitt-Oikonomides, *op.cit.* p. 141.

¹⁶⁵ Malamut, *Les iles*, I, p. 311.

¹⁶⁶ Kedrenos, 484. Ahrweiler, *Mer*, pp. 100-101. *Eadem*, *Recherches*, p. 51, and n. 6.

¹⁶⁷ Zonaras, III, p. 572, 582. Skylitzes-Kedrenos, II, p. 479, 484, 514.

¹⁶⁸ I. Sakellion, *op.cit.*, 1867, pp. 558-9; Miklosič-Müller, *Acta et Diplomata*, IV, pp. 8-10.

important island of the theme of Aigaion Pelagos, housed its headquarters.¹⁶⁹ Be it as it may, how are we to explain the simultaneous presence of a „strategos of the Aigaion Pelagos’ and of a „strategos of Chios’ in the sources? There are grounds to follow Ahrweiler’s view about the island’s early status as an *archontia*; following, however, another line of argument, she attempts to connect Chios with the Cyclades, hypothesising that Chios at that time formed part of the theme of Cyclades, serving as its military base; as the office of a strategos of Cyclades is not mentioned in the sources “...we surmise that the theme of the Cyclades, administered during this time by a *krites* (judge), was defended militarily by the *strategos* of Chios”, whose headquarters were on the island proper.¹⁷⁰

Later, in the mid-twelfth century, we find an independent administrative district of Chios¹⁷¹ headed by a *doux*, who succeeded the *strategos*. The *doux* is mentioned around 1160-1170, where it is recorded that he took part in an action against the Genoese and in favour of the Venetians.¹⁷² He is responsible for both the fiscal and civil administration of his territory (*anagrapheus- praktor*). Finally, the early historical testimony in the Miracles of St Demetrius, that the island was a port of call for the provisioning of Constantinople, is in itself evidence of its significant position within the provincial division.

The important geographical position of the island has been acknowledged since Antiquity. Its proximity to the opposite peninsula of Erythraea and its equal distance to the neighbouring islands in its axis, namely Lesvos and Samos, cannot be ignored, making her the most suitable place for housing a district capital. Even though the surviving sources do not form a continuous, datable series, still I think that there are grounds to believe that it could have been the seat of the theme. It would not be sensible to believe that it was only in the eleventh or even later, in the fourteenth century that its importance was acknowledged. In accordance with the sigillographic record, which gives dates for the ninth and tenth century, one more indication comes from the history of the castle of Chios town: according to the historical and archaeological indications, the Byzantine castle of Chios could date back to the ninth century, or even earlier, in which case it would certainly have housed the headquarters

¹⁶⁹ Zakythinos, *Meletai*, 17, pp. 260-261.

¹⁷⁰ Ahrweiler, *Mer*, p. 402.

¹⁷¹ Malamut, *op.cit.*, believed it was an independent thema of Chios.

¹⁷² In the mid-twelfth century the commanders of the provinces of the islands are the doukes-praitores, who hold all the power in their hands.

of the administrative commander, the *archon* or the *strategos*. Undoubtedly the archaeological and historical-topographical data from Chios town should be considered with and paralleled to those of the historical, numismatic and sigillographic record. Advanced archaeological research would supplement the information from the literary and the other primary sources.

CHAPTER 2 – ARCHAEOLOGY AND TOPOGRAPHY OF MOUNT AMANI

2.1. PHYSICAL GEOGRAPHY (Map I, fig. 1)

Chios is the fifth largest island of Greece and belongs to the prefecture of the Eastern Aegean islands. It possesses two adjacent groups of islets: first, Psara and Antipsara, situated 12 miles off its north-west point; secondly, the Oinoussai islands, 2 miles off its north-east. All together form the administrative district (*nomos*) of Chios. The island proper is situated at longitude between 38°22'58.88" and latitude 26°02'40.05" east, between Lesvos and Samos islands. To the east it fronts the peninsula of Erythraea in Asia Minor, from which it is separated by the Chios Strait, a very narrow canal broken by rocks, measuring 4.5 miles in width in the south and 11 miles in the north.¹

Chios measures 842.5 km² (325 square miles) in area. Its maximum height reaches 1,280 m. above sea level in Mount Pelinnaion.² The island has an oblong shape. The east side is slightly convex, whereas the west is concave, and the north and south parts jut seawards, forming in the middle a great bight about 11 miles from N to S.³ Due to this shape, the northern part measures 16 nautical miles in width, the southern 12 n. m.⁴, while the central is the narrowest point measuring 7 n. m. The maximum width of the whole surface is *ca.* 10 n. m., and the maximum length 28 miles.

Chios and the other islands of the Eastern Aegean were once part of the peninsulas of Asia Minor, from which they were detached due to tectonic movements in early geological times.⁵ The geological structure of Chios is dominated by a high, broken range which crosses her from north to south, parallel to the ranges of the neighbouring Erythraean peninsula.⁶ The relief is characterised by spurs, valleys and plateaux, which descend to a narrow coastal plain, with cliffed headlands, rocky bays

¹ British Naval Intelligence Division, *Greece*, vol. I, p. 33, vol. III, p. 514, (hereafter, *Greece*).

² Zolotas, A1, p. 56. *Greece*, vol. III, p. 488. Koder mentions 842 km², *Aegean Pelagos*, T.I.B. 10, pp. 143-150. Pauly mentions 856 km², (Band 2, Stuttgart, Weimar, 1997-1999, p. 1126).

³ *Greece*, III, p. 519.

⁴ Zolotas, A1, p. 55. In *Greece*, III, p. 514, the measurements are taken in miles. It is recorded that the island measures 31 miles from north to south and varies from 8 to 18 from east to west.

⁵ *Greece*, I, p. 33, III, p. 514.

⁶ *Greece*, III, p. 488, 514.

and deep inlets.⁷ Homer describes laconically this relief by naming Chios *παιπαλόεσσα*, that is, stony, rocky.

*The sightless man of stony Chios;
All whose poems shall in all last ages stand for capital.*⁸

Structurally the island is divided into three regions:

(1) the north-west, where old argillaceous schists and greywacke rocks outcrop.⁹ Soft rolling hills and abundant water characterise the region, because the soils are in the main impermeable.

(2) The central region is composed of folded chalky limestone. Sharp, bare hills with rugged summits rise precipitously reaching their highest point in the north-east, on Mount Pelinnaion, while they decrease to the south. Wide plateaux, spurs, deep ravines and narrow coastal zones are characteristic features of the region.¹⁰ The ravines are a result of water erosion in limestone rock.¹¹

(3) The south-east, where there is a belt of sandstones and clays of upper Tertiary age. The rocks are relatively unresistant to weathering and they have been eroded into a belt of irregular, low, rounded hills.¹²

The physical structure accounts for its geographical division in three provinces, the mountainous northern (*Apanomerea or Epanohora, pars suprema – Upper part*), the hilly southern (*Katomerea or Katohora, pars infima – Lower part*)¹³, which is smoother, and the central, with broken ranges and plateaux.

⁷ *Greece*, I, fig. 134, pp. 1-11 for details on the geological formation of the Aegean basin. WORLD ATLAS OF AGRICULTURE, Vol. 1, Novara, 1969, p. 191.

⁸ “Τυφλός ἀνήρ, οἰκεῖ δέ Χίῳ ἔνι παιπαλοέσση/τοῦ πᾶσαι μετόπισθεν ἀριστεύουσιν αἰοδαί”. T.W.Allen, W.R.Halliday, E.E.Sikes (eds), *The Homeric Hymns*, Oxford, 1936, Hymn to Apollo, 172-173, p. 27. Translation in English in: George Chapman, *Hymns and Epigrams of Homer*, London, 1888, p. 20, verses 57-59.

⁹ *Greece*, III, p. 514, fig. 132. I, p. 6, fig. 4, and p. 7 for the table of main geological divisions.

¹⁰ *Greece*, I, p. 33.

¹¹ *Greece*, I, pp. 11-12: ‘Chios has a great extent of its area covered by limestone rocks. Limestone is a resistant rock because it is permeable to water...The effect of these features is that the landscape is marked by precipitous slopes and deep-cut ravines’.

¹² *Greece*, I, p. 33, III, p. 488, 514-516, fig. 132.

¹³ See the travellers’ accounts in Argenti – Kyriakidis, *Ἡ Χίος παρά τοῖς Γεωγράφοις καί Περιηγηταῖς*. 3 vols. Athens, 1946.

Climate

Chios belongs to the climatic region of the Eastern Aegean islands and its climate is the “modified Mediterranean of Northern Greece”.¹⁴ Its insular variety categorises it as “essentially Aegean, transitional between Western Asiatic and Aegean conditions”.¹⁵ It is a healthy and pleasant climate with mild and wet winters, and warm and dry summers. The summer heat is much less perceptible because of low relative humidity.¹⁶ North winds are predominant in the northern Aegean, blowing from the high-pressure area of Russia and the northern Balkans.¹⁷

Homer praises Chios for its most enjoyable climate.

...Or Chios that exceeds comparison for fruitfulness;
with all the isles that lie embrac'd with seas;¹⁸

The winters are milder and wetter there than in the rest of the Eastern Aegean and summers are not so dry.¹⁹ The amount of rain varies according to conditions prevailing locally in Asia Minor.²⁰ Winter cold and summer heat are tempered by proximity to the sea. Snow falls in the mountainous areas but soon melts. Northerly winds prevail throughout the year but land and sea breezes are very well developed in summer.²¹ In summer, the steady northerly winds, known as the *Etesian* winds, blow with great constancy over the sea and islands.²² They tend to be north-east in the eastern Aegean.²³

¹⁴ *Greece*, I, pp. 102-104, fig. 62.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ *World Atlas of Agriculture*, Vol. I, (1969), p. 192.

¹⁷ *Greece*, I, p. 82. *World Atlas of Agriculture*, p. 192.

¹⁸ W.Allen, W.R.Halliday, E.E.Sikes (eds), *op.cit.*, Hymn to Apollo, 38, p. 22: “Χίος, ἡ νήσων λιπαρωτάτη ἐν ἀλί κείται”. Translation in English in: G. Chapman, *op.cit.*, verses 57-59, p. 20.

¹⁹ *Greece*, III, pp. 489-491.

²⁰ C.E.P. Brooks, ‘The Climate of Chios’, in: *The Quarterly Journal of the Royal Meteorological Society*. Vol. LXV, No. 278, January 1939, pp. 52-56.

²¹ *Greece*, III, p. 492; vol. I, p. 88.

²² Zolotas, A1, p. 17, 171. *Greece*, I, pp. 80ff.

²³ The Etesian winds vary greatly in the other regions of the Aegean and the Ionian Sea. *Greece*, I, p. 84.

Drainage (figs. 2-3)

The river system of Chios is composed of a network of short, narrow torrents, called 'rivers' by the locals. They run from the centre of the areas along narrow ravines, bare rock, and escarpments and flow into the sea. They are powerful enough in winter and become turbulent after a heavy rain. In summer the torrents are short or completely dried.²⁴ The coastal zone is marked by rich deposits of river gravels, boulders and alluvium. The need for water supply is secured by perennial, underground springs with abundant water. Mount Amani, in particular, is penetrated by numerous underground streams. One of its two largest rivers is the *Malangiotis* or *Vasilikos* river, which crosses the Volissos plain and flows into the Aegean.

Vegetation²⁵

The climate and the rocky soil of Chios account for the character of its vegetation.²⁶ Forests and scrubland covered the greater part of its territory once. Medieval sources bear witness to the afforested Chiot landscape.²⁷ The density of forests is documented as early as the fifteenth century. Nowadays the great percentage is scrub. Particularly in the mountainous areas, much land once afforested is now bare.²⁸ Human activity should account for modification in the natural landscape, since Chios throughout the middle ages as well as during the Ottoman period was a timber-producing country, timber having been used for shipbuilding.²⁹ The major reasons which affected negatively the transformation of the natural landscape are forest fires, followed by animal grazing. In early modern period, the

²⁴ *Greece*, III, pp. 516-17, figs. 133, 134. An early fifteenth century description of the river system is encountered in Buondelmondi, *Liber Insularum Archipelagi*, in Argenti – Kyriakides, I, p. 13.

²⁵ Zolotas, A1, pp. 183-4. *Greece*, I, pp. 113ff.

²⁶ *Greece*, I, pp. 106-107.

²⁷ Argenti-Kyriakides, I, *passim*. Argenti, *Diplomatic Archive of Chios*, vol. I, p. xix, Doc. 4, p. 10. M. Giustiniani, *La Scio Sacra del Rito Latino*, (1658), pp. 3-5.

²⁸ Zolotas, A1, p. 65, 101.

²⁹ Argenti, *Diplomatic Archive*, p. xxx, Doc. 10, p. 31; doc. 395, p. 787. *Idem*, *The Occupation of Chios by the Genoese, 1346-1566*, 3 vols, (1958), *passim*. Hieronymo Giustiniani's *History of Chios*, (P. Argenti, ed.), Book I. A.W. Dunn, "The control and exploitation of the arboreal resources of the Late Byzantine and Frankish Aegean region", in : *L'Uomo e la Foresta, secc. xiii-xviii*, Prato, 1996, pp. 479-497. The forests of Chios diminished to a great extent during the massacres of 1822 by the Ottomans. It is documented that Vahit Pasha ordered his troops to completely destroy and set fires throughout the island, so that the population could not seek refuge anywhere.

first major arson, which destroyed a large part of the forests, was set in 1822 by the Turks.³⁰ In the course of the last thirty years, further degradation of the natural landscape occurs in a regular pace by the opening of rural roads, extensive building activity and wastes of building materials, factors which bring about irreversible effects. The flora of Chios and of the other east Aegean islands corresponds to the flora of western Asia Minor.³¹

The mountains of Chios in their major part were covered by broken forests of oak and pine.³² The dominant tree of the coniferous forests³³ of the eastern Aegean islands is the black pine (*Pinus nigra*).³⁴ It occurs on the lower and middle slopes of the limestone mountains of the central and north regions. Second species, but more limited in distribution, is the stone pine (*pinus pinea*).³⁵ Oaks are also important trees with two species being the commonest in the lowlands – the ilex or holm oak (*Quercus Ilex*)³⁶ and the Valona oak (*Quercus Aegilops*)³⁷. The acorns were much used in the local industry for tanning³⁸. Oriental planes,³⁹ white and black poplars occur mixed with the oaks in the river valleys. Terebinth (*pistacia terebinthus*),⁴⁰ chestnut,⁴¹ wild pear (*pyrus communis*)⁴² and the bay tree (*Laurus nobilis*)⁴³ are common.

A brushwood type of vegetation, the so-called maquis and pseudo-maquis, covers a large percentage of the surface. Vegetation of this kind appears on deforested lands, whose natural regeneration is difficult due to forest fires, and over-grazing by animals. The plants of the brushwood are resistant to dry conditions.⁴⁴ The maquis is a mixed community, whose dominant species is the *Nerium Oliander*, which

³⁰ Zolotas, A1, p. 184. Ph. P. Argenti, *The massacres of Chios*, London, John Lane, 1932.

³¹ *Greece*, I, fig. 63 on p. 107. The indigenous flora of Chios is treated by Professor R.M.Dawkins, 'The Flora of Chios', in Ph. Argenti & H.J.Rose, *The Folk Lore of Chios*, vol. II, (1949), Appendix VIII, pp. 1073ff. The recent monograph of P. Saliaris, *The flora of Chios*, Chios, 2008 is equally useful to the reader, since it provides excellent illustrations of each species.

³² These species are representative of the other eastern Aegean islands. *Greece*, I, p. 115.

³³ Zolotas, A1, pp. 183ff. *Greece*, I, pp. 120-122; III, p. 516.

³⁴ *Greece*, vol. I, p. 120.

³⁵ *Greece*, I, p. 116. Dunn, "The exploitation of woodland and scrubland", *BMGS* 16, (1992), pp. 289-292.

³⁶ *Greece*, I, p. 116. Dunn, *Exploitation*, p. 285.

³⁷ *Greece*, I, p. 116. Dunn, *op.cit.*, pp. 287-9.

³⁸ The tanneries are situated nearly 3 km north of Chios harbour. Nowadays they are deserted.

³⁹ Buondelmondi, in Argenti-Kyriakides, I, p. 13.

⁴⁰ *Greece*, I, p. 475.

⁴¹ Zolotas, A1, p. 186.

⁴² *Greece*, I, p. 119.

⁴³ *Greece*, I, p. 119.

⁴⁴ *Greece*, I, p. 121 and App. VII.

grows in the banks of torrents. Common plants are also the chaste tree (*Vitex Agnus-castus*),⁴⁵ the myrtle (*myrtus communis*),⁴⁶ the *pistacia lentiscus varia Chia*, which is the mastic-producing shrub growing only in the southern part,⁴⁷ the common lentisc⁴⁸ growing in the centre and north, the wild olive,⁴⁹ Judas tree (*Cercis siliquastrum*).⁵⁰ Spanish broom (*sparteum junceum*),⁵¹ kermes oak (*Quercus coccifera*),⁵² and *Calycotome vilosa (aspalathos)*.⁵³ Of the above-mentioned species, the lentisc tree *varia Chia* is the representative tree of the southern region, since it grown only there. The common lentisc shrub, which grows in north Chios, does not produce mastic, but only an ordinary resin.

The plant community known as pseudomaquis⁵⁴ is a mixed community, whose most common species are the terebinth (*Pistacia terebinthus*),⁵⁵ *Juniperus excelsa*,⁵⁶ *jasminum fruticans* and the cherry-laurel (*Prunus laurocerasus*).⁵⁷ Finally, phrygana vegetation covers much of the dry, bare surface of the island. The phrygana are thorny, low bushes, with spiny leaves, and aromatic sap, growing between bare rocks. The commonest Chiot species⁵⁸ are thyme, a small bush of the rose family, named *Poterium spinosum*, marjoram, oregano, salvia (sage), and wild mint. This type of vegetation covers wide areas of stony ground at different altitudes throughout the island.

2.2. UPLAND CHIOS : SETTLEMENTS AND SITES

Northern Chios stands out from the rest of the island due to the mountainous spine that makes it inaccessible. Geographically, it is divided between the northeast land of Mount Pelinnaion (1,280 m) or Kardamyla district, named after the largest township, Kardamyla; and the northwest land of Mount Amani (809 m), or Volissos

⁴⁵ Greece, I, p. 123, 475. Dunn, *Exploitation*, p. 283.

⁴⁶ Greece, I, p. 123, 475.

⁴⁷ Greece, I, p. 123, 475.

⁴⁸ Dunn, *Exploitation*, p. 288.

⁴⁹ *Ibid*, p. 289.

⁵⁰ Greece, I, p. 119.

⁵¹ *Ibid*.

⁵² Dunn, *op.cit.*, p. 289.

⁵³ Greece, I, p. 123, 475. Dunn, *op.cit.*, p. 281.

⁵⁴ Greece, I, pp. 117-119, 124-5.

⁵⁵ Greece, I, p. 475. Dunn, *op.cit.*, p. 294.

⁵⁶ Dunn, *op.cit.*, pp. 286-287.

⁵⁷ Greece, I, p. 475.

⁵⁸ Zolotas, A1, p. 183. Greece, III, p. 516.

district, former local administrative centre until 2010. Northern Chios, and, in particular, the district of Amani, which is the focus of this study, is a vast area whose environment was developed diachronically under the same economic model: cultivation of land and raising of flocks, which reflects the mountain character of the country. The rural landscape corresponds also to the climate: coastal, hilly, and mountainous zone, respectively.⁵⁹

With one sole exception, there is no modern investigation of the Chiot urban and rural landscape. Scholarly investigation, wherever present, focuses either on shrines or on private churches sponsored or owned by aristocratic Byzantine families (such as Krina, Coronata, Sikelia), or imperial religious foundations, such as chapels, with special attention to Nea Moni, the island's landmark and premier attraction. Secondly, attention is also given to the so-called 'Genoese settlements', however not even for those has research advanced beyond the wall boundaries of the settlement proper. Every single settlement has been studied as a solitary instance, cut off from its immediate context, that is, the countryside, and the overall physical and artificial landscape. Other significant factors are also ignored, such as interdependence with other neighbouring settlements and even relations with the harbour or the urban centre, the capital Chora.

The examination of the military architecture of Chios with particular focus on the complete defensive system of Amani (forts, towers, kastellia, fortified settlements) aims to retrieve the picture of the upper hinterland of Chios, for which we know practically nothing. The area is a panorama of medieval topography and provides a remarkable record of past human activity, even though it lacks scholarly attention. Consequently, nothing is known either for the town or the countryside. This chapter attempts to embark on this subject, which entails also other necessary parameters for the recognition of the medieval landscape.

This section presents a catalogue of settlements, monuments and sites of NW Chios. The primary criteria with which the chosen sites appear, are the number of standing monuments and their state of preservation. All are results of personal investigation in the field. Afterwards, I tried to correlate my data with secondary

⁵⁹ *Greece*, III, pp. 527ff. P. Stringa, "Genova, Chios e il Mediterraneo: Note sulle matrici liguri nella costruzione dei paesaggi agrari, medioevali e moderni", in: *Chios – Genova*, 1995, 51-56.

information gathered from the 'History of Chios' of G. Zolotas. This information regarded to a great extent sites, which remain until today unknown. Not all of the still-inhabited villages are presented, however, despite their historical or archaeological value and documentation. This limitation was posed due to practical constraints, lack of time and limited resources at my disposal. Therefore, the focus of research remained Volissos and its immediate area. The aim is to give a thorough description and commentary to a region, whose sites have either been solely tabulated or have been completely neglected. It is, in any case, a region, which seeks to find its place in the context to which belongs. In the end, the present chapter will prompt questions of the placement of the area into its proper context.

For the study of the historical topography of Chios we possess a Late Byzantine source of immense importance: it is the chrysobull of Michael Paleologus, issued in 1259, in order to safeguard the possessions of Nea Moni and reconfirm its privileges.⁶⁰ Apart from being a valuable source for the historical topography and toponymy, the chrysobull tackles also matters of social geography of Chios, since it lists the *metochia* of the monastery of Nea Moni, in connection to its *paroikoi*.

At this point it must be emphasised and acknowledged one more time the seminal work of G. Zolotas, who sowed the seeds for the study of this area, but the fruits of whose research remained idle for so many years. How much bigger would the gap have been had his research not taken place? And, on the other hand, how many gaps would have been filled had his students taken on the task of carrying on his work.⁶¹

⁶⁰ K. Sgouros, 'The Byzantine Chrysobulls of Nea Moni' in: *XX*, 1911, pp. 53-76, corrects the year 1259 to 1260.

⁶¹ Sarou-Zolota in Zolotas, *A1*, p. 404.

VOLISSOS (figs. 5, 8. Pls. 1-31)

Topography

“In somma l’isola...ha infiniti casteli, molto belli et forti, ornati, fertilissime et dilettevole possessioni, et la città molto riccha”.

HIERONIMO GIUSTINIANO, VIII 214.

The literary sources testify – and Zolotas’ thorough investigation confirms – that the following four sites of NW Chios were significant medieval centres: Volissos, Aria, Angelos, and Ta Markou. Today only one, that is, Volissos, is still inhabited, the other three are deserted.

The most important site to be examined here is Volissos, because it is the largest in the area and still inhabited. It is located at the south-western range of Mount Amani at 38°28'55" N and 25°58'28" E,⁶² nearly three kilometres inland from a fair anchorage. Due to its size, it was always considered the physical capital of the area of Amani.⁶³ Until 2010 it was the seat of the modern municipality of Amani.⁶⁴ The villages (the old *koinotites*) incorporated in the municipality are the following: *Diefcha, Kipouries, Fyta, Katavasis, Siderounta, Pyrama, Parparia, Trypes, Melanios, Aghion Galas, Nenitouria, Egrigoros, Kourouneia, Chalandra, Aphrodisia, Pispilounta (Mespilóúnta), Potamia, Keramos*. All are small and independent settlements spreading around Volissos. Nowadays the population is sparse, composed mainly by ageing people, who cultivate small parcels of land and keep small flocks.⁶⁵

The distance from Volissos to the capital *Chora* is forty kms.⁶⁶ The asphalt road traverses the mountainous territory of this part of the island following the contours of the hill-slopes. Practically its design is an extension and improvement of the medieval track, which was in use until the first half of the twentieth century, with

⁶² Map of Chios, Terrain editions, Athens 2010. Map of Chios, Anavasi, Topo series, Athens 2006.

⁶³ Oral tradition speaks of a population of nearly 4000 people in the nineteenth century. Indeed, it must have been a great town during that period and even earlier. Its secular and ecclesiastical architecture dated mainly to that period, bears witness to that. See also, Argenti, *Chios Vincta*, ch. II, ‘Administration, 1566-1912’.

⁶⁴ According to the recent local government reform, known with the name ‘Kallikrates law’ - incorporated in the Greek constitution in 2010 - all the small townships merge in a wide municipality, whose seat is the capital of each *nomós*.

⁶⁵ The present picture contrasts with the post-medieval and early modern picture as drawn by Zolotas, *passim*.

⁶⁶ Zolotas mentions thirty six km. *History of Chios*, A1, p. 56. Forty km is the distance measured after the modern improvements that have been done to the asphalt road. See Map of Chios, (2006).

only minor deviations from it. Additionally, there is a secondary network of the old mule tracks and paths that link the outskirts of Volissos with the interior. Other passes skirt the shores of the small inlets linking them to the village. Until the early twentieth century it took a day trip on horseback to get from the capital to Volissos and vice versa.⁶⁷

Volissos proper is developed on a hill slope whose summit is crowned by a castle.⁶⁸ The hill is situated at the crossroads of north-south and east-west land communication. It rises 166 m. (= 544,62 ft) above sea level. In medieval times it would have been more precipitous than it is today, situated on a gently sloping hill easy to ascend. The view from the hilltop is panoramic, as it encompasses the whole western coastline of Chios, from the north-west down to the south-west. It also dominates the extensive alluvial plain, which spreads along the shore. This is the second largest plain in the island, after the narrow plain at Kampos, in the outskirts of the capital.⁶⁹ A number of settlements spring up on the neighbouring summits to the north-west, north, east, and south-east of the fortified town. The natural structure permits a direct command of the Aegean, and, at the same time, visual contact and communication with the hinterland and the settlements. In medieval times the settlements would have been well hidden as they were protected by forests.⁷⁰

The bay of Volissos forms many inlets, which in the past would have undoubtedly served as safe anchorages. These are *Managros*, *Lefkathia*, *Lemnos*, *Lambsa (Lambeia)*, *Vakelonas*, *Aghia Markella*, *Kaloulime (Ambela)* and *Aghios Isidoros*.⁷¹ *Limnia*, an artificial man-made construction, is nowadays the *skala*, that is, the anchorage of Volissos.

The history of Volissos

The scanty nature of historical sources and the lack of archaeological research account for problems in studying the medieval history and historical topography of the area. Its early history prior to the Genoese occupation is very little known, if at all. Therefore, we are not unjustified in attempting to combine information available

⁶⁷Source: oral tradition. Argenti – Kyriakides, *passim*.

⁶⁸Zolotas, p. 625ff. A. Smith, *The Architecture of Chios*, (1962), p. 117, pl. 220-21, 222-24.

⁶⁹*Greece*, III, pp. 519, 526-7.

⁷⁰Argenti, *Diplomatic Archive*, vol. I, doc. 4, p. 9ff; doc. 7, p.22ff.

⁷¹The last two, namely Kaloulime (or Ambela) and Aghios Isidoros, belong to the village Parparia. However, this settlement fell under the jurisdiction of Volissos until the early twentieth century.

from a wide range of different sources, which extend chronologically throughout a vast span, and to parallel them with information from modern disciplines, mainly ethnography. This interdisciplinary approach can, to a great extent, fill a gap and increase our knowledge.

The Genoese historian of the late sixteenth century, Hieronimo Giustiniano,⁷² connects the etymology of the place-name with Ulisses>Uolissos>Volissos, claiming that the Homeric hero was its founder.⁷³ He also associates Volissos with Homer claiming that it was his birthplace there, and where the epic poet had founded a school. Apparently, he is reproducing a very old, oral tradition.⁷⁴

Oral tradition also has preserved the legend of the foundation of the castle by Belisarius, the famous general of the emperor Justinian. This story has come down to us from the Genoese historian of the seventeenth century, the abbot Michele Giustiniano. According to the legend, the town was named after Belisarius, therefore it is deliberately spelt corruptly, *Velissos*, instead of *Volissos*.⁷⁵ When Belisarius fell in disgrace – it is believed – he was exiled and found refuge in Volissos. There, after having been treated with sympathy by the locals, he erected the mighty fortress as a gesture of his gratitude. The same stories are repeated in the works of travellers from the West, a fact which shows the diachronic reproduction of the fables. Despite these stories, the fact is that the place-name is much older and dates back to more ancient eras.

The earliest reference dates back to the fifth century B.C. and is mentioned in Thucydides' *History*.⁷⁶ The eighth book mentions the town *Βόλισσος* or *Βολίσκος*, spelt corruptly on the copyist of the manuscript.⁷⁷ A millennium later, in the sixth century AD, we find another important information about Volissos, in the 'Εθνικά' of Stephen of Byzantion, where the entry cites:

⁷² I use the form 'Giustiniano' instead of 'Giustiniani', because this is the correct Italian ending in singular. In plural the surname ends in -i. This is how Hieronymo presents himself to the reader. Cf. Hieronymo Giustiniani, *History of Chios*, Introduction, pp. 3-4.

⁷³ Hieronymo, p. 87. Zolotas, A1, pp. 626-7.

⁷⁴ Hieronymo, *op.cit.*

⁷⁵ It is mentioned by many travellers. See, for example, Argenti – Kyriakides, *passim*. Michele Giustiniani, *Scio Sacra*.

⁷⁶ Thuc. VIII, 21. During the fifth century B.C. the Athenians defeated the Chians at a battle, which had taken place at Volissos.

⁷⁷ The name 'Voliskos' is considered by scholars as an accidental error by the copyist of the MS.

*Volissos is an Aeolian town built on a promontory; it is close to Chios (town). Thucydides names her 'Voliskon' in his eighth book. It is said that Homer lived and taught in this town proper as an Ephor.*⁷⁸

The next sources are two historians of the early twelfth century, Ioannes Zonaras and Anna Komnene. The account of Zonaras mentions the existence of Volissos, in reference to the first Turkish raids in the tenth century⁷⁹. Anna Komnene gives a topographical information for Volissos in an account, where she narrates the assaults of the Turkish pirate Tzachas against Chios and Smyrna, in 1089/1091, and the counter-attack of the Byzantine admiral Dalassenus⁸⁰:

*Dalassenus then ordered them to sail along the coasts to the western part of the island and when they reached Bolissus, to await his coming there; now Bolissus is a small town standing on the headland of the island. ...For towards morning Tzachas went secretly to the shore of Chios, and, as there was a favourable wind, he sailed for Smyrna in order to collect more troops and then return to Chios. ...But Dalassenus proved a match for Tzachas' devices. For he embarked with his troops in the ships that were at hand, and went to Bolissus; there he refitted the ships, prepared more siege-engines, gave his soldiers a rest and collected some more and then returned to the place whence he had started...*⁸¹

The next document is of prime importance, and dates to the mid fourteenth century. It is the treaty of concession of Chios to the Genoese, signed between the Genoese admiral Simone Vignoso on behalf of the *Superba* Genoa, and the Chiot nobility, and dates to 12 September 1346. Volissos is mentioned specifically as a very important stronghold 'to be conceded to the Genoese' along with the forts at Cardamyla and Pityos.

*...et totam alliam Insulam predictam videlicet omnes partes et contractas Mastici et Cardamile Volisso lo Pitio cum omnibus suis pertinentiis sibi subjugasset iamdiu et de tota insula utilitatibus et introytibus...*⁸²

⁷⁸ “Βολισσός πόλις αιολική ἐπ’ ἄκρου, Χίου πλησίον. Θουκυδίδης Βολίσκον καλεῖ ἐν ὀγδόῃ... καί φασιν, ὅτι Ὅμηρος ἐν τούτῳ τῷ πολισμάτι τὰς διατριβὰς ἐποιεῖτο, ὡς Ἐφορος. ...Τό ἐθνικόν τῆ τέχνη Βολίσσιος, ὡς Λυρνήσιος, Βολισσεύς, ὡς Αλικαρνασσεύς, καί Βολισσίτης, ὡς Ὀδησσίτης. χρηστέον δέ τῷ προτέρῳ διά τό σύνηθες” Stephani Byzantii, *Ἐθνικῶν*, quae supersunt. Leipzig, 1839. The story about Homer mentioned by H. Giustiniani goes back to the sixth century AD.

⁷⁹ Zonaras 1891-97, III, 736-737.

⁸⁰ “Ὁ μέντοι Δαλασσηνός παραπελευκέναι τὰς περὶ τό δυτικώτερον μέρος ἀκτὰς τῆς νήσου καί τήν Βολισσόν καταλαβεῖν περεκελεύσατο καί τήν αὐτοῦ ἀπεκδέχεσθαι ἔλευσιν. Ἡ δέ Βολισσός πολίχνιον κατὰ τό ἀκρωτήριον ταυτησί τῆς νήσου διακεῖμενον... Ἄλλ’ οὐδ’ ὁ Δαλασσηνός δευτερος πρός τὰς τοῦ Τζαχᾶ μηχανάς ἐφαίνετο. Εἰσελθόν γάρ ἐν τοῖς παρατυχοῦσι πλοίοις μετὰ τῶν ὑπ’ αὐτόν τήν Βολισσόν κατέλαβε. Καί τὰς τε ναῦς περιποιησάμενος καί ἐλεπόλεις ἐτέρας παρασκευασάμενος τούς τε στρατιώτας διαναπαύσας καί πλείονας τούτων συμπαραλαβόν αὐθις ὅθεν ἐξῆι ἐπανέστρεψε”.

Anna Comnena, *Alexiad*, VII, p. 113, 116 (ed. B.Leib, vol. 2).

⁸¹ Elizabeth A.S. Dawes (tr.), *Alexiad*, London 1967.

⁸² *Codex Berianus Chiensis* in Argenti, *Occupation*, II, pp. 28-32, specifically p. 29.

(...and it is provisioned that every single area of the entire island, namely the mastic-producing region and Cardamyla, Volissos and Pitio with all their territories will be submitted [to them, i.e. the Genoese] and they will exercise lordship over the whole island...).

Leo the Deacon and Zonaras mention that in the tenth-century the renowned Byzantine officer Bardas Phocas was exiled by Tzimiskes at Volissos, followed later by his family.⁸³ In the sixteenth century, Hieronimo Giustiniano reproduces this information adding that:

In ditto luogo habitanno gli ultimi signori di Scio, o governatori del jmperatore orientale, prima che la Jsola cadesse ne'mani di Giustiniani. Eravanno elleno della illustre famiglia di Phoca. Sono ancora di questa habitanti in esso luogo, vivendo hora a modo di contadini...

A que' tempi alcuni della stirpe di Phocà da governatori si fecero tirani, della qual famiglia hora si trovano pochi et stanno nella città di Volissò ...vivendo come paesani.⁸⁴

(This region is allegedly the habitation place of the last lords of Chios when they were under the Emperor of New Rome, before the island had fallen in the hands of the Giustiniani. They were Greeks, from the illustrious family of Phocas. Even in our days the descendants inhabit the same area, living, however, as peasants).

According to Zolotas' investigation, the site had a diachronic occupation since antiquity. The classical settlement of the early fifth century B.C. appears to have been built in proximity to the coast.⁸⁵ In the middle ages, we do not know precisely when, but very possibly during the turbulent period of the seventh century, during the Avaro-Slav and Arab raids in the Aegean, the town seems to have retreated to the hinterland. The modern village lies on the spot of the medieval settlement.

Description of the Castle

The castle of Volissos is built on an advantageous spot with the multiple task to command the hinterland, to watch the land routes, to garrison and protect the fertile plain, and, finally, to control the west coast. It rests directly on the natural bedrock and measures roughly 65x70m. Although it is a substantial structure, it has been almost completely ignored by scholarly research. And even though it suffered depredations in the course of the ages, nevertheless it still survives. Its state of

⁸³ Leo the Deacon, 113-114. Zonaras, Lib. XVII, 96.

⁸⁴ Hieronymo, pp. 87, 252.

⁸⁵ Zolotas, A1, pp. 304-305. Judging from the surface finds Zolotas conjectured that the classical settlement occupied the area around the coastal sites *Hori, Managros, and Magemena*. During his days, namely during the late nineteenth century, the landscape was almost untouched and many ancient traces were visible.

preservation is poor.⁸⁶ The layout is pentagonal with the apex pointing towards the west and the sea. It is formed by seven externally projecting round towers.⁸⁷ The plan of one of them is horse-shoe. The towers are connected with a curtain wall. The walls are nowhere preserved to their full height, due to dilapidation of the building material in the course of the Ottoman period. Nevertheless, they stand in places to *ca.* eight to nine metres. The north side is completely ruined and only its imprint and the lower part of the north tower survive on the ground. A *proteichisma* runs around the circuit as an extra barrier.⁸⁸ Despite its poor preservation and the heavy vegetation, the outline is visible and in parts it stands to *ca.* 1m in height.⁸⁹ The castle has only one entrance gate situated to the east. It is a simple, narrow, rectangular opening, 3m in height, and 1.20m wide, which penetrates the curtain wall reflecting its utilitarian character.⁹⁰ The gate was protected by the south-east tower of the precinct wall.

Masonry

The castle is built of local schist, which is cut easily into squared pieces. Towers and walls display the same style of construction. The facing employs regularly coursed flat fieldstones, and a mortared rubble core all carefully fitted together.⁹¹ Small stones fill the interstices and broken brick is inserted as well, but unevenly. In places, there is a sporadic use of pieces of brick, whereas it is more regular in others. Regular application of broken brick is found on the east wall and on the west wall between the W and NW towers. Then, on the NW, SW, W, and NE towers. Other parts of the castle contain a much reduced quantity. On the eastern wall, whose surviving part is in a rather good state of preservation, a tendency to the formation of a rough and desultory type of a pseudo-cloisonné technique appears. The western wall survives nearly in all its length and along with the Northwest and West towers shows a regular use of brick, as well. The effect is more obvious in the Northwest

⁸⁶ A. Smith, *op.cit.*, pl. 220, fig. 1, pl. 222, fig. 4. The stones of the castle have been used as building material by the villagers until the early twentieth century.

⁸⁷ It is striking that all scholarly descriptions of the castle refer to six towers, whereas they are seven. The seventh tower here is named 'North tower'. See below, section 'Towers' no 6.

⁸⁸ Spagnesi writes of a "diatichisma", *Chios Medievale*, (2008), p.39, and n. 38, also p. 42.

⁸⁹ According to Dunn, *MacMillan Dictionary of Art*, (1996), vol. 9, p. 555, the *proteichisma* was reintroduced in the military architecture between the ninth and eleventh centuries.

⁹⁰ Dunn, *op.cit.*, p. 553.

⁹¹ Foss and Winfield, *Byzantine Fortifications*, (1986), p. 18. White lime mortar applied in the lower courses, is a restoration work by the Ephorate of Antiquities.

tower. The south wall does not contain brick, nor do the SE and S towers. Occasional brick is found on the west tower, and the part of the western wall between the SW and W towers. There are no clues for the North tower and its circuit wall on either side.

Rectangular and round holes appear regularly in the masonry in both the inner and outer facings of walls and towers alike indicating the existence of wooden beams. These beam-slots were obviously the timber frame for reinforcing the masonry and are known as cribwork, according to Foss and Winfield.⁹² Masonry from cribwork and mortared rubble equals to type 4c, according to the classification of Foss and Winfield.⁹³ In this castle, the horizontal rows suggest horizontal cribwork.⁹⁴ Overall, the effect is an aesthetic masonry.

Towers

The average surviving height of all the towers is six to seven metres.

1. East tower (**E**) : The east tower flanks the entrance-gate. The surviving part of its shaft is solid (which might be merely earth filling). The part of the east wall connected to it has collapsed. Random tiles appear in its masonry here and there. They form the impression of ‘patches’ as if there was a lack of field stones to fill the gaps in the interstices. Horizontal and square holes externally point to the cribwork.

2. South tower (**S**): This tower shows as the apex of the pentagon in bird’s eye view. The lower part of its shaft (platform) is solid, whereas the surviving upper half is hollow (concave). No sign of brick exists in the interstices of the facing. Square holes for the beams appear in the external face of its masonry.

3. Southwest tower (**SW**): this tower survives at an impressive height. It appears to have a solid core along its entire surviving height (platform?), which might well be earth-filling. There is enough use of broken brick in the interstices, particularly in the upper half. It has two square embrasures in its upper part situated on the same axis adjacent to the curtain. Regular circular holes from the cribwork appear in horizontal

⁹² Foss-Winfield, pp. 18, 28, 240, figs 91-94. Smith, *op.cit.*, p. 117.

⁹³ Foss-Winfield, p.18.

⁹⁴ *Ibid*, p. 20, fig. 73.

rows in the masonry. Of all seven, only this tower reveals a salient feature in its section: its shaft narrows towards the upper superstructure whereas the lower part is slanting forming a double scarp defined by a string-course immediately above the base and another one higher. A string-course runs also along this same part of the west wall, which adjoins the SW tower. This feature is similar to the surviving coastal signal forts, which are definitely Genoese works.⁹⁵ The position, plan and dimensions of this tower make it suitable for being the bastion. It could have been the most important part for the defence of the fort. It protects the western land routes (passages) to the north of the island, and overlooks the plain and mainly the western coastline.

4. West tower (**W**): it lies between the NW and SW towers. Its entire surviving shaft is solid; however, a small portion of its concave upper part survives to an average of 1m. There appears to be a hasty application of tile pieces or bricks in the interstices, but sparser and shows to become more regular in the upper part. Its connected curtain wall shows regular use of brick. Round holes for cribwork are visible in the external facing of the masonry.

5. Northwest (**NW**) tower: This tower is the most enigmatic; it looks free-standing when seen from afar as the adjoining wall at its either side has collapsed. It survives to a height of ten metres. Its diameter is nearly six metres. The masonry employs the same, regular desultory application of brick fragments in the interstices in a greater percentage compared to the other towers. The holes from the cribwork are visible in horizontal rows. The narrow embrasures survive and it seems to have had at least two big apsidal windows, one in the middle and another one in the upper storey. It is the most impressive and interesting of all, since one can study better its structure. From what I can judge from the remains, this tower appears to have been three-storied. There are signs which allow one to judge that the roofs of the inner chambers must have been vaulted.

6. North tower (**N**): The north (middle) tower survives at a very low height, *ca.* 0,50 m or less above the ground, and is barely visible at first sight. This has been the

⁹⁵ *Cf.* section 2.3.

reason why it was overlooked in past scholarly descriptions.⁹⁶ Consequently, it was supposed that the castle was formed of six towers. It is solid in its surviving part. Its diameter is 6.50m. Its adjoining part of the north wall survives in a very poor condition. Rather an imprint of it is visible than the actual wall.

7. Northeast tower (**NE**): it has a perfect cylindrical form and survives at an imposing height, which reaches the 5.90m. It is solid or filled with earth deposit to its entire surviving height. It employs sporadic use of broken brick. Rectangular holes from the cribwork appear externally.

The examination of the towers in conjunction with the lack of research and their current state of preservation handicaps the possibility of approximate deciphering of their architectural form. What appears is that the lower part of their shafts must have been solid, whereas the superstructure must have contained one or two chambers or a wall-walk.

We have no indications for their roofing, either. Only the NW tower gives some hints of the roofing and this was apparently a vault, but whether cross-vault or barrel-vault, I am not in a position to say. A barrel-vault would have been the most likely solution, given the surviving examples we have from other sites.⁹⁷

The towers appear to have only one type of embrasure: the small rectangular opening with stone lintels of a single block.⁹⁸ Again, the NW tower stands out as it appears to have had a loophole.

The entrance - gate is situated to the east. It is a simple opening in the wall. Above the lintel there is a shallow arch made of small voussoirs. The small relieving drum between the arch and the lintel is filled with narrow stones and broken brick. Inside the wall, a barrel vault pierces the curtain wall. The surviving thickness of the opening is 1.13 m. below, and *ca.* 0.80 m. above. The gate is filled completely by the debris, which was brought about when the keep collapsed.

A rectangular keep was situated in the north-east corner of the castle, and stood immediately against the east precinct wall. Its imprint is still visible from bird's eye view. Today only its east wall survives, part of which lies on the ground. When

⁹⁶ Sketch in Smith, *op.cit.*, pl. 222, fig. 4.

⁹⁷ See the entries in the same section, below.

⁹⁸ Foss-Winfield, p. 18.

the keep collapsed, its debris blocked the entrance-gate. The keep was similar to the central defensive towers built in the fortified villages (for example, Siderounda, Pyrama, *Ta Markou*).⁹⁹ Its placement against the entrance was deliberate, so that its walls could reinforce the strength of the east precinct and the gate. So, in case of an enemy assault that part would be the stronghold, that could prevent a potential siege of the castle.

Buildings within the walls

What we see today inside the castle is debris and earth deposits. Testimonies of the nineteenth and early twentieth century scholars mention distinguishable buildings inside the circuit, such as a church, a rock-cut cistern, houses, and auxiliary buildings, according to A. Karavas, Zolotas, and others.¹⁰⁰ Karavas gives no detailed description of any of these constructions. The above remarks should be treated with scepticism. We do not know what the exact function of the castle was; whether, for example, it housed a governor, or a garrison with its officials along with a civilian population; or, if simply civilian population could find refuge there in times of danger. The ‘church’ could well indicate the presence of ecclesiastical officials, or a later use of the area. Could the word ‘houses’ better be interpreted as ‘quarters’ for some garrison until a future investigation provides more information?

A tempting and interesting approach is offered by P. Spagnesi, who interprets it as a fortified military camp for assembling troops and moving against the enemy.¹⁰¹ Spagnesi supports this view by comparing the relatively small size of the castle at Volissos with a design of a Middle Byzantine military camp site depicted on a copy of a tenth-century manuscript, now in the Vatican collection of Greek archives.¹⁰² The manuscript proper is dated probably between 991 and 995 and its copy around 1020 and depicts the plan of a military camp of the end of the tenth or the dawn of the eleventh century. The sketch of the manuscript offers an eloquent testimony on the

⁹⁹ Smith, *op.cit.*, p. 118.

¹⁰⁰ Zolotas, *op.cit.* K. Sgouros, *History of Chios* (in Greek), Athens, 1937. A. Karavas, *Topography of Chios island* (in Greek), Chios 1866. Ch. Alimonakis, *Chios island in antiquity* (in Greek), Erlangen 1882. We must bear in mind that during the nineteenth century the picture of the castle and its surroundings must have been clearer than today. Karavas, *op.cit.*, pp. 38-9: “...*The castle was built by the Genoese...Inside the castle there are many houses with cisterns and a church...*”. Zolotas, A1, p. 468, 627.

¹⁰¹ P. Spagnesi, *op.cit.*, pp. 41-2, fig. 54.

¹⁰² The number of the MS in Spagnesi, n. 53, on p. 41, and n. 54 on p. 42.

internal division of the delimited space of a rectangular military camp. According to Spagnesi, these sketches are of great help in respect to the argumentation on the discourse on the Byzantine village and its countryside.

Today, on the west slope of the hill which overlooks the coast, there are two isolated shrines of unknown date and a funerary chapel. A little more westwards three cylindrical structures – windmills, which went out of use – stand on three hilltops. All are built on the same axis. The ancient living quarter of the settlement extending to the foothills and the slope of one of these hills is named ‘Pyrgos’, that is, tower. The *Pyrgos* is considered the most ancient nucleus of the whole settlement. It is obvious that the windmills were initially the signal forts of the inland chain of watch-towers, after which the quarter was named.¹⁰³

At this point, an interesting information comes to assist the research. Hieronymo Giustiniano (1586) gives valuable topographical indications as to the boundaries of the fortified town, writing that “...the eminent castle was constructed by the Genoese to fortify the area and to offer shelter and defence to the neighbouring settlements; as it descended down towards the coast...”.¹⁰⁴ The distance between the fortified hill and the coast of Volissos is no more than three kms. Let us examine if there are indications, which would allow us to support Giustiniano’s information on the existence of an outer wall. The town develops to the south and east of the castle, embracing the two slopes of the hill descending down to the foothills. The quarters and the greater area of the settlement still retain their Byzantine toponymics. Toponymics themselves are the leading guides, which one can take into account in order to visualise the historical - topographical plan of the castle area and the extent of the settlement. To this, we can add archaeological finds in the deserted old sectors of the settlement, such as ruins of old buildings, wells, hearths, cisterns.¹⁰⁵ Also, relevant supporting information derives from an additional source, namely, the Anonymous manuscript of Chios.¹⁰⁶ If we interrelate all the above, we can very plausibly imagine that an outer wall of the castle of Volissos must have indeed existed and could have extended down to the coast, a conjecture already expressed by Zolotas. The question arises: is it possible today to discern any traces of an outer

¹⁰³ Spagnesi, *op.cit.*, pp. 69-70. Section 2.3.

¹⁰⁴ Hieronymo, III, p. 87.

¹⁰⁵ Zolotas, A1, pp. 627-8.

¹⁰⁶ MS no 5, “Dell’Historia dell’Isola di Scio” (in Italian), Unpublished, Archives of the Korais Library of Chios.

wall? The answer is positive. Let us proceed to the description of some parts of the settlement which are of special interest. The quarter of Pythonas is considered one of the oldest quarters of the town. There, one can see a section, where indeed a wall is still preserved. The narrow vaulted/arcaded street, which runs around the circuit is still in use and still preserves its vaulted roofing. At a lower section of the same quarter, situated on the foot of the castle hill, near the *plateia* of Pythonas, one encounters what looks like a tower of the lower acropolis, nowadays largely refurbished and reused as a domicile. With all probability, the refurbishment must have taken place in the late Ottoman period, around the early nineteenth century, or earlier, when the upper castle had already gone out of use and there was no longer need to preserve the defensive walls in good condition.¹⁰⁷ I think it is beyond any doubt that this must be the circuit wall of the outer – as I call it – acropolis. The strongest indications are the toponymics in the same area: *Xyloporta* and *Sideroporta*, which mean Wooden Gate and Iron Gate, respectively. The area of *Sideroporta* still retains as the most eloquent witness the marble socket of the pivot hole of the city gate. As it is also understood, the Wooden Gate would have been the auxiliary entrance to the town, used by the population who resided *intra muros*, whereas its Iron counterpart was certainly the main entrance. We must presume the existence of a third gate, which should be sought to the east. This assumption is explained by the development of the settlement to the southwest and east of the hill.¹⁰⁸ We encounter a parallel feature in the castle of Chios town, which also had three gates: to the west it was the *Porta Maggiore*, the main entrance to the fort, until today. To the west part of the castle there was the *Upper Portello*, an auxiliary gate, today demolished by the modern road; finally, the third was the *Porta di Marina*, the opening of the sea wall, situated to the east, which opened to the harbour by means of a half stone and half wooden bridge. This bridge was a freight dock near the Customs.¹⁰⁹

According to the above indications, I am tempted to visualise the surviving castle on the summit of the hill as the inner acropolis of the settlement. Obviously the residents, which one could expect, would have been soldiers of a permanent garrison, or, equally plausibly, the military and administrative commander – a high official,

¹⁰⁷ Personal investigation, deriving from information from my grandparents. In the course of the nineteenth century, Volissos expanded greatly not only due to population increase, but also because of her significance as an administrative centre for the North. A number of public and private buildings, which were constructed by a thriving middle class, bear witness to that.

¹⁰⁸ Source: Mr Thomas Tsolakis.

¹⁰⁹ D. Monioudi-Gavala, *The Castle of Chios*. Chios, 2001.

anyway, with his garrison. If this indeed would have been the case, one would expect that the middle town, which occupied to a great extent the area of the modern town, would have been inhabited by the villagers, who were peasant-farmers (either free peasants or *paroikoi*).¹¹⁰ The plan to be found in the middle acropolis is the nucleated settlement. The outer walls of the houses formed the wall. As the indications show, one could expect the middle acropolis to have been furnished with towers, as well. Finally, the lower town extended from the outer walls of the middle circuit to the area immediately before the plain. As it was mentioned above, there is a construction in the lower town, which is recognised as a likely tower. Also, it has been shown that the same (outer) circuit had at least two gates, situated to the west and to the south, respectively. At the present stage, I am not in a position to say whether the lower town had also a third gate as it would be normal for a settlement of such an extent. It could also be surmised that the lower town comprised a series of isolated farms located around the plain. A good example for comparison and reinforcement of my argument is offered by another site in the central part. The ‘upper – middle – lower’ town plan is precisely the plan on Anavatos, a fortified settlement built on a spur, situated in central Chios. Zolotas writes that when the quarters of modern Volissos, that is, *Kastron, Pyrgos, Pythonas, and Hori (modern: Christos)*, were founded, they were distinct agglomerations. In the course of the ages they were expanded and, eventually, united into one settlement. This is reflected in the fact that each quarter has its own *enoria*, parish church.¹¹¹ Therefore, I would attribute the “churches, cisterns and other buildings into the castle”, observed by Karavas and Zolotas, to the area of the middle acropolis.¹¹² Apparently, in the nineteenth century the layout of the castle and the fortified settlement would have been nearly intact. Some areas of the ancient quarters would have started to be abandoned already from 1822 – as we know it was indeed the case in many parts of Chios on account of the massacres by the Turks.¹¹³ Numerous other Byzantine cities bore this plan, for example Thessalonica,

¹¹⁰ The social stratigraphy and the problem of the free peasant and the *paroikoi* are examined in chapter 3.

¹¹¹ Zolotas, *op.cit.*, p. 629.

¹¹² Zolotas, *op.cit.*, *passim.*, mentions that ‘excavations for erection of new houses reveal wells, cisterns, oil presses, and other’.

¹¹³ Especially Chios town, the suburbs of Kambos, Anavatos, and, on Amani, the settlements Ta Markou and Kythonida are documented to have been completely abandoned by its inhabitants in 1822.

Trebizond, Mouchli in Arcadia, Peloponnese¹¹⁴, or Lindos in Rhodes, to mention some well known examples.¹¹⁵

Dating

When exactly the castle was built is not known. The sources are silent. Hieronymo Giustiniano states that the castle was built by the Genoese.¹¹⁶ Of all the nineteenth century scholars, only A. Karavas follows this view. But the sources speak for themselves rendering this view weak: the reference of Anna Komnene is a *terminus ante quem* for the castle. The value of this passage is paramount as not only does it testify the existence of a fortified town to the west part of the island; it also reveals the importance of this town for the northwest region and for the island as a whole. The passage describes Dalassenus' plans and specifically emphasises his decision to stay in Volissos to repair and reorganize his fleet. This sojourn and its reasoning presuppose a powerful castle and a very good harbour, capable even for the upkeep of a war fleet. The bay of Volissos has many natural anchorages. I would visualise its harbour as the second most important on the island, after the port of Chios town, with the dual role to patrol the naval traffic of the Aegean waters and to protect smaller naval forces. But when was the town erected?

At this point Spagnesi's investigation contributes greatly to the problem. In his discussion he makes an interesting point. Taking into consideration the information from the primary sources, on the one hand, and mainly the historical events of the Arab attacks against the Aegean islands under Muawiah (reg. 661-680) and, on the other hand, the archaeological record from the seventh-century fort at Emporio, in the south, he reasonably argues in favour of an early date for the castle. Further, he compares the architecture and masonry style of Volissos with the castle of Aghios Markos, on Mount Provatàs, west of Chios harbour-town, whose first phase is Early Byzantine.¹¹⁷ Aghios Markos, having been built on a steep rocky outcrop

¹¹⁴ See N. Moutsopoulos, 'Βυζαντινά σπίτια στο Μουχλί της Αρκαδίας', *Byz* 13 (1985), 321-353.

¹¹⁵ In accordance to Foss - Winfield, *op.cit.*, p. 35, 'In the Byzantine period the citadel becomes a permanent feature of fortifications whether they be small castles or large towns'.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.* Also, Karavas, *Τοπογραφία*, pp. 38-9. Smith, *op.cit.*, p. 117.

¹¹⁷ Spagnesi, pers.comm. & *op.cit.*, pp. 36-41, fig. 29, 83. Zolotas, *op.cit.*, p. 463.

protected the main port, but also overlooked the entire area of the Chios straits.¹¹⁸ Apart from the same style of masonry, both castles have other characteristics in common. First of all, their strategic position makes them imposing as they command a substantial area of land and sea; here, the passage from the Strait and the Erythraean peninsula, there, the west coast of the island and the open sea. Moreover, in respect to their architecture, they have (i) the same type of entrance gate, namely an opening, which penetrates the width of the wall, (ii) the double enceinte, and, (iii) naturally, both have structures for the garrison. Similar attributes can be found in the Early Byzantine castle of Kyrenia, in Cyprus, which was built on the site of the ancient acropolis.¹¹⁹ Megaw claims that the central precinct wall at Kyrenia possibly represents the initial, seventh century phase of the fortifications.¹²⁰ Around the time of Basil I (867-886) these fortifications were massively reinforced. The purpose was to confront effectively the Arab menace.¹²¹ Two circular towers have survived from that period and were later incorporated in the Frankish rebuilding. Volissos has also circular towers. In the castle of Chios town we could find a parallel: it is the southwest tower built with field stones with lime mortar, mortared rubble in the core, and broken brick. Kyrenia, like Volissos, possesses also a massive *proteichisma*, with three towers, assignable to the ninth century reinforcement, as well. On Chios, the external wall of Aghios Markos possesses towers. The *proteichisma* at Volissos, however, due to its state of preservation, its thickness and smaller scale, is unlikely to have ever had towers. It would rather give the impression of imitating the plan of the castle of Chios town, with the *proteichisma* and the moat.¹²² The distance between the two walls at Volissos is roughly five - six metres.

On Chios again, a *proteichisma* runs also around the fortress at Emporio, which shares another common characteristic with Volissos, that is, the main tower keep built against the inner face of the main defence wall. These two characteristics are found also in the fort at Sadovsko Kale in Bulgaria, according to the observations

¹¹⁸ Aghios Markos is depicted in engravings which show the city of Chios, see, for example, G. Braun & F. Hohenberg, Köln, 1573, in Argenti Collection, 'Korais' Public Library of Chios. Also, a copper engraving of G. Boutats, 1600, Argenti Collection.

¹¹⁹ Spagnesi, *op.cit.*, p. 39. A. Megaw, "Le fortificazioni bizantine a Cipro" in: *XXXII Corso di Cultura sull'Arte Ravennate e Bizantina*, (1985), p. 210ff.

¹²⁰ Megaw, *op.cit.*, p. 214.

¹²¹ Megaw, *op.cit.*, 210-214.

¹²² Monioudi-Gavala, *The Castle of Chios*, pp. 43ff. Smith, *op.cit.*, p. 115.

of the excavators of Emporio.¹²³ Based on these comparisons, Spagnesi proposes for Volissos a date around the ninth century AD, during the reign of Basil I.

We also possess direct information from the Genoese sources about repair works made by the Genoese in the sixteenth century.¹²⁴ Furthermore, there are other, indirect testimonies, from which we can deduce the existence of the castle. The testimony of Leo Diaconus for the place of exile of Bardas Phocas¹²⁵; the chrysobull of Nicephorus Botaneiates (1079)¹²⁶; the treaty of concession of Chios to the Genoese (1346), and the chrysobull of John Palaeologus granted to the Genoese members of the Maona (7th June 1355), where it is clearly stated that Chios is awarded to the Genoese and the Byzantine Greeks must concede to them all its forts and the territory¹²⁷:

*“My regality, ...grants and awards them [the Genoese] the present chrysobull and decree, whereby it concedes, assigns, confirms, and bestows to the aforesaid noblemen the same island of Chios with the city therein and all the forts and pastures and territory, to the intent namely that they may hold it peaceably in hereditary succession...”*¹²⁸

It would be unreasonable to believe that the Byzantines would have left such an important strategic point and an entire territory unprotected and exposed to threats for so many centuries.

Currently, the lack of archaeological research renders it difficult to distinguish diachronic reconstruction phases, improvements and additions to the castle. The complete absence of the use of spolia and epigraphic finds renders the task even harder, not least the scarcity of historical sources. If we follow the classification of Foss and Winfield, and try to assign a date to the castle according to its masonry, we shall see that different features are displayed, which represent diverse periods. Therefore, one must take into account the historical record: the turbulent political conditions during the centenary from 1204 until 1304, that is, from the Fourth

¹²³ Ballance et al., *Byzantine Emporio*, p. 5,51.

¹²⁴ Argenti, *op.cit.*, passim, A. della Rovere, *Documenti della Maona de Chio (XIV-XVI secc)*, Genova 1979, *passim*.

¹²⁵ Leo the Deacon, 126.

¹²⁶ Miklosič-Müller, *Acta et Diplomata*, IV, p. 10.

¹²⁷ *The Occupation*, II, pp. 173-5.

¹²⁸ Translation in *Ibid.*, pp. 175-6. «...Ἡ βασιλεία μου...ἐπιχορηγῆ καὶ ἐπιβραβεύη αὐτοῖς δι’ οὗ καὶ εὐδοκεῖ καὶ προστασσεῖ καὶ διορίζεται καὶ εὐεργετῆ τοὺς διλοθέντας (sic) εὐγενῆς (sic) ἀνδρας τῆν τοιαύτην νίσσων (sic) τῆν χίον μετὰ τῆς ἐν αὐτῇ πόλεος (sic) καὶ τῶν κάστρων πάντων καὶ πάσης τῆς νομῆς καὶ περιοχῆς αὐτῆς ἵνα διλονότι(sic) ἔχοσιν (sic) αὐτὴν ἀδιασῆστος (sic) καὶ κατὰ λῶγον (sic) γονηκότητος (sic) ...».

Crusade until the first Genoese occupation of Chios under the dynasty of Zaccaria (1304-1329). This period created a situation, during which the defensive infrastructure throughout the island would have been invested with special attention. It is a reasonable assumption. Therefore, apart from the foundation of the castle, for which we know nothing and only assumptions can be made, I would surmise that roughly three major repair phases would have been carried out: a Byzantine repair phase, in the period prior to 1204 - presumably between the twelfth and thirteenth centuries; one in the second half of the fifteenth century, and a third one in the sixteenth century. For the last two phases documentation from the Genoese archives is immense. The thirteenth century and particularly the period of the Latin conquest 1204-1261 poses other problems, since neither for this period are we well informed. During that period the theme continued to be the main unit of provincial administration.¹²⁹ The chrysobull of Alexius III Angelos for the Venetians (1198) and the *Partitio Terrarum Imperii Romaniae* are the two documents which help the scholar to comprehend the provinces of the Byzantine Empire during the very end of the twelfth and the eve of the thirteenth century.¹³⁰ In the second document, the *Partitio*, the administrative division, which concern us here, mentions:

‘Provintia Neokastri. Provintia Milasi et Melanudi. Provintia Laodikie et Meandri, cum pertinentia Sampson et Samakii, cum Constostephanatis, cum Camizatis et ceteris atque Chio’. (‘thema of Laodikeia and of the Meander, along with the *episkepsis* Sampson (ancient Priene) and ‘Samachion’, with the Kondostephanata, the Kamytzata¹³¹ and with Chios).

According to the commentators of the above document, Chios is comprised in the administrative division of the area east of the Meander and is conceded to the Latin emperor (Maps VI-VII).¹³² Along with the island, other regions are included in the same province of Laodikeia and the Meander, that is, the *episkepsis* Contostephanata and the Camytzata, obviously aristocratic estates belonging to renowned Byzantine

¹²⁹ During the twelfth century the north-western corner of Asia Minor formed the merged theme of Opsikion and Aigaion, to which Chios and other islands belonged. M. Angold, *A Byzantine Government in Exile*, Oxford, 1975, pp. 243-5. Tafel – Thomas, *Urkunden zur älteren Handels*, I. Vienna, 1856-1857, p. 270. Akropolites, *The History*, (R. Macrides ed.), §7, 119-123.

¹³⁰ Zakythenos, *Meletai*, 17, pp. 209ff. *Meletai* 25, pp. 127ff. Tafel – Thomas, *Urkunden*, pp. 246-278, 475-501, particularly pp. 479-80, and n. 10, 11, 12. Antonio Carile, ‘Partitio Terrarum Imperii Romaniae’, *Studi Veneziani* 7 (1965), p. 160.

¹³¹ Zakythenos, *Meletai*, 25, p. 143. For the *episkepsis* see Angold, *Exile*, p. 244.

