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Housing and the Village Landscape in the Byzantine Mani

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy in Art History

by

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Housing and the Village Landscape in the Byzantine Mani

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This dissertation examines the form and use of space within Byzantine villages in the Mani peninsula, the southernmost point of the Greek Peloponnese. Because of the use of stone in the construction of houses, churches, threshing floors, cisterns and other agricultural features, the preservation of settlements is excellent despite centuries of abandonment. Focusing on the domestic and secular features of settlements, I document and map the built features of villages to preserve their history, even as the buildings deteriorate. I interpret the built elements through spatial analysis, social history and information provided by local residents about the histories of each settlement. I selected the two primary villages in this dissertation, Marathos and Sarania, to provide examples of settlements from the same region located in different physical settings. Central to my study is the examination of how topography affects village development. I also study the fortified settlement at Tigani, the center of government control in the region. I examined the domestic architecture from this site in order to see how it relates and differentiates itself from that of the surrounding countryside. I aggregated and examined data on house design and size as well as settlement layout in order to provide conclusions about the form of domestic architecture and the use of space within the village. I identify the importance of topography and regional characteristics as critical factors in the form and appearance of buildings.

Using two well-preserved, abandoned villages in the Mani as a foundation, and including the study of the administrative center at Tigani, my dissertation examines the relationship of villages to the landscape, to each other, and to proximate urban centers, placing a micro study within a much broader context. I use the data obtained from mapping to test multiple hypotheses about use, access, and function. My project aims not only to gain an understanding of the villages of the medieval Mani, but also to construct a model for future studies on the built environment of rural settlements.

The dissertation of Mark James Pawlowski is approved.

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Introduction

Villages were the defining feature of the Byzantine countryside. These agrarian settlements formed the economic backbone of the Empire. A dedication to the emperor Constantine VII (913-959) contained in the preface of the tenth-century *Geoponika* (Agricultural Pursuits) refers to the "tripartite division of the state — the army, the clergy, and agriculture."[1] These three elements were essential for the Empire's security and vitality: the army for physical protection, the clergy for spiritual wellbeing, and agriculture for economic stability. The loss of agricultural land was not just the loss of territory, but the loss of tax revenue. Yet, villages were more than agents of revenue. They were full of men and women who toiled to meet their fiscal obligations. Their existence is recorded in tax records preserved from the Empire. What is less known, and absent from written records, is how the residents of Byzantine villages lived on a day-to-day basis — what spaces they and their families occupied, how they interacted with their neighbors, where they obtained food and water, where they sheltered animals, and how they protected themselves from danger. For this information we must rely on the material record.

This dissertation examines Byzantine villages in the Mani, the southernmost peninsula of the Peloponnese, focusing on domestic architecture and the place of houses — and the occupants of these houses — within these settlements. Recent work on the Byzantine village, particularly that of Sharon Gerstel, has demonstrated the importance of studying agrarian settlements and the significant information that can be gleaned from a focused study of material and visual culture.[2]

[1] A. Dalby, *Geoponika: Farm Work. A Modern Translation of the Roman and Byzantine Farming Handbook* (Devon, 2011), 53.

[2] S. E. J. Gerstel, *Rural Lives and Landscapes in Late Byzantium: Art, Archaeology, and Ethnography* (Cambridge, 2015).

To comprehensively understand the lives of Byzantine villagers requires a synthetic approach, one that brings written sources into dialogue with material remains.

In this study I focus on three settlements in the Mani, a rugged and rocky landscape formed where the Taygetos Mountains descends into the sea (Fig. 1). The hills and mountains of the region are covered in terraces, demonstrating the adaption of the terrain for farming over the centuries. Protected by its mountains and inlets, the Mani became a place of refuge, as well as piracy, following the fall of Byzantium. The Ottomans never managed to directly control the region. Soldiers from the Mani actively resisted Ottoman control and were critical actors in the Greek Revolution of 1830, which established the modern Hellenic Republic.[3]

The defining physical feature of the Mani is stone. The landscape is covered with rocky outcrops of limestone, rubble fences, and strong towers, fusing the land and the built environment. The use of stone, along with the thin layer of soil in the mountains, has ensured the preservation of numerous Byzantine settlements. Abandoned villages and hamlets dot the landscape, facilitating architectural survey and mapping without the prohibitive costs or labor of excavation. Isolated churches and other features, such as quarries, terraces and fences, mark the locations of past settlements and demonstrate the sustained use of the landscape. Few historical sources record the history of the medieval Mani. Yet, its standing remains, unmatched elsewhere in Greece, paint a vivid picture of its past. The unique nature of this region makes it the perfect location to examine Byzantine villages.

History of Scholarship on the Village

[3] A. Daskalaki, *Η Μάνη και η οθωμανική αυτοκρατορία, 1453-1821* (Athens, 1923).

This dissertation places the village at the center of a field of study. Yet, until recently, the study of village art and architecture was relegated to the periphery of research on Byzantium. Angeliki Laiou's book *Peasant Society in the Late Byzantine Empire: A Social and Demographic Study*, published in 1977, was the first significant investigation into Byzantine villages and their inhabitants.[4] Laiou based her analysis of a number of Macedonian villages on tax records preserved in monastic archives on Mount Athos. Her study not only described the diverse and complicated village environment, but also demonstrated that villagers were not impoverished, landless peasants with little or no property of their own.[5] Whatever their social status, Byzantine villagers could own property, both moveable and immovable. Most often, however, these properties have left no trace in the material record. This was not a view adopted universally, however. Writing about the Byzantine house in 1990, Nikolaos Oikonomides refers to the "huts of the destitute," and states that "[p]oor peasants no doubt constituted a large percentage — in certain periods, the majority — of the Byzantine emperor's subjects, but their dwellings lack interest because they certainly contained very little."[6] As late as 1981, Charalambos Bouras stated that physical evidence for architecture and design in the village was essentially non-existent.[7] Frustrated by a lack of material remains, scholars left the houses of villagers alone — seeing them as empty shells that framed members of an otherwise anonymous population.

[4] A. Laiou-Thomadakis, *Peasant Society in the Late Byzantine Empire: A Social and Demographic Study* (Princeton, 1977).

[5] A similar situation of land and property ownership is found on the island of Lemnos. See F. Kondyli, Meeting the Locals: Peasant Families in 13th-century Lemnos," in *Liquid and Multiple: Individuals and Identities in the Thirteenth-Century Aegean* eds. G. Saint-Guillain and D. Stathakopoulos (Paris, 2012), 80-87.

[6] N. Oikonomides, "The Contents of the Byzantine House from the Eleventh to the Fifteenth Century," *DOP* 44 (1990): 205.

[7] Ch. Bouras, "City and Village: Urban Design and Architecture," *JÖB* 31/2 (1981): 651.

In recent years, the view of the Byzantine countryside has changed from that of a lightly occupied, impoverished hinterland, to one of a densely populated network of villages, hamlets, and towns that wielded significant economic potential, particularly in the Middle Byzantine period (843-1204).[8] This change has in large part been the result of archaeological surveys and excavations that have provided clear evidence for economic expansion this period.[9]

The physical makeup of the Byzantine village is dominated by two functionally different structures: churches and houses. Villages commonly had more than one church. Increasingly, in the Late Byzantine period (1261-1453), the number of churches multiplied in response to the needs of extended families and communities. This is a pattern found in the Mani, and in neighboring regions. For example, twenty-two churches have been identified in the Late Byzantine village of Paliochora in Kythera, an island off the southern coast of the Mani (Fig. 2).[10] The hilltop site of Polyphengi in the Nemea region in the northeast Peloponnese may have had as many as three dozen churches.[11] The high concentration indicates the importance that the church had for villagers in the hinterland, an importance that is also captured in their decorative programs.

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[8] For a discussion of the evidence for economic expansion of this period, see A. Laiou and C. Morrisson, *The Byzantine Economy* (Cambridge, 2007); A. Harvey, *Economic Expansion in the Byzantine Empire, 900-1200* (Cambridge, 1989).

[9] Among others, see E. Athanassopoulos, "Landscape Archaeology and the Medieval Countryside: Settlement and Abandonment in the Nemea Region," *IJHA* 14 (2010): 255-270; E. Athanassopoulos, *Landscape Archaeology and the Medieval Countryside* (Princeton, 2016); J. Davis, S. Alcock, Y. Lolos, and C. Shelmerdine "The Pylos Regional Archaeological Project, Part I: Overview and the Archaeological Survey," *Hesperia* 66 (1997): 391-494; C. Runnels and T. van Andel, "The Evolution of Settlement in the Southern Argolid, Greece: An Economic Explanation," *Hesperia* 56 (1987): 303-334.

[10] G. Ince, T. Koukoulis, and D. Smyth, "Paliochora: Survey of a Byzantine City on the Island of Kythera. Second Report," *BSA* 84 (1989): 407.

[11] J. Wright, J. Cherry, J. Davis, E. Mantzourani, S. Sutton, and R. Sutton, "The Nemea Valley Archaeological Project: A Preliminary Report," *Hesperia* 59 (1990): 616.

Churches could serve the liturgical needs of an entire community, but they could also serve particular family groups, demarcate boundaries, demonstrate the status of indiviudals or communites and serve as places of burial and commemoration.[12] Their small scale and multiplicity of uses underscores the personal nature that the buildings had. Within these small churches, the style of painting, dominated by tall figures of saints painted in a linear style and with bright colors, creates a far more intimate experience than that found in large, elite urban churches.[13] The choice of saints in the buildings reveals what the villagers valued in their community. As Sharon Gerstel has demonstrated, agricultural saints like Mamas are frequently depicted in rural churches (Fig. 3).[14] Saints depicting a profession important for the village are also common. In the church of Hagioi Petros and Paulos in Kalyvia in eastern Attica, for example, the stonemason saint Floros is depicted carrying a chisel (Fig. 4).[15] Stone was an importance resource in the Mani, where quarrying continued through the Late Byzantine period. Indeed, the villages in my study are sited close to quarries, and one of the questions I will examine is how these quarries generated the stone for local buildings.

In the Mani there are several churches that contain painted inscriptions recording communal patronage within villages. The church of the Archangel Michael in Polemitas, for example, was built with the donations of around thirty villagers, who are listed by name.[16] The

[12] S. E. J. Gerstel, "The Byzantine Village Church: Observations on Its Location and on Agricultural Aspects of Its Program," in *Les villages dans l'empire byzantine*, eds. J. Lefort, C. Morrisson and J.-P. Sodini (Paris, 2005), 166.
[13] Gerstel, *Rural Lives*, 52-53.

[14] Gerstel, *Rural Lives*, 27.

[15] Ibid, 39.

[16] S. Kalopissi-Verti, *Dedicatory Inscriptions and Donor Portraits in Thirteenth-Century Churches of Greece* (Vienna, 1992), 71–74. Other inscriptions indicating community patronage in the Mani are found in the Holy Anargyroi at Kipoula, Hagios Nikolaos at Kambinari, Hagios Strategos at Boularioi and an unpublished inscription in Hagios Georgios at Kitta. Ibid, 65-75; Gerstel, *Rural Lives*, 45-47, 118.

name of the first donor is preceded by the honorific *kyr* (sir) providing evidence for social, and in this case economic, differentiation within the community. The same inscription lists individual donations provided for the erection of the church; these include gardens, olive trees, and fields. This dedication demonstrates not only that villagers owned property, but also their ability to alienate it as they wanted, through sale or donation. The study of preserved inscriptions indicates that communal patronage is not unique to the Mani, but is found in a number of late medieval villages in Byzantium, indicating that this type of communal activity was common throughout the empire.[17]

Despite scholarly focus on the peninsula's many medieval churches, there has been little focus on its houses, the most common structures in the village. Domestic architecture remains one of the most enigmatic aspects of everyday life. The study of Byzantine houses has a relatively short history. Anastasios Orlandos made the first significant contribution to the subject in his study of the houses of Mystras, the most important urban center in the Peloponnese during the Late Byzantine period, published in 1936.[18] Despite the importance of this work and its frequent citation, Kostis Kourelis has recently questioned the reliability of Orlandos' findings, observing that many of the houses cited as Byzantine may in fact have been built or remodeled in the Ottoman period.[19] More substantial work on domestic architecture from the medieval layers of Corinth in the 1950s and areas of modern Turkey and Syria was published in the following

[17] See S. Kalopissi-Verti, "Church Foundations by Entire Villages (13th-16th c.): A Short Note," *ZRVI* 44 (2007): 333-339; A. Laiou, The Peasant as Donor (13th - 14th Centuries)," in *Donation et donateurs dans le monde byzantin. Actes du colloque international de l'Université de Firbourg 13-15 mars 2008*, eds. J-. M. Spieser and E. Yota (Paris, 2012), 107–24.

[18] A. Orlandos, *Τα Παλάτια και τα σπίτια του Μυστρά* (Athens, 1936; repr. 2000).

[19] K. Kourelis, "Byzantine Houses and Modern Fictions: Domesticating Mystras in 1930s Greece," *DOP* 65/66 (2011-2012): 297-331.

decades.[20] Among these more substantial publications was the intermittent publication of single or partial houses uncovered through excavations, usually focused on reaching Classical remains. This is the case, for example, with a number of houses excavated in the Athenian Agora as well as the medieval house recovered at Elian Pylos.[21] The house from Elian Pylos is unique among accidental house finds for how thorough the remains were investigated and published. However, no other built medieval remains were recovered from the excavation, and the fragmentary nature of the remains prevent a contextualization of the house. It may have been an isolated farmhouse or part of a small hamlet or village.

More recently, publications on the houses and settlement of Geraki in Lakonia and Panakton in Boiotia have added important information on Late Byzantine housing in the countryside.[22] Several groups of houses from Geraki were examined and published, providing important information about the form and evolution of housing at a more elite center. At Panakton, four houses were excavated and published from a Late Byzantine village.[23] The scientific excavation of the domestic remains provided important information about daily life in the countryside and the varying form of the houses provided evidence for a more organic architecture not presented in previous publications on domestic architecture.

[20] K. Rheidt, "Byzantinische Wohnhäuser des 11. bis 14. Jahrhunderts in Pergamon," *DOP* 44 (1990): 195-204; R. Scranton, *Medieval Architecture in the Central Area of Corinth* (Princeton, 1957); G. Tchalenco, *Villages antiques de la Syrie du Nord I, II, III* (Paris, 1953).

[21] For example, see T. Shear, "The Athenian Agora: Excavations of 1980-1982," *Hesperia* 53 (1984): 1-57; J. Coleman and K. Abramovitz, *Excavations at Pylos in Elis*, Hesperia Supplements 21 (Princeton, 1986), 140-153.