¹³² J.K. Fotheringham, *Marco Sanudo*, Oxford 1915, p. 36. Zakythenos, *Meletai* 25, pp. 142-49. Carile, *op.cit.*, p. 247. G. Saint-Guillain, ‘Les conquerants de l’Archipel. L’empire Latin de Constantinople, Venise et Les Premiers Seigneurs des Cyclades’, in: G.Ortali, G.Ravegnani, P. Schreiner (eds), *Quarta Crociata, Venezia-Bisanzio-Impero Latino*, Venice 2006, 125-237.

lineages, as the toponyms declare.¹³³ In 1225 Chios and other islands of the Aegean were recovered by John III Doucas Vatatzes.¹³⁴

Reconstructions to the forts were certainly undertaken during the long, second Genoese occupation (1346-1566). The historical circumstances of the increasing power of the Turks after the fall of Constantinople in 1453, in conjunction with the weakness of the Giustiniani to raise money to pay the Ottomans their annual tribute, required constant upkeep for the defensive works, so that they would be ready to serve successfully the purpose of their construction.¹³⁵ Volissos was the heart of the northwest region, seat of the *capitanea*, consequently special attention was paid to her infrastructure. We can assume that at least two major reconstruction phases would have taken place during the Genoese period (1346-1566): a first in the mid-fifteenth century, around or after the fall of Constantinople, when the Turks increasingly threatened Chios. The cry for military and financial assistance in the correspondence between the Giustiniani and the Superba bears witness to that.¹³⁶ A second phase would have surely occurred in the early sixteenth century, when the great building activity of that period, on account of the Turkish menace, not only is attested, but also very well documented.¹³⁷ Now the question arises about the Byzantine construction phases.

The kind of masonry of the Volissos castle is non diagnostic, composed of small, uncut field stones with pieces of brick in the interstices and lacks decoration.¹³⁸ The core is rubble with lime mortar bonding. The surviving remains indicate with absolute certainty that no spoils were included in the construction. No specimen is recorded by Zolotas or other nineteenth century scholars.¹³⁹ This is very natural for

¹³³ Carile, *op.cit.*, p. 246-7.

¹³⁴ Gregoras, vol. I, Lib. II, pp. 28-29.

¹³⁵ Zolotas, A1, p. 432. Argenti, *Chios Vincta*, Introduction.

¹³⁶ L. Balletto, 'Tra Genova e Chio nel tempo di Cristoforo Colombo' in: D. Coulon et al (eds), *Chemins d'Outre-Mer*, I, Paris 2004, pp. 59-60.

¹³⁷ E.Basso, 'L'occhio dritto della città nostra de Zenoa': *Il problema della difesa di Chio negli ultimi anni del dominio Genovese* paper presented in the Congress "Le armi del sovrano: armate e flotte nel mondo tra Lepanto e la Rivoluzione francese, 1571-1789", Rome 5-9 March 2001, <http://www.assostoria.it/Armisovrano/Basso.pdf>. Argenti, *Occupation*, esp. vols II – III, *passim*. A. della Rovere, *passim*.

¹³⁸ This type of masonry equals to type 4c in Foss and Winfield, p. 18: "Uncut stone laid in roughly regular courses with the flat face of the stones outwards, evened up with small stones and a heavy surface rendering of lime. Reinforcing at regular vertical intervals with stringers and tie beams in a pattern which resembles on plan a railway line with sleepers as headers and the lines as stringers. The stringers are wooden beams that are laid horizontally within the wall and parallel to the wall surfaces. Tie beams are those that are laid horizontally within the wall but at right angles to the stringers and to the wall surfaces: cribwork".

¹³⁹ Zolotas, A1, p. 628.

an inland site, which was occupied for the first time during the Middle Ages. Furthermore, the surviving historical record does not provide any information on inscriptions in the area of the castle. To discern different chronological phases, therefore, a decisive indicator could be the broken brick inclusions. As its use varies in the different parts of the masonry, it allows us to recognise potential reconstruction phases or simply strengthening. The use of timber bonding in the mortared rubble antedates masonry of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries AD.¹⁴⁰ According to Foss and Winfield, this type of masonry is placed chronologically between AD 600 and 1100.¹⁴¹ Then, they observe that in Ionia and Caria, plain rubble walls were common, with much broken brick in the facing and fragments of brick in the joints. Both groups have small round beam holes and cribwork. The most striking common feature of the forts in these areas is their very small scale, which reflects the limited needs and resources of local defence.¹⁴² The scarp with the string-course feature in the facing of the SW tower and its adjoining wall is eloquent testimony of a late Genoese repair, improvement or reconstruction. Parallel features are found in the castle of Chios town, which is better studied and for whose repair and reconstruction phases we are better informed.¹⁴³

If we interconnect historical texts with the masonry style, it would allow us to narrow the span proposed by Foss and Winfield and suggest an approximate date between, *ca.* AD 600 and 900 for the initial phase of the fortress, which seems reasonable. It is plausible to assume that in the seventh century intense building activity must have taken place in Chios in the face of the disastrous Arab attacks, of which the island greatly suffered. One of the blows of the late seventh century inflicted Chios harbour-town proper and it was destructive. Lately, chance finds and recent archaeological data from Chios town and the area of its castle bear witness to that.¹⁴⁴

In many respects the castle presents resemblances with other castles, later in date. A close resemblance to Volissos' masonry style could be found in the castle at

¹⁴⁰ Foss-Winfield, p. 28.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 18-19.

¹⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 154.

¹⁴³ Monioudi-Gavala, *op.cit.*

¹⁴⁴ Spagnesi, *op.cit.*, p. 35ff. Rescue excavations in the castle of Chios by the local Ephorate of Antiquities. O. Vassi, 'Απόκρυψη Θησαυρού στη Χίο στά μέσα του 7^{ου} αι.' in: *Τό νόμισμα στά νησιά του Αργαίου* (forthcoming).

Lopadium¹⁴⁵, except that the masonry in the latter includes spoils and one regular row of bricks separating the courses of fieldstones, something which contrasts to Volissos. A characteristic in common is the use of brick fragments to fill the joints at both Lopadium and Volissos. Its gates were also simple structures as at Volissos. Lopadium, however, dates from the age of John Comnenus, 1130 AD.

Another fortress which presents resemblances with Volissos is Koloneia (Şebinkarahisar).¹⁴⁶ Its plan is similar in many respects and the masonry of rubble and mortar core with the horizontal wooden headers is characteristic. The walls and gate towers are recognised almost certainly as Byzantine.¹⁴⁷ Also, the use of *spolia* is characteristic, a feature, though, that does not occur in Volissos. In Şebihkarahisar three different construction phases have been recognised. The first phase of reconstruction is assigned to the Seljuk period, in the thirteenth century.

Spagnesi, based on historical grounds, supposes that a reconstruction of the castle in its present form could have taken place in the thirteenth century, during John III Doucas Vatatzes (1221-1254) or later.¹⁴⁸ Also, he adds, there are similarities between the circular towers of Volissos and those of Agios Ioannis Argenti, in Old Katarraktis, a medieval settlement with diachronic occupation, situated in south-east Chios.¹⁴⁹ A. Dunn describes the features of the military architecture of the first half of the twelfth century, which include “circular corner towers or bastions, as at Kotyaion and horseshoe-shaped catapult platforms, about sixty of which were also built at Kotyaion to replace its towers of the seventh to the ninth century”.¹⁵⁰ He adds that the great building activity in western Asia Minor during that period is explained by the growing Turkish threat. The fortresses of that period have single circuits and large horseshoe-shaped, circular and semicircular towers, with brick-vaulted embrasured chambers on one or two levels. These features are identifiable in Volissos, especially the circular and horse-shoe towers and the embrasured chambers. At least one tower is of a horse-shoe shape (SW), and, at the present

¹⁴⁵ Foss-Winfield, pp. 145-6.

¹⁴⁶ R.W.Edwards, ‘The Fortress of Şebinkarahisar (Koloneia)’, in: *Corso di Cultura sull’arte Ravennate e Bizantina*, XXXII, (1985), pp. 23-65, esp. 45ff. Foss-Winfield, *op.cit.*, p. 20.

¹⁴⁷ Foss-Winfield.

¹⁴⁸ Gregoras, I, pp. 28-29. Spagnesi, *op.cit.*, p. 39.

¹⁴⁹ Spagnesi, p. 40. For the settlement of Old Katarraktis see also Hunt, “An Archaeological Survey of the island of Chios”, *ABSA*, XLI (1940-1945), p. 36.

¹⁵⁰ Dunn, *Dictionary*, pp. 553-556, esp. p. 555.

state of preservation, only one tower appears to have had embrasured chambers in two levels, the NW. For these reasons, I shall follow Dunn, because the features which he describes accord with those of our castle.

Summing up, it appears that a Byzantine late eleventh – early twelfth century reconstruction phase could be assigned to the fort of Volissos. The historical record supports this conjecture: in the late eleventh century, when Chios was attacked by the pirate Tzachas, Volissos played an important role.¹⁵¹ Should this conjecture stand, then I would proceed to assign to this period those parts, which demonstrate extensive use of broken brick in the joints. Potentially, this would be counted as the second phase of the castle with the first having been its foundation. There are no indications for the N tower, as only its lowest part – practically its imprint – survives. Very interesting is the NE tower, which does not seem to bear Genoese ‘signs’. It stands to a substantial height, *ca.* 8 – 8.50 metres, is cylindrical in shape, and bears those characteristic square holes of the timber frame throughout its entire surviving height. I would not hesitate to assign a middle Byzantine date to it, to the east connecting curtain wall, and to the SE tower. I would be very tempted to assign a date earlier than the tenth century.

Last, but not least, the historical record, again, suggests that the third phase is the Genoese reconstruction of the fifteenth century and the last one that of the early sixteenth century. The SW tower and its connecting circuit with the string-course feature and the scarp can be definitely assigned to the Genoese reconstruction phase, on account of their similarity to the coastal watch-towers. Also, the entire south part is obviously a Genoese reconstruction, because no brick is included in the masonry; in addition, the two square Byzantine embrasures high up the SW tower are blocked obviously by later fillings for reinforcement of walls and towers. At least two of the three southern towers, namely the SW and the S, are assigned to this phase, as well. Another blocked square embrasure is visible high up the west curtain wall, between the W and the NW towers. This is another indication of a later improvement. The tower

¹⁵¹ Anna Komnena, *op.cit.*

keep is a likely creation of the last reconstruction period, as well.¹⁵² Finally, as the site was built *de novo* on a hill top, one should not expect any fundamental changes to the plan of the fort during its repairs and improvements.

The towers in their surviving condition appear to be solid, filled with earth. Only the NW tower, as it was already mentioned, reveals details in its interior, in which one can distinguish at least three stories. The same applies, to a small extent, to the S tower. If the shafts of the towers were deliberately solid up to nearly their entire height, then they could be compared to the coastal watch-towers, which were filled with rubble and only their upper part formed a chamber for the vigilant.¹⁵³ The embrasures were on top of the solid platform. Another explanation could be that a deliberate filling would account for a reconstruction phase. An eloquent testimony is the embrasures of the SW tower, as it was shown.

The later fate of the castle is obscure, as well. A seventeenth-century source cites the *incastellamento* of the local population, meaning that the population lived inside the castle at that time.¹⁵⁴ According to the interpretation I proposed above, a significant part of the population always lived inside the walls of the middle acropolis.

The date, when the castle fell into disuse, is also a matter of speculation, but more probably this happened sometime in the Late Ottoman period, maybe before the massacres of 1822 or immediately in the aftermath.

Finally, Volissos appears in all the travellers' maps.

1. Buondelmondi (1415).¹⁵⁵
2. Bartolomeo dalli Sonetti, *Isolario*, 1485.¹⁵⁶
3. G.F. Camocio: *Isolario*, 1571-1575.¹⁵⁷
4. F. Ferretti: map of Chios, 1580.¹⁵⁸
5. J. Castaldi, *Map of Greece*, c. 1575.¹⁵⁹

¹⁵² K. Molin, *Unknown Crusader Castles*, London, NY, 2001, p. 211.

¹⁵³ Cf. section 2.3.

¹⁵⁴ Piacenza, *L'Egeo redivivo, sia Chronografia dell'Archipelago*. Modena 1688.

¹⁵⁵ Sphyroeras et al., Map of Chios in: *Map and Mapmakers of the Aegean*, Athens 1985, map no 4, p. 41 (thereafter Map and Mapmakers). Argenti-Kyriakides, I, 11-15.

¹⁵⁶ Argenti Collection, in the 'A. Korais' Public Library of Chios. *Map and Mapmakers*, map 10a, pp. 46-47.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, map no 30, pp. 64-65.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, map no 44c, pp. 80-81.

6. G. Mercator, *Graeciae Descriptio*, 1590.¹⁶⁰
7. G. Mercator, map of Cyprus with the islands of Lemnos, Chios, Mytilene....1606.¹⁶¹
8. A. Ortelius, Map of Crete, with the islands of Mytilene, Kythera,, Chios 1584.¹⁶²
9. J. Lauremberg, map of the islands of the northern Aegean, 1638.¹⁶³
10. Van Keulen, Map of the islands of the Aegean, 1680.¹⁶⁴
11. Giacomo Cantelli da Vignola: Map of the Aegean Sea, 1685.¹⁶⁵
12. Olfert Dapper, *Description exacte des l'iles de l' Archipel (1686-1703)*.¹⁶⁶
13. Olfert Dapper, Map of the northern Aegean, 1688.¹⁶⁷
14. J. Peeters, Map of Chios, 1690.¹⁶⁸
15. P. Vander Aa: Map of the northern Aegean, 1729.¹⁶⁹
16. L.S. de la Rochette, Map of Greece, the Aegean and Asia Minor, 1791.¹⁷⁰
17. Barbié du Bocage: Map of Greece and the islands in: *Voyage du Jeune Anacharsis (1781-1788)*.¹⁷¹
18. Rigas Pherraios, Chart of Greece, Vienna, 1797.¹⁷²
19. Captain Nicolas Kefalas, Map of the Aegean, 1818.¹⁷³

Village Fortifications

The settlements that fall into the jurisdiction of Volissos were built deep in the hinterland on hilltops, steep slopes or plateaus protected by the natural relief and the woodland.¹⁷⁴ The value of the choice was appreciated since it met

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, map no 57, pp. 90-91.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, map no 65a, pp. 98-99.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*, map no 67, p. 102.

¹⁶² *Ibid.*, map no 71, p. 109.

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*, map no 78, p. 119.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, map no 87, p. 133.

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, map no 96, pp. 144-145.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, map no 114, pp. 158-159.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, map no 115, p. 160.

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, map no 117, p. 162.

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, map no 133, pp. 184-185.

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, map no 145, pp. 198-199.

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*, map no 146, pp. 200-201.

¹⁷² *Ibid.*, map no 148, pp. 204-205.

¹⁷³ *Ibid.*, map no 153, p. 213.

¹⁷⁴ On this topic see A. Dunn, 'The control and exploitation of the arboreal resources', in *Uomo e la Foresta*, pp. 479-497.

the strong need for defence and protection. The settlements surround the main town, Volissos, and developed their own defensive system, which did not comprise a curtain wall. They were nucleated so that their outer walls formed the defensive wall. There was a central square keep in each village used as the ultimate place of refuge in case of danger. In several villages the exterior walls are still discernible.¹⁷⁵

PYRAMA (fig. 6, Pl. 35)

«...μετόχιον εἰς τό Πέραμα ὁ ἅγιος Εὐστράτιος, τό ἐπιλεγόμενον Αναχωρίας, ὃ περιήλθε τῇ μονῇ ἀπό προσενέξεως τοῦ Εὐδαιμονίτζη ἐκείνου μετὰ τῆς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἀροσίμου γῆς καί νομαδιαίας καί τῶν περιελθόντων αὐτῇ χωραφίων, ὀσπητίων, ὀπωροφόρων δένδρων, γῆς τε ὑπέργου....».

Chrysobull of Michael VII Palaeologus (1259).

After leaving Volissos, and heading towards the north-west, the first village one comes across is Pyrama. The distance from Volissos is four km. Pyrama is built on a summit of a hill, 220 m above sea level. The thirteenth century chrysobull of Michael Paleologus mentions the place name 'Perama' listing some estates of Nea Moni situated in its boundaries. Several scholars who studied the source – among them Zolotas, Smith, Argenti and Koder – attribute the 'Perama' of the chrysobull to the settlement of Pyrama. If this is the case, then the chrysobull is the first historical mention of the place name and, consequently, of the settlement. However, there is an opposite view, put forward by the historian K. Sgouros. Sgouros after having studied the chrysobulls of Nea Moni, he published an article in 1911, claiming that the place 'Perama' of the chrysobull should be identified with the 'Passaggio' of the portulans (in Greek: Peraia or Perama, *Περαία - Πέραμα*), situated in the opposite littoral of Erythraea.¹⁷⁶ Ahrweiler in her study of the region of Smyrna mentions the place-name Perama or Linoperamata, a port, which she places opposite Chios and which commanded the Straits of Chios.¹⁷⁷ She also identifies the place-name 'Porto Perata'

¹⁷⁵ Smith, *op.cit.*, p. 120.

¹⁷⁶ Zolotas, A1, p. 630. Koder, *op.cit.*, 256-7. Smith, *op.cit.*, p. 111. The same view shares also Spagnesi, *op.cit.*, p. 43. K. Sgouros, 'The chrysobulls of Nea Moni' in: XX, 1911, p. 65 interprets the toponymic 'Perama' as the 'Passaggio' of the portulans, namely the Chios straits.

¹⁷⁷ H. Ahrweiler, 'L' histoire et la géographie de la région de Smyrne entre les deux occupations turques (1081-1317), particulièrement au XIIIe siècle', *TM* 1 (1965), 1-204, esp. pp.52-54, and relevant notes on p. 52.

of the portulans with the Linoperamata – Perama.¹⁷⁸ Bouras also shares this view in his study of the architecture of Nea Moni.¹⁷⁹ Ahrweiler’s arguments are persuasive; however, in the light of the testimony of the portulans, I am rather tempted by the assumption that the ‘Perama’ could be the ‘Pyrama’ spelt corruptly.¹⁸⁰

The settlement is built on a hilltop. A rectangular defensive tower is situated in the centre.¹⁸¹ The documentation on the occasion of its erection has fortunately come down to us, so we know precisely when it was commissioned and when it was constructed. The Genoese sources mention that it was built in the early sixteenth century – in 1515 in particular – during the extensive building activity undertaken by the Genoese for the protection of the island against the Turks.¹⁸² We also know the names of the commissioners and master masons, who assumed the task of the erection: the commissioners were “Battista *quondam* Tomaso and Simone *quondam* Andria”, both from the ruling family of Giustiniani. Sidero (Isidore) Politi and Sergio Frangopoulos were the two master masons.¹⁸³

Description of the tower

The tower was erected *de novo* at a place “which the commissioners found suitable”.¹⁸⁴ It was designed to have three stories, the first being the ground floor. The second and third stories were to be cross-vaulted; the first storey would have storage space for the necessities. The tower would be surmounted by a parapet with machicolations. Today the tower no longer has machicolations, for its upper floor was demolished; two storeys remain covered with barrel vaults; the outer roof is flat.¹⁸⁵ The masonry is composed of mortared rubble for both the facing and the core and contains no brick. This feature parallels the so-called ‘Genoese reconstruction phase’ at Volissos. As it was mentioned, the early sixteenth century witnessed an orgasm of reconstructions and erection of new defences in the face of the Turkish menace.

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, notes 188, 189.

¹⁷⁹ Ch. Bouras, *The Architecture of Nea Moni*. Athens 1982.

¹⁸⁰ The portulans mention the ‘*Passaggio*’, which is the narrowest point of the Chios Straits; nowadays it is spelt corruptly ‘*Passargo* and *Paspargo*’.

¹⁸¹ Smith, *op.cit.*, 111-112, pl. 225, fig. 4-6. Spagnesi, *op.cit.*, p. 50.

¹⁸² Basso, “*L’occhio drito*”. Argenti, *Occupation*, I, 562ff.

¹⁸³ Argenti, *op.cit.*, I, 562-566. Smith, *op.cit.*, p. 111.

¹⁸⁴ Smith, *op.cit.*, p. 111. Spagnesi, *op.cit.*, pp. 43, 48.

¹⁸⁵ See Smith’s design, *op.cit.* pl. 225, figs. 4-6.

The size is approximately 5x3.50 m.

Two smaller settlements in the wider area have been reported by Zolotas as forerunners of the present settlement of Pyrama: Kythonida and Keratsochori. Keratsochori or Keratsi is situated between Pyrama and Volissos and it was inhabited until the eighteenth century.¹⁸⁶ Its name derives from the carob tree, *keratsi* meaning carob. Kythonida lies three km to the SW of modern Pyrama, close to the coast and it was ruined by the Turks in 1822, during the massacres, and consequently it was abandoned.¹⁸⁷

PARPARIA¹⁸⁸ (Pls. 36-37a)

This settlement is situated NW of Volissos immediately after Pyrama. Its distance from the former is 13 km and 5 km from the latter. According to the description of Piacenza, it was a *kastelli* of Volissos.¹⁸⁹ Indeed, the holding of the present settlement is good as it has an overall command of the Aegean having being built along the hill brow 300 m above sea level. Oral tradition retains the memory of the ancestral settlement some four kilometres down the coast, to the southwest of the current location, at the site called Varvarithos/Varvathos or Agios Panteleimon, after the shrine which still exists there. The cause of the transfer of the settlement to its current location well inland is found in the demotic (vernacular) poetry, which narrates the repercussions upon the population of repetitive piratical assaults by the Saracens.¹⁹⁰

Parparia has many natural anchorages: Agios Isidoros (or Zanakounda, as the locals name it)¹⁹¹, Varvathos (Varyvathos/Varvarithos at Agia Markella), Vathya Rymi, Kaloulime(na) or Ambela, Glyphada¹⁹² which could have been easily approached by ships. Piratical incursions into people and cultivated land setting out from the inlet of Aghios Isidoros remain in oral tradition¹⁹³. Two shrines of possibly

¹⁸⁶ Zolotas, A1, p. 451.

¹⁸⁷ Section 2.5.1.

¹⁸⁸ Zolotas, A1, pp. 631-34.

¹⁸⁹ Argenti-Kyriakides, *passim*.

¹⁹⁰ Zolotas, *op.cit.*, 451-2. There is a toponym in the greater area named 'Tou Sarakinou', information derived from my grandparents.

¹⁹¹ Zolotas, *op.cit.*, 543.

¹⁹² Personal research. Also, mention in Hunt, *op.cit.*, pp. 39-40.

¹⁹³ Source: my grandparents.

medieval date dedicated to Aghios Isidoros and Aghia Myrope¹⁹⁴ and the toponymics ‘Palioklissia’ and ‘Palia Katelymata’ – meaning ‘Old or ruined houses’¹⁹⁵ – on a cliff overlooking the inlet are indicative. Of the two twin shrines the first, dedicated to Aghios Isidoros, has been completely refurbished very recently; the second, of Agia Myrope, lies past to it in ruins.

On the outskirts of the village, north of the ‘Kastron’ quarter the curtain wall, formed by the external walls of the old nucleated settlement, is still discernible. It is the only trace of the late- or post-medieval architecture of the entire settlement since demolition of the old houses and extensive building activity by pensioner immigrants has taken place during the past twenty years. The Kastron quarter still preserves its deep cistern, a rock-cut structure, which until today is the main water provider to the settlement.

The settlement was vested with special importance during the Genoese period having being built on a very strategic position. The Genoese sources inform that Parparia formed one of the twelve *castellanie*, that is, the administrative districts of the island and was headed by a *castellanus*, a military and administrative commander.¹⁹⁶

No other medieval trace remains today, but toponymy. The toponyms *Viglia* and *Kastro* are reminiscent of the settlement’s medieval layout. At *Viglia*, which literally means ‘Look-out posts’ or ‘Watch towers’, on a top of a hill stands a signal fort, which was later adapted to be reused as a wind mill. It is a cylindrical structure built of local field stones wider in the base than on the top. The masonry is of exceptional quality and the thickness of walls unusual for a building intended for domestic use. Local schist stones have been used for the construction, cut rather easily into flattish pieces. The colour ranges from ochre brown and brown to purple and crimson. Its surviving height is approximately 4.50m; the diameter is 4.40m. and the walls are nearly 0.80-0.90 metres thick and survive nearly intact. Also, the internal stone ladder from which the guard climbed up to his chamber is still well preserved.

¹⁹⁴ The shrine of Agia Myrope is completely in ruins. Its twin building of Agios Isidoros is repetitively refurbished and white-washed in the past 20 years.

¹⁹⁵ Apart from the two shrines, nothing else was recognised as indication of a hamlet or settlement in this first field reconnaissance.

¹⁹⁶ Section 2.4. *Occupation*, I, p. 393ff. Rovere, *Documenti*, pp. 121, 145, 147-9.

Parparia has its own share in the historical record; it is continuously mentioned in the travellers' accounts from Buondelmonti onwards, and recorded in the maps. The place-name is mentioned either as Perperea, Perparea, or Parparea.

1. Buondelmonti (1415).¹⁹⁷
2. Mercator (1606).¹⁹⁸
3. A. Ortelius (1584).¹⁹⁹
4. J. Lauremberg (1638).²⁰⁰
5. O. Dapper (1686/1703).²⁰¹
6. P. Van der Aa (1729).²⁰²

ANGELOS (CASTEL SANT'ANGELO, SANCTUS ANGELUS)²⁰³ (Pls 38-45)

Angelos was a fortified Byzantine settlement situated in North Chios. Its first historical mention is in the thirteenth-century chrysobull (1259) of Michael VIII Paleologus.²⁰⁴ Other sources are the accounts of the late- and post-Byzantine travellers, among whom Buondelmonti is the oldest (1415). All mention the impressive castle 'Agios Angelos', or 'Sancto Angelo' or 'Castel Sant' Angelo'.²⁰⁵ Hieronymo Giustiniani (1586) also mentions 'il forte castello Santo Angelo'.²⁰⁶

Nowadays the settlement is deserted and survives only as a toponym. The place is shrouded in mystery since nothing is known about its historical background and even its precise location is unknown. The only effort that was ever done to locate its whereabouts has been Zolotas' survey in the late nineteenth century. During his investigations, he identified its boundaries, describing that "it was a fortified settlement, occupying a vast area". From his observations, it appears that Angelos extended to a north-east axis in respect to Volissos and, probably, part of the northern boundaries of the greater area of Volissos coincided with Angelos' southern boundary

¹⁹⁷ *Map and Mapmakers*, map no 4, p. 40.

¹⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, map no 67, pp. 102-3.

¹⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, map no 71, p. 109.

²⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, map no 78, p. 119.

²⁰¹ *Ibid.*, map no 114, pp. 158-9.

²⁰² *Ibid.*, map no 133, pp. 184-5.

²⁰³ Zolotas, A1, pp. 420ff, 449, 464. K. Sgouros, *Ιστορία της νήσου Χίου*, p. 94. Koder, T.I.B. 10, p. 127. C. Gatanas, 'Στό χωρίο τ' Αγγέλου', *ΧΕ* 22, (1970), 49-50.

²⁰⁴ Miklosich – Müller, *Acta et Diplomata*, VI, p. 12.

²⁰⁵ Argenti-Kyriakides, I, p. 13 (Buondelmonti), p. 25-26 (Henricus Marcellus Germanus), p. 29 (B. Bordone), and *passim*.

²⁰⁶ Hieronymo, p. 87.

line. More specifically, he places it roughly between the settlements Diefcha and Phyta.²⁰⁷ A bird's eye-view shows that this area lies amidst the two mountains, Amani and Pelinnaion, the heart of North Chios. There, he states that “a tower of the now lost fort is still visible ...situated north of the Moundon Monastery”.²⁰⁸ Then, he ascends further north, following the torrent Melangeia (modern Malangiotis), where he claims to have traced “two gates, apparently of the precinct wall”.²⁰⁹ He adds that the torrent crossed the settlement or at least defined its western boundaries.²¹⁰ Malangiotis indeed flows from uplands. Finally, he concludes that “...to me...the location of Angelos must be sought in the site Zartoulida....”.

Now, the place-name ‘Zartoulida’ is situated in the outskirts of the village Kipouries, a small hamlet lying between Diefcha and Phyta, but in proximity to the latter. The area is seeded with isolated rural shrines, among which three attract attention: (a) Aghios Nikolaos situated to the west, past the torrent Koufos; (b) Aghios Georgios, known as the metochion of Constantinos Phytousis at ‘Zartoulida’, situated to the south, off Kipouries; (c) Aghios Georgios north of Phyta, at the site ‘Angelos’. An Aghios Georgios is mentioned in the chrysobull of Michael Palaeologus:

«...Μετόχιον ὁ ἅγιος Γεώργιος τό ἐν τῇ περιοχῇ τοῦ Ἀγγέλου διακείμενον μετὰ πάντων τῶν ἀνηκόντων αὐτῷ καί τῶν περιελθόντων αὐτῷ ἀπό δωρεῆς καί ἐξαγορασίας καί τοῦ ὑπ’αὐτοῦ μολῶνος...»²¹¹ ...*Metochion of Saint George (located) lying in the territory of Angelos with all its possessions which were donated to or acquired by it and the mill in whose possession belongs.*

I believe that one of these shrines of Aghios Georgios must be identified with the *metochion* of Aghios Georgios of the chrysobull. However, there are two most likely candidates: one is the above-mentioned metochion of Konstantios Phytousis at Zartoulida; the second is the *naydrion* of Saint George at Angelos. To the west of the shrine of Konstantios Phytousis there are ruins of a large, rectangular open (?) structure, in the middle of which there is a smaller rectangular stone building. In the three sides of the open structure smaller rooms are developed. The other *naydrion*, to the north of the modern hamlet of Phyta, is built on a small platform – currently from

²⁰⁷ Zolotas, *op.cit.*, 449.

²⁰⁸ Zolotas, *op.cit.* p. 441.

²⁰⁹ Zolotas, A2, p. 420.

²¹⁰ Zolotas, *op.cit.* pp.449-450.

²¹¹ Kanellakis, p. 569-574. Zepos, I, pp. 653-56. Zolotas, *op.cit.* p. 497.

concrete – and immediately past to it lies a more modern shrine. One of the few remaining pine forests of Chios develops in that area, however, there are signs on the soil of past agricultural activity. As it was mentioned before, Kipouries lies in the mid-distance between the hamlets Diefcha and Phyta. In all probability, Kipouries is a post-Genoese creation.²¹² No source and no travellers' maps nor any portulan mention Kipouries. Zolotas explains the provenience of the place-name from the site 'Υπορείες - Υπωρείες', which he found mentioned in the cartulary of Volissos. Consequently, the etymology of the name 'Kipouries' is simply a corrupt spelling. It can stand as a plausible explanation, given that *Υπορείες* literally means 'Greater area' and the place-name is indeed situated in the greater area of Volissos. In the course of time the hamlet was developed.

Another indication which helps the location of Angelos is toponymy itself. To the eastern boundary of Phyta one can locate the ancient communication lines between Amani and the settlements of the western slopes of Pelinnaion mountain. One of them leads from Phyta to Pityos with a W-SE direction. Immediately to its north-west it is intersected by a pass with N-S direction; this pass is called '*pass of Angelos and Amythous*'. The passing torrent east of Phyta is named '*Rema (torrent) tou Angelou, or Nero tou Angelou*' (*Angel's water*). This torrent is practically a spring and the spot where the river Malangiotis starts flowing.²¹³

Last but not least, are the names. Zolotas believed strongly in the significance of names and toponymy as historical factors. He considered them strong indicators for the reconstruction of the historical topography.²¹⁴ His study of the cartulary of the Moundon Monastery of 1776 revealed repetitive mention of the name 'Angelousis'.²¹⁵ The name is until today common in Phyta and obviously denotes origin from the specific area, as literally it means 'the inhabitant of Angelos'.²¹⁶ *Metochia* of Angelos survive in southern Chios, at Kalamoti and Katarraktis, both settlements situated on the SE coast.²¹⁷

²¹² Zolotas, *op.cit.* p. 638-9.

²¹³ Map of Chios. Terrain, Athens, ed. 2010.

²¹⁴ Zolotas, *op.cit.* p. 403ff.

²¹⁵ Cartulary of the Moundon Monastery (1776), Archives of the Public Library of Chios 'Korais', MS no 84, unpublished.

²¹⁶ Zolotas, *op.cit.* pp. 441 and n. 1, 449.

²¹⁷ Zolotas, 449.

Apart from the castle, Zolotas mentions also the “kastelli” of Angelos, which he locates in the area north of the Moundon Monastery.²¹⁸ The kastelli in this case is an outcrop with a small signal fort (watch-tower) built on its top. Could we surmise that the tower which Zolotas saw at the area of Moundon was the “kastelli tou Angelou”? Only systematic field reconnaissance will give answers.

The reference of the Byzantine chrysobull to Angelos is of great help, since it is the only argument with which we can claim the Byzantine origin of the fortified settlement. But questions arise as to the life, decline and later fate of the town: when was Angelos deserted or abandoned? What was the cause of its abandonment and desertion? When was the settlement Phyta founded? Did it co-exist with Angelos or was it created after the desertion of Angelos? Phyta definitely did not co-exist with Angelos and this is easily deduced by the fact that the keep at Phyta was erected in 1516 by the Genoese and no mention is made for the castle Sant’ Angelo.²¹⁹ Around a century earlier (1415), Buondelmonti was the first traveller to mention and describe the ‘*forte castello*’ Sant’ Angelo.²²⁰ It is certain that he visited all the places he describes therefore he is a first-hand source and a reliable witness. He travelled to the upland areas of Chios led by a local guide, describing how the natural beauty of the area stirred his interest. When he encounters the fortified town he is profoundly impressed by the size of the castle. The testimony of Henricus Martellus Germanus is of importance, as well.²²¹ He describes the high mountains of northern Chios ‘*plerosque editissimos montes, ut S. Helie, Sancti Angeli...*’ and he depicts in the accompanying map a high peak with a castle atop. In the later years, we have mentions of Sant’ Angelo in other travellers’ accounts and maps, but not all of them are first-hand testimonies. Some travellers’ or mapmakers extract information from older travellers: for example, the geographer B. Bordone, never visited the island, however in 1528 published his book in which he mentions the ‘castle of – ‘Helias’ erroneously – lays in ruins...apart from that there are other castles, *Perparcha (Parparia), ... Pino (Pityos), Cardanello (Cardamylla) et S. Angelo*’.²²² Already in

²¹⁸ Zolotas, *op.cit.*, 470.

²¹⁹ Smith, *op.cit.* p.112, Argenti, *Occupation*, I, pp. 562-566.

²²⁰ Argenti-Kyriakides, I, pp. 11-15.

²²¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 25-6, pl. 7.

²²² *Ibid.*, I, pp. 29-30.

early sixteenth century the castle of Angelos was abandoned and in ruins and Bordone refers to it as still standing.

In respect to the published Genoese archives no deed exists, which documents the fort. Nor is it included in the administrative districts of Chios during the Genoese period. Had it been inhabited it should definitely have formed a *castellania*. Consequently, it can be surmised that Phyta was definitely in existence for at least fifty years or so prior to the erection of its defensive keep and at that time, Angelos must have been already a long-abandoned area.

Modern research did not succeed in confirming Zolotas' observations and locate either the settlement or the castle.²²³ Spagnesi's efforts to locate the area were not fruitful. He points out another limitation of immense importance, which is the fact that newer generations are completely ignorant of the toponymy, a factor that aggravates the gap in our knowledge.²²⁴

Summing up, I would propose that the territory of Angelos should have extended to the northeast of the territory [outskirts] of Volissos. Traces on the soil of past agricultural activity in conjunction with all the above indications furnished by the primary and secondary sources support this conjecture. The only method to circumvent the difficulties arising is an extensive field reconnaissance.

Travellers' accounts

In the travellers' and engravers' maps there is a clear distinction between a nucleated settlement with a defensive tower and a fort. Clearly the two settlements of Volissos and Angelos (Sant'Angelo) stand out as castles. Representations of Angelos in the maps of the following travellers feature in:

1. Buondelmonti, 1415.²²⁵
2. The map of Chios, in the *Isolario* of the Venetian cartographer and engraver Giovanni Francesco Camocio, published in 1571-72.²²⁶

Both of them depict Angelos not as a tower, but as a fortified settlement, a castle, built on a hilltop.

²²³ Spagnesi, *op.cit.*, p. 43, & n. 65. Koder, *TIB*, 10, p. 127, mentions also the settlement Angelos but the information of this entry bases solely on the secondary bibliography.

²²⁴ Spagnesi, pers.comm.

²²⁵ *Maps and Mapmakers of the Aegean*, map no 4, p. 40.

²²⁶ *Ibid*, fig. 30, p.65.

3. A. Ortelius, 1584.²²⁷
4. G. Mercator, 1606.²²⁸
5. J. Lauremberg.²²⁹ Map of the islands of the northern Aegean, hand- coloured copper engraving, 1638.
6. Giacomo Cantelli da Vignola: map of the Aegean Sea, copper engraving, 1685²³⁰.
7. O. Dapper, Map of Chios, copper engraving, 1703.²³¹
8. Pieter Van der Aa, map of the northern Aegean, copper engraving, Leiden, 1729.²³²

TA MARKOU (Fig. 6, Pls. 46-51)

After leaving the castle of Volissos and heading northwards, we follow the road to Potamia – Pispilounta. Immediately before Pispilounta, and more particularly to its southeast, a dirt road turns to the right leading to the site Ta Markou. The dirt road skirts the hills, thus the distance from the junction to the site is two km long. To the west of this site and on the same axis is the modern settlement of Nea Potamia.

Ta Markou is situated to the N-NE of Volissos. It is a deserted, fortified hamlet built on a terrace;²³³ its elevation is 181m. Its present state of condition survives well enough as to allow a close study. The area was very well chosen, for its boundaries to north, south and east are defined by torrents and hills. The torrents account for the fertility of the soil, and direct access to water, whereas the hills offer protection as they keep the settlement completely secluded from the outside world.

The area received scholarly attention in the late 1930s, when the architect Arnold C. Smith undertook the study of the architecture and material culture of Chios. He studied Ta Markou thoroughly and provided a draft plan of the tower keep, practically the only one that we possess until today.²³⁴ Sixty years later, the site is included in the entries of the *Tabula Imperii Bizantini* for the North Aegean, until,

²²⁷ *Ibid.*, map no 71, p. 109.

²²⁸ *Ibid.*, map no 67, pp. 102-3.

²²⁹ *Ibid.*, map no 78, p. 119.

²³⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 144-5, map no 96.

²³¹ *Ibid.*, map no 114, pp. 158-9.

²³² *Ibid.*, map no 133, pp. 184-5.

²³³ The site today is used by some farmers of the neighbouring village, Pispilous, to whose territory (boundaries) the site belongs.

²³⁴ Smith, *op.cit.* pl. 221, fig. b.

finally, in the dawn of the twenty-first century, it is considered in the most recent architectural survey of medieval Chios by P. Spagnesi.²³⁵

The selection of this spot built on a deep plateau surrounded by high hills appears to have offered a passive defence. The site itself is enigmatic as well as tempting: it is situated in the very heart of North Chios, in the extreme eastern range of Amani and the western slopes of Pelinnaion. Its elevation is 181 m, and compared to the higher elevation of the surrounding hills looks 'sunken'.²³⁶

Zolotas categorises Ta Markou as an estate belonging to a Byzantine aristocrat landlord²³⁷, hence the origin of the name. It was a fortified nucleated hamlet, whose precinct wall was formed by the external walls of the houses. It enclosed a tower, cisterns, houses, and other supplementary buildings. The first historical mention of the site and its castle is in the thirteenth century chrysobull of Michael VIII Palaeologus. Four hundred years later it is mentioned by the abbot Michele Giustiniani as *Iamarki*.²³⁸

The fort is approached from the north. It is founded on the natural bedrock, as is the defensive tower. In the late nineteenth century Zolotas' investigation revealed an abundance of surface finds, ceramics, a cistern and scattered *spolia*.²³⁹ A. Smith observed "a most curious system of many small cisterns scattered all over the area inside the walls. They are circular in plan, domed at both ends, with a small square opening in the end above ground..... They vary from about six to eight feet in diameter and are about fourteen feet deep. The masonry is of limestone with no bricks in the spaces between the stones, which are filled with smaller stones and mortar. Inside they are lined with about half an inch of cement coloured red, possibly by the water. Besides these small cisterns, there has survived a large one, built on the same plan but about eighteen feet across. There is also a stone trough buried in the ground about 8x5 feet and two feet deep, used perhaps for washing".²⁴⁰ Those cisterns served for the collection of the rain water, and were constructed by the Genoese.²⁴¹

²³⁵ Zolotas, A1, pp. 420ff, 639. I. Giourgalis, "Ta Markou", *XE*, 5, 1967, 118-142. Smith, *op.cit.*, p. 117. P.C. Allen et al., *The Kastro, a Medieval Fortress. Chios, Greece*. Manchester University, School of Architecture. 1965. Unpublished volume in the British School at Athens. Koder, *T.I.B.* 10, pp. 219-220. Spagnesi, *Chios*, p. 48, 50.

²³⁶ Giourgalis, *op.cit.*, 118.

²³⁷ Zolotas, A1, p. 508.

²³⁸ M. Giustiniani, *La Scio Sacra*, p. 4.

²³⁹ Zolotas, A1, p. 639.

²⁴⁰ Smith, *op.cit.* p. 117.

²⁴¹ Zolotas, A1, p. 639.

The site where the cisterns are situated is the south boundary of the hamlet at the site named 'Frangou'.

The tower, which surely have served as keep, is built on the eastern part of the hamlet immediately against the entrance, as its counterpart at Volissos. It is a three-storey edifice rectangular in plan. The masonry is very careful using large fieldstones bonded with lime mortar. No bricks are included in the interstices, only smaller fieldstones placed horizontally one above the other, in vertical rows, to fill the gaps. Access to it was achieved by a entrance-gate, which led directly to the second storey. The entrance to the tower and the castle was apparently on its north-east side, which today is demolished; nothing survives from it.²⁴² The ground floor was below the ground level, cut into the bedrock and had access only from the inner side of the tower; the reason was protection. Food provisions and water should have been stored there in case of danger²⁴³. The measurements provided by Smith for the main tower very likely apply to another construction, maybe the cisterns.²⁴⁴ At all events, the long sides are the north and south and measure fourteen metres in width each. The surviving height of the north is eight metres. The south side is the best preserved, measuring fourteen metres in height. It is penetrated by a big apsidal window, measuring 1.50 x 2.50m, which allows the natural light to pass through the edifice. The two narrow sides, the east and west, measure ten metres each in width. The surviving height of the west side is fourteen metres, whereas that of the east is ten metres. The inner face of the west wall still preserves its layer of plaster. The roofs were all barrel vaults, built from flat, narrow stones and bonded with lime mortar. The barrel of the second storey survives to a great extent, save for the north-east part, where only the springing of it is visible in the north-east corner. There are three visible embrasures all on the second storey: on the north, the west and the east wall, respectively. They are rectangular in plan, ending externally in loopholes. On the same storey there is a partition wall with east-west axis, which divides the space into two oblong rooms. It is penetrated by an apsidal door 1x3m. The arch is formed by narrow flat stones bonded with lime mortar. The second room is roofed with a barrel vault, as well. Only a small part of the third storey survives today, visible in the SW

²⁴² Smith, *op.cit.*, p. 124, pl. 223, 7-9.

²⁴³ Giourgalis, *op.cit.* p. 124.

²⁴⁴ The premature death of A. Smith resulted in his work having been left unfinished. His patron and editor, Ph.Argenti, assumed the task of organising his notes and editing the work even though not in a final form. As a consequence, parts of text have no reference to the relevant sketches or, vice versa. Smith, *op.cit.*, p. 4.

side. The placement of only one window to the south wall of the keep is intentional so that – apart from ventilation – one can overlook the land approaches to and from Volissos.²⁴⁵ The view permits the overall control of the hinterland extending to the south of the settlement.

The thickness of the superstructure is 1.30m. Even though field stones are used, the masonry is carefully constructed. The bonding material apparently was mud for the houses and lime mortar for the tower; smaller stones are inserted in the joints with no use of brick in any part either of the houses or of the tower. In both the inner and outer sides of the walls of the keep rectangular holes indicate the use of timber.

Spagnesi dates the keep to the late Genoese period, and more particularly to the first quarter of the sixteenth century, during the urgent and intense reinforcement of the island's defensive network²⁴⁶ in the face of the Ottoman threat. The settlement was much older, as it was said above. The position and height of the tower-keep were suitable for the excellent command of the passes on the fooks of Mount Elias (Pelinnaion), to the east.

The overgrown nature around did not allow a proper study of the site during the past fieldwork. I found it difficult to locate the cisterns mentioned by Smith, but I found the well. I observed the main elements of the complex: the enceinte, the keep, which rests on a prominent point, remains of single-storied buildings and the shrines around.²⁴⁷ Again, due to the vegetation it is difficult to understand how the surviving buildings are allocated in the space and how some of them are entered. The problem is aggravated by the modern re-use of the buildings by peasants from the neighbouring hamlet Pispilounta, who possess land at Ta Markou. From afar one can see that the tower dominates and also the line of the square curtain wall is discernible when seen at a distance. On the east part of the hamlet there is a small shrine dedicated to St. Paraskevi, which apparently co-existed with the fort. It stands on a modern terrace made of concrete, and is recently refurbished; as a consequence, its masonry cannot be studied. To the north of the complex, there is another shrine built on a hilltop, dedicated to the Dormition of Virgin. Its masonry consists of carefully

²⁴⁵ One must bear in mind that the dirt road towards Ta Markou and the main asphalt road do not follow the route of the old mule tracks; these must be sought in a lower level as normally they followed the contours of the foothills.

²⁴⁶ Spagnesi, p. 48, 50, and n.89.

²⁴⁷ All of the shrines are recently refurbished whereas the tower collapses.

applied mortared rubble. Local people mention that it is ‘a Byzantine shrine’, however, its refurbishment does not allow a proper study.

The surviving buildings of the hamlet are constructed from field stones, as well. The stones are very carefully fitted together and the gaps in the joints fill in with smaller flat stones placed in horizontal rows. This is a common feature in the humble north Chian vernacular architecture, however, the overall effect is aesthetic and its simplicity impresses.

The chronology of its final abandonment is well known from the sources: Ta Markou was abandoned in 1822 during the massacres of the Chiot population by the Turks.

Spagnesi considers it simply a hamlet of peasant-farmers.²⁴⁸ Despite the paucity of sources and lack of archaeological data the fact remains that it is a Byzantine site. The undeniable testimony of the chrysobull of Paleologus is a *terminus ante quem*. If we take into account the toponym proper, ‘Ta Markou’, and postulate an early date for its foundation – say around the tenth or eleventh century – we could claim that it could have been the private estate of a Byzantine landlord. I find also equally likely that the fort could have housed the headquarters of small detachments of peasant soldiers under the authority of a local aristocrat, on account of its small size.²⁴⁹

*ARIA (ARIOUS, ARIOUSIA)*²⁵⁰ (Pls. 52-53)

The first mention of the name is found in Strabo,²⁵¹ who mentions a site named Arious, situated well inland in North Chios, ‘a harsh and dry area, and does not have a port’. Strabo assigns to that place the production of the Chian wine, the renowned *Ariousios* wine, famous in Antiquity. Hence he interprets the origin of the place name, *Ariousia*. Stephanus Byzantius (sixth century AD) mentions also *Ariousia* spelt corruptly *Arsysia* and the local people as “*Arsysians* or *Arsyans*”.

²⁴⁸ Spagnesi, p. 48, 50.

²⁴⁹ Dunn, *Dictionary of Art*, p. 555. Spagnesi, *op.cit.*, pp. 41-42, figs 53-54.

²⁵⁰ Zolotas, A1, p. 293, 298-99. Koder, *T.I.B.* 10, pp. 131-32. *RE*, III, pp. 2289-90. In addition, in the same volume, III of the *RE*, p. 2291 the writer identifies Volissos with the Ariousia.

²⁵¹ Strabo, XIV, p. 645.

The travellers mention the place, frequently spelt *Arsysia* or *Aruisia*,²⁵² which they locate in the hinterland of Chios.²⁵³ The majority of them have apparently copied Stephanus Byzantius. In the scholarly bibliography the place-name is mentioned already in the late nineteenth century, in the *Realencyclopädie (RE)*.²⁵⁴ The entry, though, is spelt again corruptly *Arsysia* instead of *Aria* or *Arious*, and the information provided is inaccurate: according to the editor, the place is located on the islet Psara, NW of Chios. This contradicts the accounts of the ancient writers and geographers who clearly state that *Arious* was located in north-west Chios. Further, in the *RE*, vol. III, the writer confuses or identifies Volissos with the *Ariouisia*.²⁵⁵

In the more recent publication of Prof. J. Koder, the *T.I.B.* of the Aegean Sea, the entry ‘*Arsysia*’ is included. However, Koder simply gathers information from secondary literature without having conducted any personal observation.

Zolotas ascribes the site ‘*Aria*’ to the area of *Amani* and he interprets the etymology from a local flora species, namely the holm oak (*Quercus ilex*), whose name in Greek is ‘*aria*’.²⁵⁶ More particularly, he surmises that it must be located north and northeast of the hamlet *Siderounta*, immediately off the south boundaries of the hamlet *Katavasis*.²⁵⁷ He bases his assumption on information drawn from the unpublished cartulary of the *Moundon Monastery* (1767), where the site “*Aria*” and the derivative name ‘*Arianos*’ are documented, the latter denoting provenience.²⁵⁸ According to his interpretations, all these derivatives bear witness to the origin of the relevant place-name.

Initial fieldwork confirmed that *Aria* is located in the area where Zolotas indicated, that is, on the outskirts of *Siderounta* towards north and west of that hamlet, close to the boundaries of the plain of *Volissos*. Immediately off *Siderounta* there is the stream ‘*Aria*’, after which plausibly the area was named (or vice versa). The stream begins to flow from precisely that area. *Aria* was a fortified settlement; its defences must have been massive so as to remain to the living memory as a toponym ‘*Πύργος των Αρίων*’ - Tower of the *Aria*.²⁵⁹ However, nothing survives of its

²⁵² Argenti-Kyriakides, I, p. 17 (Pius II, 1458-1464), p. 60, (N. de Nicolay, 1551).

²⁵³ Pius II (1458) in: Argenti-Kyriakides, I, p. 17.

²⁵⁴ *RE*, II, (1895), p. 1290.

²⁵⁵ *RE*, III, p. 2291.

²⁵⁶ *Greece*, I, p. 116. Dunn, *Exploitation*, p. 285.

²⁵⁷ Zolotas, *History of Chios*, A1, 298-9, 420.

²⁵⁸ Cartulary of the *Moundon Monastery* (1776), Archives of the Public Library of Chios ‘*Korais*’, MS no 84.

²⁵⁹ Zolotas, A1, p. 479.

defences. Today in the area there are visible many traces of past human activity. The first field-season in the plateau revealed two rock cut wells with an excellent masonry of local field stones of greyish and grey-brown colour. Ruins of houses and other installations for domestic use, probably threshing floors are visible occupying a vast stretch of land. All are built with field stones. It seems plausible that the fortifications of the settlement some time went out of use and gradually decayed, until finally, they were demolished in order to reuse the building material. Oral tradition speaks of Aria as a district for the cultivation of wheat.²⁶⁰ Indeed, the greater part of the surface ground is now treeless; however this is an effect from the arson which was set alight thirty years ago. Two branches of the old medieval track pass through the area towards north, to Volissos and to the west, towards Siderounda, respectively. For these reasons, I think there is much ground to believe Zolotas, because his arguments are convincingly supported.

Testimonies from the travellers' maps bear witness to the location of the site.

1. A. Ortelius, on a copper engraving (1584) mentions the site 'Aruis m[ons?]' located in the central-west part of Chios.²⁶¹
2. J. Lauremberg, on a copper engraving of the islands of the northern Aegean, (1638) mentions "Aruis mons" in the central-west part of Chios.²⁶²
3. O. Dapper, depicts a map of Chios on a copper engraving of 1703,²⁶³ where we notice the place-name 'Heluas' (sic). In the French translation of the text he mentions 'Ariusie'. I am inclined to believe that 'Heluas' of the engraving must be identified with the 'Ariusie' in the text. The supposition of the identification with 'S. Helena', modern Aghion Galas or with 'S. Elia', that is, Mount Pelinnaion, cannot stand, since both places are depicted on the engraving. I am convinced that it is the site Arius which is spelt corruptly. Dapper never visited the places which he describes; all his information derives from other sources.²⁶⁴
4. Jacopus Peeters (1690): an engraved map of Chios by Peeters provides a key to the toponyms of the island. On no 12 figure 'Heluas' and on no 13 'S. Helie'. Similarly,

²⁶⁰ See section 3.4. of chapter 3.

²⁶¹ *Map and Mapmakers of the Aegean*, map no 73, p. 112.

²⁶² *Ibid.*, map no 78, p. 119.

²⁶³ *Ibid.* map no 114, pp. 158-9.

²⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 159.

as in the case with Dapper, I believe that ‘Heluas’ is neither S.Elena nor S.Elias, but ‘Arius’ copied and spelt corruptly.²⁶⁵

5. Pieter Van der Aa.²⁶⁶ A map of the northern Aegean published in the *Atlas Galerie Agréable du Monde*, in Leiden in 1729, depicts “Aruis m[ons?]” on central –west Chios.

6. Rigas Ferraios. On the renowned Chart of Greece, published in 1797, we find the toponym Arvisia, situated in the north-west, north of Volissos, and written in Greek.²⁶⁷

PANAGHIA AT LOUTRA (= *Panaghia at/of the Baths*)²⁶⁸ (Pls. 54-55)

Loutra is another site on the outskirts of Volissos, situated in the narrow plain of the river Malangiotis, high up the hills, where the river flows. The mule track which leads to Loutra sets out from the plain of Volissos following a north-east axis, that is, the route of the river. The site is attested to have had significant traces of habitation.²⁶⁹ In the eighteenth century cartulary of the Moundon Monastery (1767), Loutra is mentioned as a hamlet inhabited by the paroikoi of the neighbouring monastery – now a rural church – of Panaghia at *Loutra*. Today, there is the recently refurbished shrine of unknown date, but of a likely medieval origin, dedicated to Virgin Mary. It stands on a recently constructed terrace of concrete surrounded by a modern baluster. Its outer masonry has been covered completely with plaster rendering its study impossible.

Along the west bank of the river there is a series of five water-mills and rock cut cisterns and wells. Ruins of other buildings which were destined for habitation exist, as well. The masonry of all structures is of very good quality made of local stone, bonded with lime mortar. There is enough pottery concentration spread throughout the area of the water-mills, mainly plain wares. The soil is freshly ploughed, though, an indication of modern continuous use of the area. In the bare lands and steep escarpments on the mountains of North Chios, fertile land is desperately sought, and it must have been as such always. Fertile parcels of land are

²⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, map no 117, p. 162.

²⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, map no 133, pp. 184-5.

²⁶⁷ *Ibid.* map no 148, pp. 204-205.

²⁶⁸ Regrettably, observation was difficult to be completed due to a shepherd’s dogs.

²⁶⁹ Zolotas, *op.cit.*, p. 446, and n.1 on the same page.

located only along the river plains and in the narrow plain of Volissos.²⁷⁰ In Malangiotis, water is plentiful even during summer, but mainly in the uplands.

VASILIKA (Pls. 56-59)

The site Vasilika is situated on the west bank of the torrent Malangiotis in the south part of the plain of Volissos. Its distance from the coast is no more than two kms. A series of low, rolling hills descend gently towards the plain and the coast.²⁷¹ Setting out from the main road from Chora to Volissos, one can take the road towards the castle hill of Volissos, heading north-east. When one approaches the plain of Volissos, one must follow the dirt road to the right, which runs parallel to the river and leads to its west bank. On one of these soft hills there is a rectangular tower associated with a church built immediately adjacent to the south of it. The church is dedicated to Saint George Vasilikousis, named after the site. The place – name itself means ‘Imperial’ (lands).

Vasilika was first located by Zolotas, who associated the place-name with the standing buildings and – in conjunction with the oral tradition – inferred that they must date back to the Byzantine period.²⁷² In the early twentieth century Arnold Smith visited the site and studied the remaining buildings.²⁷³ It is striking that despite the recording and refurbishing of the associated church by the local Ephorate of Antiquities,²⁷⁴ the tower remained neglected and not worthy of mention. It was only recently included in modern scholarly research.²⁷⁵

The tower is rectangular, built of field stones bonded with lime mortar. The interstices fill with broken brick and the core is mortared rubble. Particular attention has been given to the angles where ashlar quoins of grey stone are applied in a long-and-short work. They give the spectator the impression of a frame amidst which the mortared rubble of the masonry is inserted. It measures approximately 4.50 – 5.00 m in height and its approximate width is 4.00m. The building as it survives today has two-storeys with the entrance on the east side. The upper storey bears two small rectangular embrasures to the east and west sides on the same horizontal axis. They

²⁷⁰ *Greece*, III, p. 527.

²⁷¹ Zolotas, *op.cit.*, 450-451.

²⁷² *Ibid.*

²⁷³ Smith, *op.cit.* fig. 225, 4-6, without text reference.

²⁷⁴ There is a small entry about the church of S.Georgios Vassilikousis in AD 34 (1979), p.363 not worthy of mention: it is merely a copy from Zolotas' and Smith's relevant paragraphs.

²⁷⁵ Spagnesi, *op.cit.* p. 25, 48.

are framed by four stone jambs. Another similar embrasure, now sealed up with stones, is found on the west wall of the lower storey (the ground floor) on the same vertical axis with its counterpart on the upper floor. Both storeys were roofed with a barrel vault. The vault of the lower storey survives intact whereas that of the second has collapsed, but its springing is still visible. The barrel vault is made of rather flat field stones with lime mortar as bonding material. The horizontal cribwork in the core of the masonry is visible against the southwest corner on the upper storey at the point of the springing of the vault. Another point where the cribwork can be seen is the east wall, immediately above the opening. The plaster on the inner walls has survived to a great extent. The north and south sides bear no openings. The entrance today is half-blocked due to partial collapsing and earth filling. Deep earth filling covers the ground floor. A pile of rubble is noted to the north of the tower, which might represent collapsed stone supplementary buildings.

Immediately to the north of the tower, adjoining its north wall is another construction of a rectangular plan. Its surviving height is approximately 1.50 m. The masonry is the same, field stones with smaller rubble filling in the interstices. The style looks more desultory comparing to the adjacent tower. Four square holes in a horizontal row obviously from the cribwork are visible on the lower part of the north wall of this building. This structure's north corner is built with quoins, as well. At a later date a wall nearly 0.80m high and 0.40 m thick with N-S axis was built adjacent to the east corner of the east wall. The desultory masonry puts it chronologically to a later date in respect to our tower. To the south-west slope there are piles of stones, obviously coming from collapsed edifices. There were scarcely any pottery finds on the top soil, but the area around is currently cultivated (olive groves).

To the east of the tower and at a close distance there is the church of St George. It has been refurbished over the years with a more recent attempt and has various construction phases. Its portico must be the latest addition. A small concrete platform has been constructed to embellish the outer area of the shrine and make it accessible to the pilgrim/visitor. To the south part lays a large round stone fountain. There is an old report of the Hellenic Department of Antiquities for this monument not worthy of mention.²⁷⁶ The church is described as a 'basilica surmounted by a cupola with a polygonal drum', which, according to the then curator, was a later

²⁷⁶ See *supra*.

addition. Behind the church, to its east, there is a small ossuary, a rather modern construction.

Spagnesi considers Vasilika as an ordinary agricultural agglomeration or a hamlet as well as the one at Ta Markou.²⁷⁷ He proposes a late date for both of them, during the first quarter of the sixteenth century, as, in his opinion, they formed part of the extensive defensive building activity of the Genoese. I would propose that the tower at Vasilika must be placed in the Byzantine period on account of the brick fragments in its masonry. In addition, a brief mention in the report of the local Ephorate mentions that the ‘present church replaced an older one, whose ruins are visible around the church. It is worth mentioning that despite the lack of investigation or literary sources, the toponymy and oral tradition still echo the “palace of the Shadow King” in this area.

AGHIOS PANTELEIMON (Pls. 68-71a)

This site’s name today is known as Aghios Panteleimon from the rural shrine which stands there. It is the only structure that still stands intact. The site is coastal and is situated less than a kilometre inland of the inlet of Aghia Markella, near the mouth of the torrent ‘Aghia Markella’. According to oral tradition, before the settlement Parparia had withdrawn on the mountain there was its ancestor, ‘the ancient village’, down the coast, in the Aghios Panteleimon area. The early settlement had suffered repetitive incursions from the pirates and the inhabitants abandoned it to withdraw to a safer place well inland. The site finds are few, but interesting, as they testify the existence of a coastal Byzantine settlement. The *naydrion* of the eponymous saint stands on the east bank of the river; there are traces of habitation around it, such as walls of houses, and a rock cut well. Other ruins of houses are located on the opposite river bank.²⁷⁸ The building materials are field stones bonded with lime mortar of very good quality. The *naydrion*, however, was recently refurbished inside and out, a fact which prohibits its study. Unfortunately, a rural dirt road was opened recently and ruined some of those remnants. Also, heavy

²⁷⁷ Spagnesi, *op.cit.*, p. 25, 48, and n. 89.

²⁷⁸ Mr Panayiotis Katsigiorgis explained to me that, practically, those were two small hamlets inhabited by two groups of paroikoi, having the church in common. I use the term ‘paroikos’ here in the sense of the leader of a family, the leader of a group, anyway, bonded with kinship. The surname ‘Paroikos’ is very common in our area until nowadays.

vegetation prevented closer examination mainly for pottery finds. Nevertheless, it is obvious that the land is fertile, and the most productive olive groves are there until today. Apart from olives, gardens where vegetables and fruit trees grew, and viticulture was also common in those plains near the beach. The neighbouring inlet immediately to the north of Aghia Markella is called *Ambela*, that is, vine tree.²⁷⁹

Other agglomerations associated with Volissos and its greater area are known from the sources and toponymy, but their traces today remain conspicuously unknown and ignored by modern research. They have survived mainly as toponyms, but in some instances their church which today appears as an individual shrine is the only indication that bears witness to their existence.²⁸⁰ One of those is the following, Varnariti.

VARNARITI

Varnariti was a settlement situated in the territory of Volissos and fell into its jurisdiction. Argenti mentions the name of this lost village on the occasion of the description of the defensive tower at Pyrama. He states that a tower was commissioned for the defence of this hamlet after the erection of the keep at Pyrama.²⁸¹ We possess the documents relevant to its erection. The Podestà Ambrogio Cafarotto and Simone Giustiniani, one of the two commissioners of the tower at Pyrama entered into another contract with the well known master mason from Pyrama, Sidero Politi, to build a defensive tower at Varnariti. The payment was agreed to be three *perperi* and six *carati* for each *canna* (1 *canna* = 2,491 metres). Despite the eloquent information from the primary sources, modern research has not attained the object of locating the settlement.²⁸² There is, however, a likely candidate, a site known by the locals as ‘Του Κόκκινου τό χωριό’. This site is an abandoned village situated SE of the settlement of Volissos,²⁸³ off the Vasilika area. My knowledge, however, derives solely from information from local people. There is a

²⁷⁹ Source: my parents.

²⁸⁰ See Zolotas, A1, *passim*.

²⁸¹ Smith, *op.cit.*, pp. 111-112. *The Occupation*, I, pp. 562-66.

²⁸² Spagnesi, *op.cit.* p. 48.

²⁸³ *Non vidi*.

large number of exokklesia in the outskirts of Volissos and potentially any of them could be identified with this deserted settlement.²⁸⁴

A personal conjecture, which is nonetheless based on knowledge of local tradition, is that the word ‘Varnariti’ or at least its first syllable Var – might have some linguistic relation to – sounds like a corrupt spelling of the toponymic ‘Varvaritho/Varivatho/Varvatho, which is located in the northwest coastal zone between Volissos and Parparia. Could we surmise that the ‘lost settlement’ refers to that site? It could stand as a hypothesis save for some problems which are created from other sources. For example, Buondelmonti, who is our earliest source in this case, testifies already the toponym ‘Parparia’ associated with a tower keep. When Buondelmonti documents the name Parparia in 1415, the settlement was at that time already high up the hills and no longer coastal. And Parparia is not mentioned in any source prior to 1415. Furthermore, we do not know what the name of the coastal settlement was before it moved high up the hills. It may stand as a supposition that the old, coastal settlement of Parparia could have been the now lost Varnariti save for one reason: the intense building activity of the Genoese in the early sixteenth century presupposes that Varnariti and Parparia had an already long life-span uphill, therefore, co-existed at the same period, which indeed was the case. At the same time, settlements in the coastal areas had ceased to be inhabited.

KATAVASIS (Pl. 64)

Katavasis is situated SE of Volissos and its plain and to the north of Siderounda and is associated with the veneration of Saint Matrona.²⁸⁵ The life of St. Matrona²⁸⁶ mentions that when she decided to become a nun she left Volissos, her birthplace, and went to Katavasis, where there was a women’s monastery. This event is placed by the hagiographer during the Genoese period, in the first half of the fifteenth century. It is inferred, therefore, that Katavasis during that century was a monastic site. After the death of the saint, and on account of her miracles, a church was erected there dedicated to her veneration. The settlement was created later by inhabitants of Siderounda.

²⁸⁴ Section 2.5.1.

²⁸⁵ Zolotas, A1, p. 624.

²⁸⁶ *Chiakon Leimonarion*, 4th ed., (1968), pp. 38 ff.

SIDEROUNTA²⁸⁷ (Fig. 7, Pls. 65-67)

Siderounda is a small settlement of the north-western Chios, built on a top of a hill, named ‘*Anthropos*’ – Man, having an excellent view and command of the western coastline. Its distance from Chios town is 38 km. The plain of Volissos is its natural boundary which splits it from the area of Volissos. The name of the settlement ‘Sideron’ is explained by the local stone, which is called ‘Sideropetra’, meaning ‘hard as iron’. Its first historical documentation is in the chrysobull of Michael VIII Palaeologus (1259). This document mentions the ‘*μετόχιον των Σιδερούντων*’, thus, we infer that in the thirteenth century and even earlier, the settlement was a *metochi* of Nea Moni. *Paroikoi* are also mentioned by name. Buondelbondi mentions his visit to ‘*Sigirada*’.²⁸⁸ The settlement is nucleated and its defensive keep was a three-storey building situated in the centre. The Anonymous MS of Chios mentions ‘the defensive tower and the church of Saint George’.²⁸⁹ Indeed, the village church is dedicated to Saint George. The keep still exists, adjacent to the church, however after the Ottoman conquest the upper part was demolished, and the building material was used for the extension of the village church. The defensive circuit survives to a great extent and retains the two gates: the first is situated on the east side and serves as the entrance to the settlement from the land; the second is the marine gate, narrower and is situated on the east side. The toponyms of the area are very interesting: the plain to the south of the settlement is the *Metochi*, a name reminiscent of the function of Siderounda; the northern plain is called *Gerita*.²⁹⁰

Questions arise, as to when Siderounda became a *metochi* or whether it was created from the very beginning as a *metochi*. There are no other sources to help us answer these questions.

²⁸⁷ Zolotas, A1, pp. 622-3.

²⁸⁸ Argenti-Kyriakides, I, pp. 11-15.

²⁸⁹ MS no 5. Archives of the Public Library of Chios, ‘Korais’.

²⁹⁰ Section 2.5.1.

2.3. THE LOCAL WARNING SYSTEM

Hieronimo writes that ‘the island is still surrounded by a chain of towers in the hinterland as well as along the coastline called ‘vigles’; they are situated a mile away the one from the other for protection from potential enemies...’²⁹¹

“L’isola è ancora tutto circondata da certe torre, allo intorno, discoste un miglio l’una dall’altra per la guardia del paese appresso il lito del mare, chiamate vigles, cioè vigilie, per amor che li bisogna esserci vigilanti di far buona guardia per salvarsi dagli vasceli nemici et sospetti...”

As it was mentioned above, the north-west coast offers very good anchorages, easily approached by a vessel. Oral tradition and demotic poetry are reminiscent of pirates making sallies by sea against the few fertile parcels of land of the settlements. For this purpose, the Chiot coastline was seeded with a series of watch-towers. The coastal chain was connected with a similar system of signal forts built inland, the existence of which today can be traced mainly by means of the toponymy.

The coastal watch towers are built on spurs or cliffs, outcrops or promontories. The distance between them was roughly one or two miles.²⁹² Once the signal was given from the coastal tower, it was transmitted via the inland network until it reached its destination at the main fort of each settlement. Today we do not have any indication nor a testimony nor a proper investigation in order to document the land communication system of beacons. In this case the toponymy is the leading guide and allows us to locate approximately the potential positions of these signal forts and to reconstruct the network and its route. In many instances close research reveals traces or the monuments proper, which later were adapted to domestic uses. It would be unreasonable to assume that due to lack of sources such a network probably never existed. Two more factors must be taken into account: a) the great distance between the two ends of the chain would have rendered impossible any communication between the two extremes. The landscape was very different in the medieval era, having been very wooded. Documentary sources from the early fifteenth century onwards bear witness to that. Thick forests would prevent visibility

²⁹¹ Hieronimo, VIII, 214.

²⁹² C. Pattenden ‘The Byzantine Early Warning System’ in: *Byzantion* 53 (1983), 258-299.

between the two extreme watch towers. At all events, signals could have hardly been transmitted at such a distance without any intermediary system. b) The second factor is toponymy; the most frequent place-names throughout the hinterland are ‘*vigla*’, ‘*viglia*’, ‘*pyrgopouloi*’, ‘*pyrgos*’, ‘*kastelli*’, and variants.

The watch towers were close in distance to one another, about two to three miles apart in such a way so as to command a full view of the coasts and the Aegean. The indented coastline of north Chios favoured such an arrangement. Thirty coastal signal forts have been located on Chios. Their description and the way they worked during the Genoese period have come down to us from André Thevet, who visited the island in 1549 and, among other things, he documents the *vigles*.²⁹³ A few years after Thevet we have the testimony by Hieronymo Giustiniani.²⁹⁴ We learn that two men carried the task of guarding each tower. In case of hostile forces approaching, the guards made signals by lighting fires, so that within two hours the alarm had been disseminated throughout the island. The same system was used during the Byzantine period. Pattenden describes how the Byzantine warning system operated. It comprised a row of nine coastal and inland beacons beginning at the Taurus mountains and ending at Constantinople. Their sitings were commanding as they overlooked the land communication network. So, they could secure that in case of emergency the alarming message from the utmost beacon would reach the capital within one hour.²⁹⁵ At Volissos four such signal forts have been recognised during investigations for the present study. All are built on prominent and strategic positions on hilltops in a horizontal axis in view of the anchorage of Volissos.²⁹⁶ All became later wind mills. Also, the wind mill at Parparia, which was an inland watch-tower and another wind mill built on a cliff off Aghion Galas were later converted to wind mills.²⁹⁷

For Chios, it is certain that the surviving system of coastal signal forts has been built by the Genoese on a pre-existing Byzantine similar system.²⁹⁸ Many of

²⁹³ Argenti-Kyriakides, III, pp.1356-1357.

²⁹⁴ Hieronymo, p. 214.

²⁹⁵ Pattenden, *op.cit.*, pp. 262ff.

²⁹⁶ Thucydides already mentions the good anchorage of Volissos, VIII, 24.3.

²⁹⁷ Not always is it easy to distinguish the forts which were reused as wind mills. In these instances, masonry plays a major role, since it is massive in the towers and the thickness of the wall is immense. Secondly, the stone flight of stairs in the inner part of the tower/mill, which leads to the chamber of the guard is a decisive indicator.

²⁹⁸ Spagnesi, *op.cit.*, p. 49, 70ff.

them must have extended the infrastructure and refurbished their Byzantine or Hellenistic predecessor.²⁹⁹

The date of the coastal signal forts of Chios as they survive today may be attributed to the first half of the sixteenth century³⁰⁰ and can be explained by the intense building activity for the re-enforcement of the defensive network. The reason is the intense piratical incursions which were taking place in the Archipelago and the Mediterranean in general and the Turkish threat during that period.³⁰¹ For the same reason, similar coastal networks were constructed throughout the Mediterranean between 1535 and 1572. In the Italian peninsula the Genoese constructed a similar network along the Ligurian coastline between 1540-1560. Other networks exist also in Sardinia, Sicily, Corsica, and Apulia.

In later years, when the external threat of the pirates ceased, some towers were adapted and re-used as wind-mills³⁰², after the Turkish conquest in 1566. Village cartularies and other sources allow to claim that by the mid eighteenth century the piratical attacks in the Aegean were already a past.

Architecture of the coastal signal forts (fig. 7, Pls. 60-63)

The coastal watch towers which survive along the coast-line of Chios are tall buildings with a cylindrical shaft and base in a form of a truncated cone. They reach approximately twelve metres in height, whereas the average diameter is of 7.5m. They are built of local grey stone bound with lime mortar. The inner part of the cylinder is filled with soil and stones. At a level of approximately eight metres from the ground there is a chamber for the guard, roofed with a semi-circular or flattened vault. The upper part of the tower forms a flat roof with battlements and

²⁹⁹ In one case it was verified that the substructure of a Genoese watch tower was an ancient counterpart of the fifth century BC (?). This tower is situated in the NE coast of Chios at Marmaron, the harbour of Kardamyla. The tower was later reused as a wind-mill. Personal observation. See Spagnesi, pp. 70-71, Table V, where the dark circles imply the coastal system of watch-towers. Kardamyla, the inland settlement, possesses a castle built on a cliff of Mount Pelinnaion. Its origin is Hellenistic and had a diachronic use until the liberation of Chios from the Turks in 1912. In fact, it was in this castle that the final victorious battle against the Turks took place.

³⁰⁰ Spagnesi, *op.cit.*, 70ff. and n.77 on p. 73.

³⁰¹ Basso, *op.cit.*

³⁰² Personal observation. See for example, the tower south of the castle of Volissos, which became a wind mill. This particular tower is of extreme importance since the quarter built around it was named after it: Pyrgos, i.e. tower. *Supra*, n. 162. See also Spagnesi, *op.cit.*, 69-72.

machicolations. A narrow opening at the edge of the vault drove up to the roof. Roof and guard's chamber communicated by means of a mobile (rope) ladder. The door was always from the side of the land and could be locked by means of a big wooden beam. Above the door there was a defensive construction from which hot water or oil could be spilt over the enemy. The guards' chamber had small rectangular embrasures. The guards were always armed so that they could defend themselves against the enemy.

Lines of communication (Figs. 4, 9)

The geographical position and the mercantile background of the island since Antiquity impel us to consider its nautical aspect, as well.

a. Land routes

The two main lines of communication from Chios harbour-town towards the north and south parts of the island must have been already in existence between the late tenth and early eleventh centuries, certainly long before the foundation of Nea Moni.³⁰³ We must assume that in the second half of the thirteenth century the main arteries and the tracks which joined the settlements between each other were already consolidated. To support this view our *terminus ante quem* is the chrysobull of Michael Palaeologus, which mentions settlements which are known until today as well as those which remain as toponyms. The roadway from Chios town to the north traverses the mountain range of Aipos, which rises abruptly north of Chora harbour-town, and then follows a north-west route skirting a series of mountain ranges, until it reaches Volissos. This network should not have been very different in its main parts from its modern successor. In fact, the modern road follows the route of the medieval and post-medieval paths, with only minor deviations from them and some slight differences in height. The travellers who set out from Chios town to the upland areas needed to cross the Aipos mountain range, and, consecutively, go on with their journey moving to the north by crossing a series of plateaux; then, they reached a junction 'Aghios Isidoros', off the village of Pityós, where they could either opt for

³⁰³ Spagnesi, pp. 39, 43, table II.

the route to the north-west or to the north-east.³⁰⁴ The same route has to be followed until today.³⁰⁵

Another road connected the harbour-town with the south area traversing Kambos, the suburbs of the town, and then followed a western direction skirting the hills towards the main settlements and the fields of the mastic trees further inland: Katarraktis, Armolia, Pyrgi, and Olymboi.

A third road led from Chios town to Pentodos mountain in the very centre of Chios, where Aghios Markos and Nea Moni are built.

A bird's eye view of the bare lands of the north shows very clearly the old communication tracks. Unfortunately, many new forest and rural roads have been laid out in the course of the past twenty years and old tracks have been ruined by farmers and the regional councils with an irreversible effect to the landscape. A degrading and threatening factor for the landscape is a different type of exploitation, sprawling building activity.

Thus, the physical landscape determined decisively until modern times the land communications network, which, on the one hand, linked the settlements of Amani between each other and, on the other hand, with the western and northern coast and the north-eastern region of Pelinnaion.³⁰⁶

b. Sea routes

E. Malamut examines the Aegean maritime network and sea routes during two periods: from the seventh to the end of tenth century; and from the eleventh to the twelfth centuries.³⁰⁷

The strategic geophysical position of Chios rendered it an important part of the north-south and east-west marine axis. For the first period, the seventh to the mid-ninth century, when the traditional sea-lanes were still in use, Chios stands out for its prominent role in the commercial maritime network. As early as the late sixth century it is mentioned in the Miracles of Saint Demetrius as a port-of-call for the

³⁰⁴ Argenti-Kyriakides, *op.cit.*, I, Buondelondi, pp. 11-15.

³⁰⁵ Not until the early 1980s did the asphalt road reach the settlement of Volissos. Improvements on the road network started only in the early eighties at a very slow pace. In the past decade the land network has been immensely improved mainly due to funding from the EU.

³⁰⁶ *Greece*, vol. III, p. 519. Spagnesi, *op.cit.*, tables I-V, pp. 251 ff.

³⁰⁷ Malamut, *Les iles*, II, 538ff.

ships that brought wheat from Sicily to Constantinople.³⁰⁸ From the mid-seventh century the main Byzantine commercial lanes of the East are interrupted due to the Arab attacks.³⁰⁹ The Arab attacks proper provide an extra testimony for Chios, since already in the seventh century the island suffered severe blows from them on their way to Constantinople, as the archaeological record at Emporio and Chios town reveals³¹⁰, and as the Byzantine historians confirm.

The *Stadiodromikon* of Constantine VII reinforces the testimony from early sources mentioning all the ports and the distances of the route from the capital to the south. Chios figures as a main part of this route.³¹¹

Malamut further highlights the importance of the twelfth century sources, the 'Itinéraires russes' and the Geography of Edrisi, for the description and distance between the ports of the north-south marine axis.³¹²

2.4. DISCUSSION

The problem for the defences of North Chios is chronology. It is crucial for our understanding, but with the available data extracted solely by personal observation and the scanty nature of sources only roughly can we tackle the problem. Much archaeological information is also missing that could add to the consideration of other details. To this, we must add the fact that the present environment, as it survives today, succumbed to successive dilapidations in the late Ottoman period for building material.³¹³

For Chios and its Byzantine military architecture the fourteenth century is the *terminus ante quem* for it is in that century that the Genoese occupation begins. Assistance is given by the thirteenth century chrysobull of Michael VIII Palaeologus, which sets an earlier *terminus ante quem*. And, finally the archaeological record (Emporio, Anavatos, and the numismatic record) is a source of information for new data.

³⁰⁸ Lemerle, *Miracles de S. Démétrius*, I, p. 102.

³⁰⁹ Malamut, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 538-9.

³¹⁰ O.Vassi, 'Απόκρυψη θησαυρού στη Χίο' and Y.Nikolaou, 'Ο θησαυρός Χίου/1998: Συμβολή στη μελέτη της νομισματικής κυκλοφορίας στον Αιγαϊακό χώρο κατά τον 7^ο αι.μ.Χ.' in: *Το νόμισμα στον Αιγαϊακό χώρο* (forthcoming).

³¹¹ Porphyrogennitus, *De Cerimoniis*, 2, 628. Malamut, II, map on p. 658.

³¹² Malamut, *op. cit.*, II, p. 547-8, maps on pp. 660, 662.

³¹³ After the earthquake of 1881 extensive rebuilding followed using earlier material.

Spagnesi divides the military architecture in two types: i) massive fortifications for controlling a vast area including land routes and maritime traffic; and ii) smaller installations along the coast and in the hinterland for the control of local strategic passes.³¹⁴ To the first category, apart from the castle in the capital, belongs definitely Volissos and, according to the information from sources, Angelos. Only Volissos appears to have had a citadel, due to its size. No indication is provided about Sant' Angelo. But for the latter, as we do not possess tangible documentation or indications as to its administrative role, we are unable to discuss it. Presumably during the Genoese period its territory had already fallen within the jurisdiction of either Vichi or Kardamyla, that is, two of the Genoese administrative districts of the *Apanomorea*. Another site divided in upper, middle and lower acropolis was the Anavatos, located in the centre of the island. It was built on a conical outcrop, 450 m in height (pls 32-34). To the second category belong all the sites that were examined above, that is, the small *kastellia*, and the warning system. The *kastellia*, considering their surviving plan, were small in structure forming a curtain wall with the outer walls of the houses and the defensive keep usually in the centre of the settlement.³¹⁵ Their function was to protect the population, and to control roads, passes and the sea lanes. Two more sub-categories could include the fortifications which were newly built by the Genoese and those of earlier construction which subsequently came into Genoese hands.

Seventh – eighth century castles

In spite of the problems arising from the scanty nature of literary sources, it is certain that the seventh century was crucial for Chios on account of the Arab attacks and maybe, the Slavic invasions.³¹⁶ For this reason, building activity for a defensive line with initiative from a central authority – either the local governor or the capital – should be taken for granted between the seventh and eighth centuries. Recent research assigns to that period the following strongholds: the fort at Aghios Markos, built on the top of Mount Pentodos in central Chios, overlooking Chios harbour town and the

³¹⁴ Spagnesi, *op.cit.*, pp. 35-6.

³¹⁵ Foss-Winfield, p. 153.

³¹⁶ The case of Slavic invasions on Chios is supported by Malamut, *op.cit.* I, p. 157 and notes 158-9 and 236, but is questioned by Xenophon Moniaros, 'Σλαβικές Επιδρομές στο Αιγαίο στις αρχές του 7^{ου} αιώνα: Η περίπτωση της Χίου' in: *Byz.*, vol. 18, Thessalonica, 1995-1996, 285-302.

Straits dates from the seventh or the eighth century. Emporios dates definitely in the seventh century, for which we possess the testimony of the archaeological record³¹⁷ - according to which the fort was built in the face of the Persian danger in 616-617 or for the Arab incursions. It was certainly destroyed by the Arabs. The castle of Chios harbour – town goes back to the seventh-eighth century. Documentation is provided by investigations in the so-called bastion of Antonio Zeno, on the north end of the sea wall, which revealed an earlier pentagonal Byzantine tower incorporated in the bastion, which, in its turn, was built over an even older, possibly Hellenistic predecessor.³¹⁸ Also, a recent discovery of a hoard of copper coins of Constans II, hidden beneath a seventh century floor in the castle, is revealing for the upheavals which struck Chios and strengthens the argumentation.³¹⁹

Less secure is the date for the castle at Armolia, in the south, and for the castle Ovria, and its coastal watch tower in the extreme northern promontory of the island. Armolia is built on a hilltop controlling the east – west axis of the south land routes. Ovria, built on a cliff, overlooks the north coast and the Mitylene channel. From the foothills of this spur sets out the ravine of Kambia, which ends far inland, in the outskirts of Kambia, which is the utmost settlement of Amani. The precinct wall with the shrine of Aghia Paraskevi built on an outcrop in the middle of the valley of Kambia has an eye-contact with Ovria and may have been associated with it, as well. Spagnesi assigns for both Armolia and the coastal tower of Kambia a date around the eighth century.³²⁰

Mount Amani - Volissos

The general characteristics of the medieval fortified settlements on Mount Amani are: all are built *de novo* on naturally defensible sites, in the mountainous interior, on hilltops, slopes or cliffs. Their position is selected so as to have easy

³¹⁷ Ballance, *Byzantine Emporio*.

³¹⁸ For bibliography see Spagnesi, *op.cit.*, n. 14, p. 36.

³¹⁹ Vassi, *op.cit.* I. Touratsoglou, 'La mer Égée au VIIe siècle : Le témoignage des trésors' in C. Morrisson (ed.), *Les trésors monétaires byzantins des Balkans et d'Asie Mineure (491-713)*, Paris 2006, 95-104. Touratsoglou attributes the hiding of the coin hoards, apart from the Avar and Persian threat, to the Slavic invasions (615-623), a view supported by the fact of similar discoveries of coin hoards in the Aegean islands and the littoral of Greece and Asia Minor. See D.M. Metcalf, 'The Aegean Coastlands Under Threat', *ABSA* 57, (1962), pp. 14-23.

³²⁰ Spagnesi, *op.cit.*, p. 25, n. 27, p. 37, 231, fig. 137. The 'remains of a precinct wall' in the valley at Kambia, which Hunt observes, *op.cit.*, p. 42, must be associated with this outcrop.

access to water supply, to command lines of communication from land and/or sea, and to overlook the agricultural zone.

The fortifications of Amani share the same masonry style which consists of local fieldstones, irregular use of brick in the interstices, and timber bonding. With the exception of Volissos, for which we have relatively more evidence, no other fortified site can be dated with certainty, if at all. In the instances where sites are mentioned in the chrysobull of Michael VIII Palaeologus we can have a *terminus ante quem*. For Volissos, despite the problems, things are somewhat different, since it can be dated by historical references, and analogy. Apart from the dilapidation, what we see today is the last reconstruction phase, which must be placed in the late Genoese period, and specifically around the first quarter of the sixteenth century.

Malamut claims an extensive building activity on Chios from the eleventh century on the occasion of the building of Nea Moni. She infers that this building activity corresponds to a demographic expansion, in contrast to the period until the tenth century, when the silence of the sources is interpreted as ‘demographic decline’.³²¹ As far as the date is concerned, human activity in the Chiot hinterland and the erection of a castle certainly can not have started in the eleventh century, but much earlier, as is extracted by the testimonies of Zonaras and Anna Komnene. The eleventh century is characterised by the catastrophic raids of the Seljuks in Asia Minor, and the piratical assaults and capture of Chios, Mytilene and Smyrna by Tzachas. It must be excluded that the site would have been left undefended until then. To this, it must be added again the argument of the early fortified site at Emporio, to the south, which reflects emphasis on organisation on the face of enemy threats.

There are grounds to believe that the construction of Volissos castle could have taken place between the seventh to ninth centuries. The first fortresses were built in response to piratical raids. The seventh century was a turbulent period of constant upheavals and threat from migratory people. The importance of a stronghold on a strategic location overlooking the west coast, guarding the west and northwest part of the island and the sea lanes of the Aegean would have been paramount. The elaborate character of this fortress would undoubtedly suggest an initiative from the central or regional authorities. As T. Gregory notes ‘*kastra* accorded well with the theme

³²¹ Malamut, *op.cit.*, I, 131, and 141-2, 147-9.

system'.³²² To these we may claim the testimony of a lead seal published by Nesbitt-Oikonomides, which writes:

Nathanael *doux* of [Vol]jissos

and dates to the tenth century.³²³ The category of this seal is uncertain, since its only publication is in Nesbitt-Oikonomides. Its provenance is also unknown. According to their comments, “its reading is tentative. ...It is certain that the owner was a *doux*, but a low-level one, as he does not have any honorific title or dignity: a *doux* as subordinate to the strategos of the thema is attested until the late tenth century.³²⁴ The place-name, as the editors admit, is a guess based on the common ending of the toponym – ισσός. Another characteristic in common for the sites under examination is that all are associated with a settlement.

The Genoese archives and official correspondence from foreign consulates abound with information relating to all the spheres of the Chiot public life. In all the dispatches, settlements and hamlets alike are referred to as ‘castra’³²⁵ to highlight the architectural type of the nucleated – clustered settlement.³²⁶ The lack of relevant records for the Byzantine period makes the contribution of the Genoese archives even more valuable since it is on their account that we are able to draw a plausible picture as to what was happening in Chios in the years prior to the Genoese conquest. The monuments and the toponymy remain the sole but tacit witnesses of the Byzantine period.

The *Codex Berianus Chiensis* contains the most important of a series of documents, which is also the first in chronological order, that is, the treaty of concession of Chios to the Genoese. It was signed on 14 September 1346 between Simone Vignoso, on behalf of the Commune of Genoa, and the aristocrats of the island, on behalf of Chios. A few months later a convention was stipulated between

³²² T. Gregory, ‘Kastro and Diateichisma as responses to Early Byzantine frontier collapse’, *Byzantion* 62 (1992), p. 238.

³²³ Nesbitt-Oikonomides, *Catalogue of Byzantine Seals at Dumbarton Oaks and in the Fogg Art Museum*, vol. 2, Washington D.C. 1994, no. 46.1, p. 137. The editors admit that the place name is a guess, proposed by the ending -HCOC.

³²⁴ H. Ahrweiler, ‘Recherches sur l’administration de l’Empire byzantin aux IXe – XIe siècles’, *BCH*, 84, (1960), p. 54.

³²⁵ Rovere, *passim*. The term is used in the sources from the seventh century to denote a fortified settlement, as Dunn shows in ‘From polis to kastron’, *BMGS* 18, (1994), p. 78.

³²⁶ E. Sigalos, *Housing in Medieval and Post – Medieval Greece*, p. 1.

the Maonesi and the Superba, for the administration of the new colony.³²⁷ With the convention of 1347 it was enacted that Chios was to be governed by a Podestà, who would be a Genoese citizen, inhabitant of Genoa and he would be elected by the Doge and the *Anziani* (a council of elders) of Genoa. The Maonesi of the island of course would have a share in his election.³²⁸ They elected six governors, who were the Podestà's Council and assisted him in governing Chios and upon whose advice he appropriated funds for the administration and defence. Three other officials would be his representatives, i.e. the Podestà of Phocaea Nuova and the Castellani of the fortresses of Chios and Phocaea Nuova.³²⁹

For the sake of convenience, the rest of the island was divided in twelve administrative districts, the *castellanie*, the heads of which were officials called the *capitanei*, appointed directly by the Podestà and his Council.³³⁰ Four out of the twelve *castellanie* were in the southern part (Catomorea) with their headquarters at *Calamothi* (modern Calamoti)³³¹, *Pigri* (modern Pyrgi), *Lamistai* (modern Mesta), and *Lathe* (modern Lithi); finally, eight were in the north (Apanomorea), with their headquarters at *Vicho/Vichi* (Vichi), *Cardamylle*, (modern Cardamylla), *Pithio* (modern Pityos), *Lecovere/Recovere* (modern Vrondados), *Valisso* (modern Volissos), *Perparee/Perpereia* (modern Parparia), *Mellaneti* (modern Melanios), and *Sancta Helena* spelt also as *Hayiothaleni* (Agios Thalelaios, the modern Agion Galas).³³² A thirteenth district was the *Borghì*, which included the town outside the fort of Chios and the suburbs. The *capitanei* were responsible to govern and defend their districts in the name of the Maonesi. In exceptional cases they had the right to judge disputes between peasants and administer justice in civil cases.³³³ The two senior officials were the *Capitaneus* of Volissos, in the north part and the *Capitaneus* of the Burghi in the south part. The *capitanei* would not be allowed to hold their

³²⁷ C.B.C., in: Argenti, *Occupation*, II, 26-30. The conventions stipulated between the mother country, Genoa, and the Maona are in the three cartularies entitled '*Conventiones insule Chii inter commune Ianue et Iustinianos*', and belong to the private archive Durazzo Giustiniani in Genoa: Rovere, *Documenti*, pp. 9ff.

³²⁸ *The Occupation*, I, pp. 371ff for details on his election and other particulars.

³²⁹ *Ibid*, pp. 371ff.

³³⁰ *Ibid*, p. 392.

³³¹ Hieronymo, p. 209, describes the provincial administrative district of Kalamoti, mentioning that it was the seat of the military corps of the *Catomorea*, i.e. the southern province.

³³² Act by Giuliano Canella, in Giustiniani, *Conventiones*, I, cc. 51 v. – 56 v. 3 September 1379, & Giustiniani II (copy), cc. 106 r.-114 r. published in Rovere, *op.cit.*, pp. 137-150. Map in Argenti, *The Occupation*, I.

³³³ C.B.C. in Argenti, *op.cit.*, II, p. 45. Giustiniani, *Conventiones*, II, cc. 238 r.- 240 r. published in: Rovere, *op.cit.*, 396-400.

office unless they had found guarantors for the sum of 500 ducats. It is obvious that the office of the *capitaneus* was significant as it ranked third among the officials. The *capitaneus* was always a member of the Maona, whereas the office of the *castellanus* could equally be held by a local villager, as well.

Subordinate officers to the *capitaneo Valisso* were the *socii* and the *castellanus*. The smaller settlements dependant on Volissos, namely, *Perparea*, *Melanneto*, *Sancta Elena*, and *Pethio*, were each headed by a *castellanus*, presumably with only military duties in command of the fort at each district.³³⁴ Other officials subordinate to the two *capitanei* were the governors of each administrative district, the *codespotae* or *protogeronti* in the North, and the *logariastilae* in the South.³³⁵

Little is known of the duties of the two main *Capitanei*. What we know with certainty is that the Governors reserved the prerogative to pay the officials their stipends.³³⁶ Under the jurisdiction of the *capitaneus* of Volissos was also the island of Psara, for which it was his responsibility to maintain guards, stationed and paid by the Governors.³³⁷ Notarial deeds which list the monthly payments of the officials have come down to us.³³⁸

Defence

During the Genoese period the defence of the island was a responsibility of the ruler, the Podestà. The officials, the main military and guard forces were Genoese as well, even though there was no rule that prevented Greeks from holding an office.³³⁹ Already at the dawn of the fifteenth century it was specified that the forty watchmen of Chios and the ‘forty-eight men of the Tower’ must be Latins and not slaves.³⁴⁰ But the officers could appoint Chiot Greeks as their own stipendiaries. Exemption from

³³⁴ *Eadem.*, Acts of Guidotto de Bracelli, 10 October 1362, pp. 120-126; Another act composed by Giuliano Canella, dated 7 September 1379, *Conventiones*, I, cc. 51 v. – 56 v. pp. 137-150; act dated 6 May 1383, pp. 152-156.

³³⁵ Argenti, *op.cit.*, I, p. 394. The *protogeronti* no doubt correspond to the *Demogerontes* – *Gerontes* of the following Ottoman period. Each settlement had their own demogerontes, that is, an elderly council composed of the most wealthy inhabitants. Those had authority to judge local disputes of various kinds and they represented the central Ottoman authorities.

³³⁶ Rovere, *op. cit.*, pp. 137-150.

³³⁷ *Giustiniani, Conventiones* I, cc. 181 r. – 182 v., 2 April 1418 2 April 1418, in Rovere, pp. 323-327. See also Basso, ‘*L’occhio drito*’, p.6.

³³⁸ Argenti, *op.cit.*, I, p. 385: The table presents the detailed analysis of the payment for the year 1379.

³³⁹ Argenti, *op.cit.*, I, p. 406.

³⁴⁰ *C.B.C.*, II, p. 187; I, p. 406.

certain guard duties and from *angaria*³⁴¹ was granted to the appointed Chiot stipendiaries.³⁴² Distribution of the main offices was made by lot among the principal shareholders of the Maona company.³⁴³ Each office was allocated to a certain official for a certain place and could not last more than twelve months. The Chiot peasants and individuals were compelled to form the army for the defence of the island in case of danger or threat, according to a provision of the convention.³⁴⁴

It can be surmised that even during the Byzantine period the peasantry would have carried the task to man the castles of their territory and to offer military services. This is revealed indirectly in the treaty of concession of Chios to the Genoese (1346), where it was enacted that the Genoese would respect and recognise the feudal system that they found in existence on their arrival.³⁴⁵ And later, in the Ottoman period, the Chiots carried on the same duties and services as they did with their Genoese overlords.

It is beyond any doubt that we should visualise for the Byzantine period the *kastra* and the defensive system placed under the same centrally designed context. The thematic or the local governor would have had the responsibility for these provisions. The meaning of the defensive line was to control effectively the territory by land and sea. The context of Mount Amani shows that Amani fulfilled this goal. A similar network was also constructed around Pelinnaion mountain, to the north-east, which is not to be discussed here. It would be challenging to expand the investigation towards east and co-examine the topographical relationship between the two networks as the settlements of the east part of Amani were connected to their counterparts in the west part of Pelinnaion by a string of *kastellia* and look-out posts; and from there the network carried on towards the north and east coast. In this respect, the role of Sant'Angelo must be investigated in depth as it appears likely that it could have been the connecting chain between the two mountains - judging from its position and the toponyms of the land tracks. Effective control of a pass would often demand the construction of at least two castles. Interdependence between Volissos and Sant'Angelo could answer questions as to the military strategy of the area, the definition

³⁴¹ *ODB* 1, p. 97.

³⁴² *Giustiniani, Conventiones*, I, c. 194 r. e v., dated 10 December 1428, in Rovere, *op.cit.*, pp. 352-3. Argenti, *op.cit.*, I, p. 406.

³⁴³ Argenti, *Occupation*, I, p. 407 ff.

³⁴⁴ *C.B.C.* in Argenti, *op.cit.*, II, p. 187; I, p. 375, and note 4.

³⁴⁵ *C.B.C.* in Argenti, *op.cit.*, II; I, p. 375.

of boundaries or the activity in the regions. On the other hand, it could answer questions regarding the town centres and settlement distribution in the Middle Byzantine period, prior to the Genoese conquest.

2.5. THE RURAL SPACE: PEASANT ARCHITECTURE AND MATERIAL CULTURE

2.5.1. PEASANT ARCHITECTURE¹

Definition of the problem

With the scholarly attention mainly attracted to the urban architecture and material culture, the peasant architecture was overshadowed. In addition, lack of archaeological investigation is another factor accounting for the lacuna in knowledge of the Byzantine house, notwithstanding the cry for the need to shift attention to this topic. The value of peasant architecture and its contribution to the study of the built environment and of the social and economic infrastructure has long been recognised.² The studies devoted to the countryside and the discussion of the peasants' material culture were limited to sparse ethnographic studies. The limitation is aggravated by the fact that peasant architecture very rarely has been an object of notarial deeds therefore it is poorly known.³

It is stressed that archaeological research and analysis are the chief sources for the acquisition of knowledge for the Byzantine house. In spite of the lack of archaeological excavation and the methodological problem it poses, this section shifts attention to the discussion of the village and peasant domestic architecture and material culture, aiming to contribute to an insight in the people's housing and manner of living. However broad the discussion for the Chiot peasant house will be here, it deserves to be treated in a separate section, in order to highlight regional diversity within the island proper and to clarify and understand better both the

¹ Assistance for the study of this section and for the plans provided in the plates was given by the following monographs: D. Pikionis, *The Architecture of Chios*, (in Greek), Athens 2000. F. Anairousi & L. Mylonadis, *The Kampos of Chios in its heyday*, Athens 1992. D. Monioudi-Gavala, *The city of Chios: society, town planning, architecture*. Athens 1994. Also, Arnold Smith, *The architecture of Chios: Subsidiary Buildings, Implements and Crafts*, London, 1962, where the majority of the plans are copies of Pikionis' plans. Pikionis' *Architecture* was commissioned by Ph. Argenti. It was the result of an extensive survey which Pikionis conducted on the island in the late 1920s-early 1930s, however it remained unpublished for decades because the two parties had failed to come to an agreement. Argenti, later in the '30s, commissioned Arnold Smith to carry out the same task.

² J. Lefort, „The rural economy, seventh to twelfth centuries' *EHB*, 1, p. 245. Ch. Bouras „Houses in Byzantium', *IXAA*, period 4, vol. 11 (1982-83), 1-26. *Idem*, „City and Village: Urban design and architecture', *XVI Internationaler Byzantinistenkongress*, Akten I/1. Vienna, 1981, 611-653, esp. 611ff, 651ff. Moutsopoulos, *Mvππί*, 321-353.

³ Lefort, „Les villages de Macédoine orientale au Moyen Âge (Xe-XIVe siècle)': in: *Les Villages dans l'Empire byzantin*, pp. 289-299.

functional activities and the social context.⁴ It is also important to show the role of men and women in the household organisation and economy.⁵ For this reason, the discussion does not limit itself to a mere description of architectural details and plans. The discussion will proceed to the movable things which provide indispensable information for the character of the economy.

Therefore, I shall present concise evidence preserved on the soil, and I shall relate it to other studied contexts. The aim is to draw some conclusions of interest for the economic history of Chios.

Much work on the architecture of Chios has been carried out in the twentieth century by two distinguished architects, Demetrios Pikionis (1887-1968) and Arnold Smith in the 1930s and in the early 1990s by Fany Anairousi & Leonidas Mylonadis⁶ and D. Monioudi-Gavala.⁷ D. Pikionis investigated the urban bourgeois architecture of Chios capital as it was crystallised in the second half of the nineteenth century; it is the period of the development of the Neoclassicism, whose impact characterised the social elite of the 19th-20th century merchants and ship owners. A similar approach is used by Anairousi and Mylonadis: they treat the aristocratic housing in the suburbs of Chios town, the Kambos; it was the place, where the medieval aristocrats erected their summer resorts. Monioudi-Gavala devotes a series of publications to the study of the urban planning and evolution of the castle of Chios town. On the other hand, numerous publications emphasise the architecture of two particular settlements, that is, Mesta and Pyrgi, in the southwest and south Chios, respectively. Last but not least, Arnold Smith's monograph is of particular interest: it treats the overall vernacular architecture and material culture dedicating a separate section to the northern rural settlements and the peasant material culture, emphasising their importance. It is an historical-architectural corpus which includes plans, sketches and elevations of surviving remains of the built environment, also descriptions of the most important public and private infrastructural installations (such as fortifications, watermills, looms, olive presses), humble rural residences, the agricultural and pastoral implements included. There is a comprehensive series of sketches of household objects and equipment and architectural particulars of the housing. The majority of the houses are described with the recording of the name of the owner.

⁴ Sigalos, *Housing*, pp. 1-2.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 19.

⁶ Anairousi - Mylonadis, *op.cit.*

⁷ Monioudi-Gavala, *The city of Chios*, 1994. *Eadem*, *The Castle of Chios*, 2001.

Although it focuses on the study of the housing and its particulars, giving, thus, insights into the domestic life of the country-people, its limitation is the absence of dating; thus, it fails to relate the information into the historical context. By no means, however, should we underestimate its value. The student must bear in mind that this monograph is an architectural work and should be regarded as such. It was composed during the late 30s, when the physical and architectural relief were nearly undisturbed⁸, and the road network very primitive: that is, two decisive factors for the recording of a diachronic rural life-style.

The North Chiot town and village: general features⁹

The settlements of Chios can be broken down into three distinct forms, according to the geographical division:

i. the central comprises Chios town and the suburbs: the prevalent form of habitation in the town is the nucleated form, whereas in the suburbs and the *Burgo* of Chios (the area outside the walls) is the dispersed settlement .

ii. the south: the prevalent form is the nucleated.

iii. the north: nucleated form of settlements.

The villages of the south division have received the lion's share of scholarly attention, in every respect. They are the exemplary case-studies for the medieval period in Chios, even though the same pattern is also detected in the north.

Information about Chios is mainly urban in character. For the knowledge on the Chiot countryside, we rely on the travellers' accounts, which are the earliest surviving sources with a somehow descriptive character. In the early modern period sketches of rural architecture and material culture accompanied by descriptions of the particulars, provide a detailed insight into the less prestigious Chiot village and

⁸ See also Hunt, „An Archaeological Survey of North Chios', *ABSA* XLI (1940-1945), 29-52: „Primitive'. After the end of the Second World War and the following civil war, great waves of immigration of the Greek population begun mainly towards the USA, Australia and Germany. A gradual degradation of the physical relief and the built environment begun from the mid 1980s onwards.

⁹ I shall avoid here the comparison with the residential houses in Chios town and Kambos using only Anavatos and Mystras as a reference. The reason is that Chios town – both the area inside the walls as well as the *Burgo* – were completely ruined twice, i.e. in 1822 and 1881. Consequent rebuilding in the aftermath of the quake of 1881, dating between the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, represents today what remained of the renowned Chiot architecture. The problem, however, was aggravated by the intensive demolition and new building activity of hideous constructions, which has taken place in the last twenty-five years, and resulted in a deterioration and degeneration of the urban tissue.

contribute broadly to an understanding of late- to post-medieval village architecture. Systematic field reconnaissance of inland areas to yield a broader and less generic picture of the rural settlement and its evolution practically limits itself to the study of a few individual settlements to the south. However, vestiges of the medieval village layout can be detected easily with the assistance of other parameters, such as the surviving toponymy within the village boundary: names of neighbourhoods, such as *Apano Porta*, *Megali* or *Mikri Vigla*, *Kastro*, *Pyrgos*, *Loggia*, and the like are very revealing in this respect.¹⁰

Position of the village

The Chiot villages fall into the category of „nudeated’ – ‚compact clustered’ villages – as does the majority of the Greek settlements.¹¹ They were positioned to control transport, the plain and other cultivated areas and the sea. The distance between each other does not exceed 3-5 kms. Comparing with the housing in central and southern regions the northern area differs in many respects. Three reasons dictated the north house types: the natural relief, the agriculture and pastoral economy, and the need for defence. The characteristic features are: (i) a generalised pattern in house and settlement planning, which reflects practical needs and (ii) the small scale.

The town planning of the hinterland as it has been crystallised evolves around an outer defensive wall, the *kastron*.¹² The houses of the population were immediately on the inner circumference of the defensive circuit; their outer walls were the external defences. Thus, the villages acquire a form known under the term ‚nudeated’. This form applies to the whole territory save for the central-east, where the dispersed habitation is the most common type. The upland towns, such as Anavatos, Volissos and, probably, Angelos, are more developed; they have a tripartite arrangement consisting of an upper, middle and a lower acropolis. The nature of the terrain dictated this plan, for they were erected on naturally defensible sites: on a jutting spur the former, on a summit the latter; the terrain of Angelos is rocky, as

¹⁰ For the south region there was the Act of Protection of the medieval villages of Chios issued by the Greek Archaeological Service. Only in September 2000 was the same Act extended to cover the entire North region of Chios, as well.

¹¹ Sigalos, *op.cit.*, p. 1, 24.

¹² Philippa-Apostolou, *The castle of Antiparos*, pp. 90-110.

well.¹³ Their dependent settlements possessed only the outer enclosure, such as Parparia, Pyrama, Siderounda, Agion Galas. The main road of the settlement was narrow and vaulted, running around the inner circumference of the village wall.¹⁴ The number of gates at each settlement differed: the towns had at least two, the dependent settlements one. Two gates are attested in Volissos: one was the Wooden Gate, *Xyloporta*, situated in the south of the lower settlement, and the other, the Iron Gate, the *Sideroporta*¹⁵, to the west. The road setting out through the south gate led to Chios town; the west gate opened to the road which led to the northwest and northern settlements. The central point of the town was the *plateia*, an open space, roughly rectangular in plan, situated immediately below the fort, to the east slope of the castle hill, in the area known today as *Pyrgos*. Assemblies and fairs would have taken place there, as is known from oral tradition and from the well known example at Mystras. The quarter around the *plateia* must have been reserved for the residences of the upper class and officials of the town, as the name *Pyrgos* (Tower) implies.¹⁶ The position of this area is commanding as it dominates the built up area of the town, the plain and the coastal area of Volissos. This quarter, on the edge of the upper acropolis, is considered as the oldest neighbourhood of the town.¹⁷ Its most imposing edifice is the single-aisled basilica of Saint George of *Pyrgos*, of unknown date. It is the parochial church of the quarter, and it would have presumably been the medieval cathedral. There are two three-storied rectangular edifices of substantial dimensions to the west and south of this church. The south edifice is in a much lower level in relation to the church, following the natural relief of the hill slope, on which it is founded.¹⁸ Presumably, those must have been civilian houses of local aristocrats and officials.

The same arrangement with the square of Saint George of *Pyrgos*, is found in the *plateia* of the lower acropolis, the region of *Pythonas*. The upper long side of the square is occupied by the church of the Dormition of Virgin Mary. Here, however,

¹³ A.K.Orlandos, „Τὰ παλάτια καὶ ἡάζπιτια τῆς Μοζηρά”, *ABME*, vol. 3, 1937, pp. 1-114. Moutsopoulos, *op.cit.*, pp. 321-353. A. Axiotakis, *Anavatos of Chios*, Chios 1994.

¹⁴ Philippa-Apostolou, *op.cit.* W.A.Eden, „The plan of Mesta, Chios”, *ABSA XLV* (1950), pp.19-20.

¹⁵ The same name, which became a toponym, occurs at Mystra and certainly at numerous other medieval towns. See Orlandos, *op.cit.*, p. 7.

¹⁶ Orlandos, *op.cit.*, pp. 10-11.

¹⁷ Even at *Anavatos*, the part of the settlement, which is situated on the edge of the upper acropolis, is considered the old part of the settlement, allegedly founded in the 11th century. See Axiotakis, *op.cit.*, p. 24, figs. 1-2, p. 28, 32ff.

¹⁸ Similar characteristics at Mouchli, Moutsopoulos, *op.cit.*, pp. 328-29. Orlandos, *op.cit.*, 53ff.

the houses are much smaller in scale, two-storied edifices. This is the residential area of the people (peasants and craftsmen).

The square - *plateia* in the dependent settlements was also situated in the centre of the built up area. In later years, a big rectangular structure, the *pyrgos* or keep, an inner defensive construction, occupied a large extent of the central main square of the village.¹⁹ Eventually, the square with the adjacent keep came to be known as the ‚kastron’ area, the most common toponym found nowadays.²⁰

The village church dominates the surrounding environs. At least one large village church existed within the walls of the dependent settlements for the weekly gathering of the villagers. The rule is that it occupies one side of the *plateia* - square; alternatively it can be situated at its edge. The town of Volissos, of course, included many parochial churches, according to the number of its neighbourhoods. Some minor churches, the number of which depended on the size of the settlement, also existed. One would not expect to find within the walled settlements private shrines dedicated to family patron-saints, such as the well-known examples of the Krina, the Coronata or the Sikelia in the central-east. At Volissos, however, the churches *intra muros* abound, spreading from the lower town to the upper citadel.²¹ Undoubtedly, some of them would have been erected by private individuals. One interesting example is the Taxiarchis Mesochoritis, which is situated in the *Mesi chora*, the middle town, as the name implies. Questions arise as to the role of this church in relation to that of Saint George *of Pyrgos*. Could Taxiarchis be older than St. George? Could it have been the parochial church of the *Mesi chora* until it was overshadowed by St. George? Saint George was the patron saint of Genoa and there are many village churches as well as shrines dispersed in the countryside dedicated to him. Could St. George date to the Genoese period? Future archaeological investigation will certainly provide a more illuminating picture.²²

The houses are built of locally available material, field stones bonded with mud. The more important buildings, such as the defences, the towers, and maybe the aristocratic residences were also timber framed. All the houses contain large storage

¹⁹ Bouras, *City and Village*, p. 652 ascribes this feature in the Palaeologan period.

²⁰ Personal observation. This toponym, i.e. the ‚kastron’, applies only to the smaller settlements, as at Volissos the area known as ‚kastron’ refers to the upper acropolis, where the keep was also constructed.

²¹ Similar development is noted at Mouchli: Moutsopoulos, *op.cit.*

²² In the region of south Macedonia, for example, J. Lefort, *Les villages de Macédoine orientale*, pp. 292-93, notes that village churches mentioned in the sources do not seem to have been parochial. They were rather founded or restored by members of the aristocracy or by monks of a great monastery.

jars, which in many cases are half- inserted into the ground. Only in Volissos were olive presses found on the ground floors of some houses.²³ The settlements dependent to Volissos could possess one communal olive press.²⁴

The windows and doors of the houses in the north are mainly rectangular. This is the rule in the houses of Volissos as well as in the castle. Sometimes, rarely, the apsidal type is encountered.²⁵ For example, the entrance gate of the castle of Volissos bears above the lintel a narrow arch. The inner door and the south window in the tower keep at Ta Markou are also apsidal. Apsidal windows and doors are features found in all the houses at Anavatos, Angonima and the villages in the south.

The internal arrangements of the secular houses include the hearth²⁶ and a conch or recessed „window’, which is a rectangular opening in the wall used as a cupboard for the storage of food or small kitchen utensils.²⁷ The hearth in a secular multi-storied house is situated on the ground floor and occupies the middle of one of the narrow walls. In contrast, the peasant houses, both those at Volissos and those of the dependent settlements, because of their small dimensions, put the fireplace in the corner. The chimney is the only feature in the peasant houses to which, according to A.Smith, ornament is added.²⁸

House plans

The residential peasant houses share very many characteristics in common. They are single spaced, small and rudimentary, having the same internal arrangement.²⁹ They served to house people, tools, and cattle, a tradition which was continued until the massive emigrations of the twentieth century. Local materials were used for their construction: field stone and mud as bonding material for the external walls; wood, hay and seaweed for the partition walls and the roofs.³⁰ Chippings and splinters filled in the joints. The roof types vary making the difference between the north and south striking. In central and southern regions the predominant type is the

²³ Personal research. Smith, *op.cit.*, p. 76.

²⁴ Source: my grandparents.

²⁵ Orlandos, *op.cit.* pp. 67-70.

²⁶ *Ibid*, pp. 77-78. Smith, p. 71.

²⁷ *Ibid*, 71-72. Orlandos, *op.cit.*, notes that the late Paleologan examples at Mystras are apsidal.

²⁸ Smith, *op.cit.*, p. 60, 71.

²⁹ See Hunt, *op.cit.* For description and sketches of rural domestic architecture, see Smith, *op.cit.*, p. 59ff. Sigalos, *op.cit.* 61.

³⁰ Smith, *op.cit.*, p. 59. Sigalos, p. 52.

flat roof, whereas in the northern region they differ, using the pitched type. In addition, the roof internally is upheld on a central post consisting of a tree-trunk, generally of a plane tree, in its natural state. It is supported by a convenient fork, a branch of a tree.³¹ Another tree trunk or multiple tree branches were used for supporting the roof of the ground floor. Seaweed, wooden sticks, or reeds held together by hard-packed clay, ensure resistance against water for these roofs.³² Sigalos notes that the roof type in the Aegean islands is flat; however, this feature applies rather to the Cyclades and Dodecanese than the islands of Asia Minor.³³

Roofs are upheld on wooden logs, or more rarely on crudely carved beams.³⁴ The abundance of forests on north Chios made possible the extensive use of logs in the supporting of the roofs. The logs for the roof are considered typical of the north Chios, whereas in the wealthy central and south the vaulted roof is the rule.³⁵ The typological arrangement is uniform. The houses have either one or two-storeys sometimes considered with a vertical division. The natural relief accounts for the two storied arrangement, since the settlements are built on hill slopes.³⁶ Rarely, a small courtyard is found, to be used for auxiliary activities. More frequent, though, is a small terrace opened for this reason on the upper storey, which was intended to be the living area.³⁷ An external staircase leads to the upper floor. The ground floor served for the stabling of domestic animals.³⁸ This was the reason why the ground floor had only one opening. Small, single-storied buildings with only one opening, that is, the entrance, were used for the stabling of a large flock of domestic animals. These features are contrasted to the prevailing internal arrangement in the south pointed out in the 30s by A. Smith: “The planning of the northern and southern houses differs chiefly in the following respects: in the north an exterior staircase is almost invariably used for the ascent to the living quarters... At the top of the staircase is a small terrace in front of the door, while the door leading to the stable is placed beneath the

³¹ Smith, *op.cit.* pp. 69-70.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 70 verified by interviews from the villagers.

³³ Sigalos, *op.cit.*, pp. 52-53. On central and south Chios a flamboyant roof type prevailed – the so-called ‘travaca’ – tall, pointed with concave sides. As far as I know, this type of roof was very common prior to the earthquake of 1881, however the style in north Chios has always been the flat roof. But I am not sure whether the travaca is a Genoese or an Ottoman style.

³⁴ Smith, *op.cit.* p. 59.

³⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁶ Moutsopoulos, *op.cit.*, p. 326. This arrangement of a ground floor and one storey is mentioned in late Ottoman notarial deeds as ‘ανωγειωκάτωγον’. Ph. Koukoules, *Βυζαντινὰ βίβλια θανάτου πνινηγῆς*, vol. 4, Athens 1951, pp. 261-62.

³⁷ Smith, *op.cit.*, p.59. Sigalos, *op.cit.*, p. 22.

³⁸ Orlandos, *op.cit.* p. 55.

staircase.While in the north one room generally serves for eating, sleeping and cooking for the whole family, in the south most of the houses have at least two or three rooms”.³⁹

Other loci

Apart from the settlements, there are other *loci* for domestic routines and infra-structural remains, which are dispersed in the countryside: huts, threshing areas, terrace walls, wells, olive presses, wind- and watermills, isolated towers and rural mansions. Small huts dispersed in the countryside, were related with pastoral activities. They are very small and very rudimentary, constructed with field stones and mud, since their main purpose was to offer the herdsmen a shelter from the weather conditions and a place to spend the night. The roof was of wood and boughs. The size normally ranges around the 2 x 2 metres. The pastoral activities such as cheese-making were taking place inside the huts, where also the milk products were kept.⁴⁰ Around the hut, a special area for the keeping of the flock, the fold, is surrounded by a dry stone wall.⁴¹ Such walls are also very common in dividing the parcels of land, as was already mentioned.⁴² The hill slopes are dotted with such features.

Threshing floors, mills and olive- or wine- presses found around the inhabited periphery may have been shared by several families.⁴³ An interesting feature is the grouping of such threshing groups. In many sites complexes of three or more threshing floors were observed, such as in Parparia – *Viglia*, in Volissos – *Lemnos*, and at Aria. Wind-mills are numerous. A large percentage – if not the absolute figure – of the investigated cases, was observed to be former watch-towers, which fell into disuse and were turned into mills. Stones were removed from the original constructions in order to construct threshing floors and dry-stone walls to be used as boundaries for parcels of land. The removal of stones made the buildings lower, so that the movable parts of the mill, including the mill stone, could adjust.⁴⁴

³⁹ Smith, *op.cit.*, p. 60.

⁴⁰ Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 73ff. Sigalos, p. 56.

⁴¹ Argenti-Rose, *Folk Lore*, I, pp. 106-108.

⁴² Section 3.4.

⁴³ Source: my family.

⁴⁴ Personal observation.

Towers

Towers were erected in many regions of Greece. They should rather be regarded as major symbols of status and prestige with a functional purpose.⁴⁵ In Chios such possessions belonging to the Byzantine elite are mentioned in the treaty of concession to the Genoese, one clause of which dictated that a number of private towers and estates would be ceded to the Genoese.⁴⁶ Those towers must have been undoubtedly country manor houses marking the existence – creation – of hamlets, or, simply, of estates with agricultural installations. This assumption can be speculated by means of the toponymy. These towers were not defensive buildings, therefore they are unfortified.⁴⁷ An example of a private tower on an estate can plausibly be that at *Vassilika*: the area where it is situated is fertile, surrounded by short, smooth hills, adjacent to the west bank of a torrent and at a very short distance from the coastal plain. Nowadays it supports olive groves. Secondly, the toponym itself betrays a wealthy landowner.⁴⁸ Thirdly, the nature of the standing monuments points towards organised farming activities on a private estate.⁴⁹ This structure could not have been for defensive purposes: its dimensions and the thickness of the walls do not support such function and, on the other hand, the structures are not intervisible. The siting is not convenient, as it is easily accessible from the coast, therefore it would be very vulnerable to a sudden attack. A parallel can be found on the upper acropolis at Anavatos: there is a three-storied tower, known as the „tiorophon’, measuring 15 metres in height from the exterior eastern side. The ground floor is approached from a door to the north, situated outside of the fortification wall. It has two compartments and served as an olive-press; it contained also small cisterns for the storing of the oil. The second storey might have been the main residence. It was divided in two compartments – known today as „The school’ – and a latrine; a third compartment, to the west, contained the cistern. As in the olive press, here too, one enters from the north door which is outside the walls. The upper floor had been turned into a shrine

⁴⁵ Sigalos, p. 58. P. Lock, „The Medieval towers of Euboea: Lombard or Venetian? Agrarian or strategic?’ in: P. Lock-G.D.R. Sanders, *The Archaeology of Medieval Greece*, 1996, pp. 107-126.

⁴⁶ *The Occupation, CBC*, vol. II, pp. 28-32, vol. III, *passim*.

⁴⁷ P. Magdalino, „The Byzantine Aristocratic oikos’ in: M. Angold (ed.), *The Byzantine Aristocracy, IX-XIII Centuries*, BARIS, 221, Oxford 1984, 92-111. M. Whittow, „Rural Fortifications in Western Europe and Byzantium, Tenth to Twelfth Centuries’, *ByzForsch XXI*, (1995), pp. 62-65.

⁴⁸ *Supra*, section 2.2, entry „Vassilika’.

⁴⁹ As it is noted in chapter 2, this tower is attributed by Spagnesi to the early sixteenth century as part of the defensive programme of the Genoese.

dedicated to Virgin Mary.⁵⁰ In contrast to the other two levels, its entrance is within the acropolis.

Water mills⁵¹

The settlements of our area made extensive use of the water mill, since there is a great density of streams. In the outskirts of Volissos water-mills concentrated along the banks of the Malangiotis torrent. Five mills were counted during the survey, all built along the west bank of the torrent, the first located high up the hills, at the site „Loutra’, opposite the Byzantine monydrion of Panagia at Loutra. The four other water mills follow the torrent on its downward route towards the plain. In the rest of the surveyed area, at least one water mill was inventoried as pertaining to each settlement.

Naydria or Exokklesia (rural churches)

The focus of the Byzantine village is its church, invoking the holy presence in the orthodox community.⁵² The village can also have other, minor, single-aisled shrines, either within or outside the walls, in the open countryside. Funerary churches are always situated outside the walls. Within the town boundaries, the siting of churches could define neighbourhoods. Thus, for example, in Chios town there are numerous churches inside the walls of the fort and not least in the *burgo*.⁵³ Outside the walls, elaborate or humbler rural churches seeded in the periphery of the village territory are a very common and highly visible feature.⁵⁴ Field reconnaissance during the „Mount Amani Project’ revealed a considerable number of isolated *naydria extra muros*. These might indicate remains of different *loci*, such as estates, small hamlets

⁵⁰ Axiotakis, *Anavatos*, pp. 76-83.

⁵¹ A. Harvey, *Economic expansion*, p. 129, 133. M. Kaplan, *Les hommes et la terre*, pp. 53-54. P. Vrouha, „Οι σδρομόσλοι ηης Ηπειρος κι ένα ζσγκρόηημα σδρομύλοσ ζηρά Δολιανά’, in: *Le monde rural dans l’aire Méditerranéenne*, Actes du Congrès Franco-Héllénique, Athens 1988, 361-382.

⁵² S.E.J. Gerstel, „The Byzantine Village Church: Observations on its Location and on Agricultural Aspects of its Program’: Lefort et al. (eds), *Les Villages dans l’Empire byzantin (IVe-XVe siècle)*, 165-178, esp. pp. 165-166, and n. 5 on p. 166.

⁵³ *The Occupation*, I, pp. 555-561. Balard, *La Romanie Génoise*, I, p. 223.

⁵⁴ M. Given, „Mountain Landscapes on Early Modern Cyprus’: S. Davies – J.L. Davis (eds), *Between Venice and Istanbul: Colonial Landscapes in Early Modern Greece*. Hesperia Suppl. 40, ASCSA 2007, 137-148.

or places of farm activity, at all events it is a sign of economic growth.⁵⁵ It is known that the lay and ecclesiastical elites organised hamlets by erecting churches and chapels, around which they installed *paroikoi*. The domestic structures of hamlets usually were dismantled by the villagers for reuse of the building material; their presence in the surrounding fields is indicated by concentrations of fragments of roof tiles and coarse ware pottery.

There is a plethora of rural churches at Volissos and its wider territory, the largest percentage of which are outside the walls of the medieval town.⁵⁶ It is impossible to consider all of them here; for this reason only those, which have been investigated will be presented.

Volissos

Saint Panteleimon, at the coastal plain *Varvathos*, in the inlet of Agia Marcella, is definitely associated with a settlement, as the remains of houses show. All the structures are tetragonal, constructed with fieldstones and lime mortar for bonding. Its date is uncertain.⁵⁷

Dormition of Virgin Mary at *the Chori*. The church is situated in the area *Chori*, the coastal outskirts of Volissos, that is, outside the walled town. Today it is easily accessible since it is situated left of the main roadway, which leads to the villages of Amani. Its large size could plausibly indicate that it might have been the nucleus of a habitation site.

Taxiarchis at *Managros*. This shrine is also easily accessible, standing on the left of the side road to the Managros beach. It has undergone recent refurbishment, and as a consequence its masonry is not visible. An *exonarthex* has also been added. Ruins of houses next to it indicate a hamlet (?) or a *locus* of some kind, maybe a farmstead.

⁵⁵ M. Rautman, 'The villages of Byzantine Cyprus', in : J.Lefort-C.Morrisson et J.-P.Sodini, (eds), *Les villages dans l'Empire byzantine, (IVe-XVe siècle)*, 453-463. D. Kyritses-K. Smyrlis, 'Les villages du littoral Égéen e l'Asie Mineure au Moyen Âge', in : *Ibid*, p. 441. Gerstel, *op.cit.*, pp. 166-67, n. 8.

⁵⁶ Zolotas, A2, p. 543.

⁵⁷ Section 2.2.

Taxiarchis *Kipoussis*.⁵⁸ It is built on a summit, situated east of the Kastron hill and north of the Vasilika. The shrine is surrounded by ruins of structures, apparently houses. The largest of them is a very likely candidate for a rural tower.

Saint George at *Managros*, is situated on the coastal plain E-NE of the town. Here, again, ruins of houses adjacent to it are undeniable indications of a farmstead or a hamlet. The shrine was undoubtedly the church of the hamlet or an oikos.

Saint George at *Livadhies*, is a naydrion situated between Volissos and *Vasilika*, and specifically to the SE of the former, and west of the latter. It must be associated with a habitation site, since it is surrounded by ruins of structures, among which one construction of large dimensions and a rectangular plan could indicate a tower.

Saint Barbara at *Praetorion* is a church with large dimensions and a carefully constructed masonry of field stones. The site lies to the plain, south of the town of Volissos.

Transfiguration of Christ (*Metamorphosis*): it lies W-SW of the Vasilika and SE of Volissos, in the middle. Ruins of constructions are associated with it, as well, implying a habitation site of some kind.

Siderounda

Saint Panteleimon (on the boundaries between Volissos and Siderounda). It is built NE of Siderounda, on a small plateau of the hill fronting the south end of the bay of Volissos and the promontory „Pyrgari’. The latter took its name from the coastal watch tower built on it. Tetragonal ruins of houses and a cistern surround the shrine surviving at a substantial height. One of the structures is larger in size having three floors. It is tempting to attribute this structure as a manor house. It is peculiar that Zolotas does not mention this site and the shrine. It would be tempting to identify this hamlet with the *metochi* of Nea Moni, in accordance with the information given in the chrysobull of Michael VIII Palaeologus (1259). There is, however, another likely candidate, the monydrion of *Ypapandi* (Presentation of Christ to the temple), built on a peak overlooking the inlet „Metochi’.

Saint George at *Prasteia*.⁵⁹ Zolotas mentions this *naydrion* with the name „Saint George at the *Metochi*’; however, the shrine located at the site „Metochi’ is

⁵⁸ Zolotas, A2, p. 543.

dedicated to Ypapandi (Presentation of Jesus at the Temple). The *naydrion* of Saint George is located south of that of Saint Panteleimon, overlooking the Prasteia inlet. Ch. Koilakou published this monument, emphasising its fresco decoration and architecture. Its masonry consists of field stones and broken brick. A zigzag line made of brick runs the upper part of the walls.⁶⁰ This shrine is very important in many aspects: the donor's inscription above the old entrance,⁶¹ on the west wall of the church bears the names of the Genoese lords Battista Giustiniani da Cambia and his wife Bigotta da Cambia and the date 1415 (6923, 8th indiction), which, according to the inscription, stands for a refurbishment of the church.⁶² This is an example of a rural private shrine, such as the well known examples in Chios town, the Kambos⁶³, Daphnonas, and other places in south-east Chios. The donors were of a noble lineage and their families belonged to the founders of the *Maona*.⁶⁴ The verb „refurbished’ apparently implies an earlier phase for this church. The toponym ‚*Prasteia*’, which is interpreted as ‚*Proasteia* – Estates’ and the data coming from this area could be significant as they imply a strong Byzantine presence. For this reason, the conjecture that this shrine might have belonged to a Byzantine potentate, who was compelled later to hand it to the Genoese da Cambia⁶⁵ sounds sensible. It is interesting to note here that until today this church carries on its function as a family shrine: it belongs to a local family from Siderounta.⁶⁶

Saint John of *Gerita*.⁶⁷ It is situated north of the settlement of Siderounta, built on a summit of a hill overlooking the inlet *Gerita*. Koilakou mentions that it is a post-Byzantine shrine, judging from the inscription of the priest Michael, who painted it in 1641.