[22] A.-M. Simatou and R. Christodoulopoulou, "Παρατηρήσεις στον μεσαιωνικό οικισμό του Γερακίου," *ΔΧΑΕ* 15 (1989-1990): 67-88; S. E. J. Gerstel et al., "A Late Medieval Settlement at Panakton," *Hesperia* 72 (2003): 147-234.

[23] Gerstel et al., "A Late Medieval Settlement," 154-174.

The first synthetic work on Byzantine housing in general was authored by Charalambos Bouras in 1983.[24] In his article, Bouras brought together a large number of published examples in order to establish what was known about Byzantine housing at the time of his study. He was cautious in his approach, pointing out that "there is no such thing as the Byzantine house, only Byzantine houses, of many types and categories, each meriting individual study."[25] Bouras used evidence from both urban and rural environments indiscriminately, however, while examining over five centuries of housing practices. Since he did not focus on a specific area or time frame, it is perhaps unsurprising that he saw such marked variation among his examples. Bouras concluded from his survey that houses in Byzantium arose dynamically, without deliberate planning, and were of a low standard.[26]

Two decades later, Kostis Kourelis put forward a different theory. Using the extensive survey work of the Minnesota Morea Project, Kourelis identified nineteen medieval settlements with approximately 1,054 houses.[27] From this dataset he determined that the average house took on a roughly square form of a 5 x 5 meter block.[28] This basic unit could be added to in a modular fashion, with additional 5 x 5 blocks that would be added in only one direction, making a long, rectangular structure.[29] Kourelis's conclusion that Byzantine homes depicted conscious planning and design contradicts that of Bouras. The type of data that Kourelis used, however, was very

[24] C. Bouras, "Houses in Byzantium," *ΔΧΑΕ* 11 (1983): 1-26.

[25] Ibid, 1.

[26] Ibid, 22.

[27] K. Kourelis, "The Rural Houses in the Medieval Peloponnese," in *Archaeology in Architecture: Studies in Honor of Cecil L. Striker*, eds. J. Emerick and D. Deliyannis (Mainz, 2005), 121.

[28] Ibid, 123.

[29] Ibid.

different. The settlements that he surveyed were not cleaned or excavated, making it difficult to assign a firm chronology.[30] Because of the similarity in construction methods and appearance, it is also possible that many of the buildings that first appeared to be houses may yet prove to be churches or other structures. It is also evident from the structures included in other studies that the 5 x 5 meter block house is not a ubiquitous characteristic of Byzantine domestic architecture more generally. It is rather the strong evidence for conscious planning in the construction of houses in Byzantium that provides the most important contribution for the further study of domestic architecture.

The most extensive study of Byzantine housing to date has been published by Eleftherios Sigalos.[31] His book, *Housing in Medieval and Post-Medieval Greece*, takes a general view of housing in Greece from the Byzantine period up to the nineteenth century. Using archaeological and historical material, Sigalos draws conclusions about the function and type of houses built in Greece over the centuries, focusing mainly on the provinces of Boeotia and Messenia, located in central and southern Greece respectively. The two primary house types that he identifies are the courtyard house, based on classical antecedents, and the linear house, which may be a medieval house form. [32] In an earlier article, while looking at the same time period as Bouras, Sigalos makes a distinction between the tenth to twelfth centuries and the thirteen to fifteenth centuries.[33] This split corresponds to the Fourth Crusade of 1204. Sigalos noted a marked shift in settlement patterns around this period, with a favoring of settlements being constructed around defensible

[30] K. Kourelis, "Monuments of Rural Archaeology: Medieval Settlements in the Northwestern Peloponnese" (Ph.D. Diss., University of Pennsylvania, 2003), 178, 208.

[31] E. Sigalos, *Housing in Medieval and Post-Medieval Greece* (Oxford, 2004).

[32] Ibid, 57-70.

[33] E. Sigalos, "Housing People in Medieval Greece," *IJHA* 7 (2003): 195-221.

peaks or fortified citadels starting in the thirteenth century.[34] Notably, the courtyard house seems to have been abandoned at this time. The work of Eleftherios Sigalos provides a promising approach to the study of domestic architecture. A careful and diachronic examination of the extant architecture with reference to the historical record provides a solid foundation from which to continue the study of Byzantine housing.

For the Mani, the most significant contribution to the understanding of medieval houses is found in the work of Yiannis Saitas.[35] His work, intended for a general audience, briefly discusses the form and construction of the "megalithic" houses of the region, but curiously draws a distinction between these buildings and what he views as Byzantine constructions in the area.[36] He contrasts the rougher, more humble appearance of the megalithic buildings with the finer examples of rubble masonry with mortar found at Karyoupolis, his sole example of Byzantine secular architecture in the area.[37] This distinction is arbitrary and implies that there was a coherent, identifiable style of secular architecture in Byzantium to which the houses of the Mani do not adhere. I take a different approach, viewing these megalithic houses in their context as village structures built by Byzantines living in the countryside. I also present comparisons with other examples outside of the Mani to contextualize my findings within building trends throughout the Empire.

Until now though, scholarship on domestic architecture in Byzantium has not examined the relationship of the domestic structure to the entirety of the built context of the village or settlement. Often a small selection of buildings from a number of settlements are examined in

[34] Ibid, 211-212.

[35] Y. Saitas, *Greek Traditional Architecture: Mani* (Athens, 1990).

[36] Ibid, 16-20.

[37] Ibid, 19-20.

relationship to one another, or the house is viewed in isolation with a discussion of how the family unit used it. Both approaches decontextualize the house. This has been in part because of the lack of a fully excavated or documented villages that would allow such contextualization. The expense and time involved in attempting such a project would be prohibitive. Houses were not the exclusive domain of a single person or even a single family. They existed in a diverse and complex village environment. Domestic animals were sometimes accommodated within the house, which may account for the frequent creation of fenced off spaces. The house may also contain features related to agricultural work, including storage rooms, cisterns and grindstones. This environment must be examined and understood if one wishes to study housing in Byzantium. Since domestic space extends outside the walls of the house, analysis of the house can not be limited to the architecture alone. An examination of the entirety of the built landscape of a village will provide the context necessary to decode the function of buildings and their relationship to one another.

Domestic architecture in the village provides a unique dataset from which to examine and understand daily life and culture.[38] Unlike most other material recovered archaeologically, "domestic architecture is not portable."[39] Even if materials were imported, the form of the house and the use of space within reflects those dwelling in them. The settlement is created to suit the needs of the community, reflecting conscious planning and design. The houses in this setting can provide a more direct correlation to the culture that built them since they were not conceived by architects, but constructed by communities.[40] The subsequent layout of buildings within the

[38] A. Rapoport, *House Form and Culture* (Englewood Cliffs, 1969).

[39] M. Aldenderfer and C. Stanish, "Domestic Architecture, Household Archaeology, and the Past in the South-Central Andes," in *Domestic Architecture, Ethnicity, and Complementarity in the South-Central Andes*, ed. M. Aldenderfer (Iowa City, 1993), 5.

[40] Y. Tuan, *Space and Place: The Perspective of Experience* (Minneapolis, 1977), 104.

settlement and the use of space conveys important information about the lives of the villagers since these spaces are a social construction.[41]

In this dissertation I provide the first overview of the complete built landscape of a Byzantine village. My study allows the assessment and understanding of the village based on the physical evidence, which is the only evidence we can securley attribute to the villagers themselves. By aggregating the data from two villages I create a database from which the average size of houses and non-domestic buildings can be determined, an important first step for comparing settlements across the Empire. This work will demonstrate not only evidence of community involvement in settlement building, but a high level of settlement planning not previously attributed to Byzantine villagers.

My research provides a chronology and understanding of villages in the Mani peninsula, as well as a basis for the study of rural settlements more generally. Comparisons to buildings and sites outside of the Mani are made to demonstrate the interconnectedness of this seemingly remote peninsula with wider trends in Byzantium. Important sites in the Peloponnese, including Geraki and Mystras, are shown to have architectural or spatial similarities to the settlements of the Mani. Likewise, comparisons to Panakton in Boeotia provide evidence for cultural consistency in housing practices extending outside of southern Greece. The written evidence from Macedonia is also compared to the surveyed villages to determine if settlements in the Mani accord with the written record or are exceptional. Such comparisons are necessary not only to demonstrate the integration of the Mani within the rest of Byzantium, but to exhibit the efficacy of this approach to the study of rural settlements more generally.

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[41] C. Tilley, *A Phenomenology of Landscape, Places, Paths and Monuments* (Oxford, 1994), 10.

Throughout this dissertation I refrain from using the term "peasant" to refer to the inhabitants of the settlements I discuss. In the western medieval context, as the entry on "peasant" in the *Oxford Dictionary of the Middle Ages* attests, the definition of this term focuses exclusively on farming without mention to any of the other activities or diversity that existed within the group.[42] The *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* recognizes the substantial diversity that existed in this group, but focuses only on the ownership of the land they worked.[43] The term peasant, informed by modern understandings of oppressed populations, can evoke an image of a uniform, impoverished populace toiling in the fields that obscures not only the diversity but also the vibrancy of those living in the villages. The quotation by Oikonomides cited above illustrates how the term peasant can be used pejoratively to dismiss those living in the countryside. As considered in this dissertation, the Byzantine village was a much more diverse place which, while focusing on agricultural production, had significant social and economic stratification. For this reason, I use the more general term "villager." While sufficient to describe those living within the village, the term also better serves to represent the unique nature of the Byzantine countryside.[44]

Methodology

[42] P. H. Freedman, "Peasants," in *Oxford Dictionary of the Middle Ages,* ed. R. Bjork (Oxford, 2010), 1272-1275.

[43] M. Bartusis and A. Cutler, "Peasant," in *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, ed. A. Kazhdan (Oxford, 1991), 1612-1613; Gerstel, *Rural Lives*, 2 n.7.

[44] A. Laiou, "The Byzantine Village (5th-14th century)," in *Les villages dans l'empire byzantine (IVe-XVe siècle),* eds. J. Lefort, C. Morrisson and J.-P. Sodini (Paris, 2005), 31-54.

My research primarily uses architectural survey consisting of measuring the length and thickness of walls and the size of doorways, windows and other features. These measurements are used to produce scaled drawings of each building. Each built feature is also GPS located so that the drawing of each building can be placed as accurately as possible to create a full map of each settlement. While not as accurate as mapping with a total station and a team of researchers, the maps that are produced using this method are reliable. The margin of error for the placement of buildings is minor in relation to one another. Moreover, the conclusions drawn from this study would not change from a minor shift in building placement or measurement.[45]

This map is then used for spatial analysis, examining the overall depth of the settlement and each building along with more complex analyses using an axial map of each settlement. This work is possible because of the preservation of doorways in most buildings. When a doorway is not preserved, its location can be surmised from the extant walls of the building as well as its location in the landscape. Sometimes the doorways have collapsed since the openings are the weakest point in the wall. The stone construction of the buildings, however, tends to preserve the surrounding walls. If a doorway is not preserved in the standing walls it can be determined that it must have been in the now collapsed area. Previous attempts at studying the spatial layout of rural settlements have been impossible because of the poor preservation of the buildings. Without the preservation of doorways, it is impossible to know how buildings were accessed and therefore where pathways may have been or how the buildings related to one another.

In addition to these analyses, on a settlement by settlement basis I examine the building methods for the houses, churches, and towers to determine a relative chronology for the development. Comparisons with dated churches in the region and the layout of domestic

[45] The placement of buildings relative to each other is reliable. Even if placement were off by a number of meters, this would not change how the buildings were accessed or space was used in the village.

structures elsewhere in Byzantium help to date the settlements as well as integrate them into the greater history of Byzantium. In the case of Tigani, comparisons to other elite centers are possible not only in architectural style, but also in scale. As will be shown, as much as the settlement of Tigani is shaped by the landscape of the Mani, it was very much a State creation that stands in strong contrast to the surrounding villages.

Art historical analysis is used to understand painted representations and place them in their proper context, including visual analysis and social art history. The social context for the representations discussed is essential to understanding and interpreting them properly. This is particularly evident with the discussion of donor portraits, which reveal the status of those depicted even when a written inscription is lacking.

The formal characteristics of the buildings are presented and the entirety of the settlement is analyzed before there is comparison to the historical record or previous examples. Former assessments of village housing and settlement are not accepted uncritically, but rather compared and corrected by the physical remains themselves. The comparison of the entirety of a medieval village allows a rare opportunity in Byzantine studies to examine the physical evidence of rural society without relying on the interpretation of fiscal documents to draw primary conclusions. What did a medieval village look like? Were these planned settlements or were they created organically over time? Can the written record from another part of Byzantium be useful for understanding the material from elsewhere? How consistent are these villages? What elements are unique and what are common? Which elements can be attributed to topography and landscape and which may be identifiably Byzantine?

The dissertation begins with a history of the Byzantine Mani. The focus of Chapter 1 is not just on the medieval history of the Mani peninsula, but is an attempt to define what was the

Byzantine Mani. I provide a reassessment of the historical material on the Byzantine Mani and suggest that medieval references do not discuss the peninsula as a whole, but a discrete settlement. This analysis addresses the physical evidence from the Mani, including churches, frescoes, and marble carving. This chapter sets the stage from which to understand and interpret the built remains of the settlements examined in this dissertation.

The next three chapters present the physical evidence from the settlements, beginning with Sarania, then Marathos. The presentation of the villages is followed by an investigation for the first time of the secular architecture of Tigani, a fortified settlement in the southwestern Mani, which provides a different understanding for the built remains than has been previously suggested. The houses, churches, and other built features are presented along with any evidence for pathways or other important features. A preliminary assessment of each site is also presented.

The final chapter presents the data from all three settlements together. The first section focuses on a discussion of the built remains, examining house size, location, and settlement layout. The second uses axial analysis to understand the integration of different areas in the settlements. Finally, the location of several activities is suggested based on the previous examination. I conclude with a discussion of the implications of this research and present avenues for future research that build upon the results of this dissertation.

Included at the end of this dissertation are two appendices. Appendix A provides a brief description, plan, and photographs of each house surveyed in this dissertation. This is intended to provide a greater amount of raw information that may be useful for other studies of domestic architecture. Appendix B contains the internal measurements of the houses and the integration values for each settlement. The axial maps used to calculate these numbers are also provided so that it is clear how the settlements were understood.

Moving beyond architecture and focusing on space and landscape more broadly I contextualize the village and reconstruct its population. The examination of the built landscape of rural settlements presented here provides significant evidence for settlement planning, raising important questions about the agency of villagers in Byzantium. This dissertation is an important contribution to the study of medieval settlements in Greece and aims to create a model that can be applied to rural settlements more broadly.