Parparia

⁵⁹ Gr. Photeinos, *Τά Νεακνλήζηα*, 1865, pp. 128ff. Zolotas, A2, p. 542. Ch. Koilakou, „Ο ναός ηος αγίος Γεωργίος ζήτ Πραζ ηείά Σιδερούνηας Χίος’, *DXAE*, period 4, vol. 11 (1982-1983), 37-76.

⁶⁰ Koilakou, *op.cit.*, pp. 39-40.

⁶¹ Koilakou *op.cit.*, observes that a narthex was added to the shrine at a later date, thus concealing its original entrance.

⁶² *Eadem.*, pp. 40-45.

⁶³ Koukounis, *The stone carvings of Chios*, ch. 1-2.

⁶⁴ Zolotas, B³, pp. 405-408ff.

⁶⁵ A small note about the name ‚da Cambia’: I believe that the name of the settlement Cambia, situated in the top north, and belonging to the region of mount Pelinnaion, implies a possession of the da Cambia family.

⁶⁶ Koilakou *op.cit.*, p. 39.

⁶⁷ Zolotas, A2, p. 542. Koilakou, *op.cit.*, p. 38, n.7.

Panaghia Koilani, situated some 2-3 kms south of Parparia, is a very interesting and an intriguing case of a rural shrine.⁶⁸ It is built on a small plateau, where a recently incised dirt road leads.⁶⁹ Its masonry consists of rather large, rectangular field stones very carefully bonded with mud (?). Small pieces of four to five splinters, put above each other, fill the joints; occasionally broken brick is inserted. Square slabs of polychrome *themiana* stone formed until recently the upper parts of the walls jutting out of the masonry, thus forming a nice moulding.⁷⁰ The masonry is penetrated regularly by rectangular holes from a timber frame. The result is a very artistic masonry, which, along with the substantial dimensions of the *naydrion* arouses many questions as to the purpose of its erection in this area. It dates from *ca.* 1500.⁷¹ The smooth hills around the shrine are divided in terraces by means of low retaining walls made of field stones. Could those stones have been taken from older dismantled structures associated with the church?⁷² The large dimensions could account for a private, family shrine, probably a possession of a local aristocrat. In addition, the holes from the timber frame with the broken brick in the interstices account for an early date, the reason being that during the Genoese period, masonry does not contain brick. For this reason, I would attribute the alleged date „1500’ to a refurbishment. It is the most exquisite example of a *naydrion* in the countryside. Two humbler *naydria* dedicated to Saint Skepi and Saint Asomatos (i.e. the archangel Michael)⁷³ are situated not very far from the Koilani, however they are in a ruinous condition. A few words about Panaghia Koilani, who is especially venerated in Chios with this name: the name *Koilani* is a regional, Chiot name attributed to Virgin Mary. According to the historical topography, there is the site Koila, situated in northeast Chios, which was once a major – probably early – Byzantine centre. It was fortified with a rectangular curtain wall and a tower, now in ruins. After having suffered successive piratical (or Arab) raids, it finally succumbed. Its inhabitants

⁶⁸ Zolotas, A2, p. 543.

⁶⁹ The dirt road is, in reality, the widening of the old mule track.

⁷⁰ Unfortunately, these slabs were removed, practically for no reason, even though they were intact.

⁷¹ Source: the late reverend Yannis Psyllis, my uncle.

⁷² Regrettably, very recent refurbishment has taken place by initiative of the villagers, with irreparable results. For example, according to the testimony of my uncle, Kostas Tsoukalas, there was a stone plaque inserted into the conch above the lintel, bearing a date (a refurbishment, maybe?). In addition, I am a witness of my uncle, the late reverend Ioannis Psyllis, according to whose archive the date 1500 is attributed to this church. However, my uncle did not clarify whether this date refers to the erection or a refurbishment. I believe that it must account for a refurbishment. In addition to the damage done, the *themiana* slabs which formed the top of the walls as a frieze were removed, completely arbitrarily.

⁷³ Zolotas, A2, p. 543, where only the shrine of Asomatos is mentioned and not the ruin of Aghia Skepi.

abandoned the settlement and were dispersed to safer areas.⁷⁴ Allegedly, the settlements of Kydianda, Pityos and Vrondados (medieval *Lecovere*), and also the islet Oinoussa (Aignoussa) were founded by inhabitants from Koila. In memory of this catastrophe, every village erected a small rural shrine dedicated to *Panaghia Koilani*, that is, the Virgin of Koila.

Saint Asomatos is a rural shrine of very small dimensions built on a low summit overlooking the inlet of Aghia Marcella. It is situated on the NW-SE (oblique) axis between Panaghia Koilani and Saint Panteleimon, on the plain of Aghia Marcella, and close to its southeast. Now it is in a bad state of preservation bearing cracks along the walls. However small, the shrine has a masonry of very good quality, made of field stones and broken brick very carefully fitted together bonded with lime mortar. The roof retains its original tiles which were protected by the addition of a newer layer of modern tiles. The main entrance is a rectangular opening with a wooden beam on the lintel, above which there is a shallow conch. A small rectangular window penetrates the west wall above the entrance and another one, on the same axis with it, is on the opposite east wall above the apse of the nave. Small rectangular holes in the masonry might indicate a timber frame. The south wall is penetrated by an apsidal window with alternative white and brown-red voussoirs.

Pyrama

Saint John. It is a small *naydrion* in a ruinous state of preservation, built on a low hill south of Pyrama, towards the coast. The roof has collapsed. Its distance from the coast, the inlet *Vakelonas*, is no more than two kilometres. There are ruins dispersed around, which might have belonged to houses. Potentially, the shrine could be identified with the abandoned settlement of Keratsochori, or Kythonida, the coastal forerunners of Pyrama.⁷⁵

There are other *naydria*, which might have stood alone in the open countryside and are not associated with surrounding buildings; those could have been erected by farmers – or the community in communal fields. The reason for their erection is

⁷⁴ Spagnesi, p. 40, fig. 46. Zolotas, vol. A1, pp. 306-307, 442-444 & vol. A2, p. 544.

⁷⁵ Section 2.2.

found in the expansion of the cultivated areas and is connected with entreaties to the patron saints for the protection of the crop and harvest.⁷⁶ There are several saints in the orthodox calendar associated with the peasantry and the countryside. For example, Saint Mamas is the patron saint of the shepherds, having been a shepherd himself.⁷⁷ Saint Modestos is considered the protector of the carrier animals, horses, mules and asses. Saint Polykarpos is associated with the crop fertility, as his name implies. He is venerated in the Kambos of Chios, the most fertile area of the island.⁷⁸ Saint Vlassios is associated with the protection of cattle and sheep from the wild animals;⁷⁹ finally, Saint Tryphon is the patron saint of the vine growers, and he is depicted holding a pruning saw. He is especially venerated in the Kambos, as well.⁸⁰

None of the *naydria* presented above is associated with any features of a defensive nature. This role was fulfilled by Volissos, and the defended minor centres.

2.5.2. DISCUSSION

Organisation of the settlements

The typology of the settlement forms on north Chios belongs to the irregular type, characteristic for environments built on slopes or summits; the alleys and the rows of houses follow the contour lines of the slope. The core of these settlements was the village church at the edge of a central square intended for fairs and assemblies. In later years, the square was built up with a fortified tower, which – in accordance to the data from Chios and state of research – was destined not for the housing of the landlord, but for being a refuge to the population in case of an emergency.⁸¹ According to Sigalos, houses in nucleated, fortified settlements are narrow-fronted and develop in depth, whether single- or two-storied. It seems that

⁷⁶ Rautman, *op.cit.*, p. 459. Harvey, *Economic expansion*, p. 161.

⁷⁷ Gerstel, *op.cit.*, 172ff.

⁷⁸ *Eadem*, p. 177.

⁷⁹ *Eadem*, p. 174, n. 42, & 177.

⁸⁰ *Eadem*, p. 174, n. 41. Gerstel, ignoring the tool, observes erroneously that St. Tryphon holds a sickle. The interpretation bases on the semicircular shape of both implements. The pruning saw, however, is a small semicircular knife, which will not shut. It is an indispensable peasant tool, useful to clear away dead branches. See detailed description in Argenti-Rose, *The Folk Lore of Chios*, vol. I, p. 56, fig. 7, & p. 57 fig.9.

⁸¹ The example in the Cyclades, for example on Naxos, is different because the central tower is the house of the feudal lord. Personal observation.

single and two-storied types co-existed already during the Late Byzantine/Frankish periods and continued in co-existence in the subsequent periods.⁸² There are grounds to believe that the Chiot pattern seems to have been crystallised during the Byzantine period and survived unchanged throughout the Genoese and Ottoman periods.⁸³

Volissos shares some characteristics in common with Anavatos, and the Late Byzantine citadels of Mystras and Mouchli. All three share the tripartite arrangement of the town in upper, middle and lower zones, separated by three series of walls; the development of the built up area on two slopes of the hill; at Mouchli, it is the west and southwest slope; at Mystras, the north and northwest; at Volissos, the east and southeast. The same arrangement is encountered on the steep, jutting rock of Anavatos.

The question arises for the function of the upper citadel of towns, such as Volissos, or Anavatos. On Anavatos, the upper acropolis is known as the „old village“; there are two churches atop the spur.⁸⁴ In Volissos, what is virtually preserved is the castle, part of the keep and deep earth filling. The most enigmatic point, and the most challenging, is their date. Whereas for Mystras and Mouchli, and also for Geraki, the written evidence shows that they developed their form after the mid-thirteenth century,⁸⁵ the data from Chios imply a much earlier date. On Anavatos numismatic evidence from the recent rescue excavations on the upper acropolis goes back to the sixth century, during the reign of Justinian. It has been surmised that the reason for the erection of Anavatos was to house a fort for a military regiment and these coin finds seem to confirm such a conjecture.⁸⁶ On the east side of its upper acropolis, houses were built at a later date abut on the wall; this feature in combination with the numismatic evidence reinforces the speculation that its initial function was military. Volissos is very likely to date much earlier than the tenth century (Section 2.2).

2.5.3. MATERIAL CULTURE

⁸² Sigalos, p. 57, 61.

⁸³ Sigalos, pp. 53-56. Also, personal observations.

⁸⁴ Axiotakis, *op.cit.* pp. 80-87, figs. On p. 87, 107, 109.

⁸⁵ Orlandos, *op.cit.*, pp. 3-6. Moutsopoulos, p. 321.

⁸⁶ Filippa-Apostolou, *op.cit.*, p. 116.

In reference to the description of the peasant material culture a limitation is that testimonies for the rural household of the early period are lacking, whereas there is abundant material for the Genoese and Ottoman periods. A small quantity of relevant information exists in travellers' accounts. Ottoman registers and notarial deeds from which we can draw information date mainly from the late Ottoman period, and particularly from 1830 onwards.⁸⁷ Another limitation comes from contemporary research, which tended either to neglect the scholarly importance of agrarian material culture or to consider it a field for ethnographers and folklorists. Ethnographic studies treat several aspects of traditional cultures and they aim at the investigation of the functional nature of various household objects. In respect to the Byzantine house and its contents, emphasis usually is given to houses of the middle and upper classes, for "the huts [of the destitute] ...were virtually empty....[they] lack interest because they certainly contained very little".⁸⁸ This view inevitably creates a distorted picture for the medieval society, and practically amputates the base of the social pyramid. Modern scholarly trends recognise that the peasant house and its objects are integral part of the socio-economic context, because they "are in a dialectical relation with each other".⁸⁹

Irrespective of the stereotyped views, here I attempt a shift in the emphasis: I describe more consistently what the destitute household would have contained, taking into account a wealth of material from primary sources supplemented by secondary literature, finds from personal observation and testimonies from agrarian people. The rural household after all is itself a reality, and merits attention, if we want to explore in depth the medieval agrarian society. Besides, the majority of the population throughout the ages has always been the peasantry. Why was this discrimination set by the historians?

Early scholars of the twentieth century, such as N. Politis and Ph. Koukoules, recognised vestiges of medieval practices in the vernacular Greek household. More specifically, the importance with which the Chiot peasant life and economy must be

⁸⁷ From 1822 until the early 1830s there is a great demographic decline on the island due to the massacres of the population by the Turks, which marked the end of the prosperity of the island. 25,000 Chiot were massacred, 5,000 were enslaved, and most of the remainder of the original population – it is estimated around 120,000 souls – fled permanently abroad. The island never resumed its former wealth. See Ph.Argenti, *Chios Vincita. Idem, Diplomatic Archive of Chios*, vol. I, pp. 423ff, Cambridge 1954. I.Vlachoyiannis, *Chiakon Archeion*, Athens 1910.

⁸⁸ N. Oikonomides, „Contents of the Byzantine House’, in: *Social and Economic Life in Byzantium*, E. Zachariadou (ed.), Variorum, 2004, Study XXII, 205-214.

⁸⁹ Sigalos, *op.cit.*, p. 1.

shrouded was acknowledged early by renowned Chiot scholars. And thanks to this fact we have a very scrupulous documentation of the Chiot material culture. Several folklorists and historians of the nineteenth and early twentieth century – among them figure K. Kanellakis, S. Vios, and Ph. Argenti, to mention only three – were aware of the significance of the folklore and contributed to the recording of the daily life of the peasant people and their household objects. Fortunately, they discovered ample ground to examine the material culture and peasant household economy, notwithstanding the scarcity of relevant material from earlier periods.

In the last thirty years or so the systematic publication of a large amount of primary material from the Genoese state archives and notarial deeds provides a valuable hunting ground for the scholar. In addition, the comparatively fewer amounts of published deeds from late Ottoman registers and minutes which were brought to light from cartularies of the villages, constitute an equally wealthy source of information, which documents the diachronic continuity and characteristics of the Chiot agrarian culture. At this point it must be stressed that the pioneering work in this field was Konstantinos Kanellakis' *Chian Miscellanea* published as early as 1890.⁹⁰ The contents of this work cover a wide range of documents from imperial chrysobulls to notarial deeds and statistics of regional elections. A systematic archaeological research could undoubtedly have much more information to yield, especially in the light of the explored finds of the south part of the island.

Chios had always been an agrarian and commercial society. However, the commercial activity refers mainly to the capital. Until well into the twentieth century, peasant economy and life remained primitive and were characterised by a self-sufficient agricultural and pastoral economy.⁹¹ The reason for this rudimentary way of life was rather poverty than „conservatism’, which, inevitably, brought about frugality. In the course of ages of foreign dominion, it is very natural that foreign influences would have been intruded and, consequently, infiltrated. Taking into account this acknowledgment, it is plausibly postulated that the agrarian material

⁹⁰ Κανελλάκης, Κ.Ν., *Χηθιά Αλάιε θρα, ήγηζηπιν γή ήζώλ, έζίκωλ, παζνηαφώλ, δεκω δώλ άζκάηωλ, αίληκάηωλ, ιεμηνγίνπ, ίζηνζηθώλ θαί άιω λ ρεηζγζάθωλ, ρζπζνβνύιω λ, ζηηηιώωλ, θιπ.*, Athens (1890) (reprinted in 1983). Kanellakis with his own initiative and efforts saved indispensable archival material from the hands of the then Ottoman administration of the island.

⁹¹ See, D.Hunt, “An Archaeological Survey of the island of Chios”, *ABSA*, no XLI (1940-1945). Also, the ethnographers’ descriptions from the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, as for example, Hubert Pernot, *En Pays Turc: l’île de Chio*, Paris 1903.

culture could not have differed much from that of the early, middle and late Byzantine periods. For the period extending from the fourteenth throughout the nineteenth century we rely, on the one hand, on the testimony of the Genoese archives⁹² the first fully and systematically documented period; on the other hand, on the Ottoman registers of the local authorities, which could prove a valuable source of information.⁹³ The limitation of the latter, however, is that knowledge of Ottoman palaeography is needed for their study. Irrespective of that disadvantage, a number of Ottoman deeds preserved in the Public Archive of Chios have been studied, translated and published by Christos Mavropoulos and Stephanos Kavvadas, both public servants in Chios during the first half of the twentieth century.⁹⁴ The former was an official of the regional Court of Justice in the early twentieth century. His position and his knowledge of the Turkish language and Ottoman palaeography, enabled him to translate, study and publish official Ottoman documents kept in the State archives of Chios. The latter was a director of the Public Library of Chios, and brought to light, studied and published a large part of the villages' cartularies and notarial deeds dating from the late Ottoman period. These first works contribute significantly to the knowledge of vernacular material culture. The majority of them concern wills, acts of sale of land, normally small plots, but also involve domestic animals, infrastructural installations, such as water mills, or olive presses, disputes over land and so on. Another plentiful category concerns marriage contracts, acts of donation, which deal mainly with women's dowry arrangements. These documents are tokens of detailed catalogues of material objects. Briefly, these deeds reflect important aspects of the peasantry, allowing a closer insight into their lives and matters of interest. They are also revealing on the socio-economic status of the individuals. All elements of the village society are equally represented in these documents, so a wide range of issues becomes accessible, either communal hierarchical issues, familial or personal. Albeit documents of the late Ottoman period, however they tackle the topic of Post-

⁹² Ph. Argenti, *The Occupation of Chios by the Genoese and their Administration of the Island*, 3 vols, Cambridge U.P. 1958. A.della Rovere, *Documenti della Maona de Chio*, (secc. XIV-XVI), Genova 1979. E.Basso, *Notai Genovesi in Oltremare: atti rogati a Chio da Giuliano de Canella*, Athens 1993.

⁹³ Ph. Argenti, *Chios Vincta* (1941).

⁹⁴ Chr. Mavropoulos, *Turkish archives related to the history of Chios island (In Greek: Τυπζθηλι ἔργαθα ἄθινζῶληα ηήλ. ἰζηνζίαλ ηήζ λήζνπ Χίνπ*, Chios 1920. This book contains a small number of notarial deeds dated to the late Ottoman period. St. Kavvadas, *The cartularies of Chios*, (in Greek: *Οη θῶδηθῶ ηεο Χίνπ*, Chios (1950). *Idem*, *Notarial deeds from Volissos on Chios island (in Greek: Ννηαζηθνί θῶδηθῶ ηεο Βνηζζνύ Χίνπ)*, two vols, Athens 1966-1967. *Idem*, *Armolousika, deeds published from manuscripts*, Athens, 1976. *Idem*, «Άγροθλακηκὰ τήζ Χίος (17^{ος} – 19^{ος} αι.)», *XX* 12, (1980), pp. 32-51.

Byzantine family and property law. We have reasons to believe that it reflects Byzantine practices.

This source material is complemented to a great extent by the researches of Stylianos Vios, a distinguished Chiot ethnographer. Vios wrote extensively on the Chiot folk lore having been one of the pioneers who believed in the unbroken continuity of the Greek material culture from Byzantium until today. His articles were published in local journals and form a comprehensive study of the Chiot private life. A part of the two-volume corpus „The Folk Lore of Chios’ by Ph.Argenti and H.J.Rose, (Cambridge U.P. 1949) is his contribution. This book describes the life and practices of the local civilization, treating every aspect of agricultural and pastoral life: material culture, customs, activities, occupations of male and female population, cult, housing, diet, dresses, fables, proverbs and jokes. At the time of its publication, rural life was still active (before the great wave of emigration of the 1950s had began). It is a fundamental work and a useful tool not only for the examination of Chiot material culture, but also for comparison with other Greek islands and the neighbouring littoral.

To present a detailed enumeration of the peasants’ implements and the items which comprised the household would entail unnecessary repetition, since the relevant bibliography is at the readers’ disposal. I shall discuss the contents of the peasants’ household according to what I know from family testimonies, and the research I undertook on folk customs and traditions over the past few years. My research tools consist of personal observations and interviews of local people, compared to and enhanced by primary source material from the „*Chiot Miscellanea*’ by K. Kanellakis and the published village cartularies. The wealth of information contained in the few published acts is immense, awaiting exploration by researchers.

The rural household contained:

- Chests: the chests were made of wood therefore every house possessed at least one. They were an indispensable part of the household whether wealthy or poor. It is the main storage object for the storing of linens, garments, throws and covers. It formed part of the girls’ dowry, so linens and garments for the dowry were also kept there, usually in a separate chest, if the family could afford one.

- Covers and clothing (garments) made of wool, cotton and linen and bedspreads for sleeping.⁹⁵ They were part of the girl's dowries.
- Tables and chairs or stools. Stools were carved from tree trunks and branches and the seat was made of reed. Beds are not found in the household of the north. In the late 1930s A. Smith observed that "In the northern houses it is unusual to find any furniture except the platform of wooden planks which serves as the family bed... When there is furniture of any sort it is hacked out roughly from the trunks of trees and no attempt is made to square the wood".⁹⁶ In fact, the practice was to spread thick covers or mattresses on the floor, where all the family lay down.⁹⁷
- Icons. These included the patron saint of the family (the patron saint of each family was the one whose name bore the *pater-familiae*); the patron saint of the village proper and one or all patron saints of the island (Saint Isidore, Saint Marcella, Saint Matrona).
- Agricultural implements and accessories and implements for the livestock⁹⁸. The most indispensable items are the plough with its point, the spade, axes and saws, sickle, the pruning-saw, hoe which were used for the gardening, harvesting or cutting wood.
- Kitchen and table ware, including basic serving equipment and utensils, such as pots, basins, jars, jugs and juglets, bowls, and flasks. Each household possessed more than two jugs since they served to store extra water for the household's needs. Water was collected from the source (the fountain, the stream), which was situated off the village and was carried back home into these jugs.
- Coarse wares: the sizes of the coarse wares varied. Large storage vessels, the *pithoi* or *pitharia* or *sfides* in the local dialect were used for the storage and conservation of dry food, such as olives, cereals, dried fruit, and for liquids, for example wine and oil. Normally their lower part was built on the floor. There were smaller, portable storage vessels, which served other necessities, such as the need to transport liquids or food. Here, it must be added that in

⁹⁵ Linen and covers were also part of the girls' dowries until relatively recently. Argenti-Rose, *Folk Lore* I, pp. 152-154.

⁹⁶ Smith, *op.cit.*, p. 60.

⁹⁷ Source: my grandparents.

⁹⁸ Argenti-Rose, *Folk-Lore*, I, pp. 53ff.

reference to the storage of grain there were specially made large, rectangular chests called *pangari* for the storage of wheat.⁹⁹

- Wooden implements include kitchen utensils, such as ladles and pruning-saws.¹⁰⁰ The pruning-saw apart from an implement used in agriculture served also as the table knife. It is practically a pocket-knife which folds. A quadrilateral trough, the *skafi* or (diminutive) *skafidi* made of four pieces of wood, used for bread-making; a *sanida*, literally a plank, is a wooden flat circular plank with a short handle, used to put in and take out of the built oven the bread; a *pinakoti*, which is a big flat wooden circular plank divided internally into four to six round holes and had a long handle. It was used to put on it the shaped loaves of bread. Other wooden implements were the sieves, of cylindrical shape and various sizes. The *quarto* was also a cylindrical implement, which looks like a medium-sized sieve but is much deeper having a wooden wall and a horizontal flat strap handle. It was used to measure the quantity of the wheat and its name proper bears its function: „quarto’ meaning a quarter of a kilo of grain was the maximum load that could be put in it.
- Loom, spindle and reed or stick, spindle whorls for weaving and spinning wool and goats’ hair. Not all households afforded a loom but a spindle and its accessories were indispensable women’s tools.¹⁰¹
- Copper cauldrons.¹⁰² It was an indispensable part of the peasant household. Each household possessed at least one cauldron, which formed part of the dowry and passed from mother to daughter. Its most common use was to boil water in the hearth.
- Baskets are broken down into two types, according to their size and the purpose for which they were made.¹⁰³ Medium- and large-sized baskets were made of branches of the chaste tree; their material ensured their light weight, so they were used for the storage of food which was to be transported by

⁹⁹ Source: my family. Smith, *op.cit.*, p. 60.

¹⁰⁰ *Folk-Lore*, I, p. 56.

¹⁰¹ Argenti-Rose, *Folk Lore*, I, pp. 141-147 in the masticochora (south region), and pp. 152-157 for central and north region.

¹⁰² Figure of the Chiot cauldron in *Folk Lore*, II, Appendix II, figs 1a, 2a-b, pp. 1048-1049.

¹⁰³ Source: my father.

means of carrier animals. On the other hand, there were the small baskets, the *tyrovolia*, made of fine rushes and were specially made for cheese making.¹⁰⁴

- Iron or copper implements for the hearth.

One could raise the objection that the above list might be suitable for an ethnographic study. However, abundant information of this kind is found in Byzantine texts such as the Lives of Saints. Additionally, the very nature of peasant and pastoral life, that is, poverty, accounts for an introversion of rural societies and their orientation towards more traditional practices, morals and ways of life. This is, in my opinion, the explanation of the diachronic continuity of customs and traditions in those societies. This conjecture of mine derives from personal knowledge of the circumstances of that part of the island.

To sum up, a last note could be made in reference to the evolution of the towns and the villages. It is noticeable that a certain pattern was followed in the course of the ages: within the same settlement there is a tendency to abandon gradually a certain sector with a preference for concentration of the population to another; however, once the sector is finally abandoned, it is not marked by demolition of the old houses. In not a single instance was demolition observed. The explanation is found in the inheritance. The abandoned houses remain possessions which can be inherited. In respect to the houses, a marked feature is the re-occupation of an old house, some time later, marked by its division in two smaller houses by means of a partition wall. More likely is to place the date for this evolution sometime in the eighteenth century, certainly before 1822, when conditions became stable and piracy had ceased. It can be surmised that this was a likely evolution during earlier periods; however, due to lack of research there are no indications whatsoever for such an evolution.

For a comparison with the ordinary Byzantine house of the tenth to fifteenth centuries and consecutive description of the particulars, material is provided by Ch. Bouras. However, the material presented concern mainly well excavated Greek cities,

¹⁰⁴ For the construction of the basket and the description of cheese-making see *Folk Lore*, I, p. 112; II, Appendix II, pp. 1047-1052.

which were large centres and whose characteristic has been the successive, diachronic habitation, evident in the stratigraphy and in the re-use of older walls and spaces in the town planning.¹⁰⁵ The settlements in north Chios, in contrast, are built *de novo*, therefore chance archaeological material only rarely is it attested – if at all. On the other hand, in the case of Chios town inside the *kastron*, evidence comes mainly from chance finds or rescue excavations, with no hope that a systematic research will ever take place. The picture is completely different in the south part of the island, where the reuse of older material in the masonry (marble pieces with or without relief decoration, or inscriptions) is non-negligible.¹⁰⁶ However, it must be noted that *spolia* in the masonry of houses in Chios town and the south province were to a great extent an effect from the rebuilding after the earthquake of 1881 which levelled the island.

¹⁰⁵ Bouras, *Houses in Byzantium*, pp. 5ff.

¹⁰⁶ Bouras, *City and Village*, p. 652 and n. 348 with the bibliography. Bouras singles out of his *problématique* the architecture of the late medieval (i.e. south area) Chiot houses and their settlements. W.A. Eden, „The plan of Mesta, Chios’, *ABSA* XLV (1950), 16-20.

CHAPTER 3. SOCIETY AND ECONOMY

3.1. THE CHIOT SOCIAL PYRAMID

This section examines the stratigraphy of the Chiot society between the middle Byzantine period and the end of the Genoese period (1566). The secondary literature consulted applies to a great extent to the Palaeologan period, from the fourteenth century onwards, throughout the Genoese period. Information prior to that time span is meagre, however it can be extracted indirectly mainly by the Genoese sources.

a. Aristocracy

Two are the poles around which the medieval society revolves: the aristocracy and the peasantry.¹ The Byzantine sources distinguish between powerful and poor (*Δυνατοί* and *πένητες*), prominent and owners of property (*κρείττονες* and *οικοδεσπότες*). The aristocracy takes the lion's share in scholarly research, even though "peasantry was the second fundamental element of Byzantine society, the first being land", as it has been observed.² The highest grade in the social ladder was reserved for the aristocrats, for they were the great landowners. Lay and ecclesiastical individuals or institutions, namely, military and state officials, bishops, metropolitans, monasteries, and the State, were the leading inhabitants of the provinces, and controlled the political and economic life of the state.³

Scholars have determined that the qualities which define the Byzantine aristocrat were established as early as the eighth century: the 'eugeneia' sprang primarily by virtue of birth and secondly by virtue of moral and spiritual qualities.⁴ Military and civil officers who rendered services to the emperor were held in high esteem

¹ J. Lefort, 'Rural Economy and Social Relations in the Countryside', *DOP* 47 (1993), pp. 112.

² P. Charanis, 'On the social structure and economic organisation of the Byzantine Empire in the thirteenth century and later', *BS* XII, Prague 1951, pp. 108ff. *Idem*, 'On the social structure of the Later Roman Empire', *Byzantion* XVII, (1944-1945), pp. 39-57.

³ Charanis, p. 94, 97ff, 146. Lefort, 'The Rural Economy, 7th – 12th centuries' *EHB*, 1, pp. 284, 287. Laiou, 'The Byzantine Aristocracy in the Palaeologan period: A story of arrested development', *Viator* 4, 1973, p. 132.

⁴ M. Angold, *The Byzantine Aristocracy, IX – XIII centuries*, ed. by M. Angold, BARIS 221, 1984, 1-9. E. Patlagean, 'Les débuts de l'aristocratie byzantine et le témoignage de l'historiographie : système des noms et liens de parenté aux IX-X siècles' in : Angold, *The Byzantine Aristocracy, IX – XIII centuries*, p.23. J-C. Cheynet, 'The Byzantine Aristocracy, 8th-13th centuries' in: *Idem, The Byzantine Aristocracy and its military function*, Variorum, 2006, Study I, pp. 5, 11.

occupying a high position in the social pyramid.⁵ They were granted land as a reward for their services and derived their wealth from it.⁶ Aristocratic wealth came from three sources: personal wealth, gifts of land from the emperor, high-ranking positions and offices to which *rogai* were attached⁷. Gifts of land (land donations) from the emperors reached their apogee in the Palaeologan period⁸. The greatest landlords who possessed vast stretches of land were the church and the monasteries.⁹

The ‘*eugeneia*’ of the lineage and the perpetuation of the *oikos*-house were secured through alliances and intermarriages between members of the great families. According to Angold, the heyday of the Byzantine aristocracy was the age of the Komnenoi (early twelfth century), during which the top of the social pyramid was divided between three groups: the great noble families, who were active in the army, or served in the imperial bureaucracy, and last, but not least, local families who were the leaders of the provincial towns.¹⁰

The middle people and the *μικροί* occupied the base of the social pyramid.¹¹ They were independent peasant proprietors, holders of small land parcels, free from obligations.¹² Others were tenants, who paid rent for the land they cultivated, known in the sources with the name ‘*paroikoi*’.

Lay Archontes

As was already mentioned, the Genoese period of Chios is very well documented. Therefore, should one seek information on the period prior to the fourteenth century, one has to rely on a variety of Western sources (the treaty of 1346, notarial deeds, the accounts of foreign travellers and the like). Byzantine source evidence on the great families are the Byzantine historians and the lead seals of officials.

⁵ Cheynet, *op.cit.* pp. 16ff. Laiou, *Byzantine Aristocracy*.

⁶ Charanis, ‘The Monastic Properties and the State in the Byzantine Empire’, *DOP* IV, 1948, 53-118. Idem, *Social structure and economic organisation*, pp. 97ff, 108. Angold, *op.cit.*, p. 7. Laiou, *op.cit.* pp. 141-42ff. Lefort, *EHB* 1, pp. 290ff. Cheynet, *op.cit.*, pp.19-21, 25.

⁷ Cheynet, *op.cit.*, pp. 23-24.

⁸ Laiou, *Peasant society*, p. 6. Charanis, *Social structure and economic organisation*, pp. 94-153.

⁹ Charanis, *op. cit.*, 108 ff.

¹⁰ Angold, *op.cit.*, pp. 4-5. Laiou, *Byzantine aristocracy*, p. 133, 141, 145. Cheynet, *op.cit.*, 23-24. Lefort, *EHB*, 1, p. 290. Charanis, *Social structure and economic organisation*, pp. 97 ff ; 104ff; 130ff.

¹¹ Charanis, *op.cit.*, p. 123ff.

¹² *Ibid*, p. 118ff, pp. 146-47. N. Svoronos, ‘Sur quelques formes de la vie rurale à Byzance : Petite et grande exploitation’ in : *Annales ESC* 11 (1956) p. 327.

Chios prided herself on having her own aristocracy by birth, confirmed by the possession of land.¹³ The Chiot gentry originated from the noblest families of Byzantium.¹⁴ As early as the fourteenth century, their class was enlarged with the arrival of the Genoese rulers who dominated the island's life until the mid-sixteenth century.¹⁵ The late medieval Chiot upper class was broken down into the following hierarchical scheme: a) the Byzantine aristocrats, b) Genoese families that settled in the island in the aftermath of the conquest, and c) the "Chiot-Genoese" families.¹⁶ Co-existence of Genoese and Chiots first began in the mid-thirteenth century with the Treaty of Nymphaeum (1261). The establishment of the Genoese from the fourteenth century onwards brought about expansion of the Chiot social pyramid. Intermarriages between the two ethnicities became frequent, bringing about the third division of the highest echelons of the Chiot aristocracy.

The Chiot archontes had a decisive role in the life of the island. Their lineage and position in local administration made them the natural community leaders. They held high military offices and enjoyed court titles. The sources reveal the names of some of them.

The archontes showed their prominent social status by means of different ways: by erecting lavishly decorated residences in distinct areas of the town, or by exposing their insignia which decorated their dwellings, the private shrines, or even the funerary monuments. This was a means to perpetuate the name of the 'oikos' – house.¹⁷ Their sense of genealogy was much developed. Some personal archives of surviving families - descendants of whose are traced even in our days - provide

¹³ Zolotas, *History of Chios*, A1, pp. 436-437, A2, 186-208, 579-616. Ph.Argenti, *Libro d'Oro de la Noblesse de Chio*, I, pp. 8-15, 16-26, n. 2 on p. 19, (hereafter Libro d'Oro). M. Balard, 'Les Grecs de Chio sous la Domination Genoese au XIVE siècle', *ByzForsch* 5 (1977), pp. 9,12.

¹⁴ Zolotas, *op.cit.*, A2, pp. 187-195, 266ff; Argenti, *Libro d'Oro*, I, preface; *Idem*, *The Occupation of Chios by the Genoese (1346-1566)*, vol. I, pp. 587, 590.

¹⁵ The first Genoese occupation of Chios is dated in the early fourteenth century and lasted from 1304-1329. Zolotas, *op.cit.*, B', pp. 352-418. Argenti, *The Occupation I*, pp. 582 ff; *Idem*, *Libro d'Oro*, I, p. 4.

¹⁶ The term 'Chiot-Genoese' was introduced by Zolotas, *op.cit.*, A2, pp. 187ff, 266-578. *Libro d'Oro*, I, p. 40.

¹⁷ I.N. Koukounis, *The stone carvings of Chios*, MPhil thesis (Birmingham 2006), chapter 1. Surviving architectural source material exists, but it is very fragmentary and in a very bad state of preservation. The problem was caused by the earthquake in 1881, which devastated the island. Nevertheless, a very good architectural study exists, treating the summer residences of the aristocrats in the Kampos of Chios, in the suburbs of the harbour-town: F.Anairousi-L.Mylonadis, *The Kampos of Chios in its heyday*. Akritas, 1992.

evidence for that.¹⁸ Those family archives were the most important and richest sources for the prosopography, organisation and evolution of the Chiot medieval social stratification. Unfortunately, the greatest percentage of them vanished in 1822.¹⁹

We owe the first study of the history of the Chiot aristocratic houses to Karl Hopf, who first produced a monograph on the Oikos of the Giustiniani, the rulers of the second and longest Genoese occupation (1346-1566).²⁰ G. Zolotas is credited for the first compilation of the medieval Chiot prosopography, which occupies a separate section in his 'History of Chios'; it comprises all the Chiot aristocratic lineages for which there is information, or even a mere mention, from the tenth century until the very end of the Genoese period.²¹ The catalogue describes also the origins of the houses which altogether comprised the Chiot upper class. According to his estimations, the narrow circle of the Chiot aristocrats was already established in the Komnenian period.²² More recently, E. Malamut attempted to draw a prosopography of the early Chiot aristocracy between the eighth and twelfth centuries by means of published lead seals connected with Chios. The result is characterised by failure, however, because she uses only four examples of seals of officials, all of which date to the eleventh century, thus limiting in advance her attempt to the age of the foundation of Nea Moni.²³ Among these officials, the three are *strategoï* and one *nobelissimos*.²⁴

¹⁸ Argenti, *Libro d'Oro. Idem, ιστορία το Χιακο Οκου τ ν ργέντη*, (Athens, 1922) is the most representative example.

¹⁹ Later in the course of the nineteenth century efforts were made by descendants of those families to make up for this deficiency. The genealogical trees of the 37 Chiot noble families were gathered by Argenti in the afore-mentioned monograph: *Libro d'Oro*.

²⁰ K. Hopf, *Les Giustiniani, dynastes de Chios: Étude Historique* (French translation from German by Etienne Vlasto), Paris, 1888.

²¹ Zolotas, *op.cit.* vol. A2, section II. Prior to Zolotas, Hopf dealt with the aristocratic Chiot lineages. However, his study limits itself to the Genoese period. See previous note.

²² Zolotas, B', p. 312. These inferences accord to Angold's opinion that 'this three-fold division of the upper ranks of Byzantine society in the early 12th century is...broadly accurate': Angold, *op.cit.*, pp. 4-5. Laiou, *Byzantine Aristocracy*, p. 134, remarks that the majority of the Byzantine aristocratic families were already well established by 1258.

²³ E. Malamut, *Les îles de l'Empire Byzantin VIIIe-XIIIe siècle*, vol. II, Paris 1988, pp. 500-501.

²⁴ Until relatively recently, the eleventh century was considered the earliest point of the Byzantine history for Chios. Argenti, 'Chief Primary Sources for the Medieval and Modern History of Chios', in: *Ες μνήμην Κων/νου μάντου*, Athens 1960, 232. For Malamut, as well, the eleventh century is the cornerstone for Chios, on account of the foundation of the Nea Moni. The earlier period is considered a 'dark age' marked by demographic decline and desertion, due to lack of sources and archaeological evidence, according to her assumptions. *Eadem*, I, pp. 141-142.

The oldest historical mention of an archon of Chios is the testimony of John Kantakouzenos (fourteenth century), who writes that Leon Kalothetos was the governor of the island during the first Genoese occupation of Chios under the dynasty of Zaccaria. He is described as the ‘most important of all the Chiot magnates’.²⁵ As a high official in the imperial court, Kantakouzenos was a very close friend of Kalothetos. The latter held the governorship until 1340, when the Emperor dismissed him from his office on account of a hostility sprang against him from the part of the Grand Domesticos Kantakouzenos and Apokaukos. The governorship of the island then passed to the hands of Kaloyannis Zyvos (or ‘Cibo’, as he is mentioned in the Genoese sources).²⁶

The next most significant and maybe the oldest source which records the Chiot archontes is the treaty of concession of 1346. It bears the terms and conditions agreed between the protagonists of the two parts followed by their signatures: on the one hand, the admiral Simone Vignoso signed on behalf of the Commune of Genoa and, on the other, prominent members of the Chiot aristocrats, as representatives of the whole body of the inhabitants of the island.²⁷ Among the first terms a highly favourable clause was included securing the interests of the Chiot aristocracy: the fifth clause “*safeguarded the privileges and possessions of the Chiot nobility which this class acquired from purchase, inheritance or grants from the Byzantine Emperors with chrysobulls*”.²⁸ The Chiot aristocrats would adhere to the terms of the conventions imposed on them and the Genoese would recognise their class as hereditary²⁹ and would respect them. Who were these archontes?

The Chiot signatories were: Kaloyannis Zyvos (or Cibo), the Great Falconer Argenti, Constantine Zyvos (Cibo), the Grand Sakellarios Michael Koressios (Coressi), Sevastos Coressi, Georgio Agelastos and Damalas.³⁰

How they assumed the power in their hands and became governors of the island is recorded again by John Kantakouzenos. The political crisis in the early fourteenth

²⁵ Kantakouzenos, I, ed. Bonn, pp. 384-387 & II, 10, p. 371. Zolotas, B’, 371-377.

²⁶ The script ‘Cibo’ is the italianised form of the name Zyvos. See Argenti, *The Occupation*, I, *passim* & II, 28-32.

²⁷ The treaty was originally published in C. Pagano, *Delle Imprese e del Dominio dei Genovesi nella Grecia* (Genova, 1846), pp. 261-62. Zolotas, *op.cit.*, A2, 193ff; B’, pp. 379-418. Argenti, *The Occupation of Chios*, I, pp. 86- 105; II, pp. 28-32.

²⁸ CBC, in: Argenti, *The Occupation*, vol. II, pp. 30-1.

²⁹ MS of Giustiniani, I, 2. Kantakouzenos, III, 95, p. 583; Nicephoros Gregoras, XV,6; Zolotas, *op.cit.*, B’, pp. 386ff; Argenti, *The Occupation*, I, pp. 96-7, 590-1; II, pp. 30-1.

³⁰ Vide section 3.3.

century caused by the civil war between Andronikos II and Andronikos III coincided with the possession of Chios at that time by the Zaccaria family (1304-1329). The emperor held the sovereignty of the island but conceded the administration to Benedetto Zaccaria (and, after his death, to his successors). The expulsion of the latter's heirs in 1329 had a major repercussion on the island as it allowed the concession of the political power to the hands of the local magnates.³¹ It is likely that even prior to that period the conditions must have been the same, with the island in a state of semi-autonomy or autonomy and the concentration of the power to the powerful. The sources clarify that the Chiot aristocrats were so powerful that they practically governed the island, albeit in theory 'in the name of the Byzantine emperor'. The emperor appointed five of the most illustrious local families to govern Chios in his name. Those were: Leon Kalothetos,³² Kaloyannis Zyvos (written also italianised Ziffo or Cibo), Argenti, Koressios (Coressi), and Damala.³³ This is the first historical recording of the 'Quintet', the nucleus of the closed circle of the Chiot aristocracy.³⁴

The treaty of submission is the more valuable, because it is the first official recording of names of indigenous local magnates, and their offices. It is notable that these persons are not merely high officials; they are practically the rulers of the island.³⁵

The social pyramid as drawn by Zolotas and Argenti is divided into a six-fold division (after K. Hopf). To the upper three levels ranks the three-fold division of the aristocracy. "First ranked the Mahonesi; the second grade were the Burghers,³⁶ the third was the Greek nobility.³⁷ To the fourth grade belonged all the Greek workers on

³¹ On the process of decentralisation of the empire: Laiou, *Byzantine Aristocracy*, pp. 146, 149-150. Oikonomides, 'Pour une typologie des villes "séparées" sous les Paléologues', *Geschichte und Kultur der Palaiologenzeit*, ed. Werner Seibt, Vienna, 1996, 169-175.

³² Kantakouzenos, II, 10, p. 371: «Καλόθετος τ ν παρά Χίοις δυνατ ν μάλιστα διαφορώτατος, τ μεγάλου δομεστικού ο κ προσ κειωμένος κ πολλ ν τ ν, (πατέρες τε γάρ κείνου το ς μεγάλου δομεστικού πατράσιν ς τά μάλιστα σαν φίλοι καί ο κε οι, καί α τός α τ)...». Zolotas, *op.cit.*, B' pp. 371ff.

³³ I follow the italianised ending in the family names after Ph.Argenti, who first introduced it in the international bibliography.

³⁴ The "Quintet" of that era. Hopf, *op.cit.*, pp. 27ff. Zolotas, *op.cit.*, A2, pp. 192-94, 211, & B', 380-385. Argenti, *Libro d'Oro*, I, pp. 4, 27; Argenti, n. 1, refers to this act as the first documentary evidence of a hierarchical structure among the Chiot noble families. *Idem, The Occupation of Chios*, I, pp. 65-68, 94. K. Sgouros, *Ιστορία της Νήσου Χίου*, pp. 178-180; Balard, *op. cit.*, pp. 5-6.

³⁵ See section 3.3 below.

³⁶ For the definition of the 'burgher' see section about the middle classes, below.

³⁷ Laiou observes that the Byzantine aristocracy of the Palaeologan period resembles the feudal nobility of the West. However, she distinguishes aristocracy from nobility in respect to the Byzantine social ladder and then poses the question whether the Byzantines were also nobles apart from being

the land, the cultivators of mastic, the timber workers, the workers in pitch production and the sailors.... Next came the Jews; and last, the foreigners resident in Chios”.³⁸

The Chiot narrow aristocratic circle was finally crystallised in the first half of the sixteenth century with the enrolment of the families, which comprised it, in the Golden Bible of the mother city, Genoa. Thirty seven families belonged to this circle, according to Argenti, who reconstructed successfully their genealogical trees based on fragments of lost family archives and interviews of descendants.³⁹ The order is as follows: those who claimed direct links with the Byzantine emperor and the imperial court ranked first in the hierarchy and were known as the ‘Quintet’: the Argenti, Mavrogordato, Petrocochino, Rodocanachi and Schilizzi. The families followed in the hierarchy are known as the ‘Twelve’, in which belonged the Agelasto, Vouro, Galati, Grimaldi, Calvocoressi, Condostavlo, Coressi, Negroponte, Ralli, Sevastopoulo, Prassacachi, and Scaramanga. The last twenty families, or ‘Twenty’, are the Avierino, Vlasto, Damala, Ziffo, Zygomala, Casanova, Calouta, Carali, Castelli, Maximo, Paspati, Paterii, Roidi of Athens, Salvago, Sgouta, Sechiari, Scanavi, Zizinia, Franghiadi, and Chryssoveloni.

Ecclesiastical dynatoi - magnates

Among the main primary source material regarding Byzantine Chios are surviving imperial documents related to Nea Moni – rather limited in number – which extend chronologically from the mid-eleventh to the fourteenth centuries. Not all of them are extant. Undoubtedly, their number would have been much larger and we must surmise their existence until the early nineteenth century. All were probably

aristocrats. Her opinion is that the terms aristocracy and nobility define two different things, therefore, when speaking of the Byzantine upper class we must use the term aristocracy. A. Laiou, ‘The Byzantine aristocracy in the Palaeologan period: A story of arrested development’ *Viator* 4, 1973 pp. 132-134 (reprinted in *Variorum* 1992). However, there are grounds to support the view that the Chiot aristocracy was a nobility. See Koukounis, *The stone carvings*.

³⁸ Zolotas, B’, pp. 461-65. Argenti, *The Occupation of Chios*, I, pp. 582 ff. M. Balard, «Les Grecs de Chio sous la domination Genoïse au XVe siècle», in : *Byz.Forsch* 5 (1977), 5-15. Others, such as G. Sotiriou in: Argenti, *Libro d’Oro della Noblesse de Chio*, I, pp. 17-18, and recently L. Balletto, “Tra Genova e Chios nel tempo di Cristoforo Colombo”, in: D.Coulon et al (eds), *Chemins d’Outre-Mer*, Byzantina Sorbonensia 20, 2004, p. 54, divide the Chiot society into three grades: first rank the Genoese nobles, second the Byzantine nobles or *Burghenses*, and third rank the peasants. The appellation ‘Burgher’ styles all the property owners.

³⁹ The family archives were lost during the massacres of 1822. The *archontes* were the first who were slaughtered by the Ottomans, who, immediately afterwards, demolished their residences and estates down to earth setting alight to them. Argenti, *Libro d’Oro de la Noblesse de Chio*, 2 vols, London 1955.

kept in the monastery's archives – the *typikon* of the Nea Moni included – but vanished in the pillaging and catastrophe of 1822.⁴⁰ However, some fragmented sections were transcribed in a book by the abbot Nicephoros, a deacon of Nea Moni. Hence, an amalgamation has come down to us.⁴¹ For all their gaps, their testimony is valuable. All of them concern grants and concessions conferred to the major ecclesiastical foundation of the island, the renowned Nea Moni. The monastery secured imperial endowment and exceptional privileges and became the richest landed magnate of the island.⁴² The financial exemptions and concessions promulgated by the emperors ensured a steady annual income and financial independence. The documents also shed light on the economic affairs of the monastery, and its status, and give a glimpse of the society, and the administration of the island. On the other hand, the direct relation to the capital is of great importance for it echoes practices of the large foundations of Constantinople.

The following catalogue lists the surviving imperial documents related to Chios.⁴³

1. Chrysobull of Constantine IX Monomachos ratifying the *exkousseia* of the Kalothekia estate. Date: 1044.⁴⁴
2. *Pittakion* of Constantine IX Monomachos to Eustathios Vestarches *epi tou koitonos* and *epi tou eidikou*. February 1045.⁴⁵
3. Chrysobull of Constantine IX Monomachos which promulgates that the Emperor has the right to be the sole judge for the Monastery. June 1045.⁴⁶
4. Chrysobull of Constantine IX Monomachos, May 1046.⁴⁷ It promulgates food provisions and lodging for the monks from Olympus (?).

⁴⁰ Zolotas, *History*, B' p. 265, 286-7.

⁴¹ N. Glycys, *Η θεία και ιερά ακολουθία των οσίων και θεοφόρων Πατέρων ημών, Νικήτα, Ιωάννου και Ιωσήφ, των κτητόρων της εν Χίωι σεβασμίας ιεράς, βασιλικής και σταυροπηγιακής Μονής, της επιλεγόμενης Νέας*. Venice, 1804. The volume is accessible in the Korais Public Library of Chios. For further information on this book, see Ch. Bouras, *Nea Moni on Chios, History and Architecture*, Athens, 1982, p. 14, n.3.

⁴² About the ecclesiastical and monastic properties, see Charanis, *Monastic Properties*, 53-118. Idem, *On the social structure and economic organisation*, pp. 108ff.

⁴³ Nic. Glycys, *op.cit.* K. Kanellakis, *Chiaka Analekta*, 1890. I. & P. Zepos, *Jus Graecoromanorum*, vol. I, 1962. F. Dölger, *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des Oströmischen Reiches*, vol. 5. Munich 1965. Miklosič-Müller, *Acta et Diplomata Graeca Medii Aevi*, IV, Vienna, 1865.

⁴⁴ Kanellakis, p. 545-9. Zepos, I, pp. 615-618, Miklosič-Müller, IV, pp. 1-8.

⁴⁵ Kanellakis, p. 541-2. Zepos, I, p. 628. *ODB*, vol. 1, P. 681.

⁴⁶ Kanellakis, p. 542-5, Zepos, I, pp. 629-631.

⁴⁷ Kanellakis, p. 574f. Zepos, I, p. 631-2.

5. Chrysobull of Constantine IX Monomachos, June 1048⁴⁸ promulgating the foundation of an *aplektion* in Constantinople for the monks of Nea Moni.
6. Chrysobull of Constantine IX Monomachos, July 1049, regarding a) the election of the deacon and the priest among the monastery's fathers; b) the *exkousseia* (release from obligation or tax exemption) granted to the Chiot Jews.⁴⁹
7. Chrysobull of Constantine IX Monomachos, ratifying the estate of Kalothekia. 1049.⁵⁰
8. Chrysobull of Constantine IX Monomachos, December 1050, regarding the estate of Kalothekia and the settlement /establishment of its new *paroikoi* (tenants).⁵¹
9. Chrysobull of Constantine IX Monomachos, August 1053, promulgating the prohibition to exiled individuals to sojourn at Nea Moni.⁵²
10. Chrysobull of Constantine IX Monomachos, 1054, granting the Nea 1,000 *modioi* of wheat from Vessae.⁵³
11. *Pittakion* of Isaac I Komnenos, May 1058, granting to Nea Moni 24 *nomismata* from the *roga* of the Senate for the commemoration of the monk Ioannis Orphanotrophos (exiled in Lesvos) and another 24 *nomismata* for the commemoration of the monk and *nobelissimus* Theodore, exiled in Chios.⁵⁴
12. Parts – extracts of chrysobulls of the same emperor (Isaac I Komnenos) whereby he ratifies older chrysobulls issued by Monomachos, reconstituting to the Nea Moni its past privileges. All these extracts are included in the book of the Abbot Nicephoros of Chios.⁵⁵
13. Chrysobull of Constantine X Doukas, August 1060, ratifying the chrysobulls of the former late emperors.⁵⁶
14. Chrysobull of Constantine X Doukas, May 1062, ratifying the chrysobull of Monomachos regarding the 1,000 *modioi* of wheat.⁵⁷
15. Chrysobull of Constantine X Doukas, ratifying the 'donation of the fifteen Jewish families to the Nea Moni'. August 1062.⁵⁸

⁴⁸ Kanellakis, p. 575f. Zepos, I, p. 632.

⁴⁹ Kanellakis, p. 550f. Zepos, I, pp. 633-34.

⁵⁰ Kanellakis, p. 552f. Zepos, I, pp. 634-35.

⁵¹ Kanellakis, p. 576f. Zepos, I, p. 635.

⁵² Kanellakis, p. 555-57. Zepos, I, 636-37.

⁵³ Kanellakis, p. 553-55. Zepos, I, p. 637.

⁵⁴ Kanellakis, p. 557-58. Zepos, I, p. 638.

⁵⁵ Nicephoros of Chios, *θεία καί ἐρά κολουθία*. Zolotas, B, pp. 292-3.

⁵⁶ Kanellakis, p. 558-9. Zepos, I, pp. 638-39.

⁵⁷ Kanellakis, p. 559-561, Zepos, I, pp. 639-40.

16. Chrysobull of Romanos IV Diogenes, promulgating the exemption of the Nea Moni from the imperial judicial jurisdiction and granting it own free will (*Περί το μὴ πάγεσθαι τὴν Μονὴν δημοσιακῶς δικαίους βασιλικῶν ζουσί*). April 1071.⁵⁹
17. Chrysobull of Michael VII Doukas, June 1072, ratifying the older chrysobulls and exemptions of Nea Moni.⁶⁰
18. Chrysobull of Nicephoros III Botaneiates. June 1078 (or 1079?), ratifying all the clauses and exemptions granted by older chrysobulls of the late emperors.⁶¹
20. Chrysobull of Nicephoros III Botaneiates, May 1080, ratifying the exemptions of Nea Moni and its free will.⁶²
21. Chrysobull of Alexios I Komnenos issued in 1082.⁶³
22. Chrysobull of Michael VIII Palaeologus, April 1259.⁶⁴
23. Basilographon of Andronikos (II) Doukas Angelos Comnenos Palaiologos, July 1289 (?).⁶⁵
24. Chrysobull of Ioannes V Palaiologos 1355 confirming privileges to the Genoese.⁶⁶

A later document related indirectly to Nea Moni is the treaty of concession (1346). Even though it does not make specific mention of the monastery, clause 14 implements the provisions for all the churches and monasteries and their lands throughout the island enacting that they would be bound and subject to the Commune as they had been formerly to the Emperor.⁶⁷ It should be inferred that even during the Genoese period, the position of the Nea Moni must have remained essentially the same. An event in the very early years of the Genoese occupation, which had a considerable socio-political effect on the life of the two communities, the Catholics and the Orthodox, was the conspiracy of 1348. It was organised by a group of local prominent aristocrats allegedly led by the Orthodox Metropolitan of Chios.⁶⁸ The

⁵⁸ Kanellakis, p. 561-2f. Zepos, I, p. 640.

⁵⁹ Kanellakis, p. 562-4. Zepos, I, p. 641.

⁶⁰ Kanellakis, p. 564-5. Zepos, I, p. 642.

⁶¹ Kanellakis, p. 566f. Zepos, I, pp. 643-44.

⁶² Kanellakis, p. 578-80. Zepos, I, pp. 644-45.

⁶³ Tafel-Thomas, *Urkunden*, vol. I, Vienna 1856-1857, p.43ff.

⁶⁴ Kanellakis, pp. 569-574. Zepos, I, pp. 653-56. Zolotas, A1, pp. 494-98.

⁶⁵ Kanellakis, pp. 567-9.

⁶⁶ Argenti, *Occupation*, II, pp. 173-175.

⁶⁷ Argenti, *Occupation*, II, 28-30, I, p. 99.

⁶⁸ M. Giustiniani, *Scio Sacra del Rito Latino*, p. 36. Argenti, *Occupation*, I, pp. 652-653, n. 2 on p. 653. Balard, *Les Grecs de Chio*, p. 8, n. 9.

rising was eventually abortive because the plot was betrayed. The Genoese considered it a violation of the terms of the treaty of 1346 and replaced the metropolitan of Chios with a Vicarius, whose election and sanction of appointment passed to the hands of the Maonesi from that moment and until the end of the Genoese dominion.⁶⁹ No mention is made for the fate of Nea Moni, therefore it is assumed that its status has not been affected adversely.

Parallel to the above-mentioned imperial documents, another supplementary source can be considered: a small number of seals bearing the name of the monastery allows the assumption that the Nea Moni was independent from the Bishop of Chios.

- Three seals of the monastery of Nea Moni of Chios (eleventh - twelfth century).⁷⁰
- Seal of the monks of Nea Moni of Chios, (twelfth century).⁷¹
- ...abbot of the Nea Moni of Chios, (eleventh century).⁷²

b. Jews: subjects of residential segregation and special taxation

The presence of a Jewish community in Chios becomes known to us from three eleventh-century chrysobulls issued by Constantine Monomachos, Constantine Doucas and Nicephoros Botaneiates.⁷³ The largest and more detailed body of information belongs to the Genoese period.⁷⁴

The chrysobull of Monomachos of 1049 informs us of a Jewish minority residing in Chios, laying down a provision for fifteen families which will be, ‘completely free and not subject to any authority’.⁷⁵ Then it enacts that they would be subjects to the Nea Moni, exempted from all taxation, save for the sole obligation to pay to the monastery an annual tax called *kephaletion* or capitation-tax, as the term is interpreted by the scholars.⁷⁶ Zolotas proposes that this clause was laid down to protect the interests of some commercial activities of Nea Moni regarding the silk

⁶⁹ *Occupation*, I, p. 654.

⁷⁰ Nesbitt-Oikonomides, *Catalogue*, 2, no 41.8 (a),(b),(c), p. 125. The seals appear to be from the same boulloterion.

⁷¹ Laurent, *Corpus*, V/2, *L'Église*, Paris, 1965, no 1268, p. 188.

⁷² Laurent, *Corpus*, V/2 : *L'Église*, Paris, 1965, no 1269, p. 188.

⁷³ Argenti, *The Religious Minorities of Chios*, pp. 63ff.

⁷⁴ *Idem*, *The Occupation of Chios*.

⁷⁵: “λευθέρους παντάπασι ντας καί μηδαμο ποκειμένους”. Kanellakis, p. 550f. Zepos, I, 633-4.

⁷⁶ Argenti, *Religious Minorities*, pp. 63-64.

industry. He notes that in the tenth century the Jews were the best workers in silk production.⁷⁷ Chios is known to have been a silk producing place.⁷⁸ It has been surmised that the decree, which, in addition, regulated the prohibition to any other Jew to settle on the island, might have been issued to ensure the protection of the Byzantine merchant from foreign competitors, in this case, the Jewish merchants of Cairo.⁷⁹

Later in the eleventh century, Constantine X Doucas issued a chrysobull with which he ratifies the former decrees of Monomachos and promulgates the *exkousseia*, namely tax exemptions for the Jews.⁸⁰ He also enacted the increase in number of the Jewish families assigned to Nea Moni⁸¹ and included extra clauses regarding the obligations of the Jews: they were compelled to reside in houses which belonged to the monastery and to pay the monks a rent. If they failed to do so, a penalty would be imposed on them, which would amount to the triple of the *kephalition* - tax and of the rent. This provision secured an extra revenue for the Nea Moni plus the overlordship on its newly acquired subjects.

The decree of 1079 by Nicephoros Botaneiates simply sanctions the provisions about the Jews decreed in the older chrysobulls⁸² and reaffirms a revenue to the Nea, equal to two pounds of gold from the chest of the *battalion* of the *Protospatharatoi*.⁸³

According to the scholarly study, the interpretation of the decrees poses problems in respect to the total population of the Jews of Chios. Did their number amount to fifteen families? Or was it rather that fifteen families among a larger community would be assigned to the Nea Moni? Ph. Argenti discusses the issue of the precise

⁷⁷ Zolotas, B', p. 284, n. 1. Argenti, *The Occupation*, I, p. 393, n. 3.

⁷⁸ See section 3.4.1.

⁷⁹ Malamut, *Les iles*, II, p. 439.

⁸⁰ Kanellakis, p. 561f. Zepos, I, p. 640.

⁸¹ The chrysobull is incomplete and its content is guessed at by its title. See the detailed analysis by Argenti, *Religious Minorities*, pp. 65-69. Its missing section is summarised by B.K. Stephanides, whose research on the codices of the Greek Gymnasium at Adrianople brought to light a summary of the missing section of the aforesaid chrysobull, now lost. That research enabled him to infer that in the second part of the chrysobull Constantine Doucas assigned to the Nea Moni an increased number of Jewish families. M. Gedeon, 'Βυζαντινά χρυσόβουλλα καί πιττάκια' *Εκκλησιαστική Αλήθεια*, Constantinople, Year 4, issue 31 (1884), p. 445. B.K. Stephanides, 'Ο κώδικες τ ς δριανουπόλεως', *BZ* 14, (1905), 588-611, no 1156.

⁸² Kanellakis, p. 564f., Zepos, I, p. 642. Argenti, *Religious Minorities*, pp. 70-71.

⁸³ Kanellakis, p. 578f. Zepos, I, pp. 643-44. Miklosič-Müller, *Acta et Diplomata*, V, pp. 8-10.

number of Jewish families, and summarises the views of the scholarly controversy in respect to this matter.⁸⁴ The following inferences are drawn:

a) The total number of the Jewish families residing in Chios in the eleventh century was fifteen. Their increased number, mentioned in the chrysobull of Doucas in 1062, is explained by the fact of their natural increase with children born into their families.⁸⁵

b) the *kephalition* was a special tax designed only for the Jews of Chios.⁸⁶ The latter, therefore, were liable to the monastery for the payment of their tax and their rent, as the clause compelled them to dwell in premises which belonged to the monastery and were situated near it. The chrysobull of Doucas (1062) provides also an interesting information: the number of Jews of Chios was deliberately kept low as a law rendered the island inaccessible to any other Jews coming from the outside.

It emerges that the position of the Jews in Chios was low, equal or, more probably, lower to the rest of the tax-payers. It differed from that of the *paroikoi* as the 'latter were settled on the land and paid tax in this respect, whereas the Jews in all probability had no land'; they paid a *kephalition* tax to an ecclesiastical proprietor, the monastery'.⁸⁷

The testimony of Benjamin of Tudela, who visited Chios in *ca.* 1165 on his journey to the Holy Land, mentions that at the time of his visit the Jewish population of the island amounted to 400 individuals.⁸⁸ This testimony compared with that of the chrysobull of Monomachos, which mentions 'fifteen families', shows a discrepancy in the number of the Jewish population within a span of hundred years. However, Professor Jacoby observes that the 400 individuals of Benjamin refer to the number of tax-payers, whereas the fifteen families of the chrysobull refer to families irrespective of the individuals which are included in each one.⁸⁹

⁸⁴ Argenti, *Religious Minorities*, pp. 76ff. Oikonomides also wrote an article about the Jews of Chios; however he adds nothing new to the matter, which has not already been treated in the monograph of Argenti. He merely repeats the latter's summary and it is striking that his only reference to Argenti concerns solely the scholarly controversy and not the meticulous content of the monograph. See Oikonomides, 'The Jews of Chios (1049): A Group of *Excusati*', in: *Studies in Honour of David Jacoby. Mediterranean Historical Review 10*. London 1995, 218-225. Reprinted in E. Zachariadou (ed.), *Social and Economic Life in Byzantium*, Variorum Reprints, London 2004.

⁸⁵ Argenti, *Religious Minorities*, pp. 66-67.

⁸⁶ The term 'kephalition' in Kedrenos, I, p. 800. Argenti, *Religious Minorities*, p. 92.

⁸⁷ Argenti, *Religious Minorities*, p. 89.

⁸⁸ Argenti-Kyriakides, *Χίος παρά το ς Γεωγράφους και Περιηγητα ς*, vol. I, Athens 1946, pp. 4-5.

Argenti, *Religious Minorities*, pp. 93-99 and n. 2-4 on p. 94.

⁸⁹ Pers. comm.