Chapter 1

History of the Byzantine Mani

To discuss the history of the Mani is to consider two different but interrelated spaces: a region and a settlement. The Mani peninsula is a distinct geographical entity that contains a variety of settlements within its boundaries. The name Mani, however, is derived from the name for a specific settlement, Maine, a Byzantine *kastron*, administrative center, and bishopric. As will be shown below, the name Maine in the Byzantine and medieval sources never refers to the entire peninsula. In this dissertation, I use the name Mani to refer to the entire peninsula, while Maine will be used in reference to the specific territory mentioned in medieval sources.

Settlements in the Mani are first attested to in the work of Homer. *The Iliad* refers to the town of Oitylo in the middle of the west coast as part of the kingdom of Menelaos.[1] From the 1st c. BC both the geographer Strabo and Pausanias mention settlements in the peninsula. Strabo discusses the peninsula north of Tainaron and notes the difference between the fertile, northwestern Messenian side and the more marginal Lakonian side, a distinction that is still evident today.[2] In his *Description of Greece* Pausanias mentions the settlements on Tainaron, "Caeneopolis, Oetylus, Leuctra, Thalamae, also Alagonia and Gerenia," as independent cities of the Free Lakonians.[3] In the sixth century AD, Procopius mentions that Belisarios, during his campaign to regain the Western Roman Empire, stopped in Kyparissos on his way to Italy.[4] This

[1] Homer, *The Iliad*, trans. A. T. Murray (Cambridge, 1924), 104-105.

[2] Strabo, *The Geography of Strabo*, trans. and ed. H. L. Jones (Cambridge, 1924), 141-143.

[3] Caeneopolis is also written as Kainopolis and is known as Kyparissos in later periods. The settlements mentioned are located along the western side of the Mani. Pausanias, *Description of Greece*, trans. J. G. Frazer (London, 1898), 169.

[4] Procopius, *History of the Wars Book III and IV*, trans. H. B. Dewing (London, 1916), 120-121.

demonstrates from an early time that despite the seeming isolation of the region, the peninsula was very much integrated into the wider history of the Mediterranean. It is also noteworthy that none of these authors refer to the region as Mani or Maine. Instead it appears that Tainaron, the end of the peninsula, was used as a general term for the region as a whole because of the importance of the sanctuary of Poseidon located at its southern tip.[5]

The first mention of the name Maine comes from a list of episcopal centers compiled during the reign of the emperor Leo VI (886-911) in reference to the Bishopric of Maine.[6] Here the Maine is likely the *kastron* that is mentioned during the reign of Leo VI's son, Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus (908-959).[7] The exact location of this *kastron* is unknown, although many scholars have identified the settlement on the Tigani peninsula, the subject of Chapter 4, as the location.[8] Tigani is the only known *kastron* in the region that dates to the Middle Byzantine period (843-1204). It is also the location of the only known basilica in the Mani built during this same time, suggesting that this site was the seat of a bishop.

Early Byzantine Mani

When the Mani was first Christianized is still an open question. According to the *De Administrando Imperio*, the people of the *kastron* of Maine were not Christianized until the reign

[5] W. Cummer, "The Sanctuary of Poseidon at Tainaron, Lakonia," *AM* 93 (1978): 35-43.

[6] P. Zerlentis, *Τάξις ιεραρχική των εν Πελοποννήσω Αγίων του Θεού Εκκλησιών. Η μητρόπολις Ζαρνάτας και αι εν Μάνη επισκοπαί* (Ermoupolis, 1922), 29-30.

[7] A. Mexia, "Η Βασιλική στο Τηγάνι της Μέσα Μάνης," in *Αφιέρωμα στον Ακαδημαϊκό Παναγιώτη Λ. Βοκοτόπουλο*, eds. V. Katsaros and A. Tourta (Athens, 2015), 57-66.

[8] A full discussion of this settlement can be found in Chapter 4.

of Basil I (867-886).[9] The sources do not refer to the Mani peninsula as a whole, but only to the occupants of the *kastron*. In this discussion of the *kastron* of Maine, the *De Adminstrando* affirms that the inhabitants are not Slavs, but rather, descended from the ancient Romans.[10] Furthermore, they are still called "Hellenes" by the locals.[11] It is unclear who these locals were, either the aforementioned Slavs or other Christian Byzantines living in the area. The term "Hellenes" is related to the persistence of ancient cult practices by the inhabitants of the *kastron* before their conversion during the reign of Basil.[12] Until the twelfth century, the term "Hellene" was used almost exclusively in a pejorative sense to condemn paganism.[13] The "locals" mentioned in *De Administrando* must have been Christian, otherwise the use of the term would provide no distinction between them and the inhabitants of the *kastron*.[14] This implies that the "locals," who must have lived in the Mani peninsula, were Christianized prior to the ninth century. It would seem unlikely, however, that the *kastron* of Maine, home to the bishop and secular administrative personal, would have been one of the last places converted to Christianity.[15]

Despite assertions that the Mani was Christianized only in the ninth century, there are Christian churches dating to the sixth century or earlier. Two Early Christian basilicas have been

[9] *De Administrando Imperio,* trans. R. J. H. Jenkins (Washington D.C., 1967), 236.

[10] *De Administrando*, 237.

[11] Ibid.

[12] Ibid.

[13] G. Page, *Being Byzantine: Greek Identity before the Ottomans* (Cambridge, 2008), 63-66.

[14] As Page notes in his work, the term "Hellene" was not an ethnic term, and had been applied to the Saracens in the sixth century and the Chinese in the eleventh. Ibid, 63.

[15] The *De Administrando* states that the inhabitants of the *kastron* were under the control of an official appointed by the military governor of the area. See *De Administrando,* 237.

found at the port town of Gytheio in the north-east corner of the peninsula (Fig. 5). [16] Further south at Kyparissos, ancient Kainopolis, two basilicas dating to the fifth to seventh century have been identified. A third is located between Kyparissos and Alika.[17] As mentioned above, on the cape of Tigani, there is a large basilica that was dated by Drandakes to the seventh century, but has been recently re-dated by Angeliki Mexia to the tenth.[18] Another large basilica has been also partially uncovered at the settlement of Paliochora, though this building may have been a secular basilica of the Late Roman period.[19] The ruins of these buildings allow for some correction of the historical record and indicate that the region was Christianized well before the ninth century.

Christianity had clearly entered the Mani prior to the reign of Basil I, but its hold on the peninsula may have been uneven. With the possible exception of the basilica at Paliochora, all of the churches are found at important coastal areas. There is no evidence for any Christian structures in the interior of the peninsula prior to the tenth century. In other regions of Byzantium, Christianity originated as a religion of the cities, where it was established before spreading out into the hinterland. This is the same model used by the emperor Nikephoros I (802-811), who established the metropolis of Patras following his reassertion of control over the Peloponnese.[20] After establishing this urban area of control, the Byzantine State could begin to radiate out both secular and religious administration for the region.

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[16] *Tales of Religious Faith in Mani* (Athens, 2005), 19, 142.

[17] Hagios Andreas, Monastari, and Hagios Petros. See N. Drandakis, "Σκαφικά έρευναι εν Κυπάρισσω Μάνης," *ΠΑΕ* (1958): 119-219; N. Drandakis, "Ανασκαφή εν Κυπαρίσσω," *ΠΑΕ* (1960): 206-216.

[18] For a discussion of the dating of this basilica, see Chapter 4.

[19] N. Drandakis, "Ερευναι εις τήν Μάνην," *ΠΑΕ* (1974): 120-123; N. Drandakis, "Ερευναι εις τήν Μάνην," *ΠΑΕ* (1975): 184-189.

[20] S. Turlej, *The Chronicle of Monemvasia: The Migration of the Slavs and Church conflicts in the Byzantine Source from the Beginning of the 9th Century* (Cracow, 2001), 55-85.

It is likely that the Christianization of the peninsula had not made significant inroads outside of the coastal areas in the Mani prior to the Slavic invasions of the sixth century. While this tumultuous event would not have necessarily wiped Christianity out of the peninsula, it could have severely curtailed its spread until Byzantium could reassert control over the area. Possibly the earliest church from to the period following the reconquest of the Peloponnese in the ninth century in the Mani may be found near the hamlet of Hagia Kyriaki, located across the bay from Tigani. The small, single aisle church of Hagios Prokopios preserves traces of aniconic decoration that may date from the ninth century (Fig. 6).[21] Its location next to a large quarry from which stones were likely used to build the basilica at Tigani as well as its proximity to the peninsula supports the idea that a local administrative center existed there. The possible use of Iconoclastic decoration may indicate some level of State influence or control at a location that was distant from the capital. If the ninth-century date is correct, then this church establishes the presence of a Christian community near the putative location of the *kastron* of Maine even before the reign of Basil I.

The Slavic invasions of the sixth century were the most significant event in the Peloponnese in the Early Byzantine period. The *Chronicle of Monemvasia* puts control of the Peloponnese within Slavic hands from 587 until 805.[22] While certain kinds of handmade coarseware have been identified as Slavic because of their distinct appearance from Late Roman and Early Byzantine material, it is unclear how a Slavic settlement would differ in appearance

[21] A thorough discussion of the decoration of this church is in Chapter 4. See N. Drandakis, *Βυζαντινές τοιχογραφίες της Μέσα Μάνης* (Athens, 1995), 213-222.

[22] I. Dujčev, *Cronaca di Monemvasia: Introduzione, Testo critico, Traduzione e Note* (Palermo, 1976), 16-18.

from a Byzantine one.[23] One of the reasons for this is that the Slavs who came into the Peloponnese came to settle, not simply to raid. It is likely that very soon after their entrance into the area they began to live side by side with the indigenous population. Even if Greeks and Slavs lived in separate settlements, they would certainly have been in close proximity, engaging in trade and other activities that would have encouraged the development of a unified material culture.

Two Slavic groups are said to have settled in the Mani, the Melingoi and Ezeritai. According to the *De Administrando Imperio*, these two groups settled "upon the flanks of" Pentadaktylos, the Taygetos mountains, far north in the Exo Mani.[24] Both groups were subjected to a tribute payment but were otherwise allowed to run their own affairs. This is the first and last time that the Ezeritai are mentioned. The Ezeritai had to pay a markedly higher tribute than the Melingoi, three hundred nomismata as opposed to sixty. The difference in payments may indicate a greater subjugation to the Byzantine Empire, which would have expedited their assimilation, a process said to have been started by Basil I, who actively engaged the Slavs and "made them Greek."[25]

The Melingoi, on the other hand, are mentioned in several sources, including the eleventh-century *Life of Saint Nikon* and the fourteenth-century *Chronicle of the Morea*.[26] Church inscriptions from the Mani attest to the persistence of the Melingoi as an identifiable

[23] Guy Sanders has noted the retention of Slavic forms in cooking ware well into the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Rather than being indicative of a Slavic settlement, they are instead seen as being basic forms that were integrated into the local vernacular by the Slav settlers of the previous centuries. See G. Sanders, "Excavations at Sparta: The Roman Stoa, 1988-91, Preliminary Report, part 1: (c) Medieval Pottery," *BSA* 88 (1993): 277-79.

[24] *De Administrando*, 233.

[25] G. Dennis, *The Taktika of Leo VI, Text, Translation and Commentary* (Washington, D.C., 2014), 471.

[26] H. Lurier, *Crusaders as Conquerors*: *The Chronicle of the Morea* (New York, 1964); D. Sullivan, *The Life of Saint Nikon: Text, Translation, and Commentary* (Brookline, 1987).

group well into the fourteenth century. In Oitylo, a town in the northwestern Mani, a church dedicated to Saint George contains an inscription stating, "ΤΕΛΕΙ ΤΩΝ ΜΕΛΗΓΩΝ ΚΥΡ ΚΩΝΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΣΠΑΝΙ ΚΑΙ ΚΥΡ ΛΑΡΙΓΚΑ ΤΟΥ ΛΑΒΟΥΡΙ ΚΑ ΑΝΝΗΣ" (Accomplished by the Melingoi *kyr* Constantine Spanis and *kyr* Larigkas Labouris and Anne).[27] All three individuals are clearly identified as Melingoi. The inscription dates to 1331/2 and demonstrates that this group was not only Christianized, but also Romanized. The same Constantine Spanis also founded another church at the site of Kambinari outside of Platsa in 1337/8.[28] The inscriptions mentioning these groups and the historical evidence would seem to locate the Melingoi in the northwestern portion of the Mani. Despite this seeming Slavic presence in the peninsula, occupation by these groups was not widespread. As mentioned above, following his discussion of the Melingoi and Ezeritai, the *De Administrando* discusses the *kastron* of Mani stating that its inhabitants are not Slavs, but "of the ancient Romans," seemingly setting up a line of demarcation between Slavic-occupied lands and ones that they did not penetrate.[29] While the description of the *kastron* is general, it is clear that the native population of the Mani was not entirely displaced by the Slavs.

Mani in the Middle Byzantine Period

The historical record for the period between the tenth and the beginning of the thirteenth century contains few references to settlements in Mani. The *Life* of Saint Nikon contains a single

[27] H. Glykatzi-Ahrweiler, "Une inscription méconnue sur les Mélingues du Taygète," *BCH* 86 (1962): 1-10.

[28] D. Mouriki, *The Frescoes of the Church of St. Nicholas at Platsa in the Mani* (Athens, 1975), 14-18.

[29] *De Administrando*, 237.

reference to Maine. This work was written in the mid eleventh century about the activities of the tenth-century saint Nikon Metanoeite. The relevant text refers to Nikon traveling from the "Land of the Dorians," then to Maine, Kalamata, Korone, Methone, and Messene.[30] There is no reason to assume that the Maine mentioned in this source is a region and not a defined settlement like all of the others that follow. Further, when a generalized area is implied, as in the "land of the Dorians," this is specified in the text with no ambiguity. Further evidence that Nikon traveled to a specific settlement and not the peninsula as a whole is contained in the *Life* of Saint Philaretos.[31] This work was written in ninth century by a man exiled to Karyoupolis, a settlement in the modern Mani peninsula that would gain prominence in the Late Byzantine period. At the end of this *Life* the author mentions his own exile and refers to being "in the Peloponnese, at Karyoupolis."[32] If Karyoupolis belonged to the region of Mani it would seem unusual not to mention this. Further demonstrating that Karyoupolis was not part of the Mani or Maine in the medieval period is that in the fourteenth century, Karyoupolis was elevated to a bishopric.[33] It would be unusual to have a bishop of the entire Mani peninsula and a bishop at Karyoupolis if the latter was within the territory represented by the former, particularly given the low population that must have existed in the area. The creation of the bishopric at Karyoupolis further demonstrates that the conception of the Mani peninsula did not exist in the Byzantine period.

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[30] Sullivan, *The Life of Saint Nikon,* 108-109.

[31] L. Rydén, *The Life of St. Philaretos the Merciful Written by his Grandson Niketas: A Critical Edition with Introduction, Translation, Notes and Indices* (Uppsala, 2002).

[32] Ibid, 116-117.

[33] R. Etzeoglou, "Karyoupolis, une ville byzantine desértée: Equisse de géographie historique du nord-est du Magne," *Byzantion* 52 (1982): 83-123; R. Etzeoglou, "Καρυούπολις, μία ερειπωμένη βυζαντινή πόλη. Σχεδίασμα ιστορικής γεωγραφίας της βορειοανατολικής Μάνης," *ΛακΣπ* 9 (1988), 2-60.

In the twelfth century there is another reference to the *kastron* of Maine found in a Latin work previously ascribed to Benedict of Peterborough. Dating to 1191, this passage mentions entering the gulf of Witum and passing by the *kastron* named Maine.[34] The location of the gulf of Witum is unclear. The author also makes a mistake confusing Cape Malea for Cape Matapan demonstrating that his knowledge of geographic toponyms in the area is not reliable. While not useful for providing a precise location for the *kastron* of Maine, the reference does attest to its continued existence in the twelfth century as an identifiable location as well as its position along the coast.

Despite the few references to Maine or the peninsula as a whole in the Middle Byzantine period, this period, particularly the tenth through twelfth centuries, appears to have been a prosperous time for the region. Numerous churches built with intricate stone and brick work can be dated to this period; many still preserve evidence of their original wall paintings. Several of them contain inscriptions providing dates and naming members of local communities. The spread of these monuments as well as the quality of architecture and painting found among a selection of these churches testifies to the robust economy and population of this period.

The church of Hagios Panteleimon in Ano Boularioi is vital to the dating of the churches in the Mani. Preserved within the church is a painted inscription dating its creation to 991/992.[35] It belongs to a group of more humble buildings, such as Hagios Georgios in Keria and Hagios Philippos in Ano Poula which both date to the eleventh century.[36] From the same period are more elaborate churches like the Soteras church in Gardenitsa, Hagioi Theodoroi in Vamvaka,

[34] W. Stubbs, *The Chronicle of the Reigns of Henry II and Richard I A.D. 1169-1192: Known Commonly Under the Name of Benedict of Peterborough* (London, 1867), 203.

[35] N. Drandakis, "Άγιος Παντελεήμον Μπουλαριών," *ΕΕΒΣ* (1969-70): 437-458.

[36] Drandakis, "Ερευναι εις τήν Μάνην," (1974): 123-125, 128-129.

and Taxiarches near Glezou, which all have cloisonné masonry and can be dated to the eleventh century (Fig. 7).[37] In addition to these churches are the numerous megalithic churches, many of which are unpublished since their interior painting is no longer preserved. These churches are likely Middle Byzantine, as will be discussed below.

It is not surprising that the evidence for increased building activity dates to more than a century after the Peloponnese was reintegrated into the Empire. Despite the reclamation of urban centers such as Patras and the transfer of population to the Peloponnese, it would take time for these activities to penetrate the Mani.[38] The boom in church construction dates to the same period in which Saint Nikon was evangelizing in the region. The Saint's *vita*, however, does not provide much detail about his mission in the region, only stating that he traveled through on his way to Kalamata.[39]

The churches of the Mani demonstrate not only the economic vitality of the region during the tenth to twelfth century, but also their connection to the artistic trends of Byzantium. Metropolitan trends are noticeable in the monumental painting of a number of churches.[40] Work was carried out by local painters, who likely only worked at this profession part-time.[41] These individuals must have been exposed to metropolitan art of the period, either from personal travel to administrative centers or from portable icons. In either case, the skill of local painters and their

[37] A. H. S. Megaw, "Byzantine Architecture in Mani," *BSA* 33 (1933): 139-144; N. Drandakis, "Σημειώσεις κυρίως γιά τήν τοιχοδομία καί τήν αρχιτεκτονική βυζαντινών ναών τής Μέσα Μάνης," *ΛακΣπ* (1998): 281-284, 285-287, 291-293.

[38] J. Fine, *The Early Medieval Balkans: A Critical Survey from the Sixth to the Late Twelfth Century* (Ann Arbor, 1991), 81-82.

[39] Sullivan, *The Life of Saint Nikon*, 108-109.

[40] M. Panayotidi, "Village Painting and the Question of Local "Workshops," in *Les Villages dans l'empire byzantine*, eds. J. Lefort, C. Morrisson and J.-P. Sodini (Paris, 2005), 193-212.

[41] Ibid, 208-209.

awareness of broader artistic trends demonstrates that the region was not isolated in this period. Moreover, the presence of local village painters provides an indication of the complexity of village life in the Byzantine period. These were individuals who developed a skill to supplement their income in addition to their agrarian activities. Such painters may have traveled as well to practice their trade, which may have provided the opportunity for them to observe other artistic trends.

As mentioned, the local style of architecture in the Mani is termed "megalithic." These buildings are constructed from large, roughly worked stones, which are fitted together without the use of mortar. The gaps between the stones are often filled with smaller stones and earth. The Church of the Koimesis near Mina in the southwest Mani presents an excellent example of this building type (Fig. 8).[42] Because of the difficulties of manipulating the enormous stones, the churches are always a single, narrow chamber with a barrel vault. The exterior, which usually lacks any form of decoration, is formed of stones of varying size. Together with megalithic churches, however, can be found cross-in-square churches with complex facades that would not be out of place in the major centers of the Empire. The thirteenth-century cross-in-square church of Hagios Ioannes (Saint John the Baptist) in the village of Keria, constructed with cloisonné masonry, is located near two megalithic churches (Fig. 9).[43] The co-existence of church types presents an image of the Mani as being both unique and integrated into the general architectural developments of Byzantium. This variability is not unusual for the Byzantine Empire, since the geographic and topographic spread of Byzantium has always led to regional variability that while distinct, is identifiably Byzantine.

[42] The paintings from this church are discussed by Panayotidi in her chapter on village painting. See Panayotidi, "Village Painting," 203-204.

[43] Cloisonné masonry refers to well cut blocks of stone framed with ceramic bricks.

One of the first attempts at dating the ecclesiastical architecture of the Mani was undertaken by A. H. S. Megaw in 1933.[44] With the difficulties that come from the absence of any previous studies, he dated all of the megalithic churches to the ninth century based on their "primitive" architecture and the assumption that the peninsula was not Christianized until that period. The megalithic churches were identified as "chapels" based on their small size. While many of these megalithic churches are not large, they can easily accommodate more than a dozen individuals. They lack the ability to bring the entire community of a settlement together for worship like a larger church, but this is accommodated by the presence of multiple churches within a given community. Typically in the Mani multiple churches are found in each settlement, often associated with extended families.

Some megalithic churches continued to be used through the post-Byzantine period and have even remain integrated into communities today.[45] Because of this long duration it would be difficult to date the buildings on the basis of the architecture. Fortunately, frescoes and painted inscriptions within many churches allow us to date building or decorative phases with some certainty. The megalithic church of Hagios Philippos in Korogonianika, for example, contains painted decoration that has been assigned to the tenth and thirteenth century on the basis of style.[46] There are numerous megalithic churches throughout the Mani, many of them

[44] Megaw, "Byzantine Architecture," 137-162.

[45] For example, the church of Hagios Demetrios in Keria is located on the main road through the village. While no longer used for the liturgy, it has become a votive chapel with candles and images adorning the space above the door of the building.

[46] N. Drandakis, E. Dori, S. Kalopissi, and M. Panayotidi, "Ερευνα στή Μάνη," *ΠΑΕ* (1978): 136-138.

unpublished.[47] While the paintings alone do not provide a firm date for the construction of the church, they at least provide information on when the church would have been active.

The earliest dated megalithic churches are Hagios Georgios at Piontes and the previously mentioned church of Hagios Philippos in Korogonianika (Fig. 10).[48] Both of these churches preserve wall paintings that Drandakis assigned to the tenth century based on comparison with the dated late-tenth-century paintings of Hagios Panteleimon in Boularioi. Morphologically, they are both small, single aisle churches. The masonry of both is megalithic, though the appearance of the stone differs between them. Large square blocks predominate at Hagios Philippos while those Hagios Georgios are rounder. The reason for the difference are the characteristics of the natural limestone used to build each church. The limestone from around Korogonianika is not amenable to the shaping that is found elsewhere. The date of the paintings in all other megalithic churches in the Mani is thirteenth century or later. The preserved paintings in Hagios Philippos and Hagios Georgios would suggest that the late tenth century is the earliest date for the construction of megalithic churches. Painted decoration alone, however, is not sufficient to confirm a tenth- century date for the construction of such buildings since they could have been built earlier. Two other examples though, provide another indication for a tenth century or later date that does not rely on preserved paintings.

Drandakis has observed that the earlier phase of Hagios Petros near Paliochora retains traces of tenth and thirteenth-century paintings (Fig. 11).[49] This small, single aisle church was built inside the ruins of either an Early Christian or secular Roman basilica. It is made of rubble

[47] The majority of megalithic churches do not retain their decoration, resulting in being overlooked by those focusing on monumental paintings.

[48] Drandakis, et al., "Ερευνα στή Μάνη," (1980): 136-138; Panayotidi, "Village Painting," 196-197.

[49] Drandakis, "Ερευναι εις τήν Μάνην," (1975): 184-189.

masonry and stands in a cemetery. Attached to the south aisle was a second church built in the megalithic style. The masonry of this addition does not bond with that of the earlier church and blocks the southern doorway of the church, indicating that it was a later construction. There are also megalithic repairs on the west end of the original church that likely occurred at the same time as the addition to the south. This example would allow then for a date in the tenth century or later for the megalithic additions.

The use of megalithic repairs to an earlier church is also seen at Hagios Prokopios near the hamlet of Hagia Kyriaki (Fig. 6).[50] Though the church has undergone a series of repairs over the centuries, the form remained consistent over time: a long, vaulted, single-aisle church. The successive repairs effectively narrowed the width of the church, indicating that the church was likely re-roofed at some point. The megalithic aspects of the church are found at the western end of the church and do not belong to the earliest phase of the building. They were either a repair or an addition to the existing body of the church. Since the church contains traces of aniconic decoration in the apse that may date to the ninth or tenth century, the megalithic elements must be of a later period.

Megalithic churches that preserve thirteenth-century paintings outnumber those containing earlier decoration, likely the effect of repainting. Numerous examples of this practice are seen in the Mani, including at Hagios Petros in Paliochora and Hagios Georgios in Piontes. Both of these churches have tenth- and thirteenth-century phases. The large number of churches preserving thirteenth-century paintings, forty-six, is likely not the sign of a construction boom at this time, but rather a period in which numerous churches in the region were re-painted following the reintegration of the area into the Byzantine Empire in 1263. Of the forty-six churches in the

[50] This church will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 4.

Mani with thirteenth-century decoration, fourteen preserve decoration of an earlier period. The proliferation of thirteenth-century paintings attests to a period of revitalization for the monuments and not necessarily their construction. In either case, there is evidence that clearly indicates the use of this architectural style before the thirteenth century.

The preserved evidence suggests that the megalithic style used in the Mani was regularly employed from the tenth century until the thirteenth century.[51] The use of such masonry did not end abruptly in the thirteenth century, but rather tapered off during this time. Megalithic masonry likely saw its highest level of use in the eleventh through twelfth centuries.[52] The construction of a large number of churches at this time corresponds with the general agrarian expansion of the Middle Byzantine period. Like most other parts of Greece, this Middle Byzantine expansion started to face a downturn in the late twelfth century and then a period of fracture with the Fourth Crusade and subsequent Latin rule over the Peloponnese.[53] The recovery of the Mani by the revitalized Byzantine State in 1261 saw another period of growth in the region, as demonstrated by the numerous decorative programs that date to this period. This revitalization began to diminish in the fourteenth century and with the fall of Mystras in 1460, the shift towards the clan structure that would reach its fullest in the Early Modern period began.

[51] The earliest buildings at Kouloumi and Triantafyllia may well indicate an earlier form of megalithic architecture in the region. They are distinct, however, from the megalithic churches of the region as well as the houses seen in the majority of the villages. They consist of significantly larger stones that are more round in shape. The houses are squatter and wider than the medieval examples, with internal spans reaching over 5 m, something not seen in the medieval examples. While they are similar in their basic form and construction methods, they are identifiably distinct. This illustrates the difficulty with the term megalithic which can be readily applied to a variety of building methods from different periods and cultures.

[52] As mentioned above, the dating of the earliest paintings in Hagios Philippos and Hagios Georgios to the tenth century, combined with the megalithic additions to the tenth-century church of Hagios Petros provides evidence that this style of megalithic architecture likely began in the tenth century before proliferating more widely across the peninsula.

[53] For information on the Peloponnese following the Fourth Crusade, see S. E. J. Gerstel ed., *Viewing the Morea, Land and People in the Late Medieval Peloponnese* (Washington, D.C., 2013).

The non-megalithic churches of the Mani are easier to date based on architectural style. Additionally, several of the churches contain inscriptions on sculptural elements or in their monumental painting that secure chronologies for a closely allied group of buildings. The church of Hagioi Theodoroi in Vamvaka is a domed cross-in-square church whose construction can be firmly dated to 1075 by an inscription carved onto a tie-beam (Fig. 12).[54] The exterior features cloisonné masonry and immured glazed bowls that are datable to the eleventh century.[55] Likewise the church of Hagia Barbara in Eremos features cloisonné brickwork dating to the twelfth century.[56] Megaw notes as well that the decorative band of tile diaper found on the church may provide information on the transition of this decorative motif from the tenth century into the Late Byzantine period.[57] This decorative feature provides more evidence that not only was the Mani in step with developments in the rest of Byzantium, but that the study of its monuments can provide valuable information for understanding the development of trends within the Empire.

In addition to the architecture of the churches and their painted decoration, churches in the Mani were adorned with marble and stone carvings that testify to the availability of stone in this region. According to Nikolaos Drandakis, there are 55 known Byzantine churches in the Mani with carved templon screens, as opposed to only 43 medieval examples known from

[54] Megaw, "Byzantine Architecture," 139-140; N. Drandakis, "Σχεδίασμα καταλόγου των τοιχογραφημένων βυζαντινών και μεταβυζαντινών νάων Λακωνίας," *ΛακΣπ* 13 (1996): 225; N. Drandakis, *Βυζαντινά γλυπτά της Μάνης* (Athens, 2002), 3-12.

[55] Particularly of interest is the similarity noted by Megaw to the eleventh-century Kapnikarea church in Athens. See Megaw, "Byzantine Architecture," 141-143.