These are the earliest testimonies that have been preserved. During the Genoese period, the social position of the Jews seems to have been greatly elevated. The reason was their expanded commercial activities and relations, which allowed them to have liquid money. They were engaged mainly in regional trade, such as in small transport of flour, grain (wheat) and of various merchandise between the Greek islands.⁹⁰ We are also informed that they functioned as money lenders and usurers and were made necessary to the Genoese who, although merchants, soon found themselves in a financial tangle. The Jews became eventually the intermediaries of the Mahonesi in the mastic trade.⁹¹ Numerous notarial deeds mention loans from Jews.⁹² As a minority, however, they had the obligation to pay a special communal tax imposed by the Genoese in succession, or in addition to the *kephalition* they formerly paid to Nea Moni.⁹³ In the light of their improved position in the social pyramid and of their role as middlemen and money lenders, Argenti thinks – rightly, in my opinion – that “the Genoese broke the connection between the Jews of Chios and Nea Moni”.⁹⁴ At this point it must be noted that so far as may be discerned from the hitherto published sources, no mention is made that the imperial grant to the monastery concerning the Jews had been violated by the Genoese.

The Jews were assigned to special quarters, known in the sources as ‘ghetto’ or ‘Giudecca’. We are informed that this assignment was first established by the Venetians as early as the twelfth century.⁹⁵ We must assume that Venetians and Jews were dealing in valuable merchandise and slaves.⁹⁶ The ghetto was situated inside the castle area of Chios town, an area from which the Chiot Greeks were expelled, according to the treaty of concession (1346).⁹⁷ Topographical indications show that it was situated to the left of the Porta Maggiore, which is the main gate and entrance to

⁹⁰ Balard, *La Romanie Génoise*, I, p. 336, and n. 480.

⁹¹ Argenti, *Religious Minorities*, pp. 115ff, and esp. 127-137.

⁹² Balard, *op.cit.*, pp. 335-36, and n. 474-6.

⁹³ Argenti, *Religious Minorities*, p. 125.

⁹⁴ *Idem*, pp. 75-6, 115, 146.

⁹⁵ Zakythinios, ‘Μελέται περί τῆς Διοικητικῆς Διαιρέσεως ἐν τῷ Βυζαντινῷ Κράτει’ *EEBS* 17, 1941, 209-210 with the relevant bibliography. The chrysobull of Alexios I Komnenos in 1082 granted to Venice the right to trade freely in Chios. There is also the chrysobull of Alexios III Komnenos of 1191, which renewed this right and Venetians indeed availed themselves of these decrees and established themselves in different parts of the Empire, among them in Chios. Analysis in Zolotas, B’, p. 311, n. 2, & 323.

⁹⁶ Zolotas, *op.cit.* B’, p. 311, stresses that for the same reasons, i.e., for commerce in valuable commodities, Jews were very early established in various parts of the Empire.

⁹⁷ Hieronimo Giustiniani, p. 65. Argenti, *The Occupation*, I, pp. 97-98. *CBC*, vol. II, pp. 26-28.

the castle until today.⁹⁸ It was surrounded by another, inner wall so that it would be secluded.⁹⁹ Hieronymo Giustiniani records that the quarter was initially named ‘*contracta Judeorum*’¹⁰⁰, while in notarial acts appears also as ‘*contracta Iudaice*’, as for example in a deed of the notary Tommaso de Recco, dated on 15 October 1456.¹⁰¹ The ghetto survived until the time of the massacres of 1822. Until the early twentieth century the area was still known as ‘Hebrew quarter – *Εβραιομαχαλάς*’.¹⁰²

Throughout the Genoese period the Jews enjoyed special protection under the *Maonesi*, mainly owing to their involvement in trade, which was a means for liquid money. They invested in real estate and gradually acquired properties and land in various areas of the island. Most of all, liquid money became the means to relief the often hard-pressed *Maonesi* and, consequently, to elevate their social and financial position.¹⁰³

Conclusion

Summing up, the framework into which the Jews of Chios fitted is the following: Until the mid-eleventh century they were ‘free’ as the first chrysobull of Monomachos of 1049 states; their population numbered only fifteen families throughout the island, established exclusively in Chios town. Their small number and the fact that it was officially prohibited to any other Jew to establish themselves on the island, shows that they were sufficiently tolerated by the State. The decree of 1049 and the subsequent sanctions of 1062 and 1079 change their status to a position lower than that of the *paroikoi*. In granting a donation of an entire minority of tax-payers and specialized workforce with a compulsory tax imposed on them, the Emperor endowed the monastery with extra revenue but at the same time ceded his imperial rights to the monastic landlord and tied those subjects to their new powerful landlord.¹⁰⁴ Can we

⁹⁸ Argenti, *Religious Minorities*, pp. 116ff and notes, esp. p. 117 n. 3.

⁹⁹ *Idem*, p. 119.

¹⁰⁰ Hieronimo Giustiniani, p. 65. The name is found in notarial deeds of the late fifteenth century as *Judaica*, and later it was designated as ‘*carrubeus Judayche*’. Argenti, *Religious Minorities*, pp. 117ff. and n. 5,6.

¹⁰¹ Argenti, *Religious Minorities*, pp. 373-75 deed no 2.

¹⁰² Zolotas, *History of Chios*, A’, p. 493, B’ 322-323, n. 3 on p. 323. Argenti, *op.cit.*, p. 119.

¹⁰³ Argenti, *op.cit.*, pp. 121-122. Balard, *op.cit.*, I, pp. 334-338.

¹⁰⁴ Argenti, *Religious Minorities*, p. 70-1. Laiou, *Peasant Society*, 145.

claim that those subjects were considered merely as *res*? At all events, they are compelled by law to offer services.¹⁰⁵

The situation changed to the best for the Jews when the island was annexed to the *Superba*. Money played an important role towards the improvement of their social position. It becomes apparent, however, that the fiscal status of the Jews did not differ from that of the Greeks. As a minority they had the obligation to pay a tax, and they did pay a tax to the Genoese, as the traveller N. de Nicolay mentions in his account of Chios.¹⁰⁶ In addition, both communities, Chiots and Jews were liable to pay the *kharaj*¹⁰⁷ raised from the fourteenth century onwards, which intrinsically constituted the tribute which Chios had to pay to the Ottomans.¹⁰⁸

c. Middle & lower classes: Peasants and *paroikoi*

Middle class

The land proprietors were broken down into great, middle, and small reflecting the three grades of their class.¹⁰⁹ The majority were the small landowners 'for they provided the land produce, paid the taxes and rendered important services in the form of *corvées*'.¹¹⁰ Between the great and the small category another one interfered, the middle class.

Exploitation of Athos' monastic archives enabled scholars to conclude that even in the thirteenth century and later the Byzantine society included in its bosom free, independent peasant land-owners. Among them figured the enrolled soldiers of the 8th - 10th centuries, who possessed parcels of land as a grant for military service.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁵ Charanis, *On the Social Structure*, p. 146. Laiou-Thomadakis, *Peasant society*, p. 34ff.

¹⁰⁶ Argenti-Kyriakides, I, *op.cit.*, pp. 57-68.

¹⁰⁷ Argenti, *Religious Minorities*, pp. 144-146.

¹⁰⁸ E. Basso, <http://www.giustiniani.info/occhio.pdf>, p. 2. In the Latin documents the term 'kharaj' is mentioned as 'caragium'. See Argenti, *Occupation*, vol. II, pp. 302-304 a letter – petition of the Maona to the Doge in 1454.

¹⁰⁹ Svoronos, *Petite et grand exploitation*, p. 327, 330. Oikonomides, 'The Social structure of the countryside in the first half of the Xth century' in: *Symmeikta*, Athens 1996, 105ff

¹¹⁰ Charanis, *On the social structure*, p. 118. N.Svoronos, 'Sur quelques formes de la vie rurale à Byzance: Petite et grande exploitation', in: *AnnalesESC* 11 (1956), (reprinted in Variorum, London 1973), p. 329.

¹¹¹ Charanis, *On the social structure*, pp. 122-3, 126-130, 132. Svoronos, *Petite et grand exploitation*, p. 328. N. Oikonomides, 'Byzantium between East and West, (XIII-XV centuries)', in: *Byzantium and the West c.850-c.1200. Proceedings of the XVIII Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies*, Amsterdam 1988, (ed.) J.D. Howard-Johnston, 319-332, p. 322, n.5. Idem, *The Byzantine Countryside*, pp. 110-112. Laiou, *Byzantine aristocracy*, pp. 141-143. Laiou categorises these men in the lower level of the aristocratic rank, however, I shall agree with Malamut, who considers that they belong to the 'middle class' as they were eventually integrated by the medium and small landowners. E. Malamut, *Les îles de*

Those soldiers belonged to ‘an intermediate category’ – according to the term used by Laiou – the middle class.¹¹² We possess the testimony of John Kantakouzenos for this class, which, besides the property owners, included also teachers, and doctors.¹¹³ The development of industry and commerce in the late tenth to eleventh centuries, contributed to the creation of new wealth and the emergence of merchants, whose presence enhanced further the middle class. From the twelfth century onwards Italian merchants and artisans with their own workshops were added to this group.¹¹⁴

Here, a point needs to be clarified. The people who constituted the middle class have been associated to the ‘*Burgenses*’, a group composed mainly of Italian merchants who appear in the twelfth century.¹¹⁵ Scholars unanimously agree that the Chiot ‘*Burgenses*’, for whom we are relatively well informed, were not a social group; the appellation denotes those inhabitants who dwelt in the quarters outside the walls of the ‘*civitas Chii*’, the harbour – town.¹¹⁶ Those areas outside the walls were named ‘burghi’. The term ‘*Burgenses*’ – ‘Burghers’ denotes rather a topographical indication and not a social body. It must not be confused with the middle class. Zolotas and Argenti state that: ‘The Burghers’ status is clear. They were the property owners or perhaps all those permanently domiciled in the *Burghi* of Chios, that is, in the districts of the town situated outside the walls.....The *Borghesi* made up a substantial percentage of the population of the island and socially pertained to every social stratum; some were nobles, others were not, others came from other places...and a major part of them were craftsmen from different places of Italy’.¹¹⁷

l'Empire Byzantin, 2, pp. 473-477. J-C. Cheynet, ‘The Byzantine Aristocracy (8th-13th centuries)’, in: *The Byzantine Aristocracy and its military function*, I, Variorum, p. 20.

¹¹² Charanis, *On the social structure*, 148-9, and n. 242. N. Svoronos, *Petite et grande exploitation*, pp. 327-8. Laiou-Thomadakis, *Peasant Society*, 142-143ff.

¹¹³ Kantakouzenos, *Historiae*, Bonn 1831, 2:179.

¹¹⁴ Harvey, *Economic Expansion*, pp. 204-5. N. Svoronos, ‘Structures Économiques de l'Empire Byzantin’, *TM* 6 (1976), p. 63.

¹¹⁵ D. Zakythinis, ‘Μελέται περί τ ς Διοικητικ ς Διαιρέσεως’ *EEBS* 17, pp. 208-274.

¹¹⁶ Zolotas, *History of Chios*, III 1, pp. 34-47. Argenti, *Occupation*, I, p.583. *Libro d'Oro*, pp. 17-18. D. Petrocochino, ‘Les classes sociales’ in Argenti, *Libro d'Oro*, I, p. 45. Balard, *Les Grecs de Chio* 5-15. The topic is treated in: Koukounis, *op.cit.*, chapter 1, and notes 24-26.

¹¹⁷ Zolotas, *op.cit.*, Γ1, pp. 34-47. Argenti, *The Occupation*, I, p. 583, 587. Argenti, *Libro d'Oro*, I, pp. 17-18. D. Petrocochino, ‘Les classes sociales’ in *Libro d'Oro*, I, p. 45. Balard, *op.cit.*, p. 10.

Dependent Peasants

The dependent peasants were tenant peasants and formed the most numerous element of the society. In the eleventh century archives of Patmos and Nea Moni we first encounter the term 'paroikoi'. Charanis gives the definition of the term:¹¹⁸ 'A paroikos is a dependent peasant, who had come from other regions, a sojourner in foreign lands, an alien'. The same scholar states that 'the life of a paroikos is linked to the land: he is responsible to cultivate it and pay dues for it. His obligations were incumbent upon his land not upon his person'.¹¹⁹ There were different fiscal grades into which each paroikos fell; the following terms denote the financial position of each group of paroikoi: *ακτήμονες*, that is, 'the paroikoi without oxen';¹²⁰ *ργάται*,¹²¹ are interpreted as 'poor but free persons who entered the service of a landlord as handy men, performing various jobs on his estate'¹²²; *δουλευτοπαροικιοι*: those belonging in this class were simply domestics, manual labourers and other servants. Socially and economically, they occupied the lowest position and were dependent.¹²³ As scholarly research has shown, from the mid-eleventh century they were acknowledged to possess land and pass it on, make wills or alienate their property. Also, during the same century the term 'paroikos' appears in the sources and came to designate alike tenant farmers as well as landholders who paid their taxes not to the state, but to a third party.¹²⁴ The documentation for the Chiot *paroikoi* revolves mainly around Nea Moni.

The chrysobull issued by Monomachos in 1050 ratifying the property of Kalothekeia as a possession of Nea Moni, contains statements for tax-relief for the twenty-four paroikoi of the monastery.¹²⁵ It is noteworthy that those twenty-four individuals are mentioned with their names one by one. In this instance, and due to lack of detailed evidence, it is understood that the *paroikoi* could be either tenant

¹¹⁸ Charanis, *op.cit.*, pp. 134-5.

¹¹⁹ Charanis, *op.cit.*, p.138. Laiou, *Peasant Society*, p. 144.

¹²⁰ Laiou, *Peasant Society*, p. 160. Oikonomides, *Byzantine countryside*, p. 114 and n. 24.

¹²¹ Fragmentary chrysobull of Constantine X Monomachos, listed no 10 above.

¹²² Charanis, *op.cit.*, 139-141, names those people as 'δουλευταί'.

¹²³ *Ibid.*

¹²⁴ Charanis, *op.cit.*, pp. 138-9, 142. *Idem*, 'The Monastic Properties and the State in the Byzantine Empire' *DOP*, 4, 1948, p. 90. Oikonomides, *Byzantium between East and West*, pp. 322-324 and n. 6, 12. Laiou, *Peasant Society*, p. 144. Lefort, 'Rural Economy and Social relations in the Countryside' *DOP* 47 (1993), pp. 111-112. *Idem*, 'The Rural Economy, Seventh-Twelfth Centuries' *EHB*, 1, p. 238, and n. 17, 22. Svoronos, *op.cit.*, 327-328.

¹²⁵ Chrysobull listed no 8 above.

farmers or free landowners, or both, given that the estate is a monastery holding.¹²⁶ We do not have other indications as to judge which lands were owned by the monastery, which parts belonged to lay magnates, and which were peasants' possession.

The chrysobull of Michael VIII Palaeologos (1259) enumerates other holdings of the Nea in various areas of the island and mentions other *paroikoi* of it. This document is of paramount importance for the topographical information which provides. It also gives interesting insights into the life of the small Chiot communities and raises questions regarding the role of the *paroikoi*, as it records different grades. More specifically, it is mentioned:

“τούς ν ατ προσκαθημένους παροίκους...καί ο δύο δουλευτοπάροικοι, ο ν τ μ πορί προκαθήμενοι, τ ε Νικόλαος Ευρυπιώτης καί Γεώργιος Κόμαρος”. And also: “Εκ τήριον γ ία ναστασία μετά τ ν π ’α τήν παροίκων δύο, ο παρακαθήμενοι ε ς τήν Χαλαζουσίαν μετά τν παίδων ατ νπάροικοι ο προσκαθήμενοι ε ς τό μετόχιον τ ν Σιδερούντων, ν μέν ες ωάννης Επ ραγιώτης μετά τ ν παίδων ατ ο νυπόστατος, καί ο τεροι δύο νυπόστατοι”....καί τν π ό το Κοδράτου ζωνηθέντων παρά τς μονς ”.

Here, we learn that two *douleutoparoi* dwelled in the ‘emporion’.¹²⁷ What was this? Obviously, the place name echoes commercial activities, therefore it would not be an exaggeration to claim that the *douleutoparoi* were at the service of some commercial activities of Nea Moni. Was it the Emporeion, a small natural harbour in the extreme south-east of the island? What the total number of the *paroikoi* was, we do not know, for it is not declared specifically. Three among those enumerated are mentioned with their names. However, what one might understand is that not all the people of a village or a site were *paroikoi*, at least *paroikoi* of the monastery. It might be conjectured that free landowners were not rare. Indirectly it is stated that only a few people were at the service of the monastery, offered their labour or paid their taxes to the monastery. This allows us to understand that others might well have been *paroikoi* of a lay landowner or even free property owners.

Overall, the *paroikoi* mentioned in the imperial documents represent male individuals, heads of households, as it is clearly stated. Sometimes, it becomes easy

¹²⁶ Laiou, *Peasant Society*, p. 147.

¹²⁷ K. Sgouros, ‘Τά χρυσόβουλλα της Νέας Μονής’, XX, 1 (1911), 53-76.

to detect the number of the members of the families.¹²⁸ For example, ‘ενυπόστατος μετά των παιδων αυτού’ apparently means the *paroikos* and his wife, and their children. It is notable that the denomination of the peasants comprise the Christian name and the surname.¹²⁹

A common word frequently encountered in all the documents is the adjective ‘προσκαθήμενοι’ denoting the *paroikoi*.¹³⁰ The term refers either to the ‘πάροικοι ο προσκαθήμενοι’ or the Jews ‘τούς προσκαθημένους Ιουδαίους’. Svoronos claims that it is the most generic term for the definition of dependent peasants. I think he is right that the connotation may simply be read : ‘those who dwell near or in a certain place or a certain site....’.¹³¹

The number and recording of *paroikoi* in the chrysobull of Monomachos of 1051, is of great significance. As Laiou stresses, in the eleventh century a limitation was posed to the number of *paroikoi* which could be granted by the state or an individual.¹³² The chrysobull indeed decrees and ratifies a grant which involves a specific and limited number of *paroikoi*. The same applies to the chrysobull issued for the Jews. Even later, in the thirteenth century, the chrysobull of Michael VIII mentions specific numbers of *paroikoi* dwelling in and working on estates owned by Nea Moni.

Amongst the island’s population the slaves held an important role, as they were considered a luxury product.¹³³ The study of the Genoese and post-medieval sources shows also that between the fourteenth and the sixteenth centuries slaves were imported as they were used for domestic work and manual labour. There is documentary evidence that from the early fourteenth century, during the period of Zaccaria, Chios harbour town was famous for its open market, where slaves were

¹²⁸ Laiou, *Peasant Society*, pp. 79, 119ff. J.Lefort, ‘Anthroponymie et Société Villageoise (Xe-XIVe siècle)’, *Hommes et Richesses dans l’Empire Byzantin, VIIIe – XVe siècle*, V.Kravari – J. Lefort – C. Morrisson (eds), *Réalités Byzantines* 3, P.Lethielleux, Paris, 1991, pp. 225-6.

¹²⁹ Lefort, *Anthroponymie*, pp. 225-6.

¹³⁰ Zolotas, B’, pp. 287-88, also gives us the information that until his days, i.e. the early twentieth century, the term *paroikoi* was widely spread in Chios and denoted the leaders [the chiefs] of a peasant house. The name *paroikos* survives until nowadays as a surname (personal observation).

¹³¹ Svoronos, *Petite et Grande Exploitation*, p. 327.

¹³² Laiou, *Peasant society*, p. 151-2.

¹³³ Balard, *La Romanie Génoise (XIIIe – début du XVe siècle)*, vol. I, pp. 308-310. Svoronos, *Petite et Grande Exploitation*, p. 327. M. Kaplan, *Les Hommes et la Terre*, Paris 1992, pp. 275-277.

sold.¹³⁴ The slaves were of various ethnic origin, Bulgars, Saracens, Turks, and others.¹³⁵

The loss of the greatest part of the imperial documents regarding Nea Moni is much to be regretted. In that respect the gap might be filled by analogy by means of the third ratification of Monomachos of the estate of Kalothekeia. The names of the paroikoi mentioned represent characteristics such as family names, kinship, relationship to someone else, nick names. However, those paroikoi dwell in Asia Minor, not in Chios, therefore reflect the social relations in a territory outside Chios.¹³⁶ How very many aspects of the rural social history could we have pieced together, had the Chiot documents survived? The surviving Ottoman archives and censuses are more helpful in this respect and could provide representative statistics by analogy, as they cover the products, the value of production, and the numbers of producers.¹³⁷

The examination of the documents is by no means exhaustive; the paucity of sources does not allow a quantitative analysis which, in its turn, would formulate a representative sample. Undoubtedly the survival of relevant *Praktika* would have contributed to complete the puzzle to a great extent. Despite that limitation, the study of the present important sources helps to understand the forces operating in the Chiot countryside during the period from *ca.* the mid-eleventh to *ca.* the thirteenth century. At all events, the aspects which emerge show that the peasants were intended to bear all the obligations and the aristocrats to enjoy privileges and exemptions.

Apart from the late medieval sources, the picture of the countryside and its inhabitants is also illustrated in post-medieval works of the Western travellers,¹³⁸ foreign diplomats' correspondence and in Ottoman archives.¹³⁹ The picture is enhanced from rural customs and traditions collected and studied by the

¹³⁴ Argenti, *The Occupation*, I, pp. 624-625. Balard, *op.cit.*, I, p. 308. Other Aegean islands held large slave markets, as well. Balard, II, p. 797.

¹³⁵ Balard, *op.cit.*, II, 785 ff. and esp. 826 ff. In the later Genoese and throughout the Ottoman period, African slaves were added to the Chiot market: Argenti, *Diplomatic Archive*, vol. I, introduction.

¹³⁶ Lefort, 'Anthroponymie et Société Villageoise (Xe-XIVe siècle)', *Hommes et Richesses dans l'Empire Byzantin, VIIIe – XVe siècle*, Kravari - Lefort – Morrisson (eds), Réalités Byzantines 3, Lethielleux : Paris, 1991, 225-238.

¹³⁷ Argenti, *Diplomatic Archive of Chios*, vol II, 461 ff. Idem, *Chios Vincta*, *passim*.

¹³⁸ Argenti-Kyriakidis, *passim*.

¹³⁹ *Diplomatic Archive of Chios*, *passim*.

ethnographers of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.¹⁴⁰ Those studies contain sufficient evidence as to postulate continuity of the way of life in the late medieval and post-medieval countryside.

Conclusion

The Chiot society gives the impression of a multi-national and cosmopolitan society and it was, indeed. To a great extent it was remoulded by western influence. The social developments involved mainly demographic expansion and integration. The hierarchy of the stratification remained essentially the same, during the Byzantine and the Genoese periods with the aristocrats holding the landed wealth and the concentration of the political power in their hands. On the other hand, the social position of the agrarian population did not change: they continued to bear the same fiscal burdens and had the same obligations (*corvées*), as they had formerly towards the Byzantine emperor.¹⁴¹

From the stipulations of the treaty of concession to the Genoese (1346) we deduce the sort of privileges, which the local aristocracy had acquired from the Byzantine emperors. They are summarised to grants of land, financial exemptions and important administrative roles, which meant increased political authority. Those rights were recognised and affirmed by the Genoese in the clauses dedicated to the nobility and their retainers. Argenti correctly observes: “In these documents the attitude of the Genoese towards Chios is rather that of one sovereign state to another, for the terms of the Treaty are those of an agreement between equals”.¹⁴² In the Late Genoese period the elite was elevated by the Genoese, when the most illustrious Chiot families were allowed to enrol in the *Libro d’Oro* of the mother country and obtained arms. Thus, apart from being ‘aristocracy’ acquired also ‘nobility’.¹⁴³

¹⁴⁰ The most distinguished are St. Vios, H.Pernot, and A.Stephanou. A work of paramount importance is Pernot’s, *En pays turc: L’île de Chio*, Paris 1903 and the two-volume monograph of Ph.P. Argenti and H.J. Rose, *The Folk Lore of Chios*, Cambridge University Press, 1949, which is entirely written in English. Precious information is provided by Stylianos Vios, however, his articles are all in Greek, dispersed in local journals, therefore not easily accessible to the scholar.

¹⁴¹ Argenti, *The Occupation*, II, pp 28-32. Charanis, *On the social structure and economic organisation of the Byzantine Empire*, pp. 96-97.

¹⁴² Argenti, *The Occupation*, I, p. 104.

¹⁴³ Laiou, *op.cit.*, 133, in her study of the aristocracy of the Palaeologan period argues that there was a Byzantine aristocracy but not nobility. In Chios, integration with the western influences elevated the Chiot-Genoese aristocrats to the nobility, in the sense that they enrolled in the Golden Bible of the mother-country and acquired arms. Koukounis, *op.cit.* chapters 1 – 2.

3.2. HISTORICAL TOPOGRAPHY: MONASTIC HOLDINGS AND LAY ESTATES

Nea Moni

Whereas other Greek lands present a rich documentary evidence, as for example, Macedonia, for the study of which scholars rely on Athos' archives, the state of our sources for Byzantine Chios is extremely scanty, rendering it unable to document the ages prior to the 1304, when the Genoese period began. The gap is aggravated by the lack of *Praktika*. The picture about the island's lay proprietors does not appear to be very clear. Between secular and ecclesiastical magnates, only for Nea Moni do we possess rather more detailed evidence in respect to its estates and possessions. On account of its imperial patronage it is the best known magnate, which very soon grew to be the largest magnate of the island. The study of the imperial statements for the monastery gives citations of transactions that were made between the monastery and other individuals: in the chrysobull of Michael VIII Palaeologus, for example, Nea Moni appears to have purchased parcels of land from a person who may have been a lay magnate, a certain Kodratos. This person is indeed identified with certainty with the aristocrat Eustathios Kodratos, who was active in the late twelfth century, and was the donor and owner of the church of Panaghia Krina, in central Chios.¹⁴⁴ Other plots of land appear to have been donated or sold to the monastery by another family, the Cheilades (Chelades); The Cheilades were another great aristocratic family who were active in Chios and Asia Minor.¹⁴⁵ We also learn that the monastery is a real estate owner: among the edifices which it possesses, figure two warehouses situated in the harbour, undoubtedly of Chios town, two public baths, churches and buildings inside the fort of Chios town. One out of the three churches mentioned, Aghios Nikolaos has been identified with that, where the treaty of 1346 was signed. It is situated in the south part of the kastron of Chios, towards to the modern harbour.¹⁴⁶

Other data included in the same document give interesting topographical information on some settlements, such as that of Siderounda, which falls into the

¹⁴⁴ *Infra*, section 3.3.

¹⁴⁵ Zolotas, B', p. 325, n. 1.

¹⁴⁶ A. Sarou, *Τό κάστρον της Χίου*, p. 57.

scope of this study. Siderounda is easily identifiable since it survives until today with the very same name. The document also mentions that paroikoi are residing in the ‘*metochion* of the people (inhabitants) of Sierounda (μετόχιον των Σιδερούντων)’. Indeed, a toponym of the area is the ‘Metochi’ extending towards the southern outskirts of Siderounda.

The Kalothekeia estate in the peninsula of Erythraea, opposite Chios, fell into the jurisdiction of the Thrakesion theme and is considered the most important among the possessions of Nea Moni – in the light of the present state of our knowledge.¹⁴⁷ It is surmised that the estate was situated near the Hermos river.¹⁴⁸ Three chrysobulls of Monomachos are known to us (January 1044),¹⁴⁹ dealing with the Kalothekeia estate, which the monks had bought from the sons of the Katakalon.¹⁵⁰ The chrysobulls ratify the estate as the property of Nea Moni and lay down exemptions from taxes and corvées for twenty-four paroikoi of the Nea. Because the estate is no longer mentioned in the chrysobull of Michael Palaeologos (1259), it was surmised that the Nea lost it to the Franks during the Latin conquest (1204). Another estate in the Erythraean peninsula is the Perama or Linoperamata, where the Nea possessed a metochion.¹⁵¹

Malamut reckons that Kalothekeia must have been more than 20,000 *modioi* in measure. She compares the revenues and properties of Nea Moni and the monastery of John Theologos in Patmos and infers that the possession of Nea exceeded those of Patmos in the late twelfth century. However, I do not know on what grounds she is based to provide these figures.¹⁵² An approximation of the number of land possessions is given by the surviving chrysobulls. In respect to the number of livestock that the Nea would undoubtedly possessed, as a large magnate, we have no indications whatsoever.¹⁵³

¹⁴⁷ Kanellakis, *Chiaka Analekta*, p. 545ff. Zepos, *Jus Graecoromanorum*, I, pp. 615-618, Miklosiç-Müller, *Acta et Diplomata Graeca*, IV, pp. 1-8. Undoubtedly, the lost imperial documents of the monastery would have mentioned other equally important land possessions.

¹⁴⁸ Kyrillos Trechakis, ‘Τοπωνυμικά καὶ Τοπογραφικά’, XX 2, 1914, pp. 84-85. H. Ahrweiler, ‘L’histoire et la géographie de la région de Smyrne entre les deux occupations turques (1081-1317)’, *TM* 1 (1965), p. 68.

¹⁴⁹ Kanellakis, p. 545ff. Zepos, *Jus Graecoromanorum*, I, pp. 615-618.

¹⁵⁰ There is the toponym ‘Katakalous’ in the area of Parparia.

¹⁵¹ K. Sgouros, ‘Τά χρυσόβουλα της Νέας Μονής’, XX (1911), 53-76. H. Ahrweiler, ‘L’ Histoire et la Géographie de la Région de Smyrne, Entre les Deux Occupations Turques (1081-1317)’, *TM* 1 (1965), p. 52.

¹⁵² Malamut, II, pp. 413-16.

¹⁵³ Harvey, *Economic expansion*, p. 146.

In May 1046, another chrysobull of Monomachos decrees that Nea Moni is granted annual income in kind equal to 1000 *modioi* of wheat (bread) from the estate of Mangana at Vessae.¹⁵⁴ In June 1048 the same emperor endowed the Nea with an *aplekton*, situated in the quarter *Angouria* in Constantinople to be used as a residence for the monks during their visits to the capital.

The chrysobull of Isaac Komnenos (no 12 in the above list) gives very interesting information about conflicts (?) between the great magnates of Chios and the monastery in respect to the land and its revenues. After the death of Monomachos, the Empress Theodora issued a chrysobull with which she recalled the privileges of the monastery; then, its founders were exiled after accusations of disloyalty. It was decreed that from then onwards the Nea Moni as an institution, and its estates, would be conceded to the Oikoproasteion.¹⁵⁵ As it is deduced, the monastic lands were growing at the expense of the interests of secular magnates and high provincial officials. Therefore, we assume that the latter availed themselves of the Empress' decrees. However, Isaac Komnenos reconstituted this injustice.

The monastery was able to renew its imperial privileges and retain them throughout its long foreign dominions.¹⁵⁶ Alike its counterpart in Patmos, the monastic possessions all the more expand from the mid-eleventh century. During the Frangokratia the fate of its possessions is not known, for there is no direct documentation; however, the confirmations and sanctions decreed in the chrysobull of Michael VIII, issued in 1259, imply that the monastery had great losses, which the chrysobull reconstitutes.¹⁵⁷

Among the grants conferred to Nea Moni was the following judicial privilege dated to 1049: in the case of litigation over monastic property the monks could appeal to any court against anyone who disputed or molested its rights on property or entered its property; whereas, lawsuit directed against the Nea Moni could be judged solely

¹⁵⁴ It might be a mere coincidence, but there is a settlement in southeast Chios named 'Vessa'.

¹⁵⁵ In reference to the Oikoproasteion, vide Zolotas, B', p. 294.

¹⁵⁶ Argenti, *The Occupation of Chios*, I, p. 99 and n. 2 on the same page; vol. II, p. 32, clause 15 (Argenti writes '14') of the Treaty between Simone Vignoso and the Greek nobility of Chios, 12 September 1346: "...Item voluerunt et consenserunt quod ecclesia et monasteria et clerici dicte Insule que sunt obligata in aliquo domino Imperatori deinceps sint obligata et submissa comuni Janue prout errant dicto Imperatori". *Idem.*, *Chios Vincita*, (1566-1912), Cambridge 1941, *passim*. *

¹⁵⁷ Zolotas, B'. pp. 331-2.

by the emperor.¹⁵⁸ Oikonomides explains the judicial privilege in favour of Nea Moni on account of the Constantinopolitan ideological trends directed from the Stoudion Monastery. The founders of the Nea in their monastic life followed trends and practices other than those prevailing in Constantinople, therefore their ideological opponents attempted to pervert their cenobitic practices and deprive the monastery of its lands.

The imperial grants and the treaty of 1346 appear to have secured the possessions of the monasteries of the island, including Nea Moni, during the second Genoese period.¹⁵⁹ However, Only in the later Genoese period, namely in 1509, do we learn from surviving documents of that period that monastic possessions and revenues were encroached upon by Genoese nobles or confiscated and passed to the Latin bishop of Chios. Zolotas claims that the Genoese gradually deprived the monastery from its best estates.¹⁶⁰ Bishop Andreades presents relevant documentation dated from the late Genoese period, confirming the confiscations:¹⁶¹ it is an appeal of the Nea to the Chiot political authorities for helping the monastery to reconstitute ‘the injustices’ of the Mahonesi. The monks appealed to the Podestà of Genoa a petition.¹⁶² They did the same with the Pope; however, even the intervention of the Holy Seat, to which the issue became known, failed to put its decisions into being.¹⁶³ Probably the encroachments would have happened after the fall of Constantinople (1453), when all the imperial decrees involving the grants were void.¹⁶⁴

¹⁵⁸ *Chiaka Analekta*, 1890, p. 542ff. *Jus Graecoromanorum*, I, pp. 629-631. N. Oikonomides, ‘Τό δικαστικό προνόμιο της Νέας Μονής Χίου’, *Symmeikta*, 11, Athens, 1997, 49-62, (reprinted in *Social and Economic Life in Byzantium*, El. Zachariadou (ed.), Variorum Reprints, 2004).

¹⁵⁹ Gregory Photeinos, *Ta Neamonesia*, pp. 114-115 claims that the Nea had retained its privileges under the Maona. Balard, *La Romanie Génoise*, I, p. 346, n. 517.

¹⁶⁰ Zolotas, B’, 338-9.

¹⁶¹ I. Andreadis, *στορία τ ς ν Χί ρθοδόξου κκλησίας*, Athens, 1940, 240-241.

¹⁶² *The Occupation*, I, p. 287.

¹⁶³ *Acta et Diplomata Graeca*, III, p. 260.

¹⁶⁴ Andreadis, *op.cit.*, pp. 55 ff. Argenti, *Occupation*, I, p. 654, 656. The matter was serious and was referred to Rome, and to the Podestà of Genoa, however the outcome is not known. For the relations between the Catholics and the Orthodox see *Occupation*, I, pp. 651 ff. *Idem*, *The Religious Minorities of Chios*, Cambridge, pp. 205ff.

Lay estates

Information on lay estates and wealthy proprietors comes mainly from the central and southern Chios, where written documentation and/or historical or archaeological evidence exist. Where the historical or archaeological record is lacking, the toponymy comes for assistance. Very frequently toponyms echo Byzantine court offices or names: both are indicative of the relationship to wealthy individuals and/or landlords. For example, Kanavoutsaton¹⁶⁵, Vestarchaton¹⁶⁶, Strategaton,¹⁶⁷ Basileonoikos, Basilika, Prasteia (Proasteia), Daimonitzaton¹⁶⁸ (Eudaimonitzes), Ta Markou, Angelou, Barda(nou), Kouratora, Katakalous¹⁶⁹, Kalargyrou, Kodratou,¹⁷⁰ Pagomenou¹⁷¹ (Pepagomenos), and so on.¹⁷² Another indication is a certain number of churches dispersed in the countryside, some of which have been associated with certain private individuals by means of inscriptions or other written documentation.

Documentary evidence for some sites renders possible to know that lands acquired by imperial grants were owned by aristocrats and high officials; families dominated over entire areas and became owners of vast lands.¹⁷³ Names of renowned Chiot families related to remains of building complexes are the undeniable witness to that: Aghios Ioannis Argenti, Aghios Basil Petrochinos and the like.¹⁷⁴ Again, the south part of the island takes the lion's share. More definite evidence is derived from Genoese notarial deeds, or acts from the Ottoman period and family archives of archontes. The seventh clause of the treaty of concession (1346) enacts that 200 residences situated inside the Kastron of Chios town would be confiscated from their owners and conferred to the Genoese.¹⁷⁵ Two hundred is a huge number for the dimensions of the Chiot castle. We learn, therefore, from this clause that the dwelling place of the local elite was inside the Kastron area.

¹⁶⁵ Kanellakis, p. 415, n.1 ; Zolotas, A1, p. 511.

¹⁶⁶ Zolotas, A2, p. 508.

¹⁶⁷ Zolotas, A2, p. 518, *Acta et Dipl.* I, 506.

¹⁶⁸ Zolotas, A2, 508.

¹⁶⁹ Zolotas, A2, p. 512, *Acta et Dipl.* II, 455.

¹⁷⁰ Zolotas, A2, 509, 512.

¹⁷¹ Zolotas, A2, 516.

¹⁷² Zolotas, *op.cit.*, A2, 498ff. B', p. 325 and n. 1.

¹⁷³ Charanis, *On the social structure and economic organisation of the Byzantine Empire*, pp. 97ff.

¹⁷⁴ Koukounis, *op.cit.*

¹⁷⁵ Argenti, *C.B.C., The Occupation*, II, pp. 28-32.

A deed dated from the early Genoese period, 19 May 1381, informs us about the possessions of a wealthy and important landowner in the island, Pietro Recanelli, who owned properties in the villages of Amadhes, Chalkeios, Kalamoti, Lithi, Mesta, Pyrghi and Volissos.¹⁷⁶ The existence of great holdings is well attested by the later sources, and their identification to a great extent is assisted or confirmed by the toponyms.

Based on this conviction, and also assisted by lead seals of officials, and by analogy from other areas, we may claim that during the tenth to eleventh century the Chiot powerful must have made up their landed wealth. Accordingly, Nea Moni made new investments of its land revenues. Hence, the monumental orgasm from the eleventh century onwards is easily explained.¹⁷⁷

Thus, the site *Vestarchaton* in central Chios, 500 km north of the settlement Daphnonas, echoes the renowned Byzantine family of Vestarchi,¹⁷⁸ name echoing a court title. The church, which still stands there, is what remains of a series of building complexes and has undergone several construction phases. It is dedicated to the Virgin *Strategousaina* (of the Strategos).¹⁷⁹ Another church is the Panaghia Krina,¹⁸⁰ in central Chios as well, which has been identified as the private chapel of an illustrious local family with close links to the imperial circles at Constantinople: a mural painting on the south arcosolium of the *esonarthex* (the inner narthex) depicts the images of the patrons of the church, and bears an inscription with their names and the chronology: Eustathios Kodratos¹⁸¹ and his wife, Eirene Doukaina Pepagomeni¹⁸² with the date 1197 (6605 from the creation of the world). This is the first layer of frescoes.¹⁸³ Panaghia Krina bears three different layers of frescoes.¹⁸⁴ A third male figure is depicted in a prominent position on the wall of the *Bema*: it is Stephanos

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, III, pp. 885-894.

¹⁷⁷ Malamut, *op.cit.*, II, p. 413, 425.

¹⁷⁸ E. Trapp, *Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit*, (thereafter *PLP*) vol. 2, Wien, (1977), p. 64.

¹⁷⁹ Just a small mention in: Koilakou, *AD 34* (1979), p. 363.

¹⁸⁰ Andreades, *op.cit.*, pp. 279-280.

¹⁸¹ F. Winkelmann, *Prosopographie der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit*, band 2, Walter de Gruyter, Berlin, NY, 2000, p. 474. *PLP*, vol. 5, (1981), p. 201.

¹⁸² *PLP* 9, (1989), p. 56 for the name 'Pagomenos', pp. 194-9, for the 'Pepagomenos'.

¹⁸³ G. Mastoropoulos, 'Παρατηρήσεις σέ μιá οικοδομική φάση της Παναγίας Κρίνας Χίου', *AD 34* (1979), A' Meletai, p. 260, n. 2. Ch. Bouras, 'Τό τέμπλο της Παναγίας Κρίνας καί η χροολόγησή της', *ΔΧΑΕ*, 4th period, vol. X, (1980-1981), 165-180. Andreades, in his book 'The history of the Chiot Orthodox Church' mentions erroneously the date 1287 (6795 from the creation of the world). This date, however, is attributed to a refurbishment of the church, since it belongs to the second layer of frescoes on the south arcosolium of the *esonarthex*.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

Pepagomenos, bishop of Ypaipa in Asia Minor, and uncle of Eirene Skleraina.¹⁸⁵ Notably, a place-name in central Chios is the 'Kodratou', that is, the name Kodratos in genitive.¹⁸⁶ The name 'Ioannis Pepagomenos' was located by Zolotas in an early-seventeenth century codex (1605) of the Latin Bishobric of Chios.¹⁸⁷ Another church is the Panaghia *Sikelia*, in the south, which is known from the sources to have belonged to a distinguished member of the Byzantine aristocracy, Kaloyannis Zyvos (Cibo). Zyvos, as was mentioned, was the governor of the island, and played a key role during the siege of Chios by the Genoese (1346) and after the concession of Chios he was appointed governor of the Two Phocaeas.¹⁸⁸ In central Chios, and specifically in the settlement Daphnonas, there is the church dedicated to Panaghia Coronata (today spelt corruptly as Panaghia *Kourna*), and another dedicated to Christ Redeemer, both private shrines of the Damalas family.¹⁸⁹ Among other examples is Agios Ioannis *Argenti*, situated off the deserted settlement *Palaios Katarraktis* in the south-east. Its name bears witness to its owner, the Byzantine family of Argenti.¹⁹⁰ Traces of a precinct wall and a tower are still visible. Another shrine in central Chios is Aghios Phanourios at Dafnonas, whose owner has not yet been identified. It bears on the exterior façade a marble carved decoration with the arms of a Latin family.¹⁹¹ These shrines were dedicated to the patron saints of the families.¹⁹² Today they are tacit witnesses of the relics of complicated architectural complexes which occupied their surroundings.¹⁹³

Epilogue

Undoubtedly the climate which fostered the paramount rise in power of the lay aristocrats in Chios can be understood by the socio-economic context of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Particularly the era of Monomachos saw the rise of the

¹⁸⁵ E. Ragia, «Υπαίπων Μητρόπολις», 2003, *Encyclopaedia of the Hellenic World, Asia Minor* <http://www.ehw.gr/l.aspx?id=6583>.

¹⁸⁶ Zolotas, A2, p. 494. By analogy, the same occurs with other place-names, such as Ta Markou, Ta Vasileiou, and so on.

¹⁸⁷ Zolotas, III 1, p. 459.

¹⁸⁸ Zolotas, A2, pp. 471-2.

¹⁸⁹ Zolotas, A2, p. 539-540.

¹⁹⁰ Koukounis, *op.cit.*, chapter 1.

¹⁹¹ *Eadem*.

¹⁹² *Eadem*, with the relevant bibliography.

¹⁹³ Discussion in chapter 2.

civil aristocracy who drew its privileges from the imperial entourage.¹⁹⁴ The reign of this emperor is linked to the affairs of Nea Moni. The relations between the Emperor personally and the Chiot monastery account for the tremendous growth of the latter's holdings and eventually its rise to become the largest magnate of the island. The monastery safeguarded its interests which were under the auspices of the Emperor proper.

For the lay elite of Chios written documentation for the period prior to the fourteenth century is non-existent. To put that group by and large into the eleventh century context would not carry much conviction in its own right. More than the links which bonded the Chiot archontes with the palace, we should count the fact that Chios was a province situated not very close to the capital. Therefore, it would be plausible to assume that only an echo of the conflict between the civil and military aristocracy would have reached the island. This conjecture is supported by the historical facts of the early fourteenth century, on the eve of the concession of the island to Benedetto Zaccaria and the brief Byzantine interlude prior to the arrival of the fleet of Simone Vignoso, 1329-1346. Those periods witnessed the complete triumph of the landed aristocrats when they received in their hands the power to rule over the island. Chios was rich in agricultural products and resources. As the example of Nea Moni shows, the exploitation of the secular lands offered to their owners rich produce.¹⁹⁵ They lived miles away from the capital, secured their status and interests with imperial concessions and *prostagmata* (decrees); their status and power derived from and were linked to, the place where they dwelled. Those were the physical leaders of the island community, from where their soldiers were recruited. They were also called upon to sit as judges in disputes.¹⁹⁶ For the Chiot elite the quintessence of their class derived from birth, status and high office. In this respect, even though we lack source material, we should visualise a major part of the lower classes at the disposal and service of the magnates as *paroikoi*, or 'clientele' or even private army.¹⁹⁷ It is this triumph that predominates.

¹⁹⁴ H. Ahrweiler, 'Recherches sur la société byzantine au XIe siècle : nouvelles hiérarchies et nouvelles solidarités', *TM* 6 (1976), 99-124.

¹⁹⁵ Charanis, *Social Structure and Economic Organisation*, p. 146.

¹⁹⁶ *Ibid*, pp. 122-23. Even in the Ottoman period, it is very well attested that the local powerful of each village community (*koinotita*) were authorised to seat as judges in local disputes, especially involving lands, and negotiations with the Sultan and his representatives.

¹⁹⁷ Ahrweiler, *Recherches*, p. 117, she uses the term 'milices privées'.

The particularity of Chios must be placed into this context. Accordingly, we must imagine conflicts and antagonisms between lay and ecclesiastical magnates – political and religious leaders – for the possession of land. The consecutive chrysobulls which ratified grants and privileges in favour of the monastery and protected it against any encroachments on its property or molestations are eloquent evidence to that in the second half of the eleventh century.

The process of feudalisation or state of autonomy¹⁹⁸ of Chios reached its apogee before and during the long Genoese period.

3.3. PROSOPOGRAPHY

The family name in the aristocratic classes becomes systematic from the twelfth century and is transmitted from one member to another hereditarily.¹⁹⁹ This section presents a selective list of Chiot Byzantine or Chiot-Genoese families and individuals, for which there is mention in the written sources of the period under examination. The Chiot-Genoese branches present continuity from the fourteenth century throughout the nineteenth to early twentieth centuries. It was thought necessary to include this section here, for a better documentation and understanding of our topic.

GEORGIO AGELASTO. Georgio Agelasto, *Syndicus et procuratore domini Caloianni Civo*, is mentioned as one of the Chiot signatories of the treaty of concession of Chios to the Genoese (1346).²⁰⁰ The P.L.P. places the known testimonies of the family into the late period within a time span beginning in 1320 until 1453; however, court officials are mentioned much earlier by Porphyrogennitus, one of whom is the protospatharios Leon Agelastos.²⁰¹

THE GREAT FALCONER ARGENTI. The Argenti family ranks in the ‘Quintet’ in the *Libro d’Oro* of Chios. It is linked to Genoa, as their place of origin is considered

¹⁹⁸ Ahrweiler, *Recherches*, p. 118. Laiou, *Peasant Society*, pp. 4-7.

¹⁹⁹ Lefort, *Anthroponymie*, p. 232.

²⁰⁰ Zolotas, A2, pp. 262-64. *CBC in Argenti, The Occupation*, II, p. 29. *PLP*, Addenda, (Vienna 1995), p. 2.

²⁰¹ Constantine Porphyrogennitus, *De Administrando Imperio*, (Bonn, 1840), ch. 50, p. 223.

to be Ariento in Liguria,²⁰² from where they moved to Constantinople. According to the biographer of the genealogical tree, and prominent offspring, Philip Argenti, their first documented ancestor had allegedly settled in Constantinople after the first Crusade (1096-1099). Members of that house moved to Chios in the thirteenth century, during the Latin conquest of the Byzantine empire. The Argenti assumed quickly political power and became distinguished officials in the Byzantine court. The treaty of submission of Chios in 1346, and the second treaty of the submission of the two Phocaeas, bear the name and signature of the ‘Great Falconer – *Protoieracari*’²⁰³ Argenti’, informing us that that official was one of the Chiot lords, who represented the people of Chios during that historical event.²⁰⁴ The PLP mentions only a notary of Chios active in 1402.²⁰⁵ Throughout the Genoese occupation, the family enjoyed a prominent position in the social and political hierarchy and eventually enrolled in the *Libro d’Oro* of Genoa in 1528. It is noteworthy that the symbol which was granted as a crest on their arms was a falcon, reminiscent of the function of the ‘*proto-Geracari*’.²⁰⁶ This officer is the leader of the body of ‘the hunters who are skilled in the art of falconry’.²⁰⁷

BASILIKOI (VASILIKOI).²⁰⁸ Zolotas mentions that the name Basilikos (Vasilikos) is very common both as a family- and as a place-name, on account of the title. In reference to this study, the name is linked to the site ‘Basilika’ off Volissos,²⁰⁹ hence its consideration here. The PLP includes the entry ‘Basilikos’ as an individual name or as a last name.²¹⁰ A ‘Basilikos πρωθιερακάριος’ is attested in *ca.* 1300.²¹¹

²⁰² Zolotas, *op.cit.*, A2, p. 267-271 ; a chronological table of the Argenti of Chios, on pp. 272-287.

Also, the monograph of Argenti, *στορία το Χιακο Ο κου τ ν ργέντη*. Athens, 1922. Idem, *Libro d’Oro*, I, pp. 24ff, 51-6, II, p. 291.

²⁰³ Pachymeres, *De Michaelis Palaeologo*, I, 24.4: «...τόν δέ τρίτον τ ν δελφ ν προβάλλεται πρωθιερακάριν, νδρας ο κ ε γενείας μέν μετέχοντας τό παράπαν...».

²⁰⁴ CBC, in Argenti, *The Occupation*, II, pp. 29. Zolotas, *op.cit.*, A2, pp. 267ff.

²⁰⁵ PLP 1, (Vienna 1976), p. 116.

²⁰⁶ Koukounis, *op.cit.*, pp. 25-6.

²⁰⁷ Pseudo-Kodinos, 24, 21: Τό το πρωθιερακαρίου σκιάδιον, τό καββάδιον, καί τ σκαράνικον, μοια το ς το μεγάλου δνουμιαστο , φέρει δ’ πί ζώνης χειρόρτιον ριστερόν, χον περί τήν τ ς ε σόδου κραν ρραμένον μαργέλλιον, φαντόν, φέρον ετούς ξε ς». Α τόθι δέ καί περί τ ς α λικ ς τάξεως: « πρωθιερακάριος ρχει τ ν φερόντων ρνεα κυνηγ ν».

²⁰⁸ Zolotas, A2, pp. 291.

²⁰⁹ Cf. chapter 2.

²¹⁰ PLP 2, (Vienna 1977), pp. 42-44.

²¹¹ PLP 2, p. 43.

CHEILADES (CHELADES).²¹² Voyatzides writes that the Cheilades was a great medieval lineage, whose roots date from the thirteenth century. There were many different branches spread throughout the Hellenic lands of the Byzantine territory – one of which was the Chiot branch – which are not necessarily related to each other.²¹³ Ahrweiler notes a high official, Constantine Cheilas, associated with the region of Smyrna in 1293.²¹⁴ The vicinity with Chios could establish some relation. The *PLP* mentions a certain Φιλανθρωπινή Ευδοκία (Χειλ) in 1315; in 1366 a certain Ioannes το Χειλ in the Brondochion monastery, at Mystras. In the very early fifteenth century, in 1407, another Cheilas is found in Lemnos.²¹⁵ Nowadays the name Cheilas is very common throughout north-western Chios and is traced in late Ottoman village codices, as well.

GORDATOS or KORDATOS (KODRATOS?).²¹⁶ Ahrweiler mentions that the house of Gordatos was an old, Byzantine lineage indigenous of the theme of Thrakesion and counts them among the families, which were established in the region of Smyrna in the thirteenth century.²¹⁷ However, the name Kodratos (not Kodratos) appears on a seventh (?) century lead seal.²¹⁸ Later, the family formed alliance with another Byzantine family, the Mavros, indigenous of Chios,²¹⁹ and hence a new house was created, the Mavrogordato or Mavrocordato directly linked to the island.²²⁰ As a place-name, *Tou Kordatou* is frequently encountered in northern Chios.

DAMALAS. An Ioannis Damalas is traced in the theme of Thrakesion in 1230. The *PLP* mentions a certain Damalas in fourteenth-century Thessalonica.²²¹ From the Palaeologan period the family has been associated with Chios, for a high official, named Damalas, *Protokomes* of Chios, appears in 1346, as one of the signatories of the Chiot aristocrats in the treaty of the concession of New Phocaea to the

²¹² *PLP* 12, (1994), pp. 211-12.

²¹³ I.K. Voyatzides, 'Οι πρίγκηπες Χειλάδες της Λακεδαίμονος', *NE*, pp. 192-5. *Acta et Diplomata*, II, p. 11.

²¹⁴ Ahrweiler, *Smyrne*, pp. 150-51.

²¹⁵ *PLP* 12, p. 211.

²¹⁶ *PLP* 2, (1977), pp. 221-22. *PLP* 5 (1981), p. 201.

²¹⁷ Ahrweiler, *Smyrne*, p. 170. Zolotas, A2, pp. 315-16.

²¹⁸ *Prosopographie der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit*, vol. 2, Berlin – NY, 2000, p. 474.

²¹⁹ For the name Mavros, *PLP* 7, (Vienna 1985), pp. 167-169.

²²⁰ Koukounis, *op.cit.*, ch. 2. Zolotas, A2, p. 389ff.

²²¹ *PLP* 3 (1978), p. 5. Zolotas, A2, pp. 316-17.

Genoese(20th September 1346).²²² In particular, it is documented that Damalas and the Great Falconer Argenti came together out of the city castle escorted by their soldiers. In Daphnonas, a settlement in central Chios associated with many Byzantine families, there is the site *Tou Damala*, with a church and a tower, possibly a manor house.

LEON KALOTHETOS. The family ranks among the oldest Byzantine lineages with direct links to the imperial court.²²³ They are first traced in Asia Minor in the thirteenth century, in 1223, from where they moved to Chios; there is a certain Theodotos Kalothetos, *pansebastos* and *sebastos*, *dux* of the Thrakesion, in 1259;²²⁴ an earlier, however, reference of the twelfth century mentions a priest Kalothetos in Crete.²²⁵ As it was mentioned above, the first historical recording of the Chiot branch is in Kantakouzenos. It is recorded that the Kalothetoi and Kantakouzenoi had family affinities.²²⁶ Leon Kalothetos was the governor of Chios until 1340 or 1341. He was deprived of his office shortly before the outbreak of the civil war of 1341-1347 after the hostility of Alexios Apokaukos against him. Leon was appointed governor of Phocaea, office which he held until 1356, when his own son, Ioannes, ousted him.²²⁷ The latter held the governorship of Phocaea until 1358, when he was ousted by the Maona.

MICHAEL KORESSIOS, the Grand Sakellarios and SEVASTOS KORESSIOS the *Syndicus* (or CORESSI):²²⁸ The family belonged to the third stem of the Chiot elite, the Chiot – Genoese.²²⁹ These two officials, Michael and Sevastos, are the first historical mention of this lineage recorded in the treaty of concession of Chios to the Genoese (1346). They were Zyvos' nephews and both had a leading role in the events prior to and during the concession²³⁰. The Chiot historians mention that Michael

²²² CBC in Argenti, *The Occupation*, II, p. 38.

²²³ Zolotas, A2, pp. 333-34. Amantos, 'Γενεαλογικά κ Χίου', *EEBS* 26, (1956), pp. 38-40. *PLP* 5, pp. 56-59.

²²⁴ Ahrweiler, *Smyrne*, pp. 146-7.

²²⁵ Amantos, *op.cit.*, p. 38, n. 5, 8.

²²⁶ Kantakouzenos, I, pp. 371, 384-387. *PLP* 5, (1981), p. 59.

²²⁷ Hopf, *Les Giustiniani*, pp. 41-43.

²²⁸ The script 'Coressi' is the Italianised form.

²²⁹ Zolotas, B', 382-383. Amantos, *Γενεαλογικά*, p. 40.

²³⁰ CBC in Argenti, *The Occupation*, II, p. 29.

Coressi was the Master of the Fortress of Chios town.²³¹ During the Genoese period this office was retained; the Genoese responsible for the castle was a high official known as the *Castellanus* of the fortress of Chios ranking next in importance to the Podestà, the supreme governor of the island.²³² A toponym *Tou Koressi* with ruins of a tower is found in western Chios, in the outskirts of the settlement Lithi, a natural harbour. The family enrolled early in the *Libro d'Oro* of Genoa.²³³

KANAVOUTZIS. Ioannis Kanavoutzis was *Megas Droungarios* in the imperial court in 1324.²³⁴ The family name is also mentioned in the chrysobull of Manuel Komnenos (1148) to the Venetians.²³⁵ Prior to their connections with Chios, the Kanavoutzai appear in Lesbos and Samothrace, according to Zolotas. Others figure in Constantinople and Thrace in the fifteenth century. A cartulary of the Moundon Monastery, in north Chios, contains an act or contract, dated 27 November 1622, where the name of the priest Gregorios Kanavoutzis appears.²³⁶ Kanellakis gives brief information about the Chiot branch of Kanavoutzis. There is the toponym *Kanavoutzaton* in central Chios, situated between the settlements Ververaton and Daphnonas. Kanellakis notes that this was an estate in which stood a Byzantine tower (rather a manor house) surrounded by other supplementary buildings, in very good condition, until the disastrous earthquake of 1881. The writer wonders if it would not be tempting to attempt to associate the site Kanavoutzaton with the estate of the *Megas Droungarios* Ioannis Kanavoutzis, mentioned in middle Byzantine sources. We find, however, another site *Kanavoutzaton* north of Volissos, towards the settlement of Old Potamia, near *Ta Markou*. The name in feminine gender, Kanavoutzena, figures also in a post Byzantine act of the monasteries of Myrsiniotissa and of S. Michael (Prati) on Lesbos island (dated 15 March 1527).²³⁷

²³¹ Zolotas, A2, pp. 355-61, B', p. 384. Argenti, *The Occupation*, I, p. 97, mentions his title as 'Master of the Great Seal'.

²³² Argenti, *The Occupation*, I, p. 390ff.

²³³ Koukounis, *op.cit.*

²³⁴ *PLP* 5, p. 81, *Addenda*, p. 66. Zolotas, A2, pp. 337-40. Miklosiĉ-Müller, *Acta et Diplomata*, I, p. 112.

²³⁵ Tafel-Thomas, *Urkunden*, I, p. 112.

²³⁶ Published by Kanellakis, *Chiaka Analekta*, pp. 414-416, and n. 1.

²³⁷ *Acta et Diplomata Graeca*, II, (Vienna 1887, repr. 1968), p. 231.

EUSTATHIOS KODRATOS.²³⁸ A pictorial decoration in the church of Panaghia Krina revealed a panel where a couple is depicted: they are the donors of the church, the aristocrat Eustathios Kodratos, a high official, with his wife, Eirene Doukaina-Pepagomeni, both connected with the imperial entourage in Constantinople. The mural painting bears the date 1197 for the construction and decoration of the church. The same name (Kodratos) is associated with a seventh-century lead seal and much later, in the thirteenth century, it figures in the chrysobull of Michael Palaeologus (1259).²³⁹

PEPAGOMENOS or PAGOMENOS.²⁴⁰ Zolotas mentions that the name is encountered in late Genoese documents of the Latin bishopric of Chios and in Ottoman village codices as a toponym in the area of Kambos and in central Chios. During his times, i.e. the late nineteenth century, the inscription at the church of Krina was unknown. As it shows in the PLP, the people from this lineage were mainly linked with the ecclesiastical circles. The name Pepagomenos appears in the thirteenth century in Constantinople, carries on throughout the fourteenth century and the last mention of it is in 1400-1401.²⁴¹ Both forms of the name are encountered on Cos, in 1271 and 1325, on Crete (Ioannis Pagomenos) from 1313/14 to 1331/32 and figures until 1374/75.²⁴²

SCHILIZZI.²⁴³ The Schilizzi belonged also to the group of the 'Quintet'. They ranked among the oldest and noblest Chiot families as they drew their origin from Byzantium.²⁴⁴ The first historical mention of the name is that of the renowned eleventh century chronographer Ioannes Schilitzes. After the Latin conquest of Constantinople, the Schilizzi, among other families settled in the area of Smyrna, in the theme of Thrakesion, from where they immigrated to Chios during the Turkish onslaughts in Asia Minor.²⁴⁵ On account of dearth of written documents, their first presence on the island is dated from the fifteenth century. However, the cartulary of

²³⁸ *PLP* 5, (1981), p. 201, he is associated with the date 1259 (chrysobull of Michael VIII Palaeologus).

²³⁹ *Prosopographie der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit*, 2, (Berlin – NY, 2000), p. 474.

²⁴⁰ Zolotas, A2, p. 421.

²⁴¹ Pepagomenos: *PLP* 9, (1989), pp. 194-199.

²⁴² Pagomenos: *PLP* 9, (1989), p. 56.

²⁴³ Koukounis, *op.cit.*, pp. 26-7.

²⁴⁴ Zolotas, *op.cit.*, A2, pp. 499-513; Argenti, *Libro d'Oro*, I, pp. 118-122.

²⁴⁵ Miklosič-Müller, *Acta et Diplomata* IV, p. 59, 158-9. Ahrweiler, *La région de Smyrne*, p. 162. *PLP* 11 (1991), p. 26. Zolotas, *op.cit.*, A2, p. 503; Argenti, *Libro d'Oro*, I, p. 119.

the Lembos monastery offers ample testimony for their presence in the region of Smyrna.

SCARAMANGA.²⁴⁶ The Scaramanga family ranks among the most ancient and prominent Byzantine lineages belonging to the group of the ‘Twelve’. They settled in Chios in the sixteenth century. The first mention of the name Scaramanga in the literary sources is documented by Kinnamos,²⁴⁷ who narrates the triumph of the great ancestor Scaramanga during a naval battle fought between the Byzantines and Sicilians, off Brindisi in 1155 AD. After that, the next mention is of a Theodoros Scaramangas in Constantinople in 1324.²⁴⁸ They obtained family arms, which bear as a crest a right arm in armour, holding a galley in a clenched fist, which signifies the historical event of the great ancestor.

STRATEGOS.²⁴⁹ The etymology of the name undoubtedly is linked to the office of ‘strategos’, as similarly occurs with the ‘vestarches’. The name exists as a toponym in central Chios, again in the area of Daphnonas, the *Strategaton*, where we also find the church of the Virgin Strategousaina.²⁵⁰ The same toponym is also encountered in Volissos. The PLP mentions a fourteenth century official, Georgios Strategos, domesticos of the Western themes, in 1312-1330 and two priests in Constantinople, Ioannis (1357) and Michael (1369).²⁵¹

The PETROCOCHINO - AMARTOLOS family figures also among the narrow circle of the ‘Quintet’, claiming their origin from one of the most ancient Byzantine lineages, the Amartolos.²⁵² The oldest surviving written documentation about the family name is in a patriarchal act dated 17 October 1400.²⁵³ However, it is attested that their first appearance in Chios dates to the thirteenth shortly after the Latin conquest of Constantinople, or in the fourteenth century.²⁵⁴ Allegedly they had estates

²⁴⁶ Koukounis, *op.cit.*, pp. 28-30. Zolotas, A2, pp. 495-98.

²⁴⁷ Kinnamos, *Historiarum Lib. IV*, pp. 94-5.

²⁴⁸ PLP 11, p. 3.

²⁴⁹ Zolotas, A2, pp. 513-14.

²⁵⁰ *Supra*, section 3.2.

²⁵¹ PLP 11, pp. 113-14.

²⁵² Koukounis, *op.cit.*, pp. 27-8.

²⁵³ Zolotas, *op.cit.*, A2, p. 266, 425-444; Argenti, *Libro d'Oro*, I, p. 95, n. 1.

²⁵⁴ PLP 1, p. 73, a certain George Amartolos is recorded in 1271 on Kos island. Zolotas, *op.cit.*, A2, pp. 424-5.

in Asia Minor from where they had to root out and eventually were established in Chios. According to the family tree, the Byzantine family of Amartolos²⁵⁵ formed an alliance with the Petrocochino family,²⁵⁶ hence the nick-name Petrocochino-Amartolos of the branch.²⁵⁷ They rank among the first which enrolled in the *Libro d'Oro* of Genoa. Among their estates, is the church of Saint Basil of the Petrocochino, in the central square of Chios town. This church became the first cathedral in 1591, after the Ottoman conquest and the concomitant reconstitution of an Orthodox metropolitan on the island.

VESTARCHES.²⁵⁸ The family Vestarchis ranks among the most ancient Chiot houses, the oldest reference of whom is encountered in an eleventh century *pittakion* issued by Constantine Monomachos. This document mentions Eustathios Vestarches, epi tou koitonos and eidikos for the Nea Moni, that is, a high court official whose duties are directly linked with Chios.²⁵⁹ The PLP mentions that a certain Manuel was a priest in Smyrna and nomikos of the Aghiosophitica in 1286;²⁶⁰ another priest in the same house, who was also a *chartophylax*, was Niketas, in Chios (1315). Later, between the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, a certain George was *Vestarches, anagnostis, domesticos and tabularios*, who later became bishop of Chios.²⁶¹ Leo Allatius – Allacci (1587 - 1669) was a descendant of this lineage.²⁶² In central Chios, in the area between the modern settlement of *Daphnonas* and the Nea Moni, there is the toponym *Vestarchaton*, a deserted village.

KALOYANNI ZYVOS (or CIBO or ZIFFO, as he is recorded in the Genoese sources):²⁶³ Zyvos holds the most prominent position among the Chiot archontes, from 1340 onwards, when he replaced Leon Kalothetos as the commandant of the fortress of Chios, and governor of the island. After the submission of the island to the Genoese, in September 1346, Zyvos (Cibo) and Vignoso signed a supplementary

²⁵⁵ PLP 1, (1976), p. 73 for the Amartolos.

²⁵⁶ PLP 10, (1990), p. 5 for the Petrocochino.

²⁵⁷ Argenti, *Libro d'Oro*, I, p. 95. The Petrocochino-Amartolos are considered to be the main branch of the family.

²⁵⁸ K. Amantos, *Γενεαλογικά*, pp. 37-38. Idem, *Γλωσσικά Μελετήματα*, Athens 1964. PLP 2, (1977), p. 64. Zolotas, A2, pp. 291-93.

²⁵⁹ *Acta et Diplomata*, II, p. 1.

²⁶⁰ PLP 2 (1977), p. 64. Ahrweiler, *Smyrne*, p. 116.

²⁶¹ Amantos, *Γενεαλογικά*, pp. 37-8. PLP 2, p. 64.

²⁶² Amantos, *op.cit.*, p. 37, n. 3. Argenti, *Religious Minorities*, pp. 233-269.

²⁶³ PLP 11, (1991), p. 238.

convention according to the terms of which Zyvov was granted a series of privileges in return of the surrender of the fortress: freedom of his person, judicial immunity and full right in his property. Further, he was accepted by the Commune of Genoa into the citizenship of the mother-city and was appointed governor of the Old and New Phocaea.²⁶⁴ This convention is also the first historical mention of their family estates and the church of Panaghia *Sikelia*. In the list of the thirty-seven noble families presented by Argenti, the family ranks in the group of the 'Twenty'. They enrolled in the *Libro d'Oro* of Genoa and obtained arms. As governor of Phocaea, Kaloyanni, organised resistance against the Genoese in the early years of the dominion of the island and was killed in the battle that followed.²⁶⁵

CONSTANTINE ZYVOS: Constantine of Chios was brother of the afore-mentioned Kaloyanni. He signed on behalf of his brother, Governor Kaloyanni, the Instrument of Capitulation with the Genoese, as the commandant of the fortress of Chios²⁶⁶.

²⁶⁴ Argenti, *op.cit.*, I, 94, 96, 102. II, 28-31.

²⁶⁵ Zolotas, B' pp. 402-3.

²⁶⁶ Argenti, *The Occupation*, I, pp. 95-96.

3.4. ECONOMY

J. Lefort: “The new trend in modern research is to assess the place of the Byzantine peasants and to describe the changes in the rural world in the fourteenth century”.¹ A. Laiou: “The Byzantine empire throughout its history was a society in which the countryside and social relations in the countryside were of fundamental importance”.²

These two definitions by the above scholars epitomise the significance, which the study of the Byzantine agrarian society entails.

Preface: Great estates and dependent peasants

There are several regional studies regarding the agrarian history of Hellenic lands, especially of continental Greece. An interesting topic to deal with could be agrarian Chios, for it is rather unknown in the historical and archaeological record and, consequently, in the scholarly bibliography. And yet, the surviving written documents abound with references to this area and remain largely unexploited:³ maps, travellers' accounts, notarial deeds, and literary sources (for example, Hieronimo Giustiniani's *Istoria di Scio*), and other testimonies. The historical toponymy is another indicative factor which also furnishes clues to this discussion: it can corroborate the literary sources and by definition provides information about rural sites.

This section puts forth the study of the Chiot rural economy and addresses a series of specific questions relevant to its habitat.⁴ It examines the rural society of North Chios and, in general, the Chiot agrarian society, its structure, economy, and social relations. Information will be taken from various sources which extend throughout a long span of time. A special factor to be taken into account is the specific nature of the physical environment, under which the Chiot rural tradition was developed.

¹ J. Lefort, ‘Rural Economy and Social Relations in the Countryside’, *DOP* 47 (1993), p. 104.

² A. Laiou-Thomadakis, *Peasant Society in the late Byzantine Empire: a social and demographic study*, Princeton U.P., 1977, p. 4.

³ For the catalogue of primary sources see: Zolotas, A1, pp. 300 ff.

⁴ Lefort, *op.cit.*, p. 101: “...attention to archives and archaeological exploration... explains why the rural history of Byzantium has become progressively more concrete and why it develops nowadays through regional studies”.

The list of sources include:

- Byzantine documents
- Travellers
- Lives of the Chiot saints Isidoros and Myrope (third century AD),⁵ Marcella and Matrona, and the three founders of Nea Moni, Niketas, Joseph and Ioannis,) offer glimpses of the life in the countryside, but, regrettably, not to the desired extent.
- Published notarial acts of the Genoese and Ottoman periods.
- Ethnographic studies.
- Village codices – Toponymy.

The few surviving imperial documents give only scanty information on Byzantine rural Chios. The main body of information comes from the Genoese minutes and acts which are rich and chronologically systematic and coherent.⁶ The second largest body of information concerns documents of the Ottoman period. However, the limitation of the latter is that the greater part of these documents remains not accessible to the scholars, for the reason that knowledge of Ottoman palaeography is the prerequisite for their study.⁷ Among this group, there is a small part of published documents, dating from the later Ottoman period, concerning acts of donation, dowries, acts of sale of land between individuals, or between magnates and individuals.⁸

Travellers' accounts are a valuable source of information, which add pieces to the lacuna and give interesting economic, social and cultural data. Accounts related specifically to Chios were collected and edited in a corpus, in 1946.⁹ The most

⁵ See: Nikephoros of Chios, *Neon Chiakon Leimonarion*, (4th ed). Athens, 1968.

⁶ F. Miklosiĉ – J. Müller, *Acta et Diplomata*, vol. IV, Facsimile reprint of the 1887 edition (Vienna), Aalen: Scientia 1968. I. & P. Zepos, *Jus Graecoromanorum*, vol. 1, Facsimile reprint of the 1931 edition, Aalen : Scientia, 1962. Ph. Argenti, *The Occupation of Chios by the Genoese and their Administration of the Island, 1346-1566*, Cambridge U.P. 1958, 3 vols. A. della Rovere, *Documenti della Maona di Chio* (secc. XIV-XVI), Genova, 1979. E. Basso, *Notai Genovesi in Oltremare: atti rogati a Chio da Giuliano de Canella (2 novembre 1380-31 marzo 1381)*, Athens 1993.

⁷ The problem was first addressed by Ph. Argenti "Chief Primary Sources", *Eis Mnĕmhn K. Amánhrō*, Athens, 1960, 231-256.

⁸ Ch. Mavropoulos, *Τοσρκικά Έγγραφα άθορωνηρ ηήν ιζηορίαν ηής Χίοσ*, Athens, 1920. St. Kavvadas, *Οί κώδικες ηής Χίοσ*, Chios, 1950; *Idem.*, *Νοηαριακοί κώδικες Βολιζζο υ*, Athens, 1966-1967.

Mavropoulos was born in Chios as an Ottoman citizen. He was a high official in the Chiot Court of Justice and had an in-depth knowledge of the Ottoman language and script. I remind the readers that the Latin alphabet had not been introduced at that time (1920). The same applies to St. Kavvadas, who was also born an Ottoman citizen, in 1900. For many years he was the director of the „Korais' Library of Chios.

⁹ Ph. Argenti – St. Kyriakides, (1946).

renowned travellers dedicate entire paragraphs to the Chiot peasantry, the agrarian material culture, the physical environment and so on.

Finally, there is another source from inside Chios: the Lives of the Saints.¹⁰ Many saints are venerated on the island; however, three of them are associated as its patrons: saints Isidore,¹¹ Marcella,¹² and Matrona.¹³ The first one is associated with Chios town, whereas Marcella and Matrona are considered patron saints of north-western Chios, and the *kome* of Volissos, specifically, as tradition puts their place of birth in that town. More illuminating, however, are the lives of the founders of Nea Moni, the three monks Niketas, Joseph and Ioannis.¹⁴ Apart from being informative of topography, however, this group is not a reliable source of information; they are merely naïve narrative accounts containing vague and very cliché information; with all probability, the compilation must have taken place sometime during the Ottoman period, since the oldest recording we possess is the “Chiakon Leimonarion”, compiled in the mid nineteenth century by the abbot of Nea Moni, Nikephoros of Chios.¹⁵ The value of the lives lies in the direct information –which sometimes entails also description – about the agrarian communities and the medieval topography; also, landmarks, such as churches, monasteries or *naydria* and the like. In many respects they supplement the official historiography for Chios.

The next source is the surviving village codices, nowadays kept in the archives of the Korais Library. All date from the late Ottoman period, after 1830, with the resumption of public life and administration which followed the massacres of 1822. The then director of the Library, St. Kavvadas, had made a preliminary study of them between the 1950s and 1970s.¹⁶ Nonetheless, they offer invaluable, authentic evidence of language, folk-lore, material culture, toponymy, and other facets of the peasantry.

¹⁰ In respect to the study of this source, I shall follow M. Kaplan’s view. M. Kaplan, „Hagiographie et histoire de la société’ in : *Idem, Byzance, villes et campagnes*, Paris, 2006, pp. 252-267.

¹¹ Nikephoros abbot of Chios, *Neon Chiakon Leimonarion*, pp. 211-217; henceforth *Chiakon Leimonarion*. Argenti-Rose, *The Folk Lore of Chios*, vol. I, Cambridge U.P. 1949, pp. 205-206 (henceforth: Folk Lore).

¹² *Chiakon Leimonarion*, pp. 268-275. *Folk Lore*, I, p. 207.

¹³ *Chiakon Leimonarion*, pp. 38-48. *Folk Lore*, I, p. 179.

¹⁴ *Chiakon Leimonarion*, pp. 219-229.

¹⁵ As it is written in the preface, Nikephoros draws his information of earlier compilations, unknown to us, which vanished in 1822.

¹⁶ St. Kavvadas, *Oi kōdikēs tḗs Xíou*, Chios 1950. *Idem*, «Άγρουσλακτικά τῆς Χίου (17^{ος} – 19^{ος} αι.)», *Chiaka Chronika* 12, (1980), 32-51. *Idem*, *Νοηριακοὶ Κώδικες Βολιζζοῦ ὁ Χίου*, 2 vols., Athens 1966-67.

The villages, fiscal units

The geographical area of the present study is a mountainous terrain, where strong northerly winds prevail. The position of the villages was determined by reasons of protection and defence and proximity to water resources. The area based its economy in agriculture and animal husbandry. Alongside those activities, viticulture and arboriculture were practised by the peasants. The cultivable land was near the small fluvial and coastal plains, where the soil is more fertile. The majority, however, of the cultivable zones were terraces on the hill slopes, separated with low retaining walls. Fishing and hunting were supplementary economic activities. Proximity to the forest zone facilitated exploitation for various needs.¹⁷ The forests, which existed in the middle ages, would undoubtedly have tempered the summer heat, and the torrents would have had constant flow throughout the year.

Definition of a village

M. Kaplan writes that the primary designation „village’ - *τοπίον* was „property’, communal or private:¹⁸ a village was a site for cultivation situated in the countryside. In the middle Byzantine period the term designates both a fiscal and juridical unit - community and an occupation site.¹⁹ The term „village’ signifies the community, and by extension the communal space and communal economy. A. Laiou defines the term more coherently as „settlement, which has its own territory and its own economic space and serves as a place for habitation of the rural population; the villagers cultivated their field, they herd their flocks, and they related to outsiders”²⁰. Similarly, J. Lefort distinguishes the terms village – *chorion*, *kome* and estate – *ktema*, *proasteion*, according to soil appropriation: “unlike *chorion*, *proasteion* belonged to a person whether state, church or layman”;²¹ divisions of space “*chorion* designates the village territory on which *proasteia* could be found’ or dwelling places.”²²

¹⁷ J. Lefort, „Les villages de Macédoine orientale’, in : *Les Villages dans l’Empire Byzantin*, p. 293.

¹⁸ M. Kaplan, *Les Hommes et la Terre*, p. 101.

¹⁹ *Ibid*, p. 95.

²⁰ Laiou-Thomadakis, *Peasant Society*, p. 46. *Eadem*, „The Byzantine village (5th–14th)’, in : *Les Villages dans l’Empire byzantin, (IVe-XVe siècle)*, p. 39.

²¹ Kaplan, *op.cit.*, 101.

²² Lefort, „The Rural Economy, Seventh – Twelfth Centuries’, *EHB*, 1, pp. 236-237.

Origins

It is axiomatic among the scholars who deal with the Byzantine agrarian society, that the Byzantine village in its current form is a result of a long development, which goes back perhaps to the Hellenistic times. It was solidified as the predominant form of habitation site and social structure,²³ in the ninth to the tenth century.²⁴ The transformation from ancient agrarian structures to the 9th-10th century village are not known.²⁵ Scholarly study concludes that within this framework, the dominant feature of the Byzantine empire in the ninth century becomes the free village community.²⁶ The villages are built on hill tops or on hill slopes.²⁷ Eventually they acquire a nucleated form, which became the commonest form of habitation in the medieval period.²⁸

The village community, or commune, is a group of people who live in the same place and practice the same activities.²⁹ It is a social environment with common interests, which administered a territory. As a fiscal jurisdiction, they have collective responsibility for the payment of taxes to the state.³⁰ In addition, the community possessed common lands.³¹ The demographic rise of the tenth century – as is documented in the Athos archives – brought about the change from the communities of small owners-villagers to the domanial economy, whose main characteristic is the development of hamlets on estates located in the outskirts of the village districts.³² The magnates own domains within the village territory, which are cultivated by dependent peasants.³³

²³ Lefort, *The Rural Economy*, pp. 275-276.

²⁴ Laiou, *The Byzantine village*, pp. 36-38.

²⁵ Lefort, *The Rural Economy, Seventh to Twelfth centuries*, p. 277. *Idem*, *Rural Economy and Social Relations in the Countryside*, p. 106. P. Charanis, 'On the social structure of the Later Roman Empire', *Byzantion* XVII, Boston 1944-45, p.46.

²⁶ Charanis, *op.cit.*. N. Svoronos, 'Sur quelques formes de la vie rurale à Byzance: Petite et grande exploitation', in : *Annales ESC* 11 (1956), 325-335, reprinted in *Idem*, *Études sur l'organisation intérieure, la société et l'économie de l'Empire byzantin*, Variorum 1973, Study I.

²⁷ Kaplan, *op.cit.*, 108-110.

²⁸ Laiou, *The Byzantine Village*, p. 37. Laiou-Thomadakis, *Peasant society*, pp. 36-37. Kaplan, *op.cit.* p. 103, uses the term 'fortifiée'.

²⁹ Kaplan, *op.cit.*, p. 103, 218. Laiou-Thomadakis, *op.cit.*, p. 48.

³⁰ Lefort, *The Rural Economy*, pp. 279-81.

³¹ Charanis, *op.cit.*, p. 44. Laiou, *The Byzantine Village*, pp. 37-38.

³² Lefort, *Rural Economy and Social Relations*, p.106. *Idem.*, *Les villages de Macédoine orientale*, p. 299.

³³ Lefort, *Les villages de Macédoine orientale*, p. 290. P. Toubert, 'Byzantium and the Mediterranean Agrarian Civilization', *EHB*, 1, p. 389.

The case of Chios must not differ from the pattern of other case studies in Hellenic lands; after all, it was Byzantine soil until the dawn of the fourteenth century (1304). The factors which gave rise to the formation and development of the village had already been effected already by the thirteenth century, if not earlier, as Lefort pointed out.³⁴ With the arrival of the Genoese, the Byzantine village was already a reality. The new masters found a solid foundation.³⁵

3.4.1. AGRICULTURE

The following section combines information from the following three secondary sources: G. Zolotas, *History of Chios*, 5 vols, Athens 1921-1928. British Naval Intelligence Division, *Greece*, 3 vols; (1939), supplemented by an ethnographic study, compiled by Ph. Argenti and H.J.Rose, *The Folk Lore of Chios*, 2 vols, Cambridge U.P., 1949. The time of their compilation covers a span of fifty years ranging from the late nineteenth to the first half of the twentieth century. The „Folk Lore’ is used by analogy in order to assist the documentation of the literary sources and, further, to highlight the continuity in agrarian practices. Additionally, it is supplemented by the accounts of travellers, wherever possible.

The Chiot agrarian economy developed in accordance with its natural restrictions; the natural relief breaks down into three different landscapes: the coastal zone, the mountainous zone (the northern area), and the hilly zone (the southern area). The settlements of the north area are built high up the hills overlooking the west and north coasts. On this terrain, terraces for cultivation feature everywhere, despite that the soil is thin and poor.³⁶ This is a common characteristic in the stony soils of the Aegean islands and Chios could not be an exception to this rule. These terraces are

³⁴ Lefort, „The Rural Economy,’ p. 276. D. Kyritses & K. Smyrlis, „Les villages du littoral Égéen de l’Asie Mineure au Moyen Âge’, in : *Les villages dans l’Empire byzantine IVe – XIVe siècle*, some interesting points about the evolution of Bournova – Prinavaris in the region of Smyrna, p. 448. Laiou, *The Byzantine Village*, p.42.

³⁵ L. Balletto, “Tra Genova e Chio nel tempo di Cristoforo Colombo”, *Chemins d’Outre-Mer*, Byzantina Sorbonensia - 20, Paris 2004, p. 54.

³⁶ *Folk Lore*, I, p. 90.

called *skales* in the local dialect (‘steps’)³⁷. Each terrace was supported with retaining walls made of rubble. The natural relief accounts also for the narrow coastal and fluvial plains. The greater part of the arable land, whether in the context of estate or village, had been cultivated within small peasant holdings by the family head with the help of the wife and children.³⁸ This reality remained unchanged until the early twentieth century.³⁹

Agriculture and animal husbandry were diachronically the two props of the regional economy, until the first half of the twentieth century.⁴⁰ Agriculture based on a four-fold scheme: cereals, olives, viticulture, and mastic.⁴¹ Secondary activities were fruit cultivation and vegetables, bee-keeping, fishing and hunting, and raising of small domestic animals. The natural vegetation in the Middle Ages must have been denser than it is today.⁴² Today, as a result of the great stony soil and the long-continued deforestation the northern part is harsh and arid.⁴³ To a lesser degree the same applies to the central part. Only small coastal and fluvial plains provide fertile, arable land.⁴⁴ The rocky slopes form caves and gorges, and the toponym ‘*Speladia*’, that is, caves, small caves or holes, is frequent.⁴⁵ Communications by land had always been difficult, but several small bays, especially in the well-harboured west coast, would have been good anchorages and would have provided a natural route for communication.

³⁷ Source: my father. *Folk Lore*, I, p. 90. Ph. G. Paspatis does not include it in his *Chiakon Glossarion*, Chios 1888.

³⁸ Lefort, *EHB*, 1, p. 243.

³⁹ H. Pernot, *En pays turc. L'île de Chio*. Paris 1903. G. Zolotas, *History of Chios, passim. Folk Lore*, I.

⁴⁰ Zolotas, A1, pp. 195ff. *Greece*, III, pp. 527ff. According to the statistics of the British Naval Intelligence Division, it was estimated that before the Second World War, in 1937, 50% of the population was engaged in agriculture, fishing and forestry.

⁴¹ Mastic, however, refers only to the southern area. Paolo Stringa, ‘Genova e Chios ed il Mediterraneo: note sulle matrici Liguri nella costruzione dei paesaggi agrari medioevali e moderni’ in: *Chios-Genova: Proceedings of the 1st International Congress on civilization and the history of the island*. Chios, 1992, p. 52.

⁴² Testimonies in: Argenti & Kyriakides, I, 11-15 (Buondelmondi) and *passim*. Also Argenti, *Diplomatic Archive of Chios, passim*.

⁴³ Zolotas, A1, pp. 61, 65, 68, 183, 195-197. World Atlas, pp. 193, 199. *Greece*, vol. III, p. 516.

⁴⁴ Zolotas, A1, pp. 182-184.

⁴⁵ The most famous cave in this area is Aghion Galas, to the NW, where a brief reconnaissance exploration was conducted by the British School at Athens in the 1950s and recently by Dr. L. Beaumont. Regrettably, I am not aware of the publication of this report.

Rural Economy: Products of Chios

In sharp contrast with the prevailing picture nowadays, the fertility of the Chiot soil during the very ancient times was renowned, since it is already praised by Homer. The picture drawn in the medieval period is one of a fertile island with a variety of agricultural products, not only capable of covering local needs, but also a great surplus, which was exported. On account of this wealth, the island suffered repetitive attacks from the Arabs in the seventh, eighth and ninth centuries. Very few sources dating from the Byzantine period do we possess to use as evidence for the trading activities, exchanges, and, by and large, the range and extent of production Chios could have had during the early period. Some patches of information for the economic activity in early Chios are obtained in the Miracles of Saint Demetrius and in a few seals of *kommerkiarioi* related with the island.⁴⁶ Therefore, the lion's share in this section occupy the economic affairs during the Genoese period, for which ample documentary source exists and to which much scholarly research is devoted. The travellers' accounts form another source of information. A continuous and most fruitful source is the official correspondence of foreign diplomats, whose home-countries had commercial interests in Chios. These documents cover the entire Ottoman period. The Byzantine period is mainly examined by analogy with the Genoese and Ottoman periods and, of course, by means of ethnographic studies.

Here, the representative commodities for consumption and trade will be described. Mastic and wine are the two products which hold the earliest renown in the sources.

Mastic⁴⁷ (**fig. 11**): the evergreen species *pistachia lentiscus* grows wild everywhere in the island, but the mastic-producing tree – known as *pistachia lentiscus varia chia* – grows only in the south as irregular shrub (wild) or single to multi-stemmed tree, reaching the 3 - 4 metres in height (cultivated in the groves).⁴⁸ Fossils

⁴⁶ Koltsida-Makri, *Συμβολή*, pp. 5-6.

⁴⁷ Argenti, *The Occupation of Chios by the Genoese*, I, pp. 92-194, 477. M. Balard, *La Romanie Génoise (XIIe-début du XV^e siècle)*, II, pp.742-749. *Folk lore*, I, pp. 86-89, where the description of the cultivation and the planting and also relevant bibliography can be found.

⁴⁸ The southern region was named collectively *Masticochora* after the mastic cultivation (literally: land of the mastic, soil of the mastic).

of the leaves of this shrub reveal that its life span and the extraction of the precious resin date back to six thousand years ago. Ancient testimonies from Herodotus to Hippocrates reveal its high esteem for its medicinal, pharmaceutical, and cosmetic uses in the ancient world.⁴⁹ To emphasise the crop's economic significance during his times, Hieronymo Giustiniani devotes a section to that tree describing the texture and qualities of the aromatic resin, which is *„rara et unica goma della stimata mastice’*. In addition, he explains the preparation of the tapping of the trunk and, finally, the harvest. Also, he overrules the claims that there are other mastic producing lands, because the mastic is *„grandemente conosciuta in tutte le regioni’*.⁵⁰ The illustrator and writer Hugo Favolius, a contemporary of Hieronimo, travelled to Chios in the mid-sixteenth century and described the lentisc tree in one of his books.⁵¹

In the middle ages, the mastic trade was the main source of wealth flowing to the island. It was used in medicine, as a general flavouring and entered into the manufacture of some industrial products, such as varnishes.⁵² The mastic trade during the Byzantine period has barely left trace in the historical record. There are sources, however, which imply mastic export to Egypt since the tenth century⁵³ and certainly in the mid-eleventh, according to a document of Cairo Genizah.⁵⁴ Jacoby expresses the view that it is likely that the export of mastic from the island was in Byzantine hands. Anyhow, a state monopoly as it was, stringent state control was imposed on it during the Byzantine period, as later under the Genoese and the Ottomans. Twelfth century testimonies for mastic are those of Benjamin of Tudela and the Russian abbot Daniel, who visited the island on his way to the Holy Land.⁵⁵ Definitely during the

⁴⁹ For references see Thomas Savvides, *Τό μαζηπόδεντρο της Χίου: Pistachia lentiscus var. chia*, Kyriakides Bros: Thessalonike, 2000.

⁵⁰ Hieronymo Giustiniani, *Istoria di Scio*, pp. 207-208. El. Malamut, *op.cit.*, II, pp. 388-89, A. Dunn, „The exploitation and control of woodland and scrubland in the Byzantine world’, *BMGS* 16 (1992), p. 275, 288, and J. Lefort, „The Rural Economy, Seventh-Twelfth Centuries’, *EHB* 1, p. 260, claim erroneously that mastic grew also in Crete and Cyprus. The particular and distinctive healing qualities as well as the aroma of the mastic have been recognised by famous physicians, such as Dioskourides (1st c. AD) and Galenos (2nd c. AD). For further details, see the following site: www.unipa.it/arbor/varie/Presentation_M.Hagidimitriou_2.pdf and the site of the Chios Gum Mastic Growers Association: <http://www.gummastic.gr>.

⁵¹ Argenti-Kyriakides, *op.cit.*, I, pp. 33-35.

⁵² Hieronymo Giustiniani, *op.cit. Greece*, III, p. 528.

⁵³ D. Jacoby, „Byzantine trade with Egypt from the mid-tenth century to the Fourth crusade’, in: *Thesaurismata* 30, Venezia 2000, 25-77, particularly 32,45. Malamut, *Les iles de l’empire byzantine*, II, pp. 394-395.

⁵⁴ Jacoby, „What do we learn about Byzantine Asia Minor from the documents of the Cairo Genizah?’ in: Sp. Vryonis Jr. and N. Oikonomides (eds), *Byzantine Asia Minor (6th-12th c.)*, Athens 1998, p. 92 and n. 48.

⁵⁵ Argenti-Kyriakides, *op.cit.*, I, pp. 4-5.

Genoese period the export thrived and the resin became object for agricultural speculation. Under the Zaccaria (1304-1329), it must be considered certain that the lord of the island, Benedetto Zaccaria, had a leading role in the active commercialisation of the mastic.⁵⁶ Mastic due to its very nature, and alum, were used as credit tools in cases of money shortage.⁵⁷ During the second Genoese period, the price was determined by the Maona of the Giustiniani.⁵⁸ Only a certain amount of the resin was regulated to be extracted every year; and not all trees were incised every year; the same rule applies until today, the reason being to prevent the exhaustion of the trees. Genoa was the entrepot where the bulk of the mastic output was concentrated, from where it would be exported all over the world. On 26 April 1392 the Podestà Ansaldo di Ansaldo issued an edict establishing punishments for the illegal disposal of mastic.⁵⁹ During the Byzantine interval of 1329-1346 apparently the mastic trade returned to imperial hands or to Leon Kalothetos, the local governor. From what the sources reveal, it is inferred that individuals had the upper hand in the monopoly: the Byzantine Emperor Andronikos III conceded Chios to Benedetto Zaccaria in 1304, transferring alongside the mastic exploitation; from Martino Zaccaria, the latest successor of Benedetto, to Kalothetos; and eventually, from him passed to Kaloyianni Zyvov, who conceded it to Simone Vignoso, until the final concession to the Maona.

Several Genoese deeds describe commercial agreements between the Maona and intermediaries entrepreneurs: a deed composed between 31 May and 21 November 1364 by the notary Guidotus de Bracellis, mentions that Niccolò Giustiniani di S. Teodoro and Tommaso Giustiniani Longo, both shareholders of the Maona who act on behalf of Pietro Recanelli, stipulate agreement with Giovanni Imperiale and Raffaele Maruffo, regarding 360 *cantari*⁶⁰ (17,517.24 kg) of mastic. The document mentions that the former party agrees to be the exclusive providers of the latter for three consecutive years. The merchandise will be distributed (sold) to the

⁵⁶ Benedetto Zaccaria is credited for being the first to have set up an organised commercialisation of the island's rural resources. I.N. Koukounis, *The stone carvings of Chios*, MPhil dissertation, (Birmingham 2006), chapter 1.

⁵⁷ Balard, *op.cit.*, II, p. 745.

⁵⁸ Equally, today the price of the mastic is fixed by the holder of the monopoly, the Association of Mastic Producers.

⁵⁹ Argenti, *The Occupation*, II, pp. 192-197.

⁶⁰ *Cantaria* or *centenaria* are units of weight. Each unit is equal to 100 pounds of gold.

markets east of Rhodes and to Cyprus.⁶¹ Another similar document, composed by Badassal de Ferrariis on 18 March 1391, issues that the association of Moruele Cigala e Guirardo Squarciafico will be the exclusive recipients of 1,290 *centenaria* (62,770.110 kg) of mastic from the Maona, to be distributed (sold) to the West. The price of the mastic is regulated to 41.10 Genoese *lire* (pounds) per *centenarium*.⁶² We note that the Genoese currency (*lira* - pound) is used to regulate the price of the precious product, the reason being, apparently, that the golden issues of Chios at that time (end of the fourteenth century) were alloys of not a very good quality; they imitated the gold Venetian ducats.⁶³ Another deed composed by Martino de Bandino stipulates that the Maonesi will pay 4,000 *lire* to the governors of Genoa. This amount was owed to the governors for the expenses of the Genoese *cancellaria* of Chios regarding the sale of mastic to Syria and Egypt, the traditional *emporium* of Genoa.⁶⁴ On 16 December 1393, the same notary, Martino de Bandino composed the following contract: the Mahonesi stipulate that the society of Luchino de Bonavey, Deserino Bustarino, Francesco Giustiniani, Manuele de Ghisolfi, Paolo Gentile, Oliverio di Savignone, Vallariano Lomellini and Guirardo Squarciafico, will be the exclusive intermediaries / distributors of mastic in mainland Greece (*Romania*) for eight years, commencing after the end of 1396. The afore-mentioned society will be furnished with 1,600 *centenaria* of mastic, and the fixed price according to the terms of the payment and the transport is set to 25 gold ducats per *centenarium*.⁶⁵ The sale of mastic, in advance, for a number of years was not uncommon.⁶⁶ A note on the weights and measures⁶⁷ implemented by the Genoese must be mentioned here: the modern equivalent for one Chiot cantar (or quintal) is 48.659 kg (48,659 gr).⁶⁸

Grapes were the most common product.⁶⁹ Viticulture in Chios dates back thousands of years. The Chian wine was known in antiquity as *Ariousian* wine, and was renowned throughout the ages, until the early twentieth century. One of the most

⁶¹ A. Rovere, *Documenti della Maona di Chio (secc. XIV-XVI)*, Genova 1979, pp. 129-133.

⁶² *Eadem.*, doc. 26, pp. 170-175.

⁶³ P. Lambrou, *Μεσαιωνικά νομίσματα των Δυναζήτων της Χίου*, Athens 1886, pp. 27 ff.

⁶⁴ Rovere, doc. 34, pp. 185-187.

⁶⁵ *Eadem.*, doc. 37, pp. 199-210.

⁶⁶ *The Occupation*, I, p. 485.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, I, pp. 521-527.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, I, pp. 521-22 and notes.

⁶⁹ *Folk Lore*, I, pp. 71-74, 93-94.

ancient testimonies for it, is found in Strabo⁷⁰ and Athenaeus, who categorises it among the best of his time.⁷¹ The latter distinguishes three varieties, „τόν ασστερόν, τόν γλσκάδοντα καί τόν αστόκρατον’. In the „Georgics’ of Vergil there is mention of the *Phanaios* wine.⁷² Eleventh to twelfth century sources appraise its qualities, as well, among them Psellos, Michael Choniates and Ptochoprodromos.⁷³ Daniel, the Russian abbot who visited Chios between 1106 - 1107, reported that „the island produces mastic, good wine and a great variety of vegetables’.⁷⁴ Later travellers of the sixteenth century, such as André Thévet (1549) and Nicolas de Nicolay (1551), are also other first-hand testimonies.⁷⁵ The Chian wine in medieval times ranked higher than the Cretan.⁷⁶ The latest testimonies for its production date to the late nineteenth century.⁷⁷

The geographical and climatic conditions in the north favoured viticulture. This region takes pride in having been associated as the home-place of the Ariousian wine.⁷⁸ In the Chian toponymy the site „Ariousia’, after which the Chian wine was named, is located in northern Chios. In the same area the travellers’ accounts place also the town *Ariousia*, or *Arvisia*.⁷⁹ A stream named Aria flows in that area.⁸⁰ Apart from wine-making, the grapes were also used for dessert, and for drying – to be consumed throughout the wintertime, or during the work in the fields.⁸¹ The testimony of Hieronymo is valuable, all the more because he provides probably the oldest information on another use of the grape must: it is a dessert called in Greek „*Μοσζηλαεσριά*’ which is made, as its etymology reveals, of a mixture made of the grape must and flour heated in a low fire. When it becomes firm – he writes – it is left to cool and then it is ready to serve sprinkled with ground nuts, sesame and cinnamon.⁸² In other Genoese notarial deeds of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries we learn details of the wine production of vineyards – estates of Chiots, which were

⁷⁰ Strabo, 14, 2, 19 “τούς ἀρίστοσς ἐκυερούσες οἶνοσς”.

⁷¹ Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistai*, 1.59.28.

⁷² Vergil, II.98.

⁷³ Psellos, *Scripta Minora*, 467. Choniates, II, p. 83. D.C. Hesseling – H. Pernot, *Poèmes prodromiques en grec vulgaire*, Amsterdam 1910, poem 3, pp. 48-71.

⁷⁴ Argenti-Kyriakides, I, p. 4.

⁷⁵ *Ibid*, I, 39-68.

⁷⁶ Malamut, *op. cit.*, II, p. 389.

⁷⁷ P.S. Delta, *Πρώηες ἐνθσμῆζεις*, Athens, 1999.

⁷⁸ *Folk Lore*, I, p. 93.

⁷⁹ Argenti-Kyriakides, I, *passim*.

⁸⁰ See chapter 2.

⁸¹ Source: my grandparents. See also, *Folk Lore*, I, pp. 73, 77, 95.

⁸² Hieronymo Giustiniani, pp. 82-83. It is noteworthy that this dessert is until today a renowned seasonal treat (in autumn). *Folk Lore*, I, p. 74.

conceded to the Genoese or granted to other Italian citizens. Those deeds bear valuable details for the economic historian as to the stretch of land and the annual crop.⁸³ A deed of the notary Pellegrino de Bracellis (1348-1350) dated on 12 June 1348, provides information about those first actions of the conqueror of Chios, the admiral Simone Vignoso: this document is very significant, for it invokes the *„ius chisilimatico‘* for the concession of Chiot lands to Genoese individuals. The *„chisilimata‘* or *„xelimata‘* of the sources are the lands which were confiscated from the Chiot archontes, who participated in the abortive conspiracy against the Genoese, around 1347 to 1348.⁸⁴ Chian wine was one of the main exports of the Genoese to Pera. A deed of the notary Antonio Foglietta (1460-1476) stipulates an agreement between Michael Arsani, a Chiot *burgenses* (burgher) and Johannes de Neapoli a captain and ship-owner, whose vessel was anchored in the port of Chios during the time of the issue of the deed; the two men agree that the cargo of that vessel, i.e. Chian wine, will be sold to Pera. The vessel would set sail for Pera with a crew of thirteen people.⁸⁵ Other deeds of the mid-fifteenth century attest cargoes of wine destined for Genoa, England and Flanders.⁸⁶

The most cultivated cereals were **wheat and barley**.⁸⁷ However, the output must have been sufficient only for covering local needs. This is dictated by the size of the island and the diverse features of its soil.⁸⁸ Hieronimo illustrates the fertility of the island with emphasis on the plain of Kambos, and the abundance of crops. The fertility of Kambos accounts for the excellent quality of the wheat crop.⁸⁹ The site *Aria*, situated in the southern boundary of Amani seems to have been specialised in this crop as it is inferred by remains of installations, the type of soil, and indications of an extensive agricultural activity there.⁹⁰

It is very well known that wheat was one of the main commodities of the Genoese export trade. It was purchased in Phocaea in Asia Minor, whose hinterland is

⁸³ Argenti, *The Occupation*, III, deed 28, pp. 512-13; deed 34, pp. 518-19.

⁸⁴ Cf. former note.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, III, deed 291, pp. 789-790.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, I, p. 514 and n. 14.

⁸⁷ The map showing the geographical distribution of wheat in: *Greece*, vol. II, p. 59, figs 16-17.

⁸⁸ In the early modern period Chios had to cover the exigencies with imports from the fertile region of Smyrna. We know that the majority of the wheat in the century ca. 1830 - 1930 was imported from Asia Minor. However, the data describe the situation after the catastrophe of 1822. Zolotas, A1, 196. Argenti-Rose, *op.cit.*, p. 92-93. *Greece*, III, p. 528.

⁸⁹ Hieronimo, pp. 205, 214.

⁹⁰ Section 2.2, of ch. 2, entry *„Aria‘*.

very fertile. The transit of the cargo from Phocaea to the port of Chios, from which the produce was exported, would certainly have increased the importance of Chios.⁹¹

Due to the dearth of sources for the Byzantine history of Chios, scholarly attention emphasises mainly, if not exclusively, that its commercial activities would concern mainly the monopoly of the mastic gum and, secondly, the wine. But the enigma for the commercial activities in the Byzantine period is partly solved by means of the lead seals of *horreiariorum*.⁹² The *horreiariorum* were officials responsible for the provisioning of the Byzantine empire with grain and the distribution of it to the army, and to charitable institutions (*annona*). Two seals of this official are revealing, since they bear on the legend the name of the office and the island „Chios”:

- a. **Michael imperial klerikos and *horreiariorum* of Chios** (10-11th c.).⁹³
- b. **Lazaros kouboukleisios and *horreiariorum* of Chios:** two seals from the same boulloterion. 11th c.⁹⁴

Although their number is small, these lead seals indicate the places of the granaries where the public wheat was stored. Cheynet studied seals of *horreiariorum* and has shown that one of the imperial granaries in the tenth to eleventh centuries was opposite Chios, at Smyrna.⁹⁵ Both *horreiariorum* of Chios are members of the Constantinopolitan clergy. Nesbitt and Oikonomides wonder whether this has to do with entrenched rights of the Constantinopolitan clergy over the renowned products of wine and mastic.⁹⁶

The historical record enhances the information provided by the seals in respect to the commercial importance of Chios for the empire: the eighth and ninth Miracles of Saint Demetrius narrate the important role of Chios as a port of call on the main

⁹¹ Balard, *op.cit.*, II, pp. 752-753.

⁹² J.-C.Cheyne, „Introduction à la sigillographie byzantine”, in : *La Société byzantine : L'apport des sceaux*, 1, Paris 2008, p. 66.

⁹³ Nesbitt-Oikonomides, *A Catalogue of Byzantine Seals at Dumbarton Oaks and in the Fogg Museum of Art*, vol. 2, Washington D.C. 1994, no. 41.5, p. 125. See also the comment of I. Koltsida-Makri, „Σμβολή της σιγίλλογραμμικής μαρτυρίας”, Mytilini 2006 (forthcoming).

⁹⁴ Nesbitt-Oikonomides, *Catalogue*, 2, no. 41.4, p. 124. Laurent, *Corpus V/1*, no 201.

⁹⁵ J.-C.Cheyne, „Un aspect du ravitaillement du Constantinople aux Xe-XIe siècle”, *SBS* 6 (1999), 1-26. Also, M. Gerolymatou, *Markets, merchants and trade in Byzantium (9th -12th c.)*, (in Greek), Athens 2008, p. 129, n. 90.

⁹⁶ Nesbitt-Oikonomides, *op.cit.*, p. 124. See also Malamut, *Les îles*, II, pp. 338, 403.

trade routes of the Aegean and more particularly for the provisioning of Constantinople.⁹⁷

Arboriculture

Apart from wine and mastic, Chios produced fruit, nuts, salt, olive oil, as well as a variety of industrial products, such as pitch, cotton, silk, wool, acorns, soap, clothes⁹⁸ and alum,⁹⁹ which will be described shortly. The upland areas concentrated on stock raising and some tree-crops such as figs, almonds, carobs and mulberry.

The representative species of arboriculture mentioned in the sources were olives,¹⁰⁰ figs,¹⁰¹ carobs¹⁰² and almonds.¹⁰³ Citrus was introduced later, and along with those just mentioned, were the most important fruits for export. Olives, carobs, figs and almonds are native to the island, are grown on stony ground, are drought resistant and need no irrigation. To these we should add also walnuts, which must have been an important tree crop in post-medieval times, but nowadays are rare.¹⁰⁴ The citrus trees (lemons, mandarins, oranges) were introduced by the Genoese.¹⁰⁵ According to the study of the British Naval Division, carobs are mostly found on waste land.¹⁰⁶ Several fifteenth century travellers praise Chios for its products, among

⁹⁷ P. Lemerle, *Les plus anciens recueils des miracles de Saint Démétrius e la pénétration des Slaves dans les Balkans*, vol. I, Paris, 1979, p. 102,8 [70], 107,19 [76], 108,9 [77], 108,21 [79], and n. 2 on p. 104,5 [76].

⁹⁸ *Occupation*, I, 483-4, and III, *passim*.

⁹⁹ Alum was extracted in the opposite coast, Phocaea. However, the peninsula had always been considered the natural extension of the island, the „Chiot mainland’, so to speak, and the first stop of the mineral *en route* to the West was the port of Chios.

¹⁰⁰ Zolotas, A1, p. 199. Argenti - Rose, *Folk Lore*, vol. I, p. 94 for the north area, but on p. 74-76, in the description of the customs of the Kampochoira, middle Chios, we find more details of the procedure of the almond and olive plantations, since the methods of cultivation were the same in every part of the island.

¹⁰¹ Zolotas, A1, p. 212. *Greece*, vol. II, p. 72. *Folk Lore*, I, p. 77.

¹⁰² *Greece*, vol. II, p. 72, 78. *Folk Lore*, I, p. 78.

¹⁰³ Zolotas, A1, pp. 196-7, 222. *Folk Lore*, I, pp. 74-75.

¹⁰⁴ Zolotas, A1, p. 220.

¹⁰⁵ This aspect has already been pointed out by Jacoby, who observes that the introduction and growing of citrus trees in Greece has been overlooked by scholarly research. D. Jacoby, *Italian Migration and Settlement in Latin Greece: The Impact on the Economy* Ashgate Variorum, Study IX, 97-127, esp. p. 125, n.116.

¹⁰⁶ Zolotas, A1, pp. 222-23. *Greece*, vol. II, p. 72.

them Christopher Columbus.¹⁰⁷ Hieronimo offers a personal testimony describing the variety of fruit cultivation and other products that prompted the economy.¹⁰⁸

Almonds:¹⁰⁹ One of the most important commercial crops in Chios is almond. Quantities of the crop entered largely into the export market.¹¹⁰ During the Genoese period, Amalfi was the primary destination for almonds and other kinds of nuts, as it is attested in a deed by the notary Bernardo de Ferrari (1450-1455) dated on 2 October 1450.¹¹¹

Olive trees: the olives were an indispensable part of the peasants' diet, valuable for both the fruit and the oil. The plains of Kambos, Kardamyla and Volissos are dedicated to olive cultivation. Elsewhere in the area under examination olives grew in terraced hill slopes and fluvial plains.¹¹² It is recorded that during the Genoese period, oil from Chios was largely exported to Crete and Venice. A notarial deed of Antonio Foglietta (1460-1476), dated on the 12 August 1471, records an act between Paulus Spinula inhabitant of Crete, and Jacobus Celesie of Genoese origin, inhabitant of Venice regarding purchase of Chiot oil.¹¹³

Citrus: The citrus featured as the main crop of the central area, the Kambos, a fertile plain in the suburbs of Chios town, situated between the coast and the foot of some short, rolling hills. The climate is mild as it tempers the strong northerly winds of Chios town. Kambos has traditionally been associated with the cultivation of citrus on a large scale as the products were destined for the markets.¹¹⁴ The orchards were developed in the plain of the Kambos, and surrounded the Genoese summer residences. This was a new kind of arboriculture introduced by the Genoese, which offered new sources of revenue.¹¹⁵ Chian lemons were exported to Savona, as it is enacted in a notarial deed, dated 11 January 1474, between Petrus Placentinus from Savona and Michael Petrocochino from Chios.¹¹⁶ The export of citrus fruits from Chios carried on until the outbreak of the Second World War.¹¹⁷

¹⁰⁷ Argenti-Kyriakides, I, *passim*; specifically for Cristopher Columbus, pp. 18-24.

¹⁰⁸ Hieronimo, *passim*.

¹⁰⁹ Hieronimo, pp. 75-76.

¹¹⁰ The statistics record that the exports from Chios in 1933 were 1/3 of the total for Greece. *Greece*, III, p. 527.

¹¹¹ *The Occupation*, III, deed no 130, pp. 600-601.

¹¹² Hieronimo, pp. 75-76.

¹¹³ *The Occupation*, I, p. 483; III, deed 317, pp. 804-805.

¹¹⁴ Hieronimo, pp. 75-76.

¹¹⁵ Jacoby, *Italian Migration*, pp. 124-125.

¹¹⁶ *The Occupation*, I, p. 483; III, deed 338, p. 818.

¹¹⁷ *Greece*, III, p. 527. At that time Chios' citrus crop was 33% of the total export of Greece.

Figs:¹¹⁸ The chian figs were renowned since the Roman times. Hieronimo praises the abundance of his home-island in fruit with a special mention to the fig tree. His insight is interesting as he informs of the particulars of this native species: he explains the two different kinds of the tree, which until our days are distinguished between the „masculine’ and the „feminine’ tree. The „masculine’ – whose Greek term is „*erinos*’ (a corruption of the ancient adjective „*ἄρρην*’) and the Latin term is „*caprifico*’ – does not produce edible figs.¹¹⁹ In the wake of the second Genoese occupation, when the authorities sought to attract immigrants, they promised quick profit from fertile land and rising yield from local products. Figs were largely exported as is documented in Genoese notarial deeds. A deed of the notary Bernardo de Ferrari, dated on 18 September 1450, records an act of sale between Nicolaus Rali and Martino de Urbeveteri, of 150 *cantaria* dried figs destined to be sold to Pera; their price was set in Chian gold ducats.¹²⁰ Another deed regarding sale was issued by the same notary on 25 September 1450; this transaction is between Nicolaus Caralli, the buyer, and Georgio de Bancha Andreoli, the seller; the former sends 80 Chian *cantarii* of figs to Salonica.¹²¹ The price is fixed in gold Chian ducats, as well.¹²²

Carobs:¹²³ Chios is rich in carobs. They need no culture since they are native and grow wild everywhere. Hieronimo notes that the carob is well appreciated for nourishment, and that it is mainly part of the staple diet of the villagers; the latter also extract a syrup from the fruit, which they call „honey’.¹²⁴ The fruit was also used to feed animals. An abandoned hamlet of the area under examination is „Kerat(s)ochori’ (namely, „village of the carobs’).¹²⁵

Mulberry: White and black mulberries are found along the banks of streams and on alluvial plains. The earliest mention of mulberries in Chios dates from the fourteenth century. White mulberry tree cultivation is associated with sericulture, which in the Aegean islands has been attested from the seventh century.¹²⁶ The

¹¹⁸ Athenaeus, *Deipnosopistai*, p. 75. *Greece*, III, 527. Argenti, *The Occupation*, I, p. 502.

¹¹⁹ Hieronimo Giustiniani, 77.

¹²⁰ *The Occupation*, III, deed 112, pp. 586-87.

¹²¹ *The Occupation*, III, deed 118, pp. 590-91.

¹²² P. Lambrou, *op.cit.*, pp. 40-42.

¹²³ Malamut, *Les iles*, II, p. 389.

A. Dunn, „The exploitation and control of woodland and scrubland’, (1992), p. 281.

¹²⁴ Hieronymo Giustiniani, p. 77. *Folk Lore*, I, p. 78.

¹²⁵ Section 2.2, of ch. 2, entry „Pyrama’.

¹²⁶ Lefort, *EHB*, 1, p. 249, and n. 99.

Genoese archives provide rich evidence for silk production on the island.¹²⁷ The extent of the mulberry plantations is described in notarial deeds: the area for the breeding of the silkworm extended from Volissos in the north, down to cape Mastico in the south end.¹²⁸ It is mentioned that white mulberry plantation was flourishing, especially in the plain of Kambos, and in Volissos for the breeding of the silkworm.¹²⁹ Volissos and its outskirts are attested to have been a major centre of sericulture. Indeed, the breeding of the silkworm and the production of cocoons on mount Amani was destined for export, and remained a source of income until the early twentieth century.¹³⁰

Silk:¹³¹ Similarly to the wine and fig production mentioned earlier, fourteenth-century notarial acts related to the concession of Chiot estates to Italian citizens describe with precision the annual yields and the number of mulberry trees grown,¹³² *the sole index of development of the breeding of the silkworm which we possess from that period*.¹³³ Even though Genoa's principal providers in raw silk were the cities in the Black and Caspian Seas, nevertheless Chios and other lands in mainland Greece, such as Thebes and the Peloponnese, contributed a substantial share in raw silk.¹³⁴ A contract composed on Chios by the notary Giuliano de Canella on 15 February 1381, testifies commercial relations with Spain: the act is an agreement between the Spanish trader Bartolomeo Boleya from Valencia and Luchino di Savignone on the consignment of seven bobbins of silk.¹³⁵ The chiot silk industry under the Genoese was very developed and thriving. Argenti notes that raw silk and silk weaving were the two flourishing aspects in the silk industry. The silk trade is equally well documented.¹³⁶ It is attested that the organisation of the industry in the fifteenth century included specialised silk weavers, and a dyer of red silk.¹³⁷ So

¹²⁷ *Infra*, entry 'silk'.

¹²⁸ Balard, *La Romanie Génoise*, II, pp. 701, 725.

¹²⁹ *Occupation*, I, pp. 480 and notes 1,2, 492-3. Zolotas, A1, p. 223. *Greece*, vol. II, p. 65. White mulberries were grown in Volissos until the early twentieth century, for the silk production was intensive in that area. It was not until the early twentieth century that the production died out.

¹³⁰ Source: my grandmother. A. Syngros, *Memoires* (in Greek), vol. 2, pp. 86 ff, & vol. 3. pp. 11ff.

¹³¹ Argenti, *The Occupation*, I, p. 492-93. Balard, *op.cit.*, II, 723-33.

¹³² Argenti, *op.cit.*, I, p. 547, n. 6.

¹³³ Balard, *op.cit.*, II, p. 701.

¹³⁴ For the Genoese activity in the silk trade see D. Jacoby, 'Genoa, Silk Trade and Silk Manufacture in the Mediterranean Region (ca. 1100-1300)', in: *Idem, Commercial Exchange Across the Mediterranean*, Variorum Reprints, 2005, Study X, 265-304.

¹³⁵ E. Basso, *Atti rogati a Chio*, doc. 42, pp. 97-99.

¹³⁶ Argenti, *Occupation*, I, 493-94 and relevant notes. Unfortunately, Argenti did not publish the relevant acts, which he mentions in chronological order.

¹³⁷ *Ibid*, p. 492.

thriving was the industry that it attracted to the island specialised workers from the Genoese Guild of Silk Makers to the great detriment of that Guild.¹³⁸ Accounts of that period highlight the silk production; in particular the abbot Zosimus, in the fifteenth century, enumerates several products of the island „mastic, carobs, silk, and several kinds of legumes.¹³⁹ Hieronimo mentions that Kambos is a silk – producing area.¹⁴⁰

However, there are indications that silk production on Chios antedates the Genoese conquest and was well developed. Notarial documents dating from the very early years of the Genoese period enumerate various kinds of arboriculture in the fields of Chiot citizens.¹⁴¹ Mulberry trees figure in the majority of the deeds, which are an indicator of the silkworm breeding and the concomitant production of cocoons. Among the documents issued during the very early period of the Genoese Maona, one, composed by the notary Badassal de Ferrariis on 10 February 1391, refers specifically to Volissos and attests its production of raw silk. It lays down regulations according to which the town would be administered; one of the clauses prohibits the *capitaneus*, i.e. the local governor of Volissos, from receiving silk from the villagers of his area of jurisdiction.¹⁴² The document was re-confirmed and ratified four days later, on 14 February 1391.¹⁴³ European cities were active in buying raw silk from mainland Greece (*Romania*) since the late twelfth century.¹⁴⁴ It is known that silk from Byzantine territories (*Romania*, Asia Minor) makes its appearance in the Genoese markets in 1262, soon after the treaty of Nymphaeum (1261).¹⁴⁵ Asia Minor was a major provider of raw silk and Smyrna was renowned for silkworm breeding. Soon after the treaty of Nymphaeum (1261) and throughout the thirteenth century, its raw silk supplied the Genoese markets.¹⁴⁶ Genoa was the main supplier of raw silk to the expanding Lucchese silk industry from the beginning of its operation around the mid-twelfth century.¹⁴⁷ According to Jacoby, the Cairo Genizah sources convey indirectly the practice of sericulture on a large scale in late tenth- and eleventh century

¹³⁸ *Ibid*, p. 493, n.1.

¹³⁹ Argenti-Kyriakides, I, Zosimus, an abbot of the Great Lavra at Moscow (1419-1421), p. 11.

¹⁴⁰ Hieronymo, p. 205ff.

¹⁴¹ *Occupation*, I, p. 480, and n. 1.

¹⁴² Rovere, *op. cit.*, doc. no 22, pp. 158-161.

¹⁴³ *Eadem*, doc. 24, pp. 167-168.

¹⁴⁴ *Occupation*, I, p. 482. Jacoby, *Italian Migration*, 97-127.

¹⁴⁵ Jacoby, *Genoa, silk trade and silk manufacture*, pp. 11-40.

¹⁴⁶ Balard, *La Romanie Génoise*, II, p. 724, n. 31.

¹⁴⁷ Jacoby, *Genoa, silk trade and silk manufacture*.

Asia Minor. The same sources highlight the role of Asia Minor in Mediterranean trade and shipping as early as the tenth century.¹⁴⁸

In terms of commercial activity related to silk, I would argue that there is early evidence deriving from dated seals of the *kommerkiarioi*. Both those related to Chios and those mentioning either the provinces of Aigaion Pelagos or the Islands are taken into account here, for Chios belongs to the context of the Aegean. Surprisingly, the example bearing the name „Chios’ is one of the earliest, dated in the late seventh century (reign of Justinian II).

- a. **George, scribon and *genikos kommerkiarios* of the Apotheke of Asia, Chios, and Lesvos (690/1).**¹⁴⁹
- b. **John (?) apo eparchon and *general kommerkiarios* of the *apotheke of Aigaion Pelagos* (711-713).**¹⁵⁰ The eparch of the city is a high-ranking official.¹⁵¹
- c. **John apo eparchon and *general kommerkiarios* of the *apotheke of Aigaion Pelagos* (713/714).**¹⁵²
- d. **Anastasios, hypatos, imperial balnitor and *genikos kommerkiarios* of the Apotheke of Asia, Karia, all the Islands and Hellespontos (721/722).**¹⁵³
- e. **Seal of the imperial *kommerkia* of the islands of the Aigaion Pelagos.**¹⁵⁴
Schlumberger had dated this seal in the seventh century, whereas Zacos-Veglery propose a date in 734/5, according to the indiction 3 (?).¹⁵⁵

The scholarly controversy about the relationship of the office of *kommerkiarios* with the silk trade is long. However, the interpretation so far is that during the early period this official was a financial functionary of the *Genikon Logothesion* whose responsibility was to supervise the economic life of his province.

¹⁴⁸ Jacoby, „What do we learn about Byzantine Asia Minor from the Documents of the Cairo Genizah ?’: *Byzantine Asia Minor (6th-12th)*, Sp.Vryonis Jr. and N.Oikonomides (eds) , Athens 1998, pp. 85-86.

¹⁴⁹ Zacos-Veglery, *Byzantine Lead Seals*, I/1, Basel, 1972, no 168, p. 249. Nesbitt-Oikonomides, *Catalogue*, 2, p. 141.

¹⁵⁰ Oikonomides, *A Collection of Dated Byzantine Lead Seals*, *Dumbarton Oaks*, 1986, no 29, p. 41. Nesbitt-Oikonomides, *Catalogue*, 2, no 40.22, p. 119. Zacos-Veglery, *op. cit.*, no 211.

¹⁵¹ ODB, Vol. 1, p. 704: the title Apo Eparchon (the former eparch) is known primarily from sources of the 6th-8th c. M. Hendy, *Studies in the Byzantine monetary economy*, Cambridge U.P. 1985, pp. 658-9.

¹⁵² Nesbitt-Oikonomides, *Catalogue*, 2, no 40.23, p. 119. Zacos-Veglery, no 213.

¹⁵³ Zacos-Veglery, *Lead Seals*, I/1, no 226.

¹⁵⁴ Schlumberger, *Sigillographie*, pp. 195-6. Zacos-Veglery, *op.cit.*, I /1, no 249, p. 328.

¹⁵⁵ Zacos-Veglery identified the two co-emperors as Leon III and Constantine V.

He is always associated with the state warehouse (apotheke), which he supervised for the supply and distribution of goods.¹⁵⁶

From the above it is understood that the harbour towns of the north-east Aegean had their customs-houses. The seals are eloquent testimonies of the State's interest in the commercial role of the islands and set under its direct control their economy and output.¹⁵⁷

It would be plausible to assume silk-worm breeding on the opposite side of the Chios Straits, during the same period. As it was mentioned, the proximity of the two lands accounts for close contact between the two coasts; this proximity favoured the commercial exchanges between the neighbouring lands and Chios was both an outlet and an entrepot for the products of the opposite mainland. There is information from later travellers which can be combined with evidence from the Byzantine period: indeed, not only did silkworm breeding constitute a substantial part of the economy. It is also attested that Byzantine Chios manufactured purple silk fabrics dyed with cochenille.¹⁵⁸ Obviously this industry served the textile market in Constantinople.¹⁵⁹

Other fruit crops grown for local use were quinces, apples, pears, and cherries.¹⁶⁰ The wild pear is an indigenous species¹⁶¹ as the loquat (*mespilus oxyacantha*).¹⁶² Cherry trees thrive in the mountains of Amani and Pellinaion, where the altitudes are much higher.

When it comes to the production of other agricultural goods, sources and, mainly, oral tradition, mention vegetables and legumes which supplemented the peasants' diet. Rovin, peas, kyamos, calavances (*fasoulos*), chick peas, lentils, and vetches (*bikion*)¹⁶³ are mentioned in the sources and were grown on the western side

¹⁵⁶ ODB, 2, p. 1141. Zacos-Veglery, I/1, pp. 135-137. Oikonomides, *Listes*, p. 313. F. Curta, „Byzantium in Dark Age Greece (the numismatic evidence in its Balkan context), *BMGS* 29 (2005), 113-146. Dunn, „The Kommerkiarios, the Apotheke, the Dromos, the Vardarios, and the West', *BMGS* 17 (1993), 3-24.

N. Oikonomides, „Silk trade and production in Byzantium from the sixth to the ninth centuries: the seals of kommerkiarioi', *DOP* 40 (1986), 33-53.

¹⁵⁷ I. Koltsida-Makri, *Συμβολή*.

¹⁵⁸ Balard, *La Romanie Génoise*, II, p. 725, n. 37.

¹⁵⁹ Harvey, *Economic Expansion in the Byzantine Empire*, pp. 147-48.

¹⁶⁰ Zolotas, A1, pp. 197, 227. *Greece*, vol. II, p. 74. *Folk Lore*, I, p. 94.

¹⁶¹ Source: my family.

¹⁶² A. Korais, *Αγκρα*, Paris, 1835, vol. V, pp. 125, 350.

¹⁶³ Argenti-Kyriakides, op.cit., I, testimony of the abbot Zosimos from Moscow, 11. *Folk-Lore*, I, pp. 92-93. *Greece*, III, p. 528. Malamut, *Les iles*, II, pp. 386-87.

of Asia Minor in the eleventh century. The practice of biennial rotation of the cultivation of cereals and legumes continued until the twentieth century.¹⁶⁴ Market-gardening of restricted extent was concentrated in more fertile areas, such as the fluvial and coastal plains. Presumably most farms included a garden, since vegetables formed an indispensable part of a family's nourishment.¹⁶⁵

3.4.2. INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTS AND ARTISANAL PRODUCTION

Industrial crops

Flax, wool and cotton were the three raw materials which were used for the clothing.¹⁶⁶ However, the first of it, namely flax, has never been attested in the historical record as a cultivation of Chios.¹⁶⁷ It is known that it was woven in the island until before the Massacres (1822) and the export of linen cloths was thriving. Sericulture was extensive and the scholarly debate on this topic is interesting as new evidence comes to light.

Cotton: The 1938-39 survey conducted by the British Naval Division describes that the island has abundant surface water „even in the height of summer, because the rocks and the soils ...are in the main impermeable’.¹⁶⁸ The abundance of water resources explains why among the industrial products of the island figured cotton, a plant very demanding in water. We must gather that the medieval natural relief with its dense forests would undoubtedly have accounted for the perennial flow of water. Cotton was a natural product of the island and was widely cultivated during the Genoese period, for which there is information in the late medieval sources. The scarcity of Byzantine sources have left no information whatsoever about this issue. Cotton was one of the main commodities in the trade with England and is included in the list of cargoes of English ships.¹⁶⁹ André Thévet also records it among the other

¹⁶⁴ Information from my family.

¹⁶⁵ *Folk Lore*, vol. I, 93. Argenti-Kyriakides, *passim*.

¹⁶⁶ Kaplan, *op.cit.*, p. 43. *Folk-Lore* I, pp. 132ff.

¹⁶⁷ *The Occupation*, I, pp. 510-511. See also the similar problem in respect to Crete, in D.Tsougarakis, *Byzantine Crete: from the 5th century to the Venetian conquest*, D. Basilopoulos: Athens, 1988, pp. 287-88.

¹⁶⁸ *Greece*, III, 514.

¹⁶⁹ Argenti-Kyriakides, I, pp. 87-122. Captain Richard Hakluyt published in 1589 „The Principal Navigation, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation’ with important information on

products of the island.¹⁷⁰ Hieronimo mentions that there was vigorous cultivation at Dafnonas and Sklavia in central Chios and the output was exported in Europe.¹⁷¹ Spun cotton was largely exported to the major markets of the north, but also to Cadiz and Majorca in Spain.¹⁷² In the late Genoese period, Genoa was its main destination.¹⁷³ Remarkably, until 1914, according to Argenti's recording, cotton cultivation was vigorous in the south.¹⁷⁴

Cloth industry and trade¹⁷⁵

Cloth trade was activated by the Genoese. The merchandise was shipped to the western Mediterranean and northern Europe. Apart from Italian ports, Chios had vivid commercial relations with Majorca, Cadiz, Sicily, and Bruges,¹⁷⁶ where she exported locally produced damasc textiles of very good quality.¹⁷⁷ Conversely, Florentine and Veronese drapes were delivered to Chios.¹⁷⁸ Large quantities of these cloths and cotton went to Modon, Cadiz and Tunis.¹⁷⁹ Relations with England are attested as early as the mid – fifteenth century.¹⁸⁰ Testimonies of English geographers, reports and correspondence of English merchants and captains illustrate a flourishing trade between Chios and England, i.e. for the merchandise, the prices, and relevant topics.¹⁸¹ In the sixteenth century an English consul was appointed to safeguard the English commercial interests on Chios.¹⁸² The cloth trade was closely connected with that in dyestuffs. Dyes were extracted naturally from the various kinds of galls,¹⁸³ and here the role of northern Chios must have been significant on account of its afforested

the trade between the two countries. Also, captain Thomas Dallam, 'Diary of Master Thomas Dallam, 1599-1600' in: ed. J.T. Bent, *Early Voyages and Travels in the Levant*, London 1893, pp. 43-44.

¹⁷⁰ Argenti-Kyriakides, I, pp. 39-56.

¹⁷¹ Hieronymo, *op.cit.*, pp. 205ff. *The Occupation*, I, p. 501.

¹⁷² *The Occupation*, I, pp. 510-11 and notes. Regrettably, Argenti does not publish the relevant deeds.

¹⁷³ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁴ Argenti – Rose, *Folk Lore*, I, p. 82.

¹⁷⁵ Argenti, *The Occupation*, I, pp.493ff.

¹⁷⁶ Balard, *op.cit.*, II, pp. 748, 781, 875

¹⁷⁷ Argenti, *Diplomatic Archive*, II, Trade and Products, pp. 461-787. Also *Idem*, *The Costumes of Chios: their development from the XVth to the XXth century*, London: Batsford, 1953, with illustrations.