[56] Ibid, 147-148.

[57] Ibid.

elsewhere within Greece.[58] Sculpted features include templon screens, tie beams, and door frames. Generally, the carving, in low relief, features intricate floral patterns, crosses, and animals, including birds and mythical creatures. Inscriptions on several pieces of sculpture record dates as well as the names of those who commissioned the works.

The majority of the carved sculpture in the Mani is dated to the eleventh and twelfth centuries, a wealth of decoration that again attests to the economic and artistic vitality of the region during this period. The frequent use of stone sculpture demonstrates the coherence of the Mani as a unique regional unit, even if it was a not well-defined area in the Byzantine period. The abundance of stone carvings within churches in the Mani witnesses not only the ready availability of stone, but also the presence of skilled sculptures. The use of stone features is one of the defining elements of church decoration in the Mani.

From the marble carvings of the Mani we learn of Niketas, who identifies himself as a *marmaras*, a marble carver. His name is inscribed on five limestone architectural elements found in the Mani peninsula. The stone tie beam in Hagioi Theodoroi, Vamvaka, preserves the date of 1075, allowing us to date the carver's activity to the late eleventh century (Fig. 12).[59] Four of the named works come from a relatively small cluster of villages in the southwest Mani, north of Tigani and south of Pyrgos Dyrou.[60] One comes from significantly further north, in the village of Milea.[61] Though this piece does not contain a date, it is significant for it states, "NHKHTA(Σ)

[58] Drandakis, *Βυζαντινά γλυπτά*, 345-347.

[59] Ibid, 3-12, 19-29.

[60] Ibid.

[61] It should be noted that fourteen additional pieces of sculpture with a much wider range have been attributed to the hand of Niketas. These range from the Church of the Panaghista near Milea in the north to the Church of the Asomatos in Keria to the south. See Drandakis, *Βυζαντινά γλυπτά*, 37-62.

ΜΑΡΜΑΡΑΣ ΑΠΟ ΧΟΡΑ ΜΑΗΝΗΣ" (Fig. 13).[62] The final two words, *Χόρα Μαήνης* (area of Maine) provide firm evidence for the origins of this prolific artisan. The fact that Niketas decided to place this addition on a work indicates not only his origin, but also that this church must have been located outside what would have been considered the region of Maine. Compared with the proximity to the other named pieces which do not display this epithet, it is possible that the work found in villages like Vriki and Vamvaka would have been considered part of the region of Maine.

Further, when we add the unsigned works attributed to Niketas, two major clusters appear. Eleven pieces that come from the inner Mani; only five come from the outer Mani, the location of Milea (Fig. 14). As Maria Panayotidi has observed, painters in the Mani worked in villages close to their home.[63] The same may be true for sculptors like Niketas. Between the two clusters of sculpted works and the epigraphic evidence, it would appear that Niketas likely came from the Inner Mani.

The material remains suggest that the Middle Byzantine period was a one of relative prosperity for the Mani. Artistic and settlement production increased significantly from previous centuries. This period of prosperity generally aligns with trends seen throughout Byzantium for the Middle Byzantine period, particularly for the Komnenian period of the late- eleventh and twelfth centuries.

The Mani during and after the Fourth Crusade

[62] "Niketas, marble carver from the area of Maine."

[63] Panayotidi, "Village Painting."

The Mani reappears in the historical record in the thirteenth century in relation to the Fourth Crusade. In 1204, Geoffrey Villehardouin arrived in the Peloponnese at Modon (Methoni), having been blown off course on route to Constantinople.[64] Upon hearing of the fall of Constantinople to the Latin Crusaders, Geoffrey was joined by local Greek archons and conquered much of the Western Peloponnese. The Principality of Achaea was established and continue to expand under the Villehardouin family, reaching its largest extent under William II Villehardouin (1246-1278). William successfully sieged Monemvasia in 1248, and it appears that at this time he gained control of the Mani as well. The *Chronicle of the Morea* states that after his siege of Monemvasia, William made a tour of his lands, and constructed three castles; Mystras, Leftro, and Grand Magne.[65]

The Maine remained independent in the period prior to 1248 as attested by a letter of Demetrios Chomatenos, the Archbishop of Bulgaria. In his letter from around 1222, Chomatenos mentions the Bishop of Maine, and refers to him as a Roman.[66] He is recommended by Chomatenos for his trustworthiness in not turning a messenger over to the Latins. This implies that Maine and the surrounding area remained free from Latin control and, if not still loyal to a Byzantine successor State, was at least not on the side of the Frankish rulers.[67]

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[64] A. Bon, *La Morée franque: recherches historiques, topographiques et archéologiques sur la principauté d'Achaïe* (Paris, 1969), 57.

[65] Lurier, *Crusaders as Conquerors*, 159-161.

[66] D. Chomatenos, *Ponemata Diaphora*, ed. G. Prinzing (Berlin, 2002), 89.

[67] P. Magdalino, "A Neglected Authority for the History of the Peloponnese in the Early Thirteenth Century: Demetrios Chomatianos, Archibishop of Bulgaria," *BZ* 70 (1977): 317-318.

The location of the castle of Grand Magne has been the subject of intensive scholarly debate.[68] While the *Chronicle of the Morea* has many irregularities and inconsistencies across its different versions, it is relatively unambiguous about the castle constructed by William Villehardouin. According to the text, following the construction of Mystras, William traveled past Passavas and arrived at Maine.[69] At Maine he saw an "awesome crag on a promontory," and here is where he wanted to build a castle known in the French version of the *Chronicle* as the "Grand Magne."[70] It appears that the difficulties with the location of this fortress have arisen from a focus on its French name as well as a general acceptance that the use of Maine within the chronicle could refer to the region as a whole, instead of to a single settlement. If that were the case, it would raise serious questions as to what was considered the Frankish Mani, since Passavas and Leftro are clearly viewed as separate from this entity.

As the earlier sources indicated, Maine was not the peninsula as a whole but a defined settlement. Later sources confirm this identification. A letter of John Eugenikos, a deacon and writer from the fifteenth century, lists Maine along with Monemvasia and Helos when he discusses bishoprics in the Peloponnese, again indicating it was a settlement and not a region.[71] Also in the fifteenth century, Cyriac of Ancona traveled to the region, going to Dri, Keria,

[68] For recent arguments, see M. Heslop, "Villehardouin's Castle of Grand Magne (Megali Maini): A Re-Assessment of the Evidence for its Location," (Forthcoming); J. M. Wagstaff, "Further Observations on the Location of Grand Magne," *DOP* 45 (1991): 141-148; A. Avramea, "Le Magne byzantine: problèmes d'histoire et de topographie," *Mélanges offerts à Hélène Ahrweiler* (Paris, 1998): 49-62; Jan van Leuven, "The Phantom Baronies of the Western Mani," in *Studies in the Archaeology of the Medieval Mediterranean*, ed. James Schryver (Boston, 2010), 41-69.

[69] For a thoruugh discussion of the different versions for the *Chronicle of the Morea* see, T. Shawcross, *The Chronicle of Morea: Historiography in Crusader Greece* (Oxford, 2009).

[70] The French *Chronicle* is the only edition to consistently refer to the *kastron* as "Grant Maigne," but the description of its location is missing from the text. See J. Longnon, *Livre de la conqueste de la princée de l'Amorée: Chronique de Morée (1204-1305)* (Paris, 1911), 73-75; Lurier, *Crusaders as Conquerors,* 159-161.

[71] S. Lambros, *Παλαιολόγεια και Πελοποννησιακά,* 1 (Athens, 1912), 178.

Kyparissos, Porto Kayio, Phlomochori, and Gytheion.[72] Cyriac never uses the name Mani, and instead refers to the peninsula by its ancient name, Tainaron.[73] Similarly, there is sufficient evidence in *The Chronicle of the Morea* that the term Maine referred to a distinct settlement or area, and not for a region. All of the places to which William traveled are specific locations: Mystras, Monemvasia, and Passavas.[74] There is no reason to assume that the Maine would have been a region or generalized area. Further, only a few lines following the construction of this castle, the author mentions that William built the castles of Leftro, Mystras, and Old Maine.[75] For this name to have any meaning or accuracy, it must be in reference to the Byzantine *kastron*.[76] This could mean that William simply rebuilt or refounded the Byzantine *kastron* at Tigani.[77] The lack of reference to any kind of siege or battle may imply that the *kastron* was in a state of disrepair at this time and peaceably surrendered to William following his conquest of Monemvasia. We know that the Byzantine *kastron* of Maine existed into the twelfth century.[78] If William traveled to the area of the *kastron*, as the text appears to demonstrate, it could not have

[72] Cyriac of Ancona, *Later Travels*, trans. E. Bodnar with C. Foss (Cambridge, 2003), 311-329.

[73] Ibid, 313.

[74] Lurier, *Crusaders as Conquerors*, 158-159.

[75] Ibid, 161.

[76] J. M. Wagstaff believes that the use of "Old Maine" was meant to distinguish the castle built by William from a later castle that had been built after William's construction, prior to the writing of the *Chronicle of the Morea*. He identifies the settlement of Maigne near Kalamata as the likely reason for the change in name. However, this settlement is only mentioned briefly near the end of the *Chronicle*, always with its own unique spelling or name as well as specific effort to locate it near Kalamata. It would seem unlikely that "Old Maine" was use to avoid confusion with a settlement that in the Greek version is mentioned 4000 lines later. Further, this settlement is also referred to as Mikromani in other sources, which would already set it apart from Grand Magne or Megalo Maine. Nowhere is the settlement referred to as New Mani which would set it in apposition to Old Maine. See Wagstaff, "Further Observations," 142.

[77] A full examination of this settlement is presented in Chapter 4.

[78] Stubbs, *The Chronicle of the Reigns of Henry II and Richard I*, 203.

escaped his notice. The confusion between "Grand" and "Old" is likely the result of the *kastron* having been given a new name by the Franks and the need to clarify later that it was not a different *kastron* or in a different location. This also explains why the "Frankish" castle is called by up to three different forms of Maine in a single text.[79] The names were interchangeable since they referred to the same place.

Aside from Tigani, the other possible location for the Frankish castle based on the text is Ano Poula.[80] This settlement is set on the high Makryna Ridge, visible from Tigani and overlooking a fertile plain. Not only is the site clearly on a promontory that stands out in the landscape, but its proximity to the Byzantine *kastron* as well as its greater size would certainly deserve the attestation of "Great." However, there is little evidence for a *kastron* having ever been built here. The presence of some fortification walls does not differentiate the settlement here from the medieval villages of the peninsula that often have fortification elements as well. Sarania, for example, has a significant fortification walls and bulwarks, some over 1.5 meters thick.[81] The houses here are nearly identical to the village examples seen elsewhere in the Mani and do not compare to the size and architecture of the buildings at Tigani.[82] Further, the largest known cisterns and basins for water are located off of the plateau, meaning they would be inaccessible in the case of siege. In the thinnest area of this plateau is a massive wall, around 2.5 m thick, that divides the plateau in half. This may have been an attempt to make the area more

[79] It is highly unlikely that any *kastron* built by William would co-opt the name "Maine" so thoroughly if it was constructed at any distance from the area of that name. Kelefa, the castle Wagstaff proposes as the location of Grand Magne, is approximately 20 km from the likely location of Byzantine Maine. See Wagstaff, "Further Observations."

[80] P. Katsafados, *Τα Κάστρα της Μαίνης* (Athens, 1992), 395-462.

[81] See Chapter 2 for a full discussion of this settlement.

[82] See Chapter 4 for a full discussion of Tigani.

manageable. However, there does not appear to be any other evidence for a complete circuit of fortifications. There are several well-built churches here. However, most are built along the edge of the promontory, towards the land. This indicates that there was likely never any fortification wall here as in several cases there is not enough room to build between the apse of the church and the edge of the plateau. It appears that their placement was intentional to allow the churches to be seen from below. Their placement was not intended solely for those who lived on the plateau, but also as a demonstration of the piety and wealth to those in the plain below.

The Mani would not remain long under Frankish control. In the fall of 1259, John Palaiologos led an army of Nicaean forces and mercenaries against William II Villehardouin at Pelagonia in northern Greece.[83] The Prince of Achaia suffered a tremendous defeat and found himself captured by the Nicaean State. The Emperor Michael VIII Palaiologos (1259-1282) hoped to ransom William for nearly all of his territory in the Peloponnese. William refused, instead offering significant monetary compensation, which Michael rejected outright. This impasse led to William's detention for three years before an agreement was reached in 1261. In exchange for William's release, he had to pledge fealty to Michael and turn over the *kastra* of Mystras, Monemvasia, and Maine.[84]

Shortly after the treaty of 1261, Monemvasia was elevated to the status of Metropolitan and the Bishopric of Maine was placed under its jurisdiction.[85] This was a rupture from its previous status being under the Metropolitan of Corinth, but since this city was still under Latin control, the move caused no issue until over a century later. This information tells us that even

[83] G. Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State* (New Brunswick, 1969), 448.

[84] In the French version of the *Chronicle of the Morea* both Grand Maine and Maine are used interchangeably depending on the passage. The *kastron* of Geraki is also mentioned in some versions.

[85] Fine, *The Late Medieval Balkans*, 167.

after the disruption of Byzantine hegemony and a brief period of Frankish control, the Bishopric of Maine was still extant and viable, as the letter of Demetrios Chomatenos attested earlier in the thirteenth century.[86] The continued existence of the bishopric leads to another point about the nature of Maine and the other *kastra* awarded to Michael VIII by William II.

Scholarly attention has been spent almost exclusively on the strategic importance of these *kastra*. While this was undoubtedly a major factor, the *kastra* were also administrative centers. In the *Chronicle of the Morea*, during the negotiations for William's release, Maine is always mentioned along with Mystras and Monemvasia. Mystras and Monemvasia served as centers of government, religion, and learning. The three sites must have all served in some capacity as the provincial centers of their respective regions. Mystras served as the capital for the Villehardouin, and subsequently from 1349 to 1460 as the capital of the Despotate of the Morea. Its military importance was underscored by its fortifications. The tribute paid by the *kastron* of Maine in the time of Constantine VII, four hundred nomismata, was a revenue undoubtedly gathered from the villages and hamlets of the surrounding countryside, which sustained their capital. Michael would have wanted these *kastra* not only because of their military advantages, but also because they were the means to administering and extracting wealth from the area.

Hostilities began between the Byzantines and Franks almost immediately upon the return of William II to the Morea. The Pope had absolved William II from his oath to Michael VIII and preparations were made by both sides for war.[87] The Byzantines managed steadily to expand their holdings around their newly claimed *kastra*, but successive losses to William's armies in

[86] Chomatenos, *Ponemata Diaphora*, 89.

[87] Fine, *The Late Medieval Balkans,* 166-167.

1264 stunted this growth and led to the temporary loss of some lands.[88] Fighting was concentrated mostly around Mystras and in the region of Arkadia. The Mani seems to have been left alone, likely because of its lack of precious resources or significant strategic advantage. By 1270 the Byzantines had reasserted control over most of Lakonia and would continue to steadily expand their lands in the Morea into the fifteenth century.

It would appear that the reintegration of the Mani into the Byzantine Empire brought an increase in prosperity. The second half of the thirteenth century saw a resurgence of church construction and decoration. This resurgence has been seen in one source as a sign of religious enthusiasm following the liberation from Frankish overlordship.[89] The increase in production, however, was more likely the result of the restoration of peace over the region.

It does not appear that the Mani experienced a significant economic decline in the fourteenth century, despite civil war within the Empire. There are at least twenty known churches in the Mani that preserve evidence of fresco painting or construction dating to this period.[90] These churches include the large domed basilica at Kambinari, which was rebuilt and painted by Constantine Spanis in 1337/8.[91] While the late-thirteenth century appears to have been a more robust period for church construction and decoration, the extant monuments of the fourteenth do not appear to indicate a significant economic shift, nor should we expect there to have been. The founding of the Despotate of the Morea in 1349, centered in Mystras, must have served as a boon for the region and paintings at churches in Nikandri and Kastania reveal close

[88] Ibid.

[89] *Tales of Religious Faith*, 27.

[90] These include Hαgios Strategos near Lagia, Hαgios Nikolaos in Polemitas, and Hagios Nikolaos in Koita. See, Drandakis, "Σχεδίασμα καταλόγου των τοιχογραφημένων," 213, 227, 229.

[91] Mouriki, *The Frescoes of the Church of St. Nicholas*, 14-18.

connections between the Mani and Mystras.[92] More direct administrative control as well as the presence of a new urban elite in close proximity would have stimulated the economy of the Mani.

The Mani was not likely the scene of much conflict during the tumultuous fourteenth century. The civil war between Andronikos II (1282-1328) and his grandson, Andronikos III (1328-1341), as well as the subsequent one between John VI Kantakouzenos (1347-1354) and the regency of John V (1341-1391) was focused mainly in Thrace and Macedonia. The Mani was likely only subject to piratical raids, and never played host to large scale conflict. The topography of the area does not allow for large, pitched battles, nor was there a reason that the Mani would have served as a center of conflict among powers vying for control of the Empire. Whatever its strategic importance, the peninsula is easily avoided if one wishes to invade the Peloponnese. Further, it is unlikely that the tax base of the Mani was of great significance and, other than stone, the region has no luxury resources. This is not to say that the Mani was a place of peace and serenity. Though the historical sources contain only brief mention of the peninsula in regards to calculated raids or attacks, such as that of Robert de Luria in 1292, piracy and raids were a continuous issue.[93]

As mentioned above, a significant event for the Mani was the establishment of the Despotate of the Morea by John VI Kantakouzenos in 1348. Mystras became the capital of this newly formed semi-autonomous region of the Empire, establishing a proximate administrative

[92] The church of St. George at Nikandri, decorated by a painter from Mystras, remains unpublished. For Kastania, see M. Kappas, "Approaching Monemvasia and Mystras from the Outside: The View from Kastania," in *Viewing Greece: Cultural and Political Agency in the Medieval and Early Modern Mediterranean*, ed. S. E. J. Gerstel (Turnhout, 2016), 147–81.

[93] G. Airaldi, "Roger of Lauria's Expedition to the Peloponnese," in *Intercultural Contacts in the Medieval Mediterranean,* ed. B. Arbel (London, 1996), 14-23.

center for the Mani that was in intimate contact with Constantinople. With Mystras to the north and Monemvasia to the east, the Mani was uniquely positioned near two of the most important centers of the Late Byzantine period, and arguably the most important in the Morea. The Despotate was first ruled by Manuel Kantakouzenos, the younger son of John VI. From this point on the ruler of the Despotate would be a close relative of the emperor in Constantinople. The Despotate would come to embody the chaotic nature of the end of Byzantium, when, in 1448, the newly crowned Emperor Constantine XI, the former Despot, split the Morea between his two sons, Thomas and Demetrios.[94] It was Demetrios who received the Mani in his lands, together with Corinth and Mystras and the eastern portion of the Peloponnese.[95] Almost immediately the two brothers began to fight among themselves. Despite Constantinople falling on May 29, 1453, the Despotate of the Morea continued until 1460, brought down by infighting between the two Despots and frequent revolts.

The fifteenth century must have been a difficult period for the Mani. Just as with the previous centuries there is a dearth of written sources for this period. Several authors state that in 1415, Manuel II Palaiologos (r. 1391- 1425) sent forces to the peninsula to dismantle local *kastra* or towers in order to assert greater control.[96] However, the actual text never mentions the Mani, towers, or *kastra*.[97] This was the interpretation of Kougeas based on a letter to Manuel II (1391-1425) stating the locals spoke a strange way, but this is insufficient to identify the Mani as the

[94] Ibid, 562.

[95] Ibid.

[96] J. M. Wagstaff, "Evliya Celebi, the Mani and the Fortress of Kelefa," in *The Frontiers of the Ottoman World,* ed. A. C. S. Peacock (Oxford, 2009), 120-121; W. Miller, *Latins in the Levant* (New York, 1908), 384; Y. Saitas, *Greek Traditional Architecture: Mani* (Athens, 1990).

[97] A full and detailed examination of the problematic use of this letter is presented in the conclusion to this dissertation.

location.[98] Further, it is clear that fortifications existed in the Mani after this time. The most informative account of this period comes from Cyriac of Ancona, who traveled to several villages in the Mani.[99] Though his focus is on the Classical remains in these settlements, he also comments on the lifestyle of the locals. He informs us that, "they all build their houses in the countryside with great polygonal stones put together according to an ancient technique; and, digging out cisterns by hand, each in a long line, they protect them with huge, seven-foot rocks."[100] This provides some evidence that at least some of the megalithic settlements of the region continued to be inhabited in this period, and that the construction of cisterns with large *makronia* continued at this time.[101] Contrary to the *De Administrando*, Cyriac also reports the presence of vineyards in the region, although he observes that wine was reserved for special occasions.[102] He does not portray the locals as being under significant hardship or involved in familial strife.

There are few churches that may date from the fifteenth century or preserve decoration from this period in the Mani.[103] There is however, reason to expect a population increase during this same period. As one of the only regions to remain securely within Byzantine control in the fifteenth century, the Mani must have served as a refuge to those fleeing the Ottoman advance. Even though many Byzantines would move to Italy or other parts of Western Europe during the

[98] S. Kougeas, "Περί των Μελιγκών του Ταϋγέτου εξ αφορμής ανεκδότου βυζαντινής επιγραφής εκ Λακωνίας," *Πραγματείαι της Ακαδημίας Αθηνών* 15 (1950), 31-32.

[99] Cyriac of Ancona, *Later Travels*, 311-329.

[100] Ibid, 323.

[101] Ibid.

[102] Ibid, 324.

[103] These are the Church of the Savior in Oitylo, Hagios Sideros in Pyrgos Dirou, Hagios Georgios in Dryalos, and Hagios Nikolaos in Briki. See Drandakis, "Σχεδίασμα καταλόγου των τοιχογραφημένων," 217, 222, 224, 226.

period of Ottoman control, the Mani did not show a significant population decline until the modern era.

After the fall of the Despotate, the Ottomans sought to consolidate their rule in the peninsula, with only Monemvasia, Venetian territories and the Mani remaining free.[104] It is unclear how much of a hold the Ottomans would ever have over the Mani. They certainly maintained a presence at various *kastra* throughout the fifteenth to nineteenth centuries, such as Kelefa and Porto Kayio.[105] It appears, though, that they never occupied the mountains and certainly never subdued its inhabitants. Until the Greek War of Independence in 1821, the Mani would continue to serve as the main center of resistance to the Ottomans on the Greek mainland.

This prolonged independence was in part because of the Mani's location and topography. For the Ottomans to invade the mountains of the region and assert direct control over the population would have been a herculean effort. Further, there was nothing to really gain for the Ottomans. The Mani was not a particularly robust economic area so they could not hope to extract great tax revenues, nor was the peninsula home to any vital resources. Despite the continued resistance of the Mani and its inhabitants towards the Ottomans, there was simply no reason to forcibly pacify the region, though they did occasionally try.[106]

The Post-Byzantine Mani

[104] Fine, *Late Medieval Balkans*, 567.

[105] W. Miller, *Essays on the Latin Orient* (Cambridge, 1921), 373; Wagstaff, "Evliya Celebi."

[106] This includes the construction or refurbishment of the castle of Kelefa at Oitylo to better control the port here. See Wagstaff, "Evliya Celebi," 122-129.

Family and blood groups played an important role in village life throughout the Byzantine period. The importance of particular families was not unique to the Mani, but found throughout Byzantium. The final centuries showed the importance of families like the Angeloi, Kantakouzenoi, Komnenoi, and Palaiologoi among others at the most elite social levels. The Mani, like other villages in the Empire, simply had the same structure on a smaller scale. The post-Byzantine development of these family groups into a dense clan structure does appear to be unique, but these developments should not be cast back into the past. While the Mani is famous for the aggressive behavior of these clans towards one another, the account of Cyriac of Ancona makes no reference or allusion to feuding families.[107]

Since the peninsula remained one of the only places free from Ottoman control after the fall of Constantinople and Mystras, the Mani saw an influx of refugees. This put a greater strain on the meagre resources of the area, increasing competition for arable land and sowing unrest among the inhabitants.[108] With the lack of a centralized authority, families were required to rely on themselves for subsistence. This lack of a State authority led to the formation of a clan structure in the Mani that would last until the early twentieth century, deeply impacting settlement patterns and the development of the region. After the fall of Byzantium, the villagers could no longer rely on the State to protect their rights or resolve disputes. Instead they had to rely on family and locally powerful individuals, further empowering those families that were already more affluent and investing in them a legitimacy to resolve issues formerly assigned to government officials. No one family could effectively control the whole region. Thus many

[107] Cyriac of Ancona, *Later Travels*, 311-329.

[108] A. Vacalopoulos, "La retraite des populations grecques vers des régions éloignées et montagneuses pendant la domination turque," *Balkan Studies* 4 (1963): 269.

powerful families challenged each other for control throughout the Mani resulting in the inter-clan violence in the Early Modern period.

The clan structure was particularly pronounced in the Inner Mani. During the post-Byzantine period this area saw a greater influx of population than did the north, despite a poorer quality of land. This was no doubt because of the greater protection afforded in this region, north of Cape Matapan, but south of Kefela and Passavas. This increasing population put extreme strain on resources and increased competition for arable land, leading to a more dispersed settlement pattern as clans asserted their control over the landscape. [109] The censuses of 1618 and 1700, though not comprehensive, illustrate the increasing disparity between the regions in the seventeenth century (Fig. 15).[110] Though a relative parity between settlements in the north and south was reached in the nineteenth century, it appears that the two areas developed differently prior to Greek Independence.

The most significant architectural development in the Mani during the post-Byzantine period was the development of tower houses (Fig. 16). These tall structures marked the territory of particular clan groups. While it is unclear exactly when these towers first developed, they were certainly the norm by the seventeenth century.[111] The tower house would prove helpful in resisting Ottoman attacks, but they were primarily used in inter-family conflict and to assert power. New hamlets and villages were formed in locations of local strategic importance, useful for defending agricultural lands from other clans, but not from professional armies. Without the

[109] J. M. Wagstaff, "Vendetta, War, and Society in the Morphogenesis of Rural Settlements in the Mani, Greece," *I Paesaggi Rurali Europei* 12 (1975): 523-525.

[110] K. Komis, *Πληθυσμός και οικισμοί της Μάνης, 15ος – 19ος αιώνας* (Ioannina, 1995), 79-96.

[111] Saitas, *Greek Traditional Architecture,* 32-70.

State to enforce property rights, it was up to the families to ensure effective control over their territory, requiring a more dispersed settlement pattern.

Though never able to fully control the Mani, the Ottomans, and to some extent the Venetians, did manage to construct and occupy castles and settlements. These were particularly located around viable ports and the main inland passageways, such as Porto Kayio and Zarnata. Only three years after the fall of Mystras, the Venetians went to war with the Ottomans from 1463 until 1479.[112] During this time they relied upon the Greeks of the Peloponnese and particularly from the Mani to support their effort. After the war ended, the Maniots were left to fend off their attackers themselves. This would be the first of many times that Western European powers would call on the Maniots for help in their wars only to abandon them a short time later.[113] This lack of central administrative control and the unreliability of foreign support further cemented the warlike and independent characteristics of the Maniots in the post-Byzantine era.

Connections with the West would have a significant impact on the population of the Mani as many locals emigrated from the region to settle in Venetian or Genoese lands, particularly in the seventeenth century.[114] From 1699 until 1715 Venice again controlled the Mani along with other parts of the southern Peloponnese.[115] Following another war, the Ottomans regained control of the Mani in 1715. Internal strife and resistance continued, particularly in the southern half of the peninsula. This culminated in the failed Orloff Revolt of 1770. As part of the war

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[112] F. Thiriet, *La Romanie vénitienne au Moyen Age, Le développement et l'exploitation du domaine colonial vénitien (XIIe-XVe siècles)* (Paris, 1975), 435-436.

[113] D. Brewer, *Greece, The Hidden Centuries. Turkish Rule from the Fall of Constantinople to Greek Independence* (London, 2010), 92-93.

[114] Saitas, *Greek Traditional Architecture*, 23, n 64.

[115] E. Balta, "Venetians and Ottomans in the Southeast Peloponnese (15th-18th century)," in *Halil Inalcik Armagani*, ed. S. Takis (Ankara, 2009), 182-187.

between the Russians and Ottomans which started in 1768, the Russian admiral Alexei Orloff launched an attack on the Peloponnese with the ostensible purpose of freeing the Greeks from Turkish control.[116] Georgios Papazolis, a Greek serving as a Russian agent, traveled to the port of Oitylo in Mani in 1766 to lay the preparations for the revolt, though the response he received did not seem to match his expectations. Finally, in February of 1770, after a series of setbacks, a small Russian force landed at Oitylo. After initial success in besieging Mystras with the aid of the Maniots, a series of failures followed and the Russians left, abandoning the Maniots and other Greeks to face Ottoman retribution.