¹⁷⁸ *The Occupation*, I, pp. 495-96 and notes.

¹⁷⁹ *The Occupation*, I, p. 483.

¹⁸⁰ *The Occupation*, I, p. 496-98; III, deed 112, pp. 586-87.

¹⁸¹ Argenti-Kyriakides, *op.cit.*, I, pp. 87-122: among them was Roger Bodenham, who sailed to Chios in 1550; Richard Hakluyt in 1589 to mention only a few.

¹⁸² *The Occupation*, I, 497-98.

¹⁸³ Dunn, *Exploitation*, pp. 284-287.

areas. Processed gallnuts produced the red dye, which accounted for a large part of the island's exports during the Genoese period, probably even earlier.¹⁸⁴

Alum:¹⁸⁵ Alum was the other monopoly of both the Zaccaria and the Maona besides mastic. It was a mineral product of Phocaea, the peninsula opposite Chios, mined either in crystals or in powder form. Its use varied, with most important its application being in the cloth industry. There were medical uses, as well. Apart from Phocaea, other places in Asia Minor were alum producers. Prior to the concession of the mines of Phocaea to the Zaccaria brothers (late thirteenth century) there is no earlier evidence of the exploitation of this mineral in that area. Balard, based on the study of two notarial acts, proposes the year 1268 as the earliest date for which evidence is attested on the enterprises of the Zaccaria in alum.¹⁸⁶ Chios was not an alum producer, however it was the first stop of the merchandise in transit from Asia Minor and served as an outlet for commodities of its adjacent hinterland and islands. Notarial deeds composed at Chios concerning cargo of alum witness relations with Flanders and Bruges as early as the fourteenth century. A contract, composed in Chios on 4 February 1381 between Paolo Spinola di Luccoli *quondam* Lodisii and Giacomo Spinola di San Luca *quondam* Ferrandi, confirms that the cargo of 523 *cantarii* (= 25,448.657 kg) of alum, which the two men received from Andalo Cattaneo *quondam* Belengerii, will be paid to him when the merchandise arrives at Bruges.¹⁸⁷ On 23 February 1381 the same notary composed an agreement between Bernabò Dentuto and Pietro Cholzat from the Flanders, the latter being co-owner of ore alum and alum from Phocaea freighted on the ship of Juan Peres de Heya de Bermeo.¹⁸⁸ Another deed dated 20 February 1399 mentions the favourable sentence granted to Tommaso Paterio, represented by the notary Giuliano Canella, over a dispute with Urbano Piccamiglio, for tax evasion regarding a cargo of alum from Old Phocaea.¹⁸⁹

Marble: The Chian marbles were highly prized and largely exported since antiquity. Excavations at Ostia recovered quantities of imported Chian marble. Revetments and columns of several Constantinopolitan churches consisted of the

¹⁸⁴ *The Occupation*, I, p. 511 and n. 15-16. The same method was followed until the early twentieth century, as I know from my grandparents.

¹⁸⁵ Argenti, *The Occupation*, I, 488-9. Balard, *op.cit.*, 769-782.

¹⁸⁶ Balard, *op.cit.*, 770-771.

¹⁸⁷ E.Basso, *Notai Genovesi in Oltremare: Atti rogati a Chio da Giuliano de Canella (2 November 1380- 31 March 1381)*. Athens 1993, doc. 22, pp. 69-70.

¹⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, doc. 70, pp. 136-137.

¹⁸⁹ A. Rovere, *op.cit.*, doc. 49, pp. 227-229.

polychrome Chian marble. Nea Moni was of course adorned with local marble.¹⁹⁰ The quarries are found in several areas on the outskirts of the harbour – town. One is the site *Latomi* (as the name implies, a quarry).¹⁹¹ Several travellers record the marbles among the most renowned regional products. In 1445, Cyriac of Ancona in a letter to his friend, Andreolo Giustiniani, a member of the Maona, illustrates his impressions of the colourful chian marbles.¹⁹² A. Thévet, in 1549, and N. de Nicolay, in 1551, are other testimonies.¹⁹³ It is known that *botteghe* (workshops) of sculptors existed in Chios town and were commissioned to carve the decoration of public or private edifices. These workshops were the impetus to the development of a regional school of sculpture during the Genoese period.¹⁹⁴ In addition, Italian masters were invited to work on site. The prominent Renaissance architect Michelozzo Michelozzi was responsible for a programme commissioned by the Maona.¹⁹⁵

Salt: it is known from the sources that the Genoese organised also the trade of salt as early as the second half of the thirteenth century. Chios was also a salt provider for the Maona. The terms and conditions in the contracts which were stipulated with the buyers were strict.¹⁹⁶ An early sixteenth century testimony for the salt pans of Chios comes from the traveller Martinus Baumgarten (1507).¹⁹⁷

Pitch:¹⁹⁸ Pitch or terebinthin is the resin extracted from the trunk of the terebinthus tree, a native species of the island. It belongs to the lentisc family, as well. Pitch had a wide use in shipbuilding and the waterproofing of roofs, for this reason it, too, became a Genoese monopoly. The shipbuilding activity is related to a large number of caulkers recorded to have lived on the island. The sources record that the pitch makers worked in three particular areas: Pityos in north central Chios, Avgonima in central Chios, and Mera or Limeri in central-east Chios. Regulations were laid down for the monopoly of pitch, as well. Hieronimo mentions that the two

¹⁹⁰ Bouras, *Nea Moni on Chios*, p. 153.

¹⁹¹ Koukounis, *The stone carvings of Chios*, p. 3 with the relevant bibliography.

¹⁹² E.W. Bodnar-C. Foss (eds), *Cyriac of Ancona, Later Travels*, Cambridge (Mass.) 2003, pp. 208-211.

¹⁹³ A. Thévet (1549), in: Argenti-Kyriakides, *op.cit.*, I, 39-56, and Nicolas de Nicolay (1551), in *ibid*, 57-68.

¹⁹⁴ Koukounis, *op.cit.*, ch. 1.

¹⁹⁵ *Eadem*. Hasluck, F.W., «The Latin Monuments of Chios». *ABSA* 16 (1909-10), 137-184.

¹⁹⁶ Argenti, *op.cit.*, I, pp. 489-490. Balard, *op.cit.*, II, pp. 708-711.

¹⁹⁷ Argenti-Kyriakides, I, pp. 26-28.

¹⁹⁸ Hieronimo, pp. 75-76, 207. Pitton de Tournefort, *Relation d'un voyage du Levant, 1700-1702*, Herakleion 2003, 417-421. Argenti, *The Occupation*, I, 490-492. A. Dunn, „The exploitation and control of woodland and scrubland in the Byzantine world’ *BMGS* (1992), pp. 290-91, 294-95. Argenti-Rose, *The Folk-Lore of Chios*, I, p. 77. The writers note erroneously that these trees are not cultivated in the north. Terebinth, as was noted above, is native and grows wild in every part of Chios.

species belong to the same arboreal family; he explains the differences between the mastic and the terebinthin resin, mentioning that they must not be confused, since the former is white and sweaty, whereas the latter black and bitter.¹⁹⁹

Fishes:²⁰⁰ the wide resources of the Danube, Black Sea and south Russia provided the Genoese the fish for the international markets. We must assume, therefore, that Chios would have covered only local needs.

3.4.3. LAND USE

Incultum

Another source of exploitation formed the uncultivated areas, which comprised forests, grass- and scrubland. Products provided were timber for construction, firewood, and pine resin and pitch, while the grassland offered fodder for domestic animals. Until the eleventh century the *incultum* seems to have been exploited and managed by the village community in its favour. Around the end of the same century, however, it belongs to the large landowners.²⁰¹ The examples of Macedonia and south Italy show that the *incultum* was very rationally exploited, as the regulations, prohibitions and restrictions of the Byzantine state prove.²⁰²

Forests were abundant as is illustrated in the sources; therefore, one should expect a large percentage of precipitation. Today arsons have eliminated the largest part of forests creating a completely different picture.

Forest products²⁰³

The northern and western regions of the island were wooded in the seventeenth century, „as they were in antiquity”.²⁰⁴ Buondelmondi’s account of his visit to Chios describes his trespassing of the precipitous Aipos mountain and the

¹⁹⁹ Hieronimo Giustiniani, p. 207.

²⁰⁰ Balard, *op.cit.*, II, pp. 705-708.

²⁰¹ Lefort, „The Rural Economy’, *EHB* 1, p. 261. J.Lefort- J.M.Martin, „L’organisation de l’espace rural: Macédoine et Italie du sud (Xe-XIIIe siècle)’, *Hommes et Richesses*, II, 11-26, particularly pp. 23-35.

²⁰² Lefort-Martin, *op.cit.*, p. 25. Dunn, *Exploitation*, pp. 263-269.

²⁰³ Balard, *op.cit.*, II, p. 734 ff.

²⁰⁴ Argenti, *Diplomatic archive*, p. xix, pp. 9-10, doc. 4.

forests of the central region on his way to the north, the *Apanomorea*. Then, he describes his impressions of the abundant forests “off Pityo, towards Volissos, Sant’Angelo and Helia (Mt Pelinnaion)”.²⁰⁵ Oaks, holly oaks, pine trees, plane trees and wild olive are the commonest species and would have provided timber for constructions and ship building, as well as wood for heating.²⁰⁶ A passage of Anna Komnene describes eloquently how Dalassenus and his fleet spent a few days in the harbour of Volissos to repair their vessels before they would counter-attack the fleet of the pirate Tzachas.²⁰⁷ One envisages the importance of an auxiliary port in the west coast, which at the same time would have had a shipyard, as well. Or, alternatively, timber from the forests would have been transferred to the port ready to be exported. Plane-tree wood was used to make saddles for mules and asses.²⁰⁸ The wild olive, the oak and the holly oak were the three kinds of wood most suitable for the construction of various agricultural implements.²⁰⁹ Acorns were used for tanning,²¹⁰ and galls for dyes, as was already mentioned. Resin extracted from the pine forests was also an industrial source used in shipbuilding, besides pitch.²¹¹

Arts and crafts

Reed beds are found in the coastal plains, where the stream flow ends up. Reeds were used to plait ropes and weave baskets.²¹² However, more convenient was the chaste tree, used commonly for basket weaving until today, because it has supple stems.²¹³

²⁰⁵ Argenti-Kyriakides, I, pp. 11-15.

²⁰⁶ Dunn, *op.cit.*, pp. 285-86, 288-89.

²⁰⁷ Anna Komnene, *Alexiad.*, VII, pp. 113, 116 (ed. B.Leib, vol. 2).

²⁰⁸ *Folk-Lore*, I, p. 96.

²⁰⁹ Source: my grandparents. *Folk-Lore* I, pp.53ff.

²¹⁰ Dunn, *Exploitation*, 287, 289, 294-295.

²¹¹ It is noteworthy that resin from the pine forests of north Chios was vivid until the early 1950s, and the toponym of the site is „Retsinadika”.

²¹² Source: my father. *Folk Lore*, vol. I, p. 88-89, 112.

²¹³ Dunn, *Exploitation*, p. 283.

3.4.4. ANIMAL HUSBANDRY

Livestock

Stock-raising and poultry were the second important part of the local economy²¹⁴ forming one of the main activities. Animal husbandry had always been an essential part of the local economy until the first half of the twentieth century. The farmers used to keep cattle for the ploughing and/or for dairy products. Mules and donkeys were used as a means for transportation, as carriers, and in the watermills, the wells or the olive presses.²¹⁵ The commonest domestic animals were pigs, sheep and goats. Pigs were kept for meat and fat.²¹⁶ Sheep and goats were the characteristic flocks of the north until relatively recently and their milk was used for the making of cheeses until today.²¹⁷ They were also important for their fleece, hair and skin. Goats' hair was used to make heavy covers, spreads and mattresses for the winter.²¹⁸ The areas at higher altitudes were used as rough grazing land for the flocks and herds during the spring and summer.²¹⁹ Shepherds, who used to live in small stone huts on the hills in summer or lower in the grasslands during the winter pastures (herdsmen) wore long coats made of goats' hair. For the heavy cold they wore a woollen fabric, a sack-coat. Fleece was used to making several outer garments. Both goats' hair and fleece had to be spun into a thread and then to be woven.²²⁰ Skins were a major sector in industrial products, and the exploitation of acorns was connected to this industry.²²¹

Fishing, chase and poultry and bee keeping contributed to the staple diet. No household was left without its poultry, indispensable for the eggs and meat.²²² The majority of the eggs were for selling; they were a source of extra income.

²¹⁴ Zolotas, A1, p. 232. *Greece*, vol. III, p. 529. vol. II, pp. 47-49. *Folklore*, I, pp. 95-99, 106-112. A. Harvey, *Economic expansion*, p. 149.

²¹⁵ Source: my grandparents. See also: *Folklore*, I, pp. 95-96.

²¹⁶ Source: my parents. See also: *Folklore*, I, pp. 95, 97-8.

²¹⁷ In Chios there are several varieties of sheep and goats' cheeses and are highly appreciated.

²¹⁸ Source: my parents. *Folklore*, I, p.107.

²¹⁹ World Atlas, p. 199.

²²⁰ *Folklore*, I, pp. 132-135, 152-157.

²²¹ Balard, *op.cit.*, II, pp. 737-738. Tanneries were flourishing in Chios until the 1930s.

²²² Source: my grandparents. See also: *Folklore*, I, p. 98.

3.5. INTERACTION BETWEEN TOWN & COUNTRYSIDE: AN OVERVIEW

Byzantine economy –The context

Summing up, from the examination of the above data it becomes apparent that the economy of Byzantine Chios was characterised by polyculture in order to cover regional needs. Cereals were the most important crop, which occupies the greater part of the cultivated areas. Even with indirect information and dearth of data we must not overlook the reality of an active export trade in mastic, silk, timber, and some of its fruit production (figs, almonds), which was directed to the lands to its east and south. Its maritime position within the empire would have been important in the provisioning of Constantinople, as it is conveyed by the early sources (port-of-call in the Miracles of St Demetrius).

Observations

The privileged position of Chios in the crossroads of the Levant has long been highlighted by scholars. The island was at the very centre where the maritime routes between East and West converged. Its harbour is only three nautical miles distance away from the opposite mainland. Following its north axis, it links the entire littoral of Asia Minor from Lesbos and Adramyttion to the Propontis, Constantinople and the Black Sea.²²³ The south axis leads from Samos to Rhodes, then to Cyprus, Syria and Egypt. To the west, the routes led to Sicily and Cadiz, and reached as far north as England. The island was a point of connection of all those ports.

The Byzantine economy has been described as one of subsistence.²²⁴ However, the economic pattern of the islands emphasised polyculture. Agricultural surplus, commodities and specialised crops, such as the Chiot mastic or Cretan cheese were exported.²²⁵ The proximity with the littoral of Asia Minor benefited the

²²³ Argenti, *The Occupation of Chios by the Genoese*, I, 482-483, 505-506 and relevant notes. M. Balard, *La Romanie Génoise*, II, pp. 849ff. Malamut, *Les îles*, II, pp. 535ff, and maps on p. 644-45, 652a, 653, 658b, 659b,c, 660a,c, 662b,c, 663a.

²²⁴ Harvey, *Economic Expansion*, p. 120.

²²⁵ Malamut, *op.cit.*, II, pp. 394-397, 402-403.

economy of the islands since it stimulated exchange.²²⁶ As any land of the Empire, the rural economy on Chios was based on the small family holding.²²⁷ In fact, this pattern continued until the twentieth century.²²⁸

The monumental orgasm encountered in the islands and the coastal zones of the Byzantine Empire in the mid-seventh century is explained by favourable conditions in the commercial activity. Despite the upheavals caused by Arab and Slavonic attacks in the same century, and the loss of the provinces to the Arabs, trading activities did not cease.²²⁹ Lead seals with the legend „*apotheke*’ dating from that period bear witness to that.²³⁰ Scholarly study recognises that Arab-Byzantine commercial relations existed during the „dark ages’.²³¹ Around the ninth and tenth centuries the role of the islands of western Asia Minor appears to upgrade at the expense of the ports of the opposite littoral. A tempting explanation was proposed that the silting of the great ports of Asia Minor, such as Ephesus and Miletus, led to their gradual abandonment and the rise of Lesbos, Chios, and Samos in maritime importance. It is not accidental that the rise of Smyrna – opposite Chios – into a bishopric occurs at this time, when the ports of western Asia Minor fall into disuse.²³²

The Eleventh century context

The eleventh century around the Aegean is considered a landmark, for the picture drawn in the sources henceforward is well documented, showing again a new efflorescence testified by a vivid commercial and maritime activity, agricultural exploitation, and demographic rise.²³³ It is in the course of that century that reappears in the sources the increasing importance of the islands and the littoral of Asia

²²⁶ A. Laiou, „The Byzantine Economy in the Mediterranean trade system : 13th-15th c.’: *DOP* 34-35 (1980-1981), 17-222, esp. p. 177.

²²⁷ Lefort, *EHB*, 1, p. 248. N. Svoronos, „Remarques sur les structures économiques de l’Empire Byzantin au XIe siècle’, *TM* 6 (1976), 51-52.

²²⁸ H. Antoniadis-Bibicou – André Guillou, „Problèmes d’histoire de la communauté villageoise byzantine et post-byzantine’ : *Le monde rurale dans l’aire Méditerranéenne*, EKKE – KNE-EIE, Athens 1988, p. 58. Mainly see Argenti-Rose, *The Folk-Lore of Chios*, 2 vols, Cambridge, U.P., 1949.

²²⁹ Malamut, *op.cit.*, II, pp. 434-35.

²³⁰ Zacos-Veglery, *Lead Seals*, I/1, no 168, p. 249; no 226.

²³¹ M. Gerolymatou, *Markets, Merchants and Trade in Byzantium, 9th -12th c.* (in Greek), E.I.E./K.B.E. Athens 2008, pp.113ff, with older bibliography.

²³² Gerolymatou, *op.cit.* pp. 129-133.

²³³ Malamut, *op.cit.*, II, pp.467-469.

Minor as markets for food supply and as destinations or ports-of-call.²³⁴ This is the period of the large magnates, and their investments in monumental architecture. It is known that during that century a small part of maritime trade was held by the great monasteries. The acts of Patmos reveal that the monastery possessed a small commercial fleet; undoubtedly the Nea Moni would have been involved in similar commercial ventures. For export trade, the sources mention that the route Alexandria – Amalfi is operated by the Jewish merchants of Cairo. Crete, Rhodes, and Chios are some of their main stops. The geographic range of the mastic trade extended to Egypt, where mastic was used in the manufacturing of perfumes and in pastries already in 1050 and in the second half of the eleventh century. Although direct evidence is lacking, it would seem that its production and sale were conducted under stringent imperial control.²³⁵

In the end of the same century, with the entrance to the fore of the Westerners and the penetration by them of the eastern markets, scholarly argumentation arose as to the fortunes of the Byzantine merchant. Jacoby spoke of the „Byzantine outsider’ in trade – especially from 1082 onwards – on account of the fiscal exemptions bestowed upon the Venetian traders by the Emperors and the restrictions and stringent regulations for their Byzantines counterparts.²³⁶ Scholarly research has shown that even after the establishment of the commercial republics in the Levant, Byzantine merchants did not cease to practice trade.²³⁷ They traded with a variety of products, such as cochennille, cloth, grain, fish, raw materials (skins, wool and silk) and even slaves.²³⁸ The extent to which the Byzantines traded freely differed; their sphere of action was more extensive in the western part of Greece and more limited in the eastern, where the Latins had predominance.

²³⁴ Jacoby, *Cairo Genizah*, pp. 91-92. Malamut, *op.cit.*, II, p. 437.

²³⁵ Jacoby, „Byzantine trade with Egypt from the mid-tenth century to the Fourth Crusade’ in: *Thesaurismata 30*, Venezia, 2000, 25-77, esp. pp. 32, and 45. *Idem*, *Cairo Genizah*, p. 92, and n. 48. Malamut, *op.cit.*, II, p. 438, note 346.

²³⁶ Jacoby, „The Byzantine Outsider in Trade (c.900-c.1350). in: *Strangers to Themselves: The Byzantine Outsider (Papers from the Thirty-second Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, University of Sussex, Brighton, March 1998)*, ed. D.C. Smythe. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000, 129-147, reproduced also in: Jacoby, *Latins, Greeks and Muslims: Encounters in the Eastern Mediterranean, 10th -15th c.* Ashgate Variorum, 2009, Study I.

²³⁷ Jacoby, *The Byzantine Outsider*, *passim*. A. Laiou, „The Greek merchant of the Palaeologan period: A collective portrait’, *The Proceedings of the Academy of Athens*, 1982, 96-128. *Eadem*, „The Byzantine Economy in the Mediterranean Trade system: Thirteenth-Fifteenth Centuries’ *DOP* 34-35, (1980-81), pp. 210-211.

²³⁸ Laiou, *The Greek merchant*, p.100.

The Palaeologan period: the era of the commercial Democracies

There is much scholarly research on the economic conditions and activities of the Palaeologan period. As it was mentioned, it has been shown that the predominant role of Venice and Genoa did not destroy the Byzantine merchant. The Byzantine trading entrepreneurship of that period was practised largely by lay and ecclesiastical magnates.²³⁹ The involvement of those circles in trade dates back to the eleventh and twelfth centuries:²⁴⁰ sectors of trade and industry developed, as is attested by Greek *archontes* in Peloponnese and in mainland Greece, who acted as middlemen selling oil and silk to Italian wholesale traders;²⁴¹ on the other hand, the large monastic foundations commercialised the production of their estates.²⁴²

The Genoese sources document fully and continuously trading activities between Byzantine Chiot and Genoese entrepreneurs. Some very well known names of Chiot aristocrats figure in notarial deeds to enter into partnerships with Genoese members of the ruling families.²⁴³ Byzantine Chiot become conspicuous merchants by setting up partnerships and associations with Genoese merchants, in the majority of cases by means of intermarriages.²⁴⁴ Such partnerships enabled the Byzantine-Chiot to have access to the trans-Mediterranean Genoese network and the Italian markets; whereas other Byzantine merchants played only a secondary role in those businesses, as retailers, serving mainly the local sea-borne trade or as intermediaries of Venetians and Genoese.²⁴⁵

The eve of the fourteenth century was a landmark for Chios. Benedetto Zaccaria and later his successors bestowed upon Chios a double function: they made it a convenient stop (port-of call) for the vessels en route to the *Romania*, and the

²³⁹ P. Charanis, *On the Social Structure and economic organisation of the Byzantine Empire in the thirteenth century and later*, p. 146. Balard, *La Romanie Génoise*, I, pp. 334-338.

²⁴⁰ N. Svoronos, 'Remarques sur les structures économiques de l'Empire Byzantin au XIe siècle', *TM* 6 (1976), 49-67.

²⁴¹ Jacoby, *The Byzantine Outsider in Trade*, 138-140. Laiou, *The Greek merchant*, pp. 105-111, dates this phenomenon 'in the second half of the fourteenth century and even earlier'. Balard, *op.cit.*, II, pp. 522ff.

²⁴² Jacoby, *op.cit.*, p. 131.

²⁴³ Argenti, *The Occupation*, vols II & III, passim. E.Basso, *Notai Genovesi*, passim.

²⁴⁴ Basso, *op. cit. passim*. Also, Laiou 'The Byzantine economy in the Mediterranean trade system: thirteenth to fifteenth centuries', *DOP* 34-35 (1980-81), 177-222, particularly p. 199, 204. Balard, *op.cit.*, II, pp. 522ff.

²⁴⁵ Jacoby, *The Byzantine Outsider*, pp. 139-140. Laiou, *The Byzantine Economy*, pp. 202, 210-211.

western markets and an entrepot for the alum of Phocaea.²⁴⁶ Chios town, as a commercial centre served not only the adjacent littoral and its hinterland, but was also an international market. Trans-shipment and re-export of a variety of merchandise took place at its port. This double role was largely enhanced from 1346 onwards, during the second Genoese period and the establishment of the Maona: for more than two centuries, i.e. from the fourteenth to sixteenth, Chios lived an era of an unprecedented economic boom. The Genoese commercial network was based on the organisation of the regional markets of the colonies, and concomitantly, linked those markets to the east-west commercial route. In the eleventh century, the seaborne trade with Egypt, Syria and Alexandria for raw material was effected via the ports of Asia Minor and the adjacent islands. After 1261 the Genoese commercial route expands to the north-east with the foothold of the Genoese in the Black Sea ports. New markets enter into their sphere of influence.²⁴⁷ The merchandise from those lands, destined to the Western markets, generated new patterns of demand.²⁴⁸ From the end of the thirteenth century the network stretched further, along the maritime traffic which included Spain, Flanders, France and England.²⁴⁹ The result was the infusion and circulation of cash money into the Genoese colonies.²⁵⁰

These politico-economic factors favoured Chios, which was further benefited by the changes in the maritime traffic in the face of the crisis of the mid-fourteenth century, when the maritime traffic to Syria, Alexandria and Egypt acquires more importance. At the same time, the role of Pera diminished and Chios witnessed an ever enhanced position, when she assumed the entire Black Sea trade and at the same time initiated direct contacts with the great commercial centres of the north, Flanders and England.

²⁴⁶ Balard, *op.cit.*, II, 857.

²⁴⁷ Balard, *op.cit.*, II, pp. 849ff

²⁴⁸ Balard, *op.cit.*, II, pp. 862ff. D. Jacoby, „Italian Migration and Settlement in Latin Greece: the Impact on the Economy’ in: Idem: *Byzantium, Latin Romania and the Mediterranean*, Ashgate Variorum 2001, Study no IX, 97-127, particularly 120-121.

²⁴⁹ Balard, *op.cit.*, II, 849.

²⁵⁰ Balard, *op.cit.*, II, p. 854.

3.6. CONCLUSION

It is now clear that the Genoese establishment in Chios had a tremendous impact on its economic and social infrastructure. First of all, it is undeniable that there was continuity in the economic patterns: land continued to be the primary source of wealth, as it was under the Byzantines. The same crops and types of cultivation continued, but the Genoese are credited for its dynamism.²⁵¹ A partial restructuring of the exploitation and management was more important. New crops were introduced accompanied by enhanced and more systematic industrial production (alum, timber, tar, shipbuilding, tanning, cotton, wax, flax). The aim was to meet the demands of an ever-expanding market which accounted for new patterns of demand. The source of wealth of the Genoese enterprises derived, firstly, from profits from the commercialisation of the surpluses in raw materials and foodstuffs; here, far more important role was played by changes in the channelling and destinations of agricultural and pastoral surpluses to new markets; secondly, wealth derives from the new services which the trade created, such as banking, credit, and shipping operations, business management and storage facilities.²⁵² In this context, Chios was also favoured by its proximity to the alum mines of Phocaea, which were the second most important monopoly of the Genoese. Its paramount role in construction and repair of ships in the arsenals should also be highlighted.²⁵³ In addition, it was also a market for Western goods.

The Latin presence speeded up the regional economies by incorporating them into a vast maritime network which connected them to the West.²⁵⁴ The Genoese establishment in Chios marked a new era which saw the opening of new paths in the island's economy and shifted its orientation to a far-flung western axis. In the long term, it marked the island's fate, for this infrastructure carried on throughout the Ottoman period, until the early decades of the twentieth century. The island was

²⁵¹ Jacoby, *Italian Migration and settlement*, pp. 97-127.

²⁵² Balard, *op.cit.*, II, p. 879. Jacoby, „Changing economic patterns in Latin Romania: the impact of the West”, in: *Idem, Commercial Exchange Across the Mediterranean*, Study IX, pp. 197-233, especially 216, 231-232. *Idem.*, *Italian migration and settlement*, p. 127. Harvey, *op.cit.*, p. 242.

²⁵³ Jacoby, „Changing Economic Patterns in Latin Romania: The impact of the West” in: *The Crusades from the perspective of Byzantium and the Muslim world*, ed. A. Laiou and R. P. Mottahedeh, Washington D.C., Dumbarton Oaks, 2001, 197-233, esp. p. 225.

²⁵⁴ Jacoby, *Italian Migration and settlement*, *passim*.

particularly active in the current economic trends dictated from the West. The western demand for raw materials generated a more intensive exploitation of industrial products and laid the foundations for industrial activity. The demand for agricultural products from new markets brought about the extension of the cultivated areas and a far larger surplus of agricultural and pastoral output, destined for export. As a result, the whole region of the east Aegean experienced an ever stronger economic interaction between the countryside, the cities and maritime trade, as well as substantial revenues and an acceleration of monetary circulation from trade and customs dues.²⁵⁵

Society

The economic growth left its imprint on the society of Chios: prosperity is reflected in the social stratification, where not only did the middle class – the ‚*Burgenses*‘, burghers of the sources – grow larger and more affluent, but also smaller merchants had equal opportunities and dealt successfully with commercial ventures, accumulated capital and made investments.²⁵⁶ The middle class under the Genoese is thriving. Italians are encouraged to migrate to Chios for commercial opportunities.²⁵⁷ Simone Vignoso, the conqueror and first ruler of the island (1346), organised or supported such migrations of Genoese citizens. Traders of all nations had Chios as the centre of their activity. A thriving middle class of entrepreneurs lived and interacted together: Genoese, Ligurian and other Italian settlers set up businesses on the island, either in trade of local commodities, or in exports abroad, or in maritime ventures or in banking services.²⁵⁸

The effects of the Italian presence on regional trade, urban life, were felt in the population growth: frequent intermarriages impacted on the Chiot social pyramid.²⁵⁹ The upper class expanded with a branch of aristocrats, which are known as ‚Chiot-Genoese‘ families.²⁶⁰ Those aristocrats entered into the Genoese knightly

²⁵⁵ Jacoby, *Changing economic patterns, passim*.

²⁵⁶ Balard, *op.cit.*, II, 505-531.

²⁵⁷ *Supra*, 3.4.1. entry ‚silk‘.

²⁵⁸ Argenti, *The Occupation of Chios by the Genoese*, I, 482. Balard, *op.cit.*, I, pp. 261-262.

²⁵⁹ Co-existence also enhanced cultural interaction. Koukounis, *The stone carvings of Chios, passim*.

²⁶⁰ The term was first introduced by G. Zolotas.

class with their enrolment in the Golden Bible of Genoa (Libro d'Oro).²⁶¹ More frequent were the intermarriages in the middle and lower strata.

Entrepreneurial interaction and intermarriages brought about cultural and linguistic interaction.²⁶² Sources speak of the high cultural level, the cosmopolitan aura and refined manners of the Chian population. The French naturalist Pierre Belon visited Chios in the mid-sixteenth century. In the seventh chapter of his book there is a narrative of his travel and impressions of the local society. He describes separately the Chiot men and women, and the co-existence of Roman Catholics and Orthodox.²⁶³

This overview aimed to highlight the dynamic economy of Chios into the international context and the degree to which she met external and domestic demands. The testimony of the diplomatic dispatches and notarial deeds highlighted the chief lines of sea communication between the eastern and western Mediterranean as well as between the Aegean and Western Europe. It can be plausibly assumed that the trade under the Genoese based upon a solid pre-existing Byzantine substructure, but the Genoese are certainly credited with its far-flung extension (because of the Western demand) and the shift of its orientation to the four points of the compass, thus making Chios the first port of the world.

²⁶¹ Koukounis, *op.cit.*, chapter 1.

²⁶² Balard, *op.cit.*, II, p. 870. Even nowadays, italianised forms and sounds in the Chiot dialect are easily recognised.

²⁶³ Argenti-Kyriakides, *op.cit.*, I, pp. 35-39. Also, Argenti, *Diplomatic Archive*, *passim*.

CHAPTER 4. CONCLUSIONS

4.1. AN OVERVIEW

General context

Historians highlight the role of Constantinople in the development of the Aegean islands.¹ The charismatic position of Chios and its role in navigation in reference to the N-S sea route between Constantinople and Alexandria is placed into this context. The itinerary from Constantinople to the granaries of Alexandria rendered Chios harbour-town one of the main ports-of-call along this axis.² Its military role during the early period is surmised using information from the few surviving sources and the archaeological evidence.³ Certainly from the late eleventh century and the twelfth century, when the Venetians and later the Genoese entered the Aegean waters, the commercial role of the Aegean islands was strengthened.⁴ The islands served the Western commercial interests and pursuits towards an expansion into more eastern markets.

The components of the historic landscape of Mount Amani⁵

The influence of natural environment (topography, morphology, climate) in the development of the historic landscape, including the settlement pattern and the field systems was paramount; however, it was the impact of human intervention on the landscape that made the latter acquire its final form, visible until today. The effects of the human intervention on the remodelling of the landscape were proved irreversible.⁶

¹ Ahrweiler, *L'escale dans le monde byzantin*, p. 166.

² Lemerle, *Les plus anciens recueils des miracles de S. Demetrius*, 2 vols, Paris 1979, esp. Vol. II, p. 79 and vol. I, p. 102,8 [70], 107,19 [76], 108,9 [77], 108,21 [79], and n. 2 on p. 104,5 [76]. The first miracle is placed by the editor in 586, and the second between 604 and 610. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Varia Sacra Graeca, Subsidia Byzantina, Lucis ope iterata*, vol. VI, Leipzig 1975. Bibliography on the port of Chios in : Xenophon Moniaros, „Σλαβικές επιδρομές ζήν Αιγαίο p. 291, n. 32). Ahrweiler, *op.cit.*, pp. 161-169.

³ See Appendices.

⁴ Ahrweiler, *op.cit.*, p. 164.

⁵ S. Rippon, *Historic Landscape Analysis: Deciphering the countryside*. Council for British Archaeology, 2004, pp. 19-24.

⁶ B. Geyer, “Physical Factors in the Evolution of the Landscape and Land Use”, *EHB*, 1, 31-45, esp. p. 38, 43-44.

The components which define the historic landscape of the surveyed area are the following:

- A nucleated fortified acropolis on a strategic hilltop.
- Nucleated settlements on hilltops or slopes scattered around the acropolis.
- Farmsteads, normally indicated by towers.
- Hamlets, normally indicated by rural churches.
- Dispersed unfortified settlements.
- Communication lines: a series of tracks radiate from the acropolis hill linking it with the dependent settlements, the hinterland, the coast, and the wider island.
- Field patterns: long and narrow open fields mostly used for cultivation. The pasture was mainly practised in the upland areas, as the natural environment (soil and relief) does not favour meadows. The field boundaries are long and straight stone walls running vertically the entire slope of the hills. These vertical walls are intersected by other horizontal retaining walls, which support the hill terraces. The horizontal division of the slope forms the terraced pattern, or „piecemeal enclosure’, characteristic in the Aegean.⁷ The field systems in the plains, where seigneurial farmsteads are situated, are extensive, and their boundaries could rather be indicated by auxiliary buildings and installations.
- Threshing floors.
- Woodland: Patterns of land use are determined by the natural relief.
- Military facilities: a chain of inland watch towers dispersed in the countryside radiate from the outskirts of each settlement to connect with the coastal towers.

⁷ S. Rippon, *op.cit.*, pp. 121-22.

4.2. DISCUSSION

We shall now discuss the significance of the different components of the landscape itemising them under the following headings: settlement patterns, *incastellamento*, farming regions, and centres.

Settlement pattern

The settlement pattern during the period under consideration (extending roughly from the ninth/tenth century – and maybe earlier – throughout the sixteenth and beyond) is characterised mainly by nucleated settlements; the dispersed pattern is encountered towards the coast and, assumingly, it must reflect the earlier period. It has already been described that the main arable areas were on terraced hill slopes, and near fluvial and coastal plains. Indicators of former open fields are the so-called „ridge and furrow’ effects on former cultivated land. The historic landscape here is a continuum with no significant changes in its features. Only when the historical circumstances changed, did subsequent changes in the landscape occur: for example, the military character of features disappears around the eighteenth century being replaced either by encroachment, change of function, or, more rarely, abandonment. The keeps, for example, and the watch towers became village churches and wind mills, respectively. The walls are encroached upon by new houses and the settlements expand beyond the walls. Complete abandonment usually occurs after a violent cause, as for example severe piratical attacks,⁸ or natural causes.⁹

Incastellamento

In the previous chapters a mention was made about *incastellamento* and the form which it takes in Chios. *Incastellamento* was a common practice in the East as it was in the West during the period considered here. However, the difference versus the parallels in tenth-century Italy is that the Italian pattern reveals that the role of bishops in the creation of the rural or urban *incastellamento* was paramount. Let us

⁸ The chrysobull of Michael Palaeologus (1259) explicitly mentions the „Teuthin, a settlement destroyed by the pirates’; much later, in 1822, the massacres of the population by the Turks.

⁹ As, for example, happened in the early modern period, in 1881, the earthquake which destroyed completely the island.

examine contexts for comparison. In Genoa and the hinterland of Liguria such seigneurial or episcopal towers (*kastra*) were made of light materials (wood) and are surrounded by the settlement; examples are attested as early as the tenth century.¹⁰ During that century the *incastellamento* was already widely spread all over the Italian peninsula. By and large, the Italian characteristic feature is the existence of the seigneurial residence inside the walls. The evidence shows that the tower-house had a two-fold function, a private residence for the magnate, his family and servants combined with a military fortress. The purpose of the erection of aristocratic manor houses in the countryside was to supervise the cultivable land under the landlords' control.¹¹ The twelfth century marks the 'remodelling' of the private seigneurial residences and the rural landscape, which, from now on, are constructed with stone, while the refurbishment of rural shrines and the construction of mills are considered rural investments on private lands.¹² Wickham explains that socio-political dynamics accounted for the remodelling of the rural landscape.¹³

The comparison with the Greek rural development yields some features in common, but shows another reality: settlements are withdrawn in the uplands and administered by a centrally located town. The Byzantine towers on rural sites and the fortified settlements (*kastra*) are not private fortresses; a real case-study is the mid-Byzantine Thrace, as Dunn has shown.¹⁴ The few surviving Byzantine and, most of all, the Genoese sources show that the Chiot rural citadels are maintained by the village commune for defence reasons; in that case, the villagers themselves are compelled to offer *angareia*, that is, forced labour. Certainly, their dwellings are surrounded by the defensive circuit. Here, the central fort with its tripartite arrangement, the nucleated settlement pattern, and the chain of watch-towers are the features, which mark the modelling of the rural landscape. The aristocratic status of the Chiot magnates was displayed by their manor houses on their estates, which

¹⁰ A. Cagnana, A. Gardini, M. Vignola, 'Castelli e territorio nella Repubblica di Genova (secoli X-XIII): un confronto tra fonti scritte e strutture materiali', *Archeologia Medievale* XXXVII (2010), pp. 29-46. C. Wickham, 'Archeologia e mondi rurali: quadri di insediamento e sviluppo economico', *Archeologia Medievale*, XXXVII (2010), pp. 277-281, esp. 277-78.

¹¹ Cagnana et al, *op.cit.*, pp. 30-36. This pattern of the fortified residence has also been proposed for the aristocratic residences of Kambos, in the outskirts of Chios.

¹² Wickham, *op.cit.*, p. 279. Cagnana et al., pp. 34-35.

¹³ Wickham, *op.cit.*, p. 278. Sigalos, *op.cit.*, p. 24. Sigalos attributes to the Genoese the initiative. There are grounds to believe, however, that the pattern antedates the 14th century. See chapter 'Monuments and sites'.

¹⁴ Dunn, *Transition*, (1997), 137ff. M. Whittow, 'Rural fortification in Western Europe and Byzantium, tenth to twelfth century', *ByzForsch* XXI (1995), pp. 57-74, esp. 69ff.

included several rural installations and also the private church of the family's patron saint.¹⁵ However, these are farmsteads which do not include a defensive circuit.

As was discussed in chapter 2, the Genoese administrative division broke down the island into *capitaneae* and *castellanie* according to their size, headed by the *capitaneus*, who was responsible for the administration of his periphery, and the *castellanus*, whose responsibilities were the defences. As the largest town in the northwest area, Volissos was a *capitanea*, whereas the other settlements examined in this study were *castellanie*. However, there are grounds to believe that this practice echoes to a great extent the former Byzantine administration, as was described in the previous chapters.

Irrespective of the differences, I would not be reluctant to leave for Volissos an open question regarding a late *incastellamento* focusing on a castle, which was conceded to a potent local aristocrat,¹⁶ or, at least to visualise a semi-autonomous periphery within the territory of the island. There is definitely something enigmatic with the role of this acropolis: the terrain, which is not easily accessible, would have rendered difficult the communication and control from the Chios capital, in the east; the journey either by land or by sea would have been long. At all events, a second administrative centre with jurisdiction over the north-west would have been needed, as the Genoese administrative division shows. From the prosopography of the Chiot aristocracy, we know that a branch of the local elite comprised Byzantine aristocrats who left their domains in the late eleventh century, after the break up of Asia Minor¹⁷. The emperor had granted those people lands to recompense for their losses. The later historical record witnesses that the power which the Chiot elites possessed was such, that they were to rule in the name of the Byzantine emperor, as we know for Leon Kalothetos and Kaloyannis Zyvos. In addition, we have the example of Benedetto Zaccaria and his successors. All of them, practically, held in their hands the castle of Chios town, albeit "in the name of the Byzantine emperor".

Whatever the role of the town and the castle of Volissos would have been (either major military or seigneurial centre or both), undoubtedly they reflect an important status in the control of land, regional communities, and communications.

¹⁵ Information, however, comes mainly from the fertile area of Kambos in the outskirts of Chios, where the local magnates had built their agrarian towers and the Genoese their summer resorts. For the aristocratic houses see Harvey, *Economic expansion*, pp. 118-89. For the Chiot mansions, Anairousi & Mylonadis, *The Kambos*, 1992.

¹⁶ Whittow, *op.cit.*, p. 57, n. 2.

¹⁷ Cf. section 3.3. Also, Koukounis, *The stone carvings of Chios*, ch. 1.

This status modelled the settlement pattern of its area. Naturally this status would have derived by state initiative, but it would be a tempting assumption that between 1204-1304, namely between the *Frangokratia* (for which, regrettably, we have no source information) and the arrival of Benedetto Zaccaria, the role of the region must have undergone changes.

Dark Age contexts

In reference to the question of a potential Dark Age date for the first phase of the Volissos castle, I shall describe below similar contexts from investigated areas neighbouring to Chios. The evidence comes from classical cities that flourished until Late Antiquity and from the seventh century they changed dramatically becoming villages and fortresses. Without overlooking the regional variety, the different evidence presented below could have some validity for the villages of our area.¹⁸

The historical record testifies that after the seventh century massive abandonment of the coastal areas takes place and settlements are shifted to inland sites. The decline of the Late Antique cities was irreversible; consequently, small fortresses sprung up atop hills.¹⁹

On the island proper, the only well excavated site dating from the early Byzantine period, is Emporio. The fort, on a naturally defensible promontory, was in use until the seventh century. Coin finds of Constans II suggest work carried out at this time.²⁰ The first occupation period of the settlement dates presumably about the mid-seventh century and its end is attributed to a fire around *ca.* the 670s on account of Arab raids. A reoccupation (period II) was attested in the eight or ninth century.²¹ After that date, signs of habitation appear more inland, at the site Dotia, during the fifteenth century. Dotia preserves a rectangular three-story tower with a peribolos-wall with four corner *pyrgopouloi*. However, even this site has never been investigated. The other site that offers seventh-century evidence is Kato Phana, the

¹⁸ Another reason why I chose to present those late antique cities was their enumeration by Herodotus in the catalogue of the twelve Ionian cities. Herod. I, 142.

¹⁹ C. Foss, „Archaeology and the “Twenty Cities” of Byzantine Asia’, *AJA* 81 (1977), p. 486.

²⁰ M. Ballance et al., *Byzantine Emporio*, pp. 6-8.

²¹ *Idem*, pp. 49-50.

natural anchorage in the south-west coast. The intensive survey of the British School at Athens yielded pottery datable to the seventh century and not beyond.²²

Smyrna

An examination of the contexts from neighbouring areas along the littoral of Asia Minor could be enlightening. Evidence from Smyrna is scattered: Smyrna was taken by the Arabs in 654 and 672, at the same period when shattering Arab invasions inflicted Chios. Two inscriptions in the fortifications of Smyrna, datable to the reign of Heraclius and of Michael III, show continuous use and refortification of the Late Antique city walls. The peak of this city was under the Lascarids.²³ The testimony of the settlement pattern comes from the cartulary of the monastery of Lembos and dates from as late as the thirteenth century. Smyrna and its region appear well populated during that age with the largest part of the village territory owned by the large landowners.²⁴ Unlike the pattern on Chios, it is observed that all the villages – with one exception – were not fortified, as there is no mention in the written sources for such a development.²⁵ It is mentioned that only during an invasion in 1211 did the villagers seek refuge in the uplands. Fortifications and Byzantine towers have been identified in Miletus, or around the lake of Latmos. For the latter however, indications do not connect them with defensive works.²⁶

Miletus

The city wall and the transformation of the ancient theatre of Miletus into a fortified inner acropolis with towers are attributed to the seventh century. Some of the village houses, established around the citadel, date from the ninth century. Between the tenth and eleventh century, earthquakes destroyed the Dark Age city

²² Dr A. Vionis, pers. comm.

²³ C. Foss, *„Archaeology and the “Twenty Cities”*, 481-82.

²⁴ The context from Smyrna is known from the Lembos cartulary, which, however, does not contain information on data prior to the twelfth century; as a consequence, the origins of villages mentioned in the sources remain unknown. D.Kyritses-K.Smyrlis, *„Les villages du littoral Égéen de l’Asie Mineure au Moyen Âge’*, in : Lefort et al. (eds.), *Les villages dans l’Empire byzantin, IV-XVe siècle*, 437-451, esp pp. 438-39.

²⁵ *Ibid*, p. 441 and n. 27, and 448-49.

²⁶ *Ibid*, p. 441.

with subsequent rebuilding taking place. Komnenian and Lascarid Miletus, consisted of the theatre-castle and settlements dispersed through the plain.²⁷

Pergamon

Constans II is also linked with the seventh-century fortification wall of the upper acropolis in Pergamon. Fragments from older public buildings are included in its masonry. The lower city on the slopes of the acropolis acquired a defensive enclosure in the twelfth century, under Manuel Komnenos.²⁸

Priene²⁹

At Priene habitation within its walls was continuous until the seventh century. On account of the Arab invasions, the site of the city must have been moved inland on the steep acropolis, a site not previously occupied. Its fortifications are dated to the seventh or the eighth centuries. Occupation in the lower town is attested again from the late tenth century.

Main centres on Mount Amani

At least two or three major centres seem to have sprung up on Mount Amani: Volissos, Aria and Sant' Angelo. Of those, only the first is still inhabited today, the other two being known only as toponyms, their historical record having been long forgotten. Even if we lack definite clues, however, there are some observations, which can be drawn about the diachronic evolution of the settlement pattern on Mount Amani. In earlier periods, preference for coastal settlements is indicated by dense concentration along the coast; access to water resources was vital, therefore we observe that the sites are developed along streams banks or stream mouths, flowing to the sea. The soils are more fertile and smoother there, there is abundance of fresh water, and, finally, the diet of the villagers would have been supplemented with fishing. The masonry consists of field stones and lime mortar. At a later period, assumingly the early Byzantine period, the coastal villages are abandoned and new

²⁷ Foss, *op.cit.* pp. 477-79.

²⁸ Foss, „Archaeology and the “Twenty Cities”, pp. 479-481. K. Rheidt, „The Urban Economy of Pergamon’, *EHB*, 2, pp. 623-629.

²⁹ Foss, *op.cit.*, p. 479.

sites are chosen in the hinterland, on top and slopes of hills. Those sites are built *de novo*. The houses are built with solid material, again, with use of cribwork, since field stones and forests abounded. Approximately from the ninth to tenth century, continuous habitation and human activity is attested uninterrupted throughout the Genoese and Ottoman periods, until 1822. Irrespective of their precise date, for which only assumptions can be attempted at this stage, the distribution of sites – either hamlets or isolated farmsteads or villages – is dense with the greatest density noted around Volissos, the major centre and, apparently, „capital’ town of the area.

The smaller fortified settlements occupying the northwest hilltops of Amani, such as Pyrama, Parparia, Menaletto (Melanios), Aghion Galas, and also, possibly, Ta Markou to the east, built deep inland on a plateau, to the north of the main stronghold, were *castellia*, with their own population, and their own lands, but dependent upon Volissos for strategic – military purposes as outposts; they have a superb view over the west coastline and the Strait of Psara as well as over the inland communication lines.

However, several reasons, such as demographic and economic *floruit*, brought about expansion of the built-up space and, consequently, need for efficient control particularly of the inland communication lines.³⁰ These reasons explain the presence of other centres more upland. Those seem to spring up in the area south-east and north-east of Volissos. Respectively: the first is Aria and the other is Angelos (Sant’ Angelo). Both centres seem to function as head-towns with their own dependent settlements, as well. The former seems to have had under its control Siderounda and its hamlets, and the area of *Dieucha* to the north-west, and also the site *Fardhy Pighadi*³¹ (literally: broad well) to the north-east, where ruins of a settlement have also been identified. Finally, Angelos seems to control the upland regions and the boundary between the two mountain ranges, Amani and Pelinnaion. The three towns are all reported to have been *kastra*, among which only Volissos survives intact. Aria survived in living memory as a major centre with substantial fortifications; however, no written evidence for it has survived. It is encouraging, though, that toponymy, and the wealth of installations combined with evident human activity form in their own right a solid base for future systematic research.

³⁰ The establishment of new villages indicates demographic growth, as Harvey points out. Harvey, *op.cit.*, p. 63.

³¹ Not discussed.

The enigma of Angelos is the most challenging as it is shrouded in mystery. Only three tangible clues do we hold for its existence: the written testimonies of the chrysobull of Michael Palaeologos (1259), the travellers' accounts and the toponymy. In theory, those factors could indicate its potential life expectancy: it is attested as a living settlement in the mid-thirteenth century and in 1415, when Buondelmondi visited it, is already an abandoned, formidable castle. It is inferred, therefore, that within a span of 150-170 years its decline must have happened. What the reason of its abandonment was remains a mystery. Its siting (according to the toponymy) is well inland to explain a severe piratical raid. Another assumption could be suggested that Angelos was reduced in size after a gradual decline; in the course of time its initial name was forgotten. In the Genoese period it was renamed „Phyta', as it is known until today. However, I do not think that this assumption can stand, as I am in favour of the indications observed by Zolotas during his survey. Further, all the travellers' accounts speak of and depict „a formidable castle with towers on a mountain top'. Within a radius of 2-3 km of the present-day village Phyta, Zolotas located recognisable remnants of its lower (?) acropolis and ruins of towers, on hill tops, which he attributed as its watch towers (*xerokastellia* was his proper term). On the other hand, the settlement Phyta has only a late Genoese keep dated precisely in 1516, a factor which places the foundation of the settlement itself in the Genoese period.

Farming regions

It has been shown how the location of several rural *naydria* indicates the presence of dispersed settlements, hamlets or *loci* of other functions.³² The reviewed sites of the Mount Amani Research Project can be categorised as follows:

The *Vasilika* is definitely a lay farmstead with its manor house and the church. The nature of the structures, the condition of the ruins around, the siting and the quality of soil are undeniable testimonies to support this view. Similar manor houses could be recognised in several sites, such as Taxiarchis *Kipoussis*, and St George at *Livadhies*. Possibly, even the Panaghia at *Loutra* might have initially represented a lay farmstead, which in the course of time developed into a hamlet. The five water-

³² See chapter 2.5.

mills along the route of the stream are indicative for having been investments of the landlord.

The landscape of Siderounda, and its outskirts, with at least three attested habitation sites, is surmised to have been a farming region of some kind, possibly ecclesiastical, which gradually developed a zone of small hamlets. Indeed, the chrysobull of 1259 – as we saw above – mentions the ‚*metochion of the Sideroundon of Nea Moni*’ in this area. From the archaeological evidence – a relative density of small clusters of dwellings, the toponymy, and traces of human activity in the landscape – it appears that arable cultivation spreads over an extensive territory to the north, east and south of the modern settlement radiating from the settlement zone to the forest boundary. Particularly the toponymy is a first-hand testimony in its own right, as the coastal sites *Prasteia* (*Proasteia*, estates) and *Metochi*, reveal. The three-storied manor house at *Prasteia* (St. Panteleimon) is a valuable evidence. Siderounda was a monastic holding – or at least one of its hamlets was; likewise, the *Gerita* and *Metochi* – if not earlier or contemporary – might suggest fragmented monastic hamlets. A likely reason for an establishment of a metochi in the north, might be the pasture lands for the livestock of the Nea Moni.

The above-mentioned area is adjacent to the abandoned settlement of *Aria*.³³ The nature of the finds at *Aria*, the quality of the soil and the terrain are suggestive of a rather large settlement. The area nowadays is a barren plateau, on which the traces of past human activity are increasingly visible, notwithstanding the recent opening of some dirt roads, which made the area easily accessible. Characteristic here is the ‚ridge and furrow’ effect spreading all over the terrain.

A concise overview of the agriculture over the past six hundred years was attempted with the aid of the historical record and relevant ethnographic studies. The historic landscape reflects the agricultural and pastoral character, with visible traces until nowadays. The field survey has shown that extensive hilly areas of the mountain range were occupied by arable cultivation. The terraces and plough teams have left imprints in the outmost areas of the village-boundaries, but are better preserved on deserted sites. Pasture took place on the uplands. Other land uses, for industrial

³³ For the location, see the map and chapter 2.2.

purposes, such as timber, resin and pitch extraction, would have been extensive, as that area was very wooded.

The study of other lands in north Greece and south Italy showed how demographic evolution impacts on the organisation of the rural space: the cultivated areas increased at the expense of the natural vegetation.³⁴ This has also become evident in the reviewed sites of the „Mount Amani Research Project’. Today, in places with clear land or in patches of forests, or even in small plateaux, there are visible traces of past agricultural activity indicated by „ridge and furrow’ and/or physical remains. The commonest and most numerous remains are rows of small retaining or partition walls and wells.

The above analysis made clear that Volissos is the heart of a significant medieval habitation region. On account of the soil morphology, agricultural use was concentrated in its outskirts and wider region; several kinds of *loci* were distinguished during the survey, whose distance from each other oscillates between two and four kilometres. The predominant form is the *kastellia*, whose main function is defensive; a frequent form is the hamlets, the creation of which presupposes land clearing alongside demographic expansion.³⁵ Soil exploitation was taking place uninterrupted until the early modern years. Another point which must be stressed is the smooth coastline of the Volissos bay. Inter-village sea communication would have been relatively easier than by land and the safe anchorages would have facilitated regional transportation, apart from providing a good shelter. Besides, the location of the islet Psara, immediately off the north-west coast of Chios rendered the communication between the two areas a daily routine.³⁶ Likewise, numerous other harbours and anchorages around the island facilitated communications, as is well known from the ancient sources.³⁷ Such harbours were Phana and Emporio on the south-west and south-east, respectively, Delphinion on the north-east and the natural anchorage Parpanda, at Kardamyla, on the top north, whose ancient name has not come down to us. All of them present uninterrupted use since Antiquity.³⁸ At all events, it would be ideal if we had archaeological evidence from the littoral of northern Chios.

³⁴ J. Lefort-J.M. Martin, „L’organisation de l’espace rural: Macédoine et Italie du sud (Xe-XIIIe siècle)’ in : *Hommes et Richesses*, pp. 11-26.

³⁵ Lefort, *Les villages de Macédoine orientale*, p. 294.

³⁶ For the Psara, see: *Greece*, III, pp. 531-32.

³⁷ Strabo, XIV. I. 35.

³⁸ A. Korais, *Atakta*, vol. III, *passim*.

The late-to-post medieval international aura of the capital Chios overshadowed the very heart of island life: the productive unit. It is true that emphasis on the mastic trade created for the island economy the false picture of monoculture. The observations during the survey of the „Mount Amani Project’ pose some questions. To what extent did the mountain economy of the north contribute to the insular or the regional economy? Inter-village product exchange with neighbouring areas, especially the littoral of Asia Minor, would never have ceased.³⁹ Certainly the grapes for the Chian wine, and forest products – timber for building and shipping industry – would have been in demand contributing a major share to the island economy. Of other agricultural products, the figs, could have had a presence in commercialisation. Certainly, we are not in a position to know what the impact of the mountain economy was in the trading activity (exchanges and exports) of the capital Chios during the Byzantine period. But it would be an over-simplification to think that the arable sector of the north warranted a production only for subsistence needs. The spread of land possessions is indicated by the existence of lay and ecclesiastical estates, which bears witness to a large scale exploitation and management of the produce.

The archaeological evidence relating to the settlements is very impressive not only in respect to the number of settlements located, but also in their continuity and survival. A tempting question arises concerning the society: what was the role of those mountain societies in the life of the island? How did their activities affect the city – if they affected it at all? The terrain again plays the determining role here. Given the difficulty in accessibility and the relative easiness to communicate with the outer world by sea, should we envisage a semi-autonomous administrative status for those lands? Certainly a large percentage among the villagers would have been the labour force for the large estates. The Nea Moni is the best documented magnate, whose share of landed wealth must have exceeded by far that of the civil aristocrats’. Later sources inform us about estates of rich Chiots and Genoese, such as Kaloyannis Zyvov, Pietro Recanelli, and Battista Giustiniani da Cambia. There were certainly

³⁹ M. Rautman, „The villages of Byzantine Cyprus’, in : *Les villages dans l’Empire byzantine, (IVe-XVe siècle)*, 453-463, esp. p. 460.

large estates possessed by Byzantine magnates, as is inferred by confiscation of many lands by the Genoese.⁴⁰

Other interesting questions, which interest current historical trends, concern the transition from the dispersed habitation sites to the *xerokastellia* and the formation of nucleated settlement pattern in the uplands, which left its imprint on the morphology of the present landscape. Given that the historical research does not reveal much, it is the sites themselves and the material record proper that must be given priority. Plausibly it would have been a centrally made decision to organise the *castellia* into fortified nuclei controlled by and dependent on Volissos. The existence of such a major centre to the north-west of the island and its organisation, suggests that the central authorities (or the regional authorities?) took into consideration the advantages of the natural morphology and the population increase and made adaptation according to geo-strategic needs. Could the story of the „Shadow King‘, who, incidentally, is connected to this proper area, not have echoed a reality? In the eyes of the populace, the local *archon* is identified with a ‚*basileus*‘, a king; for the masses no difference exists between a king and his regional representative. At all events, it is a shame that no *praktika* survive. As we know from the historical record and recent numismatic evidence, the need for defence was paramount in Chios when the danger was *ante portas*, first in the seventh century, after the disastrous raids which the Arabs inflicted on the islands, Chios included; and, again, in the eleventh century and beyond, with the Saracen and Turkish piratical raids. In such cases the concession of *kastra* to the local magnates who had the means, ensured protection of properties, land, and agricultural output. The fact that Volissos remained an impregnable castle throughout the centuries might enforce such a hypothesis. It is not accidental that the treaty of concession of Chios to the Genoese (September 1346) stipulates that the three castles of the north, ‚*Volisso, lo Pityo, Cardamene*‘, are nominated separately to be conceded to the Genoese. What else could this clause mean other than those three castles – built in the three points of the north – were of prime importance for the island? Which authorities would have to fulfil this clause and concede those castles to the new lords? Who else, indeed, than the regional *potentes* - lords? I am tempted to put forward questions about a later development of Volissos as the head town administered by a local *archon*, sub-ordinate to the *archon*

⁴⁰ Information in the written record of the stretches of land in possession of individual villagers we have only from late Ottoman notarial deeds.

or the *strategos* or the *doux* of Chios. In such a case its role would have been one of a semi-autonomous town or province within the territory of the island.

Certainly the need for more regional studies emerges as being all the more demanding. What I would suggest here, is that the nucleated settlement pattern predates the Genoese establishment in Chios. According to this argument, if the fortified, nucleated settlement pattern in the south is a Genoese creation designed to protect the mastic crop, then in the light of what evidence would their north counterparts be interpreted? What kind of crop would the Genoese administration have protected? For this reason, the attribution of this feature to the Genoese should be dismissed.

Pottery

Pottery distribution in the area of the survey produced rather disappointing results. However, it must be stressed that the surface soil is severely disturbed from consecutive ploughing, opening of rural roads, and extensive disturbance and degradation caused by the recent building activities during the past fifteen years. In other sites of abandoned settlements or in the surroundings of the Volissos castle, heavy vegetation reduced visibility to a minimum.

Ceramic evidence from other sites of the island come from Chios town and its castle, from the surveyed sites Kato Phana and Emporio in the south-east and south-west respectively; Pityos, in the central north, and Anavatos, in the centre. The contexts from Chios town, Pityos and Anavatos come from rescue excavations. Regrettably, all of them remain unpublished and we do not know anything about their deposits.⁴¹ There is a little hope, however, that the numismatic and ceramic evidence from Anavatos will be published in due course.⁴²

The context from surveyed sites of the island produced a variety of pottery types ranging from closed vessels to open shapes, plain and glazed wares. Of course, the kitchen wares, storage vessels and amphorae form the majority. The most ordinary type is the water jug, a closed vessel simply burnished with a clay slip and decorated with cream-white horizontal lines. The same type of pottery was encountered during

⁴¹ The context from the excavations at Emporio is the exception. Ballance, *Byzantine Emporio*, pp. 88-121.

⁴² The preliminary report from the first two seasons of research were presented in the International congress „Fortifications in the Aegean and the medieval settlement of Anavatos’ held in Chios in September 2008 (forthcoming).

the fieldwork in the area of the castle of Volissos, in the hamlet *Panaghia at Loutra* and in the site *Paliochorafa* between Pyrama and Parparia. Fine glazed wares include many open shapes, such as wide bowls, and dishes. Closed shapes include spouted jars. It is certain that the plain and coarse wares were made locally.⁴³ Quantities of green glazed wares have been found in the surface survey at Kato Phana and in rescue excavations at Pityos.⁴⁴ The most characteristic shapes from Phana were small bowls, plates, and trefoil-mouthed jugs.

In reference to the Genoese pottery, one suspects that the extent to which Italian Renaissance wares were imported here must have been substantial. It is an open question whether local imitations of western glazed wares were also manufactured.⁴⁵ My opinion is that local imitations were manufactured by analogy to the locally made renaissance sculptures and by the fact that Italian artists and master craftsmen were called to work in Chios.⁴⁶ Lack of publication, however, followed by lack of site comparison render it very difficult to speak with any certainty about the distribution and the quantities of pottery finds of the late- and post-medieval periods.⁴⁷ Undoubtedly, only the study and accessibility of ceramic finds by means of publication can be used to enhance the historical information.

4.3. CONCLUDING REMARKS AND FUTURE PROSPECTS

The geographical area considered here was the core of the north-west province of Chios, Mount Amani. The reasons for selecting it for my case study are two: firstly, it is my homeland. Secondly, by and large in the memory of the wider public, Chios is identified unilaterally with the ‚medieval‘ villages of the south and the Nea Moni. The north is hardly mentioned even in the tourist guides. The present study is pioneering in two respects: firstly, for the examination of the rural chiot space and secondly, for the archaeology of its northern region or province, both of which have been unrecorded and unstudied (albeit limited here only to the NW area).

⁴³ Chios has a long tradition in pottery manufacture. See Argenti-Rose, *Folk Lore*, I, *passim*.

⁴⁴ Personal observation.

⁴⁵ The problem is addressed by J.Vroom, ‚Post-medieval ceramics as historical information‘, in: Sirlol Davies and Jack L. Davies (eds), *Between Venice and Istanbul: Colonial landscapes in Early Modern Greece*, 2007, 71-93, esp. 82-83.

⁴⁶ Koukounis, *The stone carvings of Chios*, *passim*.

⁴⁷ Vroom, *op.cit.*, p. 79.

The study integrated a wide range of sources in order to unravel the different elements of its historic landscape. The survey and its written product aimed to record the forgotten history of an area, which started in the Mediterranean for more than six centuries. Of course, the questions arising are far more than the discoveries which came to light for the first time.

The Chiot agrarian economy and society had only been dealt under the ethnographic spectrum. I presented concisely the socio-economic conditions during Byzantine, Genoese and briefly Ottoman times with a particular emphasis on the Jewish minority and I integrated the rural hinterland within this context.

Diversity of local situations is acknowledged when it comes to the study of the Byzantine house.⁴⁸ I used the ethnographic studies and largely the oral tradition – as I heard it from my parents and my grandparents – in order to supplement my discussion of the peasant architecture and the village house, the peasant life and material culture and support my argumentation. I would say that I documented it to a great extent.