Not all was lost, however, as in 1776 the Mani was granted a semi-autonomous status under a regional governor with the title of *Bey*.[117] It was to be the final *Bey* of the Mani, Petros Mavromichalis who, on March 17, 1821, declared the beginning of the revolution in Areopoli, a large town in the southwestern Mani.[118] The Maniots, led by the Mavromichalis family, played a crucial role in the fight for Greek independence, but this was not without issue. The Maniots, having been self-reliant for so long, resented the attempts by the new Greek government to administer the region. This led to an open revolt in 1830 by the Mavromichalis family that reached a head in September 1831 when the governor of the Greek State, John Kapodistrias, was murdered by members of the family.[119] European recognition of an independent Greece came in May 1832 with the appointment of Otto, the son of King Ludwig I of Bavaria, to be the new king

[116] Brewer, *Greece*, 184-195.

[117] Ibid, 193.

[118] D. E. Rogan, *Mani: History and Monuments* (Athens, 1973), 43-44.

[119] D. Brewer, *The Greek War of Independence: The Struggle for Freedom from Ottoman Oppression* (London, 2011), 348-349.

of Greece.[120] This newly established monarchy could not quell the Mani, which actively resisted the central government's attempt to assert control. The Bavarian regency first tried to suppress the Maniots but eventually sought to divide the powerful families of the region as well as incorporate important individuals into the military of the State.[121] Confirming the rank and privilege of powerful individuals helped to lessen their worries of being disenfranchised in the new Greek State as well as slowly integrating the region into the State apparatus. Following the expulsion of King Otto in 1862, the Mani became more and more integrated into Greece.[122] This led to a gradual migration from the rugged terrain of the Mani into more fertile areas and urban centers in the search for better jobs and education. The need for a mountainous and defensible alcove from which to launch attacks into the Peloponnese was no longer necessary. Its inhabitants did not need to scrape a living from its rocky soil to maintain their freedom and instead moved on to greater opportunities afforded by being part of a larger, integrated State.

Conclusions

The architectural and artistic developments of the Mani have been shown to be representative of the wider trends found throughout the Byzantine Empire. It can be expected that this connection with the Empire was not limited to ecclesiastical architecture. The use of domestic space and the way of life for villagers was likely the same in the Mani as it would have been elsewhere. As witnessed by church construction and decoration, the region thrived during much of the Middle and Late Byzantine periods. The numerous churches and abandoned

[120] T. Gallant, *Modern Greece: From the War of Independence to the Present* (London, 2016), 54-60.

[121] K. Kassis, *Ιστορία της Μάνης* (Athens, 1977), 113-115.

[122] Gallant, *Modern Greece*, 71-72.

settlements testify to the robust village environment that existed throughout the medieval period. Numerous pathways connecting villages through the mountains are still known, demonstrating the interconnectedness of the settlements in the region. The connection with the major trends and styles of Byzantium shows that despite the seeming isolation of the region, the Mani was integrated into the fabric of the Empire. The unique topography and the availability of natural resources dictated the particular form of domestic architecture and the placement of settlements, but there is no reason to expect that this would have resulted in a significantly different lifestyle. An investigation of domestic architecture provides information and evidence applicable to the rest of the Empire and assists us in understanding village life in general.

Written sources demonstrate the importance of the administrative center of Maine. The *kastron* of Maine, based on its location and remains, never reached the elite level of Mystras or Monemvasia. However, it likely functioned in a similar way, particularly in the Late Byzantine period. Its inclusion as one of three *kastra* ceded to Michael VIII Palaiologos by William II Villehardouin demonstrates the importance it must have held in securing and administering the Mani peninsula. The lack of investigation into the putative remains of the *kastron* of Maine does not allow for more exact conclusions to be made. That the region assumed the name of this administrative center shortly after the fall of the Byzantine Empire underlines the importance that it must have held for the peninsula.

The history of the Mani demonstrates a remarkable continuity for the region during the Middle and Late Byzantine periods. Despite the loss of Constantinople in 1204, the Mani was free from Latin control for over forty more years. Its brief period of Frankish occupation was unlikely to have had a significant cultural impact on the area. After the fall of the Byzantine Empire, the Mani would continue to resist the Ottomans. Though settlements and lifestyle

appears to have changed during the following centuries, the lack of Ottoman domination meant that, at least in the short term, Byzantine constructions and the general way of life would continue.

This continuity is important because of the lack of hard evidence for a precise dating of the settlements in the region. These megalithic settlements are often referred to as "Paliomaniotika" (old Maniot settlements) and are usually absent from the historical record.[123] Historically, the division between the Middle and Late Byzantine period comes from the Latin conquest of Constantinople in 1204. After this time Latin kingdoms existed in the former territories of Byzantium alongside three successor Byzantine States. In the Mani, however, Latin domination existed for a period of only thirteen years and came decades after the conquest of Constantinople. For these reasons it is likely that the division between the Middle and Late Byzantine periods in the Mani would be less clear. Likewise, after the fall of Byzantium in 1453, the Mani persisted as part of a Byzantine territory until the conquest of Mystras in 1460, and remained somewhat independent until 1831. We should expect then, a less firm break between the Late Byzantine and Post Byzantine period as well. This may be reflected in the houses, settlement patterns, or art of the transitional period of the late- fifteenth through sixteenth centuries. This also means that a settlement likely kept its "Byzantine" character for a longer time in this region than in areas of Greece that fell under the direct administration of the Ottomans. It is likely that the use of space in a village or house in 1500 was not significantly different than in 1300. Even if the physical buildings would not be considered as belonging to the Byzantine period, the study and understanding of the remains will provided information for how Byzantine villages appeared and functioned.

[123] T. Moschos and L. Moschou, "Παλαιομανιάτικα. Οι Βυζαντινοί αγροτικοί οικισμοί της Λακωνικής Μάνης," *Αρχαιολογικά Ανάλεκτα εξ Αθηνών* 1 (1981): 3-28.

The lack of written resources affirms the importance of studying the material remains of the settlements of the Mani. Just as the region's churches show affinities to major architectural and artistic trends in Byzantium, one would expect that villages and domestic architecture would also demonstrate similar characteristics to settlements and houses beyond the physical confines of the peninsula.

After decades of steep demographic decline following the creation of the Hellenic Republic, the Mani peninsula has begun to see moderate population growth, focused around coastal towns and villages that are now the beneficiaries of tourism. This new source of income has also impacted the landscape as new hotels and cafes are created in areas previously unoccupied. Still, economic opportunity is not great in the Mani. Many young people have moved further north, either for education, work, or both. This changing landscape has increased the need to study and document the Byzantine remains of the region, as they continue to become further isolated, destroyed and ultimately forgotten.

Chapter 2

Sarania : The Physical Remains

The settlement of Sarania is situated in a valley on the southeastern side of the Mani peninsula (Fig. 17).[1] The remains of over thirty structures testify to the existence of a once vibrant and complex agrarian community. Sarania provides an ideal case for the study of the medieval village because of the quality of the preserved remains. While the buildings here have doubtlessly undergone changes over the centuries, the settlement appears to have been mostly abandoned before the Early Modern period. Sarania thus presents a clear picture of a medieval settlement, illuminating the structure of domestic space and the built environment of the village.

Sarania is located less than 2 km south of the village of Lagia and about the same distance from the shore (Fig. 18). The modern road passes above the settlement, taming what would have been a steep barrier to the west. The core of the site is built on a fortified hill with a dry stream bed to the east and a deceptively steep gorge to the north. The settlement and surrounding hills are intensively terraced, attesting to past agricultural production. Today the terraces support a few olive trees and serve mainly as pasture.

The buildings of the settlement are constructed of local limestone that was cut into roughly hewn megalithic blocks. These blocks do not follow a standard size and fluctuate in shape from rectangular to roughly square.[2] The largest stones, usually positioned at the lowest course of the building, are placed directly on the natural bedrock. Evidence for local quarrying is

[1] Kyriakos Kassis briefly comments on the settlement, mentioning the name of Hagios Georgios and providing a suggestion for the etymology of the site as deriving from Saras, an abandoned settlement around 3 km from Sarania. See K. Kassis, *'Ανθη της Πέτρας: Οικογένεισες και εκκλησίες στην Μάνη* (Athens, 1990), 312.

[2] Yanis Saitas notes a series of "standard" sizes for megalithic blocks, but their rough nature makes for many exceptions. See Y. Saitas, *Greek Traditional Architecture: Mani* (Athens, 1990), 19.

seen at the top of the main hill, where many areas show signs of having been worked (Fig. 19). The presence of this quarry explains why the top of the hill was not heavily built up. As new buildings were needed, this quarry would have been continuously exploited for the needs of the village. The hill itself, which appears to have very little soil aside from the areas that have been terraced, may have been chosen as the main building site because of this morphology. Arable land is not easily found in the Mani and maximizing its use was likely a priority for the region's inhabitants.

To the east of the main hill, across the stream bed, lies a smaller hill that is less intensively terraced. On the western side of this hill are two houses which share a courtyard and also the megalithic church of Hagios Georgios. On the eastern side are the remains of at least two more buildings. While not as integrated with the rest of the settlement, they are positioned to make use of the terraces surrounding the site. Still further east are three more buildings sited in relative isolation to one another but not far from an extant path that leads from Sarania to the fertile valley near Korogonianika, below the megalithic settlement of Kato Lai (Fig. 20). The architecture of these more distant houses is distinct from those found within the core of Sarania. They have features like relieving arches above doorways and are constructed from smaller, better cut stones. Near House 1 is a cistern built in a rectangular form not seen elsewhere on site. While they are connected to the settlement, their development was almost certainly later than that of the core of the village.

Churches

The remains of two churches are preserved at Sarania. The first, Hagios Georgios, still stands and retains its dedication (Fig. 21).[3] This church is visible from the road and is well known to local residents even though it is no longer in use.[4] The second church, which I have labeled Church B, is found in ruins on top of the main fortified hill. This church is not known by the local residents and does not appear in the scholarly literature.

Hagios Georgios is a vaulted, megalithic church positioned midway up the secondary hill of Sarania. It no longer preserves any wall paintings and is in a state of collapse. The church measures approximately 9 meters long by 5.3 meters wide. Interior measurements were not possible because of the dangerous condition of the church; the stone of the vault has begun to fall, covering the floor with large stones. The thickness of the walls, however, indicates significantly smaller interior dimensions. A masonry icon screen separates the sanctuary from the naos (Fig. 22).[5] This feature was added after the initial construction of the church since its stones are significantly smaller and better cut than those used in the body of the church. When the church was plastered on its interior, the screen would have been covered by painting, appearing to be contemporaneous with the church construction. There appear to be no built features within the immediate vicinity of the church, which is located on the southern edge of the

[3] Originally this church was identified to me as Hagios Eleftherios.

[4] Kassis, *'Ανθη της Πέτρας*, 312.

[5] Solid masonry screens are common in the Mani and represent an ecclesiastical development of the Late Byzantine period. See S. E. J. Gerstel, "An Alternate View of the Late Byzantine Sanctuary Screen," in *Thresholds of the Sacred: Art Historical, Archaeological, Liturgical and Theological Views on Religious Screens, East and West,* ed. S. E. J. Gerstel (Washington D.C., 2006), 134-61.

settlement. Survey of the hill on which the church is located has not revealed any graves or other built elements related to the church.

In the absence of preserved frescoes or a scientific excavation of the area around the church it is difficult to suggest a firm date for its construction. The megalithic churches in the Mani have long lives; many are still in use today. Hagios Georgios compares well to dated Byzantine churches in the area, such as the church of the Koimesis and Hagios Georgios in nearby Piontes (Fig. 23). The megalithic church of the Koimesis is less than 2 km from Sarania and preserves multiple layers of paint, including traces of images from the thirteenth century.[6] The now ruined church of Hagios Georgios in Piontes contains fragments of tenth-century decoration (Fig. 24).[7] While megalithic churches continue in use after the medieval period, there is no evidence to suggest that megalithic buildings continued to be constructed in the post-Byzantine period. Based on these nearby, dated comparisons, as well as the discussion of the megalithic style in Chapter 1, Hagios Georgios likely dates to the Middle Byzantine period.

The ruined state of Church B makes concise analysis difficult, but the remains do provide clues to its original form. The architecture differs from that of Hagios Georgios and it was likely built at a different time. While still constructed of non-mortared masonry, this church is not megalithic. The church measures roughly 5 meters in width by 8.5 meters long. A small apse on the eastern end of the church is buttressed by the bedrock. The amount of small stone debris that fills the church likely indicates that it was vaulted at one point. Nearby on the ground is a block of red stone, possibly originating from the quarry at Profitis Elias to the north.[8] The entrance

[6] N. Drandakis, E. Dori, S. Kalopissi, and M. Panagiotidi, "Ερευνα στή Μάνη," *ΠΑΕ* (1978): 139-140.

[7] M. Panayotidi, "Village Painting and the Question of Local "Workshops," in *Les Villages dans l'empire byzantine*, eds. J. Lefort, C. Morrisson and J.-P. Sodini (Paris, 2005), 196-198.

[8] L. Moschou, S. Raftopoulou, and T. Hatzitheodorou, "Λίθος ερυθρός, ταινάριος. Τα αρχαία λατομεία στον Προφήτη Ηλία Δημαρίστικων Μάνης και η περιοχή τους," *Αρχ.Δελτ.* 53 (1998): 267-288.

must have been in the north wall of the building, as is indicated by the debris fall in this area (Fig. 25).[9]

The interior presents evidence of pilasters on the south wall; these would have been replicated on the north side. Pilasters like these are common in churches in the Mani and were used to strengthen the walls to support the heavy stone vault. A clear example of these can be seen in the ninth- to tenth-century church of Hagios Prokopios near the hamlet of Hagia Kyriaki (Fig. 6).[10] This church is well built and, like Church B, does not belong to the megalithic tradition of the Mani. Despite its current state, Church B appears to have been a later and more refined construction than Hagios Georgios.

Next to the north wall of the church on a raised terrace appears to be a well-made grave which has well-cut blocks forming the cover (Fig. 26). Interestingly, a small terrace had to be constructed in order to provide an area into which the grave could be dug.[11] Directly to the south of the building, less than 10 meters away, are the remains of three threshing floors that are founded on bedrock. Rough stones arranged in a circular pattern mark the perimeter of the threshing floors.[12] The stones are not finished and vary greatly in size. Threshing floor B appears to have used the natural bedrock itself to form part of the edge of the floor (Fig. 27). Slightly west of these floors are two large cisterns. The position of Church B near the topographic center

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[9] The preservation of the west and south walls also demonstrates that there was not an entrance in either wall.

[10] N. Drandakis, *Βυζαντινές τοιχογραφίες της Μέσα Μάνης* (Athens, 1995), 213-222; N. Drandakis, *Βυζαντινά γλυπτά της Μάνης* (Athens, 2002), 60-62, 370.