The analysis of evidence came from largely unknown and unpublished material, which fills in some gaps in the fragmentary picture of the countryside that we have today. Of course, it is acknowledged that this study is far from exhaustive since it had to leave aside many areas. Extensive survey is needed to cover also the rest of the northern region, with more targeted methodologies. The Chiot landscape is a palimpsest of features from different periods; an extensive survey over the northern province would ideally combine the numismatic and ceramic data and results from the surveyed areas of the island.

As the reader will be aware, my thesis did not insist on assigning a date to the heart of the research project: the castle of Volissos. It rather addressed questions than attempted to assign potential dates. It was impossible to do so, and I acknowledged the limitation from the very beginning. Without pottery finds and results from systematic excavation such a task is simply impossible.

The analysis proved the potential of this area and also fulfilled the initial aims of the Mount Amani Research Project, which were (i) the compilation of an

⁴⁸ Lefort, 'Rural economy and social relations', *DOP* 47 (1993), 101-102, 106. *Idem.*, 'The Rural Economy, Seventh to Twelfth Centuries', *EHB* 1, p. 275. Bouras, *Houses in Byzantium*, pp. 1-5.

archaeological *Tabula* based on archaeological exploration and (ii) the reconstruction of the settlement pattern from *ca.* the ninth to sixteenth century.

It was revealed that nearly all the sites retained the same function in the transition from the Byzantine period to the Genoese and from the Genoese to the Ottoman. Human activity and functional interrelationship is evident in the rural landscape: this means that land was always and remained diachronically the focus of interest for the landed magnates.

Summing up, the „Mount Amani Project’ highlighted three main points:

1. It was made clear that there is no demographic decline in the north of Chios, particularly the NW, in the middle ages. In correlation with the „demographic growth’ noted in the southeast – a parallel growth is now attested in the northwest, indicated by the dense village network, and the archaeological and topographical evidence.

2. The argument that the Genoese are credited for the establishment of the nucleated pattern and the defences is now dismissed, as the historical record and comparison with other parallels prove. Topographical advantage gave some sites a military importance over a long period.

3. In reference to the chronology of the castle of Volissos the evidence from the island provides grounds to claim that it is accountable to the Dark Ages: Emporio and, more particularly, Anavatos are incontestable evidence. The supplementary neighbouring context corroborates the argument.

The research outlined above made efforts to integrate the evidence from the urban environment of Chios town and its suburbs with its wider rural space. The role of Volissos in the exploitation and management of rural resources and the distribution of the commercial output to centres of consumption must be appreciated. To a large extent this rural management was fundamental and determined the countryside until the Second World War. At this point, the innate identity of north Chios and its historic character are finally valued.

Mount Amani is an interesting case study of human interaction with the environment on mountainous terrains. It integrates a range of evidence: archaeological and historical material, toponymics, anthroponymy, vernacular architecture, cartographic sources, and ethnography. The material traces of the

economy (agricultural, pastoral, industrial) and the material culture are rich and the evidence they produce must be given attention. The particularity of Amani lies in that, as an unexplored upland region, it offers a challenging case study for the *problématique* of the history and evolution of the Byzantine village. Its exploration can contribute to the debate over the „depopulation’ or „demographic decline’ of the ages prior to the eleventh century. In addition, it offers grounds to support the self-evident view that a mountainous terrain does not necessarily entail decline.

My research has been an initial written report dictated primarily by the need to record and to describe the most important features of the area under consideration. In due course it aspires to become available to the scholarly community and the local societies through publication. The future intention is that it will cover the whole northern province.

APPENDIX I

Seals of the Nesoi

Sixth century

Theodorus, praefectus Insularum.¹

Seventh century

- **Leontios apo eparchon and trakteutes of the Islands:²** two specimens. These early Byzantine trakteutai collected taxes from the province *ton Neson*.³
- **Leontios, illustrios and trakteutes of the Islands.⁴**

Eighth century

- **Anastasios, hypatos, imperial balnitor and genikos kommerkiarios of the Apotheke of Asia, Karia, all the Islands and Hellespontos, 721/722.⁵**

Eleventh century

- **Neophytos imperial protospatharios and epoptes of the Islands.⁶**
- **Michael asekretis and judge of the Islands.⁷**
- **Nikephoros Anzas, vestes protonotarios of the Petrion and judge of the Islands.⁸**
- **Romanos patrikios and strategos of the Islands.⁹**

¹ Zacos-Veglery, *Byzantine Lead Seals*, I/3, no 2928.

² Nesbitt-Oikonomides, vol. 2, no 43.5, p. 130. Zacos-Veglery, I/1, no 909A.

³ Nesbitt-Oikonomides, 2, p. 128.

⁴ Zacos-Veglery, I/1, no 914A.

⁵ Zacos-Veglery, I/1, no 226.

⁶ Nesbitt-Oikonomides, vol. 2, no 43.1, p. 129.

⁷ *Ibid.*, no 43.2, p. 129.

⁸ *Ibid.*, no 43.3, p. 129-130.

⁹ *Ibid.*, no 43.4, p. 130.

APPENDIX II

Seals of Aigaion Pelagos

Eighth century

- Seal of the imperial kommerkia of the islands of the Aigaion Pelagos.¹⁰
- Sissinios, hypatos and *droungarios* of the Aigaion Pelagos.¹¹
- John (?) apo eparchon and *general kommerkiarios* of the *apotheke of Aigaion Pelagos* (711-713).¹²
- John apo eparchon and *general kommerkiarios* of the *apotheke of Aigaion Pelagos* (713/714).¹³
- Michael Imperial strator and *chartoularios* of Aigaion Pelagos.¹⁴

Eighth – ninth century

- Constantine chartoularios of Aigaion Pelagos.¹⁵
- Akr(u)lios imperial spatharios and droungarios of Aigaion Pelagos.¹⁶
- Euphemianos imperial spatharios and droungarios of Aigaion Pelagos;¹⁷ five seals.
- Julian (?) or Euphemianos (?) or Stylianos (?) imperial spatharios and droungarios of Aigaion Pelagos.¹⁸

¹⁰ Schlumberger, *Sigillographie*, p. 195-6. Zacos-Veglery, *Byzantine Lead Seals*, I /1, Basel 1972, no 249, p. 328.

¹¹ Koltsida-Makri, p. 37, no 34. Oikonomides, *Listes*, 53-18. Malamut, *op.cit.*, pp. 304-6.

¹² Oikonomides, 'A Collection of Dated Byzantine Lead Seals', *DOP* 1986, no 29, p. 41. Nesbitt-Oikonomides, *Catalogue*, 2, no 40.22, p. 119. Zacos-Veglery, no 211.

¹³ Nesbitt-Oikonomides, *Catalogue*, 2, no 40.23, p. 119. Zacos-Veglery, no 213.

¹⁴ Laurent, *Orghidan*, no 214, p. 116.

¹⁵ Nesbitt-Oikonomides, *Catalogue*, 2, no 40.2, p. 112.

¹⁶ *Ibid*, no 40.5, p. 113.

¹⁷ *Ibid*, no 40.7, p. 114.

¹⁸ *Ibid*, no 40.8, p. 114.

Ninth century

- **John, imperial protospatharios and droungarios of Aigaion Pelagos.** First half of ninth century.¹⁹
- **John imperial spatharios and droungarios of the Aigaion Pelagos.**²⁰
- **Christopher, imperial vestitor and *anagrapheus* of Dodecanese.**²¹
- **Niketas, imperial spatharokandidatos and tourmarches of the Aigaion Pelagos (της καθόδου).**²²
- **Constantine imperial spatharios and droungarios of Aigaion Pelagos.**²³
- **Phokas protospatharios and droungarios of Aigaion Pelagos.**²⁴
- **Sergios imperial spatharokandidatos and droungarios of Aigaion Pelagos.**²⁵
- **Constantine, imperial protospatharios and *strategos* of Aigaion Pelagos.** Second half of ninth century.²⁶
- **...Imperial spatharios and droungarios of Aigaion Pelagos.**²⁷
- **Niketas imperial kandidatos and protonotarios of Aigaion Pelagos** (second half of ninth century).²⁸
- **Gregory *protonotarios* of Aigaion Pelagos.**²⁹

¹⁹ Schlumberger, *Sigillographie*, p. 193: two seals the first of which was sold to the Cabinet de Medailles of the British Museum, by Subhy-Pasha. Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium, vol. III, p. 1748.

²⁰ Schlumberger, *Sigillographie*, p. 194.

²¹ Schlumberger, *Sigillographie*, p. 194.

²² Schlumberger, *Sigillographie*, pp. 194-5. Antoniadis-Bibicou, *Études d'Histoire maritime de Byzance*, p. 97.

²³ Nesbitt-Oikonomides, *Catalogue*, 2, no 40.6, p. 113.

²⁴ Nesbitt-Oikonomides, *Catalogue*, 2, no 40.9, p. 115. According to Nesbitt-Oikonomides it could also be read as imperial spatharios.

Zacos-Veglery, I/3, no 3167, p. 1769.

²⁵ Nesbitt-Oikonomides, *Catalogue*, 2, no 40.10, p. 115. Zacos-Veglery, I/2, no 2360.

²⁶ Zacos, (J.Nesbitt ed.) *Byzantine Lead Seals*, vol. 2, Berne 1984, no 122, p. 100.

²⁷ Schlumberger, p. 195. The editor assigns it to the eighth or the ninth century.

²⁸ Zacos, II, no 1080, pp. 469-470.

²⁹ Nesbitt-Oikonomides, *Catalogue*, 2, no 40.25, p. 120. Zacos-Veglery, I/2, no 1969, pp. 1105-6.

Ninth – tenth century

- **Michael imperial protospatharios and strategos of the Aigaion Pelagos.** Late ninth or first half of tenth century.³⁰
- **Theophylaktos imperial protospatharios and *protonotarios* of the Aigaion.**³¹

Tenth century

- **Demetrios imperial protospatharios and *strategos* of Aigaion Pelagos.**³²
- **Leo imperial protospatharios and *strategos* of Aigaion Pelagos.**³³
- **Leo imperial protospatharios and *strategos* of Aigaion Pelagos.**³⁴
- **Michael imperial protospatharios *epi tou Chrysotriklinou* and strategos of Aigaion Pelagos.**³⁵
- **Nicholas protospatharios and *strategos* of Aigaion Pelagos.**³⁶
- **Peter imperial spatharokandidatos and *judge* of the theme of Aigaion Pelagos.**³⁷
- **Demetrios imperial spatharokandidatos and *strategos* of Aigaion Pelagos.**³⁸
- **Peter imperial spatharokandidatos, imperial notarios and *chartouarios* of Aigaion Pelagos.**³⁹
- **Theophylaktos imperial spatharokandidatos and *chartouarios* of Aigaion Pelagos.**⁴⁰
- **Leo imperial protospatharios and *ek prosopou* of Aigaion Pelagos.**⁴¹

³⁰ Zacos, (J.Nesbitt ed.) Byzantine Lead Seals, vol. 2, Berne 1984, no 232, p. 150.

³¹ Nesbitt-Oikonomides, *Catalogue*, 2, no 40.26, pp. 120-21.

³² Nesbitt-Oikonomides, *Catalogue*, 2, no 40.28, pp. 121-22.

³³ Nesbitt-Oikonomides, *Catalogue*, 2, no 40.29, p. 122.

³⁴ Nesbitt-Oikonomides, *Catalogue*, 2, no 40.30, p. 122.

³⁵ Nesbitt-Oikonomides, *Catalogue*, 2, no 40.31, p. 122.

³⁶ Nesbitt-Oikonomides, *Catalogue*, 2, no 40.32, p. 123.

³⁷ Nesbitt-Oikonomides, *Catalogue*, 2, no 40.20, p. 118.

³⁸ Nesbitt-Oikonomides, *Catalogue*, 2, no 40.27, p. 121.

³⁹ Nesbitt-Oikonomides, *Catalogue*, 2, no 40.3, p. 113.

⁴⁰ Nesbitt-Oikonomides, *Catalogue*, 2, no 40.4, p. 113.

- ...and (Kalenos?) imperial spatharokandidatos and strategos of the Aigaion Pelagos.⁴²
- Stylianos, imperial protospatharios and strategos of the Aigaion Pelagos.⁴³
- Orestis, spatharokandidatos⁴⁴ and *chartouliarios* of the Aigaion Pelagos.⁴⁵
- Nicholas, imperial protospatharios and *strategos* of the Aigaion Pelagos. First half of tenth century.⁴⁶
- Theodore protospatharios, judge epi tou Hippodromou and of the Aigaion Pelagos. Second half of tenth century.⁴⁷

Tenth – Eleventh century

- Basil protospatharios and *judge* of Aigaion Pelagos.⁴⁸
- Demetrios protospatharios and *judge* of Aigaion Pelagos.⁴⁹
- Constantine protokentarchos of Aigaion Pelagos.⁵⁰
- Nicephoros, droungarios of the (theme) Aigaion Pelagos.⁵¹
- Seal of Paul, who judges – judging (κρίνοντος) the Aegean fleet.⁵²
Two seals.
- Leo, protospatharios, *notarios of the sakelli and basilikos* of the Aigaion Pelagos.⁵³

⁴¹ Nesbitt-Oikonomides, *Catalogue*, 2, no 40.11, p. 115.

⁴² Schlumberger, *Sigillographie*, p. 195, ref. 6 : Provenance : Rhodes.

⁴³ Schlumberger, *Sigillographie*, p. 194.

⁴⁴ ODB, vol. 3, p. 1936.

⁴⁵ Schlumberger, *Sigillographie*, p. 194.

⁴⁶ Zacos, (J.Nesbitt ed.) *Byzantine Lead Seals*, vol. 2, Berne 1984, no 243, p. 155.

⁴⁷ Zacos, II, no 305, p. 183.

⁴⁸ Nesbitt-Oikonomides, *Catalogue*, 2, no 40.12, p. 115.

⁴⁹ Nesbitt-Oikonomides, *Catalogue*, 2, no 40.13, p. 116.

⁵⁰ Nesbitt-Oikonomides, *Catalogue*, 2, no 40.24, p. 120.

⁵¹ Schlumberger, *Sigillographie*, p. 195. The date is not given. British Museum Cabinet de Medailles.

⁵² Schlumberger, *Sigillographie*, p. 195. Nesbitt-Oikonomides, *Catalogue*, 2, no 40.19, p. 118.

⁵³ I.Koltsida-Makri, *op.cit.*, p. 36, no 32.

Eleventh century

- **Nikolas Provatas, vestarches and strategos of Aigaion Pelagos.**⁵⁴
- **Basil protospatharios, praispositos, asekreitis and anagrapheus of Aigaion Pelagos.**⁵⁵
- **John magistros, vestarches, judge of the velum and of Aigaion** (second half of eleventh century).⁵⁶ Two seals.
- **Leo Skleros, magistros, vestes, vestarches and judge of Aigaion Pelagos.**⁵⁷
- **Nikolas imperial notarios of the eidikon, judge of the Hippodrome and of Aigaion Pelagos.**⁵⁸
- **Niketas Mitylenaios, asekreitis and judge of Aigaion Pelagos.**⁵⁹
- **N., [protospatharios] epi tou Chrysotriklinou and judge of Aigaion Pelagos.**⁶⁰
- **Michael Antipapas, protoproedros, judge and anagrapheus of the Aigaion Pelagos.**⁶¹
- **Basileios protospatharios, protonotarios of Peloponnisos and basilikos of Aigaion Pelagos.**⁶²
- **Stephanos, Basilikos protospatharios, epi tou chrysotriklinou and anagrapheus of the Aigaion Pelagos.**⁶³
- **Basil, protospatharios, basilikos and anagrapheus of the Aigaion Pelagos. Mid-eleventh century.**⁶⁴

⁵⁴ Nesbitt-Oikonomides, *Catalogue*, 2, no 40.33, p. 123.

⁵⁵ Nesbitt-Oikonomides, *Catalogue*, 2, no 40.1, p. 112.

⁵⁶ Nesbitt-Oikonomides, *Catalogue*, 2, no 40.14, p. 116. Zacos (J.Nesbitt ed.), *Byzantine Lead Seals*, vol. 2, Berne 1984, no 985, p. 435.

⁵⁷ Nesbitt-Oikonomides, *Catalogue*, 2, no 40.15, p. 116.

⁵⁸ Nesbitt-Oikonomides, *Catalogue*, 2, no 40.17, p. 117.

⁵⁹ Nesbitt-Oikonomides, *Catalogue*, 2, no 40.18, p. 117.

⁶⁰ Nesbitt-Oikonomides, *Catalogue*, 2, no 40.21, p. 119.

⁶¹ I.Koltsida-Makri, *Βυζαντινά Μολυβδόβουλλα*, XAE-Athens 1996, p. 36, no 33. For the anagrapheus see : ODB, 1, p. 84.

⁶² Laurent, *Orghidan*, no 213, pp. 115-116.

⁶³ I.Koltsida-Makri, *op.cit.*, p. 37, no 35.

⁶⁴ Zacos, (Nesbitt, J. ed.), *Byzantine Lead Seals*, vol. 2, Berne 1984, no 961, p. 426.

Eleventh – twelfth century

- **Michael Spanopolos, *vestes and judge of Aigaion*.**⁶⁵
- **Seal of N., protospatharios, epi tou chrysotriklinou, *judge of the Hippodrome and the Aigaion Pelagos*.**⁶⁶

NO DATE

- **Michael protospatharios, judge epi tou Hippodromou and anagrapheus of the Aigaion Pelagos.**⁶⁷

⁶⁵ Nesbitt-Oikonomides, *Catalogue*, 2, no 40.16, p. 117.

⁶⁶ Schlumberger, *Sigillographie*, p. 194.

⁶⁷ Zacos (J. Nesbitt ed.), *Byzantine Lead Seals*, vol. 2, Berne 1984, no 593, p. 297.

APPENDIX III

Seals of Chios

Seventh century

- **George, scribon and *genikos kommerkiarios* of the Apotheke of Asia, Chios, and Lesvos (690/1).**⁶⁸

Eighth century

- **Peter hypatos** (first half of 8th c)⁶⁹. Collection of the Koraes Public Library of Chios.⁷⁰

Eighth or ninth century

- **George, Imperial kourator and *archon* of Chios.**⁷¹

Ninth century

- **Nicolas *dioiketes* of Samos and Chios.**⁷²
- **M [N?]. Imperial kandidatos and *archon* of Chios.**⁷³

Ninth / Tenth century

- **Niketas, B(asilikos) kandidatos and *dioiketes* of Chios.**⁷⁴
- **George imperial spatharokandidatos and *archon* of Chios.**⁷⁵

⁶⁸ Zacos-Veglery, *Lead Seals*, I/1, no 168, p. 249. Nesbitt-Oikonomides, *Catalogue*, 2, p. 141.

⁶⁹ Consul-hypatos and apo hypaton (ex-consul) became honorific title by the sixth century. Oikonomides, *Listes*, p. 296. Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium, II, pp. 963-4.

⁷⁰ Penna, "Byzantine Lead seals from Chios and Lesbos", pp. 166-67, and n. 13 on p. 166.

⁷¹ Schlumberger, *op.cit.*, p. 196. Sarou, *To kastron*, p. 40. Zakythinios, *Μελέται*, 17, p. 260.

⁷² Nesbitt-Oikonomides, *op.cit.*, no 41.3, p. 124. Zacos-Veglery, *Lead Seals*, I/2, no 2216, p. 1222, pl. 151. Zakythinios, *Μελέται*, 17, p. 259, n. 4, p. 260, n. 1.

⁷³ Laurent, *La collection Orghidan*, no 204, pp. 110-111. Zakythinios, *Meletai*, *EEBS* 25, p. 147.

⁷⁴ I.Koltsida-Makri, *op.cit.*, p. 38, no 39. Oikonomides, *op. cit.*, p. 115 (1).

⁷⁵ Nesbitt-Oikonomides, *Catalogue*, p. 123, no 41.1.

Tenth century

- **George imperial protospatharios and *archon* of Chios.**⁷⁶
- **George, imperial protospatharios and *archon* of Chios** (first half of tenth century)⁷⁷.

There are five extant seals naming the archon of Chios⁷⁸.

Tenth / Eleventh century

- **Leon Kyparikiotes spatharios of tagmatophylakes and *strategos* of Chios (I).**⁷⁹ Zakythinios relates the information of this seal with the testimony of Skylitzes-Kedrenos, who refer to an eleventh-century strategos of Chios, Verivoes, in 1027.⁸⁰ The combination of the title of spatharios and the office of strategos does not permit a date later than the tenth century.
- **Michael imperial klerikos and *horreiaros* of Chios.**⁸¹

Eleventh century

- **Michael *Dioiketes* of Chios.**⁸²
- **Michael Mauricas, vestes and *strategos* of Chios.**⁸³
- **John Aristenos vestarches and *strategos* of Chios.**⁸⁴
- **Leo, vestarches, *judge of the Velon and of Chios.***⁸⁵
- **Lazaros kouboukleisios and *horreiaros* of Chios:** two seals from the same boulloterion.⁸⁶

⁷⁶ Nesbitt-Oikonomides, *op.cit.*, no. 41.2, p. 124, which comes from the same boulloterion as the specimen in Zacos, *Seals II*, no 154.

⁷⁷ Zacos, *Seals, II*, no. 154.

⁷⁸ Oikonomides, *Listes*, p. 342-3, and n. 317.

⁷⁹ Schlumberger, *Sigillographie*, p. 196. Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium, II, p. 1162.

⁸⁰ Zakythinios, Meletai, *EEBS* 17, p. 260, n. 6.

⁸¹ Nesbitt-Oikonomides, *Catalogue*, 2, no. 41.5, p. 125. See also the comment of I. Koltsida-Makri, “Συμβολή της σιγιλλογραφικής μαρτυρίας”, Mytilini 2006 (in press).

⁸² Schlumberger, *op.cit.*, p. 196, dates it to the eight or ninth centuries. Sarou-Zolota, *To kastron*, p. 40, mention this seal, but she does not provide a date for it. For the correct reading of this seal see: Konstantopoulos, K., “Εἰς διοικητῆς Χίου κατὰ τὸν ΙΑ’ αἰῶνα”, *Chiaka Chronika*, vol. 1, 1911, 7-17.

⁸³ Nesbitt-Oikonomides, *Catalogue*, 2, no. 41.6, p. 125.

⁸⁴ Lihačev, *Molivdovuly*, 181, no M-8077, pl. 70,10.

⁸⁵ I.Koltsida-Makri, p. 37, no 38. The krites was responsible for the civil administration. Malamut, *op.cit.*, I, p. 318.

⁸⁶ Nesbitt-Oikonomides, *Catalogue*, 2, no. 41.4, p. 124. Laurent, *Corpus V/1*, no 201.

VOLISSOS (?)

- **Nathanael *doux* of [Vol]issos** (tenth century).⁸⁷

ECCLESIASTICAL Administration

- **Paul** (late sixth - first quarter of seventh century).⁸⁸
- **George, stylites of Chios** (seventh – eighth century).⁸⁹
- **Peter, bishop of Chios** (eighth century).⁹⁰
- **Constantine, sacred (αγιώτατος) bishop of Chios** (tenth / eleventh century).⁹¹
- **Nicholas, bishop of Chios** (eleventh - early twelfth century).⁹²
- Three seals of the monastery of **Nea Moni of Chios** (eleventh – twelfth century).⁹³
- **Seal of the monks of Nea Moni of Chios** (twelfth century).⁹⁴
- **....abbot of the Nea Moni of Chios**⁹⁵ (eleventh century).

⁸⁷ Nesbitt-Oikonomides, *Catalogue*, 2, no. 46.1, p. 137. The editors admit that the place name is a guess, proposed by the ending -HCOC.

⁸⁸ Penna, "Byzantine Lead seals from Chios and Lesbos", *SBS*, 2, (1990), pp. 163f.

⁸⁹ Laurent, *Corpus*, V/2, L'Église, Paris, 1965, no 1301, p. 220. διορθώνοντας τον εκδότη Κωνσταντόπουλο που την χρονολόγησε στον 10^ο /11^ο αι.

⁹⁰ Laurent, *Corpus*, V1, no.706, pp. 534-535, who states that no bishop with the name Peter is witnessed in the course of the eighth century. On the contrary, the bishop Theophanes is witnessed in the sources, who also attended the Council of Nicaea in 787. Therefore, Peter must either have preceded or succeeded him.

⁹¹ Laurent, *Corpus*, V1, no. 707, p. 535. Schlumberger, p. 199, n. 2.

⁹² Nesbitt-Oikonomides, *Catalogue*, 2, no. 41.7, p. 125. Laurent, *Corpus*, V1, no. 708, p. 536. Cheynet-Morrisson-Seibt, *Sceaux Byzantins de la collection Seyrig*, no 240, pp. 165-66.

⁹³ Nesbitt-Oikonomides, *Catalogue*, 2, no 41.8 (a),(b),(c), p. 125. The seals appear to be from the same boulloterion.

⁹⁴ Laurent, *Corpus*, V/2, L'Église, Paris, 1965, no 1268, p. 188.

⁹⁵ Laurent, *Corpus*, V/2, L'Église, Paris, 1965, no 1269, p. 188.

GLOSSARY

Aigaion Pelagos: Aegean Sea, a Byzantine administrative district.

Droungos : Byzantine administrative district which provided the seamen.

(Megas) Droungarios : the head of a droungos.

Eidikon: Imperial treasury and store-house.

Exkousseia: tax exemption.

Episkepsis: a term which by the twelfth century denotes estates belonging to the aristocracy and the imperial family

Kephalition tax : capitation tax.

Kharaj: a tribute payed by the Genoese to the Ottomans from the fifteenth century.

Kommerkiarios: Byzantine official.

Maona / Maonesi: the commercial company which ruled Chios from 1346-1566 and its members

Metochi: a monastic possession.

Naydrion or exokklesi: a small rural shrine.

Nesoi: Islands, a Byzantine administrative district.

Proteichisma : outwork; a wall surrounding the upper acropolis of a medieval settlement.

Res : thing

Spolia: ancient architectural members reused in later masonry.

Strategos: the head of the theme.

Superba : the Republic of Genoa

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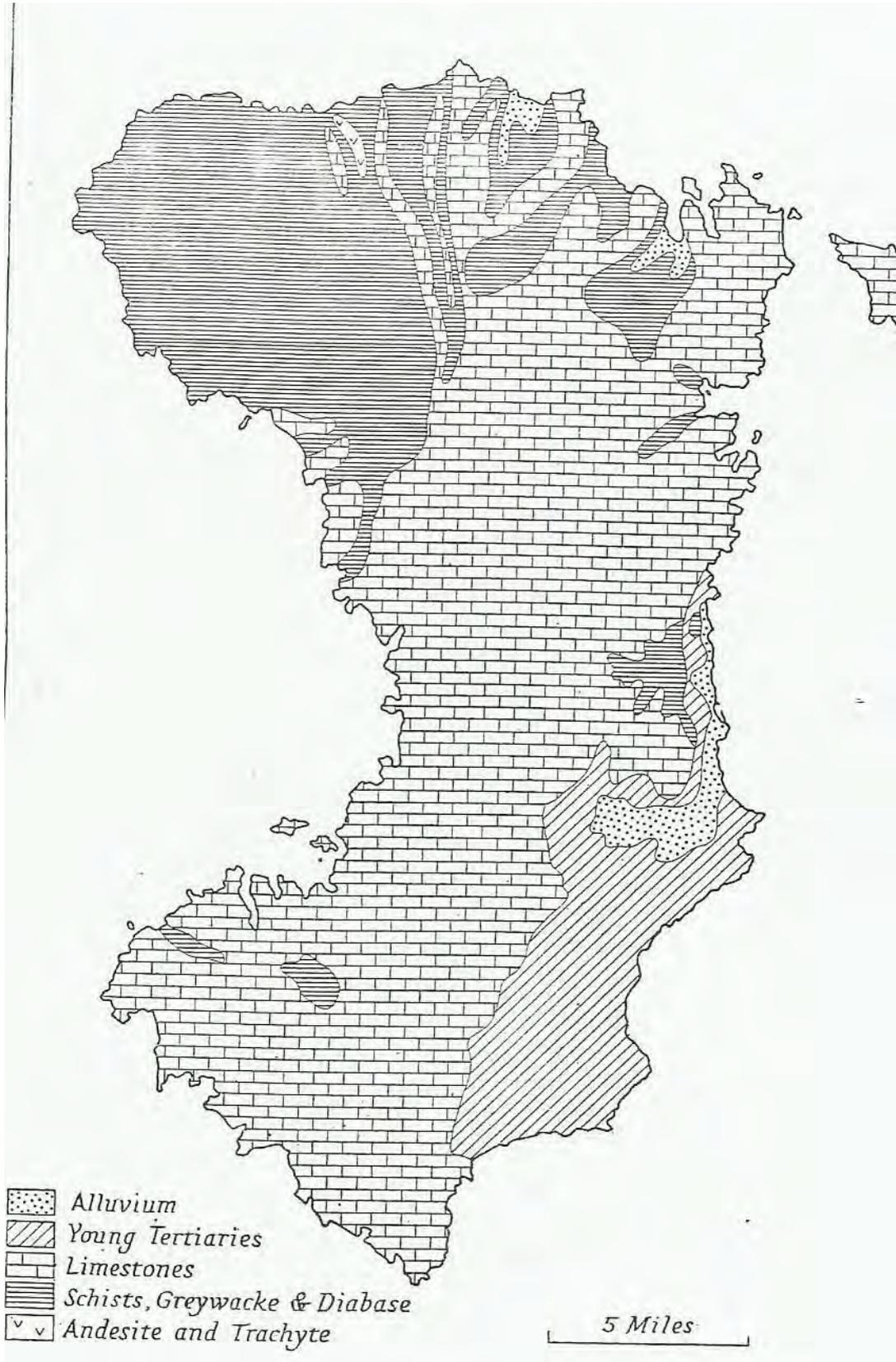
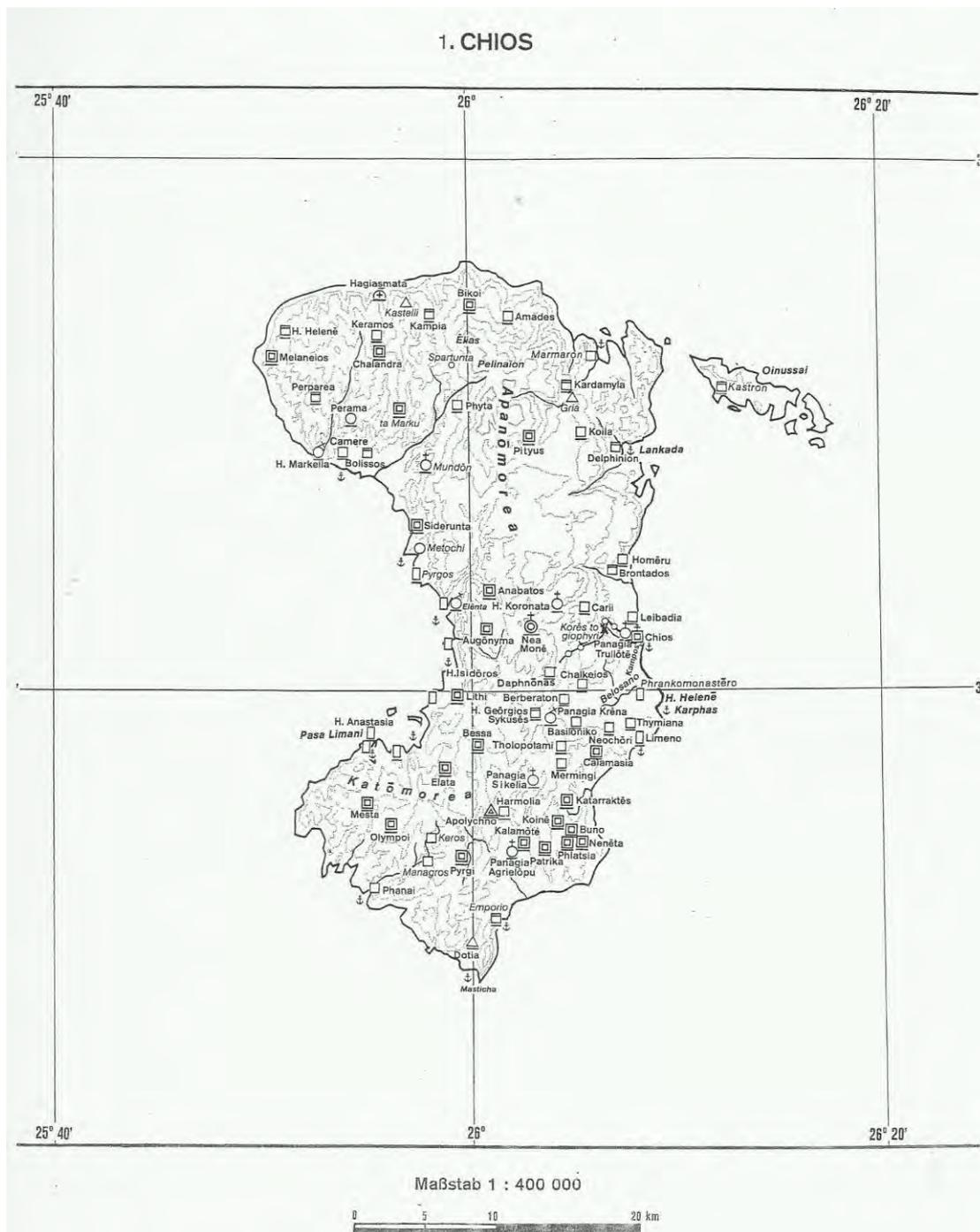


Fig. 1. The geology of Chios. Source: *GREECE*, British Naval Intelligence Division, (1944).



Map of Chios. Source: J. Koder, *Tabula Imperii Bizantini*, 10. Aigaion Pelagos (1998).



Fig. 4. The main communication lines of Chios until the 1980s.
 Source: *GREECE*, British Naval Intelligence Division (1944).

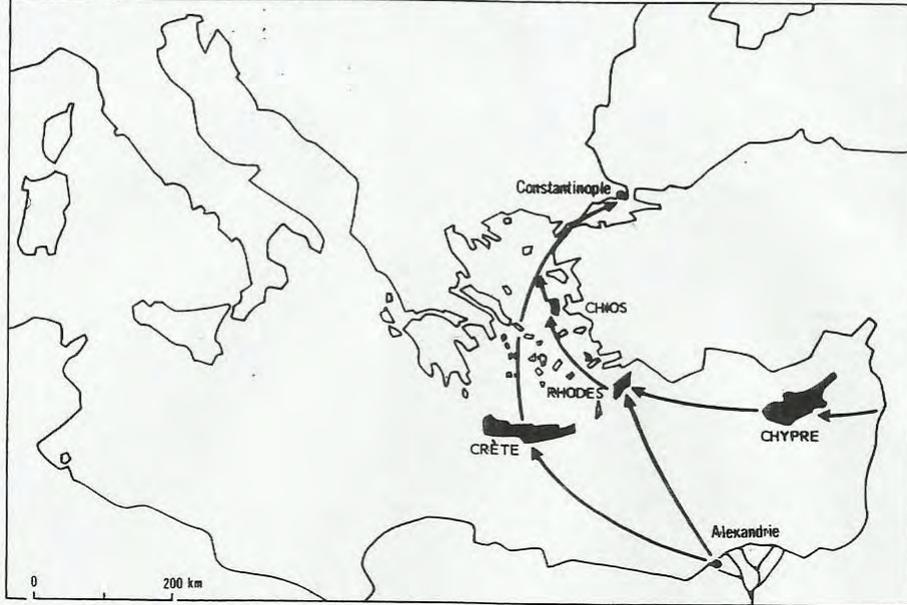


Fig. 5. Sketch of the castle of Volissos.

Source: Arnold Smith, *The Architecture of Chios*, London, (1962).

ECONOMIE: LES ECHANGES

LES PRINCIPALES ETAPES INSULAIRES DU TRAFIC VÉNITIEN AU XII^e SIÈCLE
À PARTIR DE LA SYRIE-PALESTINE ET ALEXANDRIE VERS CONSTANTINOPE



LES PRINCIPALES ETAPES DU TRAFIC GÉNOIS PENDANT LA SECONDE MOITIÉ DU XII^e SIÈCLE

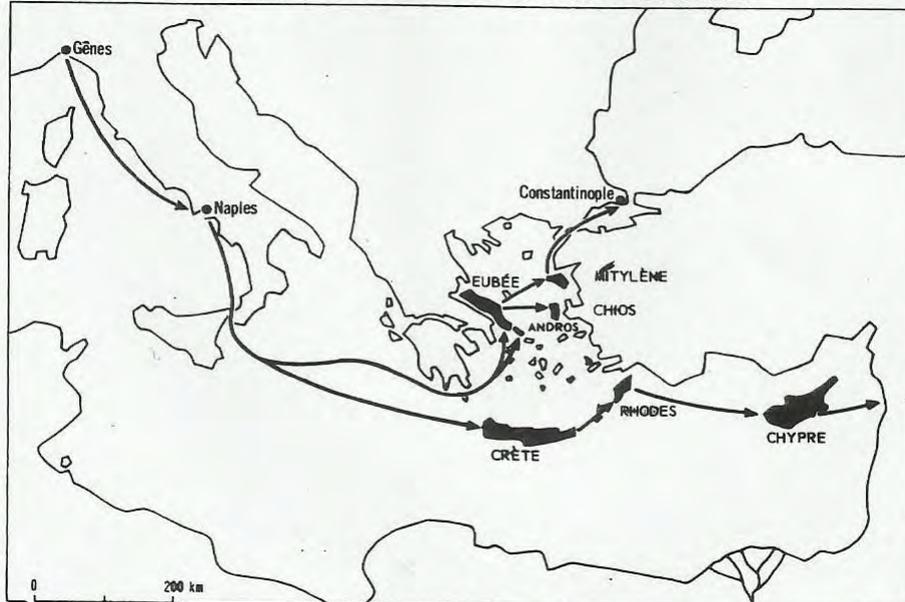


Fig. 9. Sea routes to the eastern and western Mediterranean.

Source: E. Malamut, *Les îles de l'Empire byzantine, VIII-XII siècle*. Paris, (1988).



Fig. 6. Nos 4 – 6 : plans of the tower at Saint George at *Basilika* off Volissos.
No 7: plan of the tower at Pyrama.
Nos 8 – 9 : Keep of fort at *Ta Markou*.
Source: A. Smith, (1962).

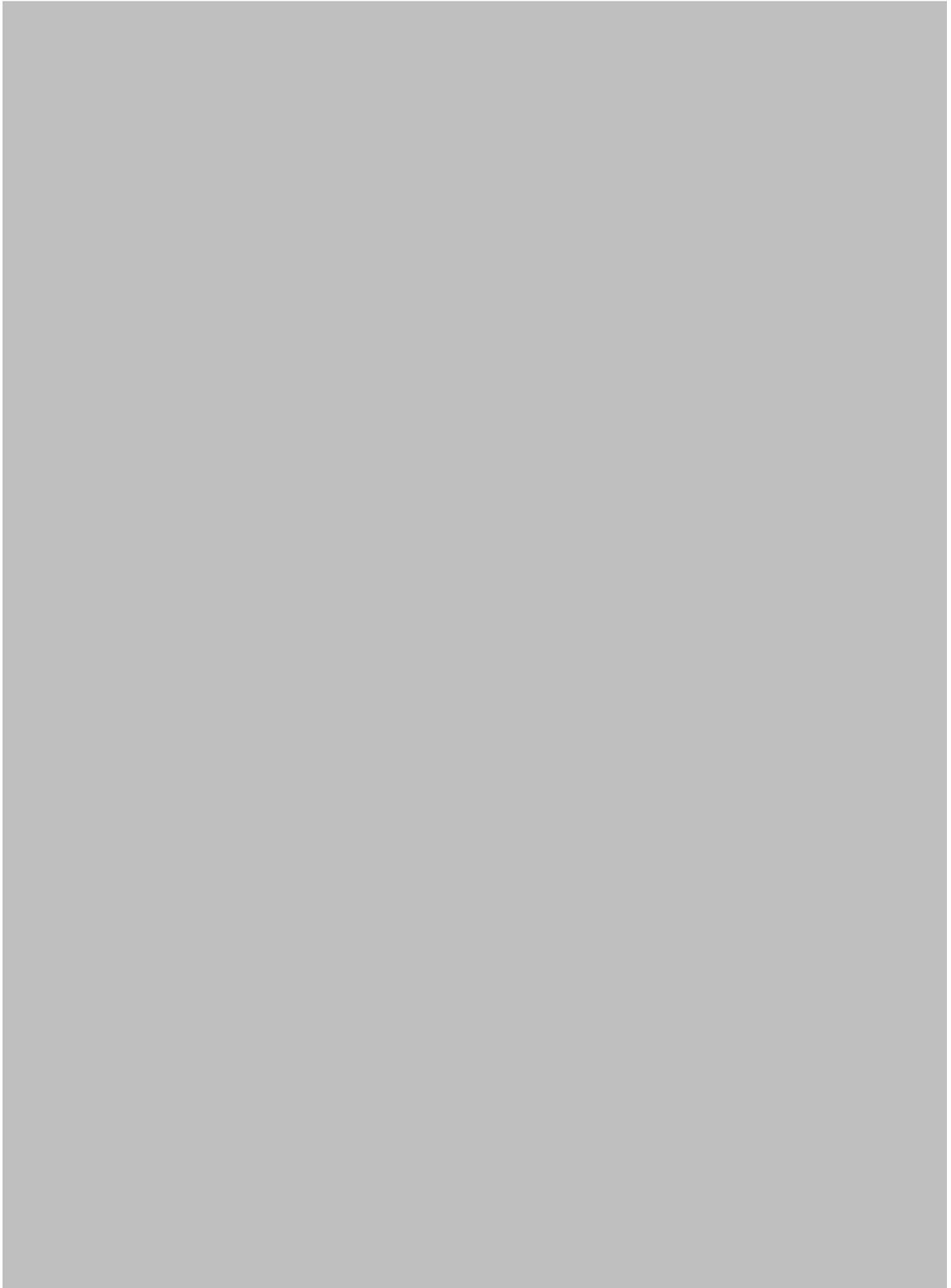


Fig. 7. Nos 4 – 5 : plans of the coastal watch towers (Genoese phase).
Nos 11 – 12 : plans of the keep at Siderounda. Source: A. Smith (1962).



Fig. 8. Plan of the castle of Volissos.
Source: A. Smith (1962).

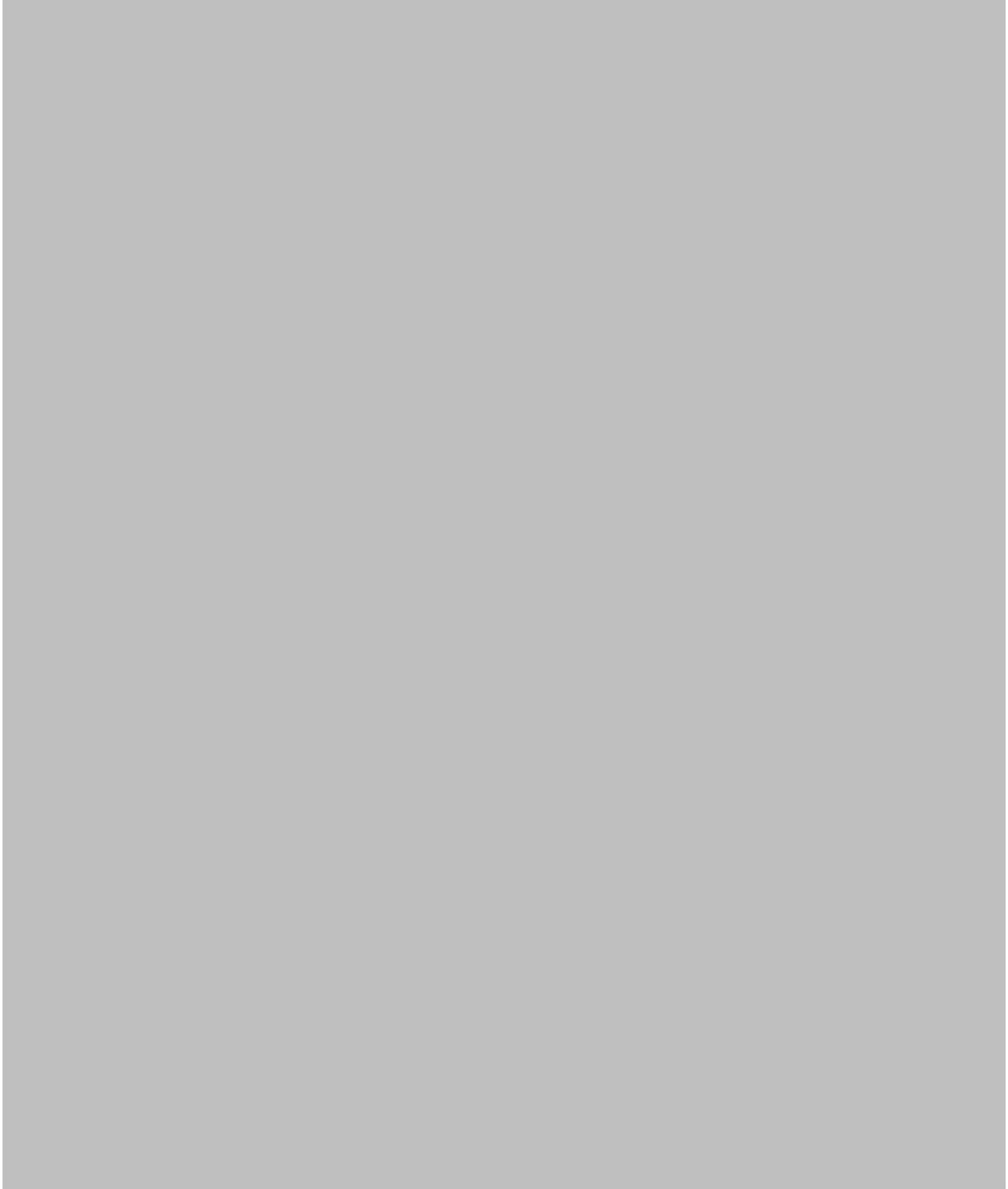


Fig. 10. Sketch plan of the castle of Chios (upper) and the fort at *Ta Markou* (lower).
Source: A. Smith (1962).

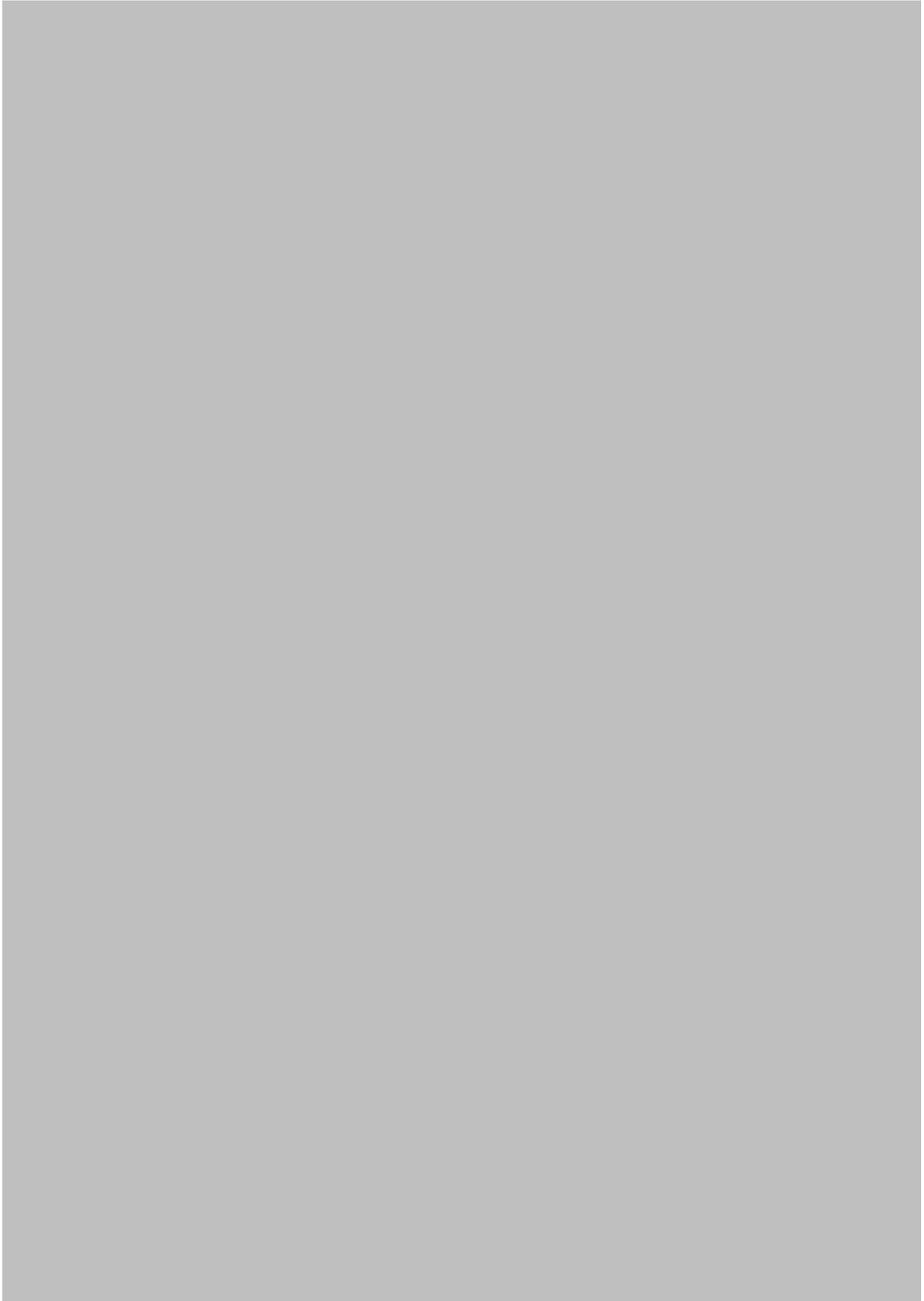


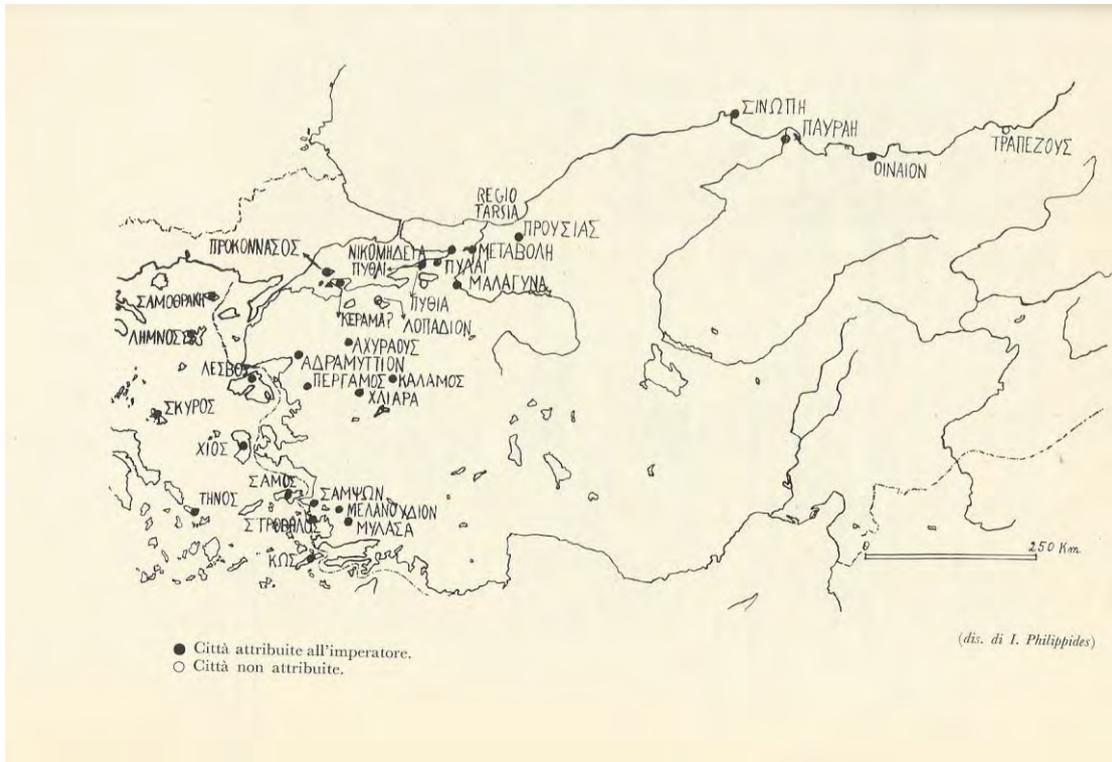
Fig. 11. The three stages of the mastic production: (a) the tear of mastic;
(b) the preparation for collection with a layer of white clay under the trees;
(c) the mastic resin. Source: www.stavroskostakis.com.



Map III: Administrative division of Chios under the Genoese (1346-1566).
Source: Ph.P. Argenti (1958).



Map VI: *Partitio Terrarum Imperii Romaniae*.
 Source: A. Carile, *Studi Veneziani* 7 (1965).



Map VII: *Partitio Terrarum Imperii Romaniae*.
Source: A. Carile, *Studi Veneziani* 7 (1965).

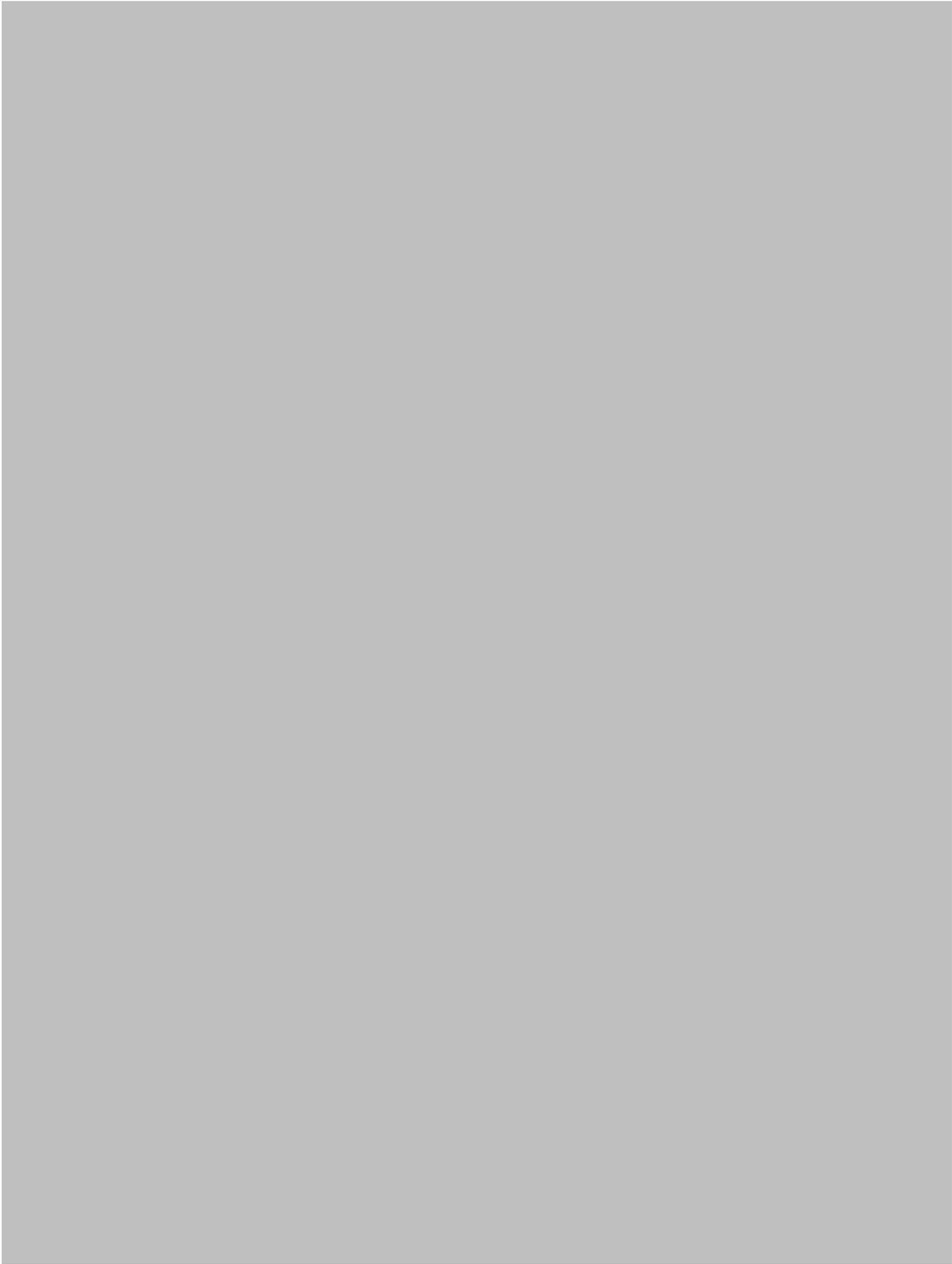


Fig. 12. Peasant architecture from northern Chios: terraces.
Source: A. Smith (1962).

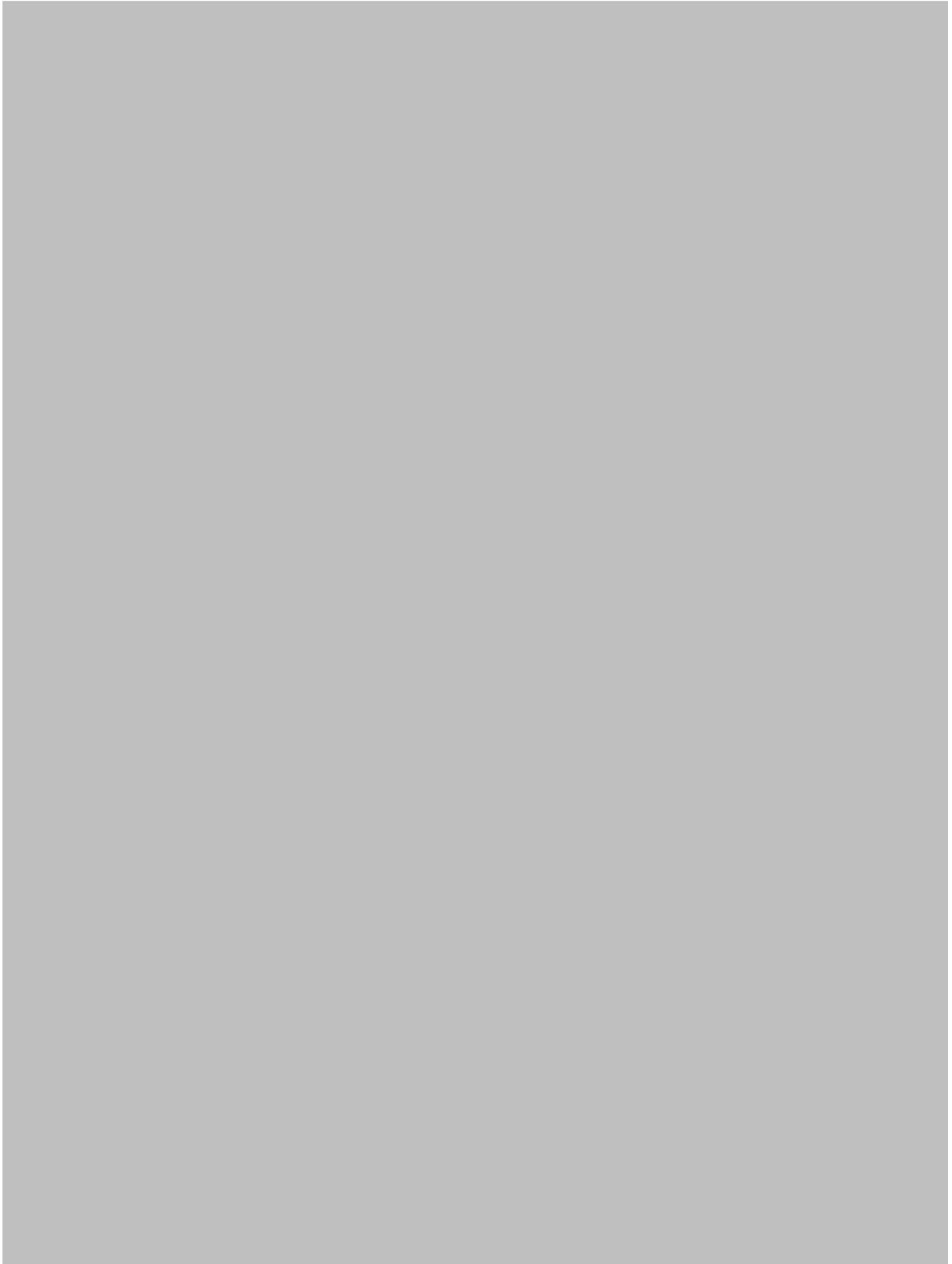


Fig. 13. Peasant architecture from northern Chios: fireplaces.
Source: A. Smith (1962).

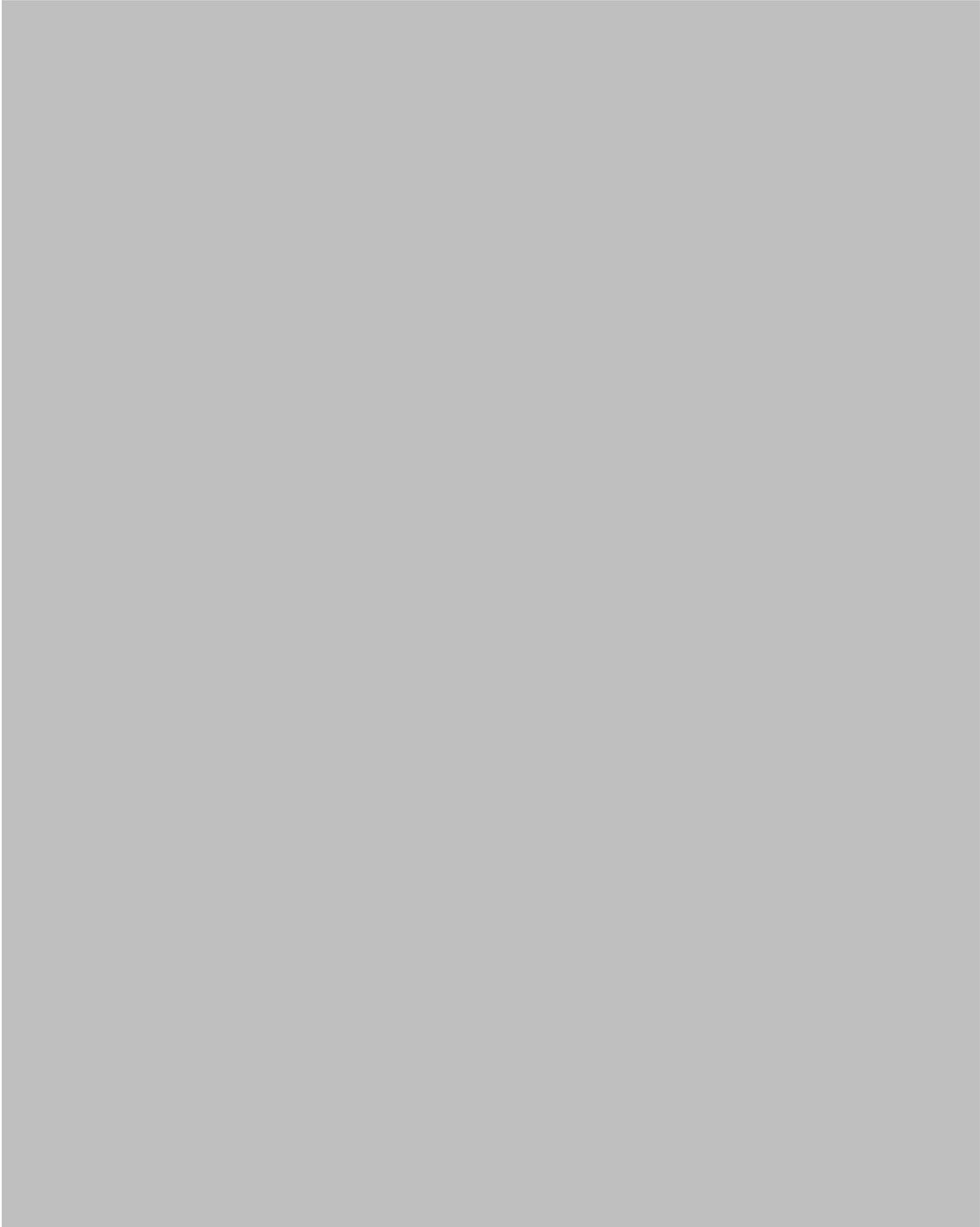


Fig. 14. Material culture from northern Chios: furniture.
Source: A. Smith (1962).