[11] Many graves in the Mani are built above ground because of the shallow and rocky soil. The construction of a terrace specifically for burial may have been another solution to this issue. See Y. Saitas, "The Cemeteries of Mani in Mediaeval and Late Periods: A First Contribution," in *Sparta and Laconia: From Prehistory to Pre-Modern*, eds. W. G. Cavanagh, C. Gallou, and M. Georgiadis, British School at Athens Studies 16 (Athens, 2009), 371-385.

[12] On the importance of threshing floors in villages see, S. E. J. Gerstel, *Rural Lives and Landscapes in Late Byzantium: Art, Archaeology, and Ethnography* (Cambridge, 2015), 112-116.

of Sarania and its proximity to important communal features emphasize the importance that this church must have held for the community.

Houses

The most common building at Sarania is the rectangular house. Within this category there is general consistency in size and shape. The houses are roughly rectangular and range from 9 - 14 meters in length and 4 - 5 meters in width.[13] The thickness of walls fluctuates, usually measuring between 0.7 - 1 meter in width.[14] This measurement however, is not consistent over the length of the wall. The walls are thicker near doorways and openings; in one case the wall is over 1.1 meter in width. Undoubtedly there is some shifting that has occurred as a result of the deterioration of the walls that accounts for some of this variation.[15] With few exceptions, most of the houses have an entrance in the south wall. These openings measure around 80 cm in width. A few examples are slightly wider.[16] The doorways are roughly framed with stones larger than those used in the surrounding walls and may exhibit trimming to give the entrance relatively flat sides.

[13] These measurements fall within the average presented by Saitas. See Saitas, *Greek Traditional Architecture*, 17.

[14] The walls of House 7 are a significant outlier, with some parts measuring almost 2 meters in width.

[15] In the megalithic style of architecture, the lower courses would be thicker than the upper ones. A possible exception to this is the first course of stones on top of the joist hangers. These tend to be larger than the courses below, likely to provide greater support for the joist hangers which would support large, heavy *makronia,* (long stones).

[16] The height measurement is difficult to ascertain with accuracy because of debris and soil accumulation in the doorways. Only a systematic excavation can determine a more accurate height measurement, though the building methods would have limited the height of the entrance to not much more than a meter.

Most of the houses had a second floor, though these have all collapsed.[17] The slope of the hill was exploited to provide support for this additional level. In some examples, it appears that the second floor would have been built directly on the walls of the first floor, as in House 6 (Fig. 28). In others, it appears to have only been partially set on the first floor and extended further onto the slope of the hill, as in House 5 (Fig. 29). A similar example, drawn by Yanis Saitas, is found at modern Tsikalia.[18] This construction technique may have been based on the particular topography on which the house was built, as well as the intended purpose of each floor. The houses which have their second floor built only partially over the first, have a much reduced ground floor which provides less area for storage and animals.

The interior space of the houses was constricted by the thickness of the walls. For example, a house with an exterior of 9 x 5 meters and a wall thickness of 0.8 m would have an interior of just over 25 square meters, which is not a significant space to house a family, store goods, and keep animals along with performing daily tasks. The second floor of the houses would have alleviated some of this stress, giving the total interior space of around 50 square meters, a size that compares well with some modern apartments. The second floor was used exclusively as the living space of the house's occupants while the ground floor would probably have been used for storage. The means of access to the second floor are unclear. An internal ladder may have been used, but a separate entrance to the second floor is the most frequent mode of entry.[19] A second floor entrance can clearly be seen in both House 9 and 15 (Fig. 30). These

[17] The second floor is indicated by a number of different features. These include an instance where the upper floor is based on a higher terrace, or where the debris fills the entire interior of the structure. Such amounts of excess stone can only come from walls that had collapsed into the interior. Because the houses had walls with an inward pitch, it is more frequent that the collapse was inwards rather than outwards.

[18] Saitas, *Greek Traditional Architecture*, 19.

[19] Saitas, *Greek Traditional Architecture*, 18.

entrances could only have been accessed by means of a ladder since no evidence for a staircase or ramp exists.[20] The division of the house into two levels would have provided greater separation between the living and storage spaces as well as afforded more privacy to the occupants of the home.

Overall, the location of the entrances to the houses in Sarania demonstrates a concern for privacy. The entrance to the house is usually located off of the central path or separated by a courtyard. The doorway is to the side or at an angle, ensuring that if no physical door was present, a passerby could not easily look into the house.[21] It is interesting that these doorways are for the first floor. Building the houses on a slope led to a much reduced first floor that would have been unsuitable and insufficient for the household, further indicating that the first floor was likely used for storage and housing animals. The concern with privacy for this floor suggests that the inhabitants wished to keep what they owned protected from view or easy access from the outside. Two houses appear to have an entry hall or corridor in front of the entrance to the first floor. Less than a meter in width, this area must be entered from the outside before entry is allowed into the house itself. The second, interior doorway is usually staggered from the outside entrance for increased privacy, though there are exceptions. This type of addition can be seen clearly in House 7 (Fig. 31).[22]

[20] Saitas, *Greek Traditional Architecture*, 138.

[21] Saitas mentions that there is no evidence for the use of physical doors with these megalithic houses. My own investigation has not yielded any evidence to the contrary. It is likely that an ephemeral closure was used, either textile or wood. Saitas, *Greek Traditional Architecture*, 19.

[22] House 8 also exhibits a similar construction, but in a much more fragmentary state.

A feature of most houses is a courtyard, usually defined by a drystone fence.[23] While the fence begins from the long ends of the house, the construction is distinct from the house in style. The stones tend to be smaller, and fit together loosely. The courtyards vary in size and shape, from the roughly square to the more organic. There does not appear to be any consistency about placement to the north or south of the house. In most examples the courtyard must be entered before one could gain entry to the house, as in Houses 6 and 15. This again appears to be an effort to ensure privacy for the household. With houses that had two entrances on the first floor, like Houses 1 and 5, it may have been possible to access the house before entering a courtyard at some point, but both examples have evidence for a courtyard on either side of the house. It is possible that one courtyard did not have an external entrance and may have worked more as an animal pen.

The courtyard provided the occupants with a much needed space to perform household duties.[24] It is possible that kitchen gardens would have been included in this area as well as extra room for animals. It is often unclear where the entrance to these courtyards would have been. The ruinous state of the drystone walls obscures what could have been a small opening. The courtyards for House 6 and Structure 2, for example, are still well preserved and have a clear entrance. These courtyards are the thickest and best built on site, however. The walls of these

[23] Some houses, such as House 7 and 11, do not appear to have a proper courtyard, but this could be because of the degradation and erosion of the courtyard walls. Others like House 4 have a single courtyard wall standing, but the silhouette of the original boundaries is still visible in the landscape.

[24] Some activities like cooking likely occurred outside of the house when the weather allowed. Weaving, a common activity in villages, required light to perform properly and likely also occurred in the courtyard. Locating this activites outside of the house may provide further evidence for the more public presence of women in the village. For the role of gender in craft production and archaeology see C. Costin, "Exploring the Relationship Between Gender and Craft in Complex Societies: Methodological and Theoretical Issues of Gender Attribution," in *Gender and Archaeology* ed. R. Wright (Philadelphia, 1996), 111-142; M. Diaz-Andreu, "Gender Identity," in *The Archaeology of Identity: Approaches to gender, age, status, ethnicity, and religion* eds. M. Diaz-Andreu, S. Lucy, S. Babic, and D. Edwards (New York, 2005), 13-42; P. Geller, "Identity and Difference: Complicating Gender in Archaeology," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 38 (2009): 65-81.

areas tend not to be significantly high, usually less than the meter, though they were likely slightly higher in the past. If these courtyards were intended to provide a sufficient barrier to keep animals within their precinct, it is likely that entrances were both small and covered with an ephemeral divider, perhaps wood, as was the entrance to the houses.

The physical limits that megalithic construction place on house planning reveals why the basic form of the house was frequently duplicated. It was the simplest, most stable form of construction. The resilience of this building style is evident in the standing remains that still dot the landscape despite centuries of abandonment. Likewise, the Early Modern buildings, which rely more heavily on mortar and cement than the medieval ones, tend to fall into disrepair much faster.

While most of the houses are separated from one another, some examples belong to a cohesive unit or compound.[25] Houses 4 and 5 (Complex A) share a single central courtyard, as do Houses 8 and 9 (Complex B). It is likely that the formation of these compounds occurred over time, as families grew and new space was needed. Houses 4 and 5 exhibit at least two additions over time. House 4 has an extension added onto the long side of the original house (Fig. 32). Based on examination of the masonry, it appears that the original house would have been the northern part of House 4, with the extension to the south and House 5 being later additions.[26] Directly east from the compound is Cistern D. The proximity of this cistern to the compound, as well as access to the courtyard no more than 2 meters from its site, indicates that this must have functioned as the private cistern for the buildings' inhabitants.

[25] These include Houses 4 and 5, Houses 8 and 9, House 15, and House 12 with Structure B.

[26] It is clear that the stones used for the northern part of House 4 are much larger than those to the south. The corner stones are also rougher and less worked than those seen in House 5 which may indicate that it is one of the older buildings on the site.

The compound of Houses 8 and 9 presents a more complicated picture (Fig. 33). The entrance to House 8 is approached from the south along a terrace higher than the bottom of the first floor. On a higher terrace, the remains to a second floor entrance from the north can still be seen. This terrace however, is not accessible from the area of the first floor entrance, providing a much greater separation between the two floors. Rather, access to this terrace appears to be found from the central courtyard. Here a small room measuring less than one square meter appears to have been a staircase which would provide quick access between the terraces on which this compound was built. Within this courtyard is a small building of undetermined use. While its construction is reminiscent of the cisterns found on site, its location above ground and the lack of plaster implies a different function, likely for storage or stabling animals. Across from this, House 8 shares the same courtyard as House 9, but also appears to have had a part segmented off for its exclusive use. Two doors are present on the south façade of the building, but at different levels. The condition of the building makes it difficult to determine the interior form of the house. The higher door seems to open directly into a wall that divides the first floor. Moreover, it appears that both doors open onto the same floor, given the natural slope of the hill.

The most complicated example of a large complex is what I have labeled House 15. This house shows clear evidence for at least two and possibly three additions. Whether these rooms communicated internally or not is unclear, though this was likely the case. The ruined state of the building does not reveal any entrances other than those on its eastern end. These were likely the original way to access the building. However, both entrances open into a courtyard that was formed in part by built walls and bedrock. This courtyard was completely enclosed at some point; its height prevents any likelihood that one entered from here after the area was enclosed. This would have been a remarkably private space. The fall of the stones on the southern portion

of House 15 provide evidence for another possible entrance, at least for the first floor. The amount of rubble for this building strongly suggests the presence of a second floor throughout the house, making this complex of rooms easily the most impressive structure on the site. Measurements place the full extent of the building as roughly 18.5 by 9.5 meters. With an additional structure to the north and a second floor, this was a building capable of housing a large, extended family.

Among the additions to the houses, there is no evidence for the use of party walls. All additions communicate directly with the original core of the house to which they were added. This implies that as a family expanded they either enlarged the original house so that everyone could live together, or constructed a new house, separate from the original. It is possible that the houses in Complex A represent such a solution since the masonry of the walls of the two houses is dissimilar, indicating construction at different periods.

Within the main two hills of Sarania, there are seventeen houses. Conservatively, this would place a potential population of 50-70 individuals living at the site.[27] While this is not a substantial population, it is sufficient for a small village to subsist. These settlements did not exist in a vacuum. Sarania was sited between a similarly sized settlement at Kato Lai and was a short distance from the large village of Lagia. Settlement patterns in the Mani, particularly in the more rugged southeast, appear to be focused on a multiplicity of small settlements dotting the landscape instead of many large towns.

[27] These numbers are based on the demographics recorded by Angeliki Laiou for fourteenth-century Macedonia. These numbers, as all tax and census records, are based on household population, not house population. A household could consist of a single building or a complex. My numbers are based on a conservative estimation of less than four individuals per physical house, though larger houses like House 5 almost certainly contained more. See A. Laiou-Thomadakis, *Peasant Society in the Late Byzantine Empire: A Social and Demographic Study* (Princeton, 1977), 223-266.

Later House

While it is clear that Houses 1 and 2 were built with different construction methods than the core of Sarania, only one house at the site is clearly post-medieval, House 18 (Fig. 34). This building, now in ruins, demonstrates a significantly different architecture and building plan than the other examples on site. It was likely only a single floor, but it was vaulted to a height that would have allowed the owners to stand inside.[28] The doorway is also much higher than the megalithic examples on site. The post-Byzantine courtyard structure is likewise different, featuring at least two and possible three different courtyard areas.

At 4.6 x 9 m the house fits within the dimensions of the other houses on site. The stones used to construct the house, however, are quite small, and much more heavily worked than in the other buildings. The lintel over the door is also much thinner than what is seen on the other houses.[29] The stones appear to be much whiter than those found elsewhere in Sarania, though it is unclear if a different kind of stone was intentionally brought in for the construction of this house or that the use of different tools gave the stones an altered appearance.

It is difficult to imagine that this area would have been unused in the medieval period. Relatively flat and with deeper soil than is found elsewhere, this would have been an ideal location for farming, a home, or possibly even a graveyard. Oddly the soil around and within this house has a dark black color, which is much different from the reddish-brown found elsewhere on the site. This may be the result of a fire that destroyed the house, or heavy fertilization of the

[28] While the preservation of the megalithic buildings does not allow for an accurate measurement of the height of the rooms, it is unlikely that one could stand up straight, at least in the ground floor.

[29] I have noticed a tendency towards thinner lintels in post-medieval structures, perhaps the result of the use of thinner walls and heavy reliance on mortar.

area for use in cultivation. After the abandonment of the site, it may have made more sense to position the house closer to the main footpath to the settlement rather than in the more isolated and fortified area of the hill if the terraces continued to be worked.

Water

The Mani is an arid region. Low annual rainfall and a dearth of natural sources of fresh water place a premium on water and water storage. Evidence for this is seen in the location chosen for settlements in the Mani as well as the large number of cisterns found throughout the region. Sarania demonstrates this well, since it is located next to what would have been a small, seasonal stream and it contains the remains of at least ten cisterns. The presence of many walls built alongside the dry stream bed that likely worked to shunt the water into a smaller area illustrates the importance that this resource had for the life of the settlement.

Within the two main hills of Sarania there are eleven cisterns. Only five of these are clearly associated with a single house or complex.[30] The other cisterns appear to be located in more neutral locations. Cisterns C, E, and K are all in relative isolation with no other built feature immediately adjacent to them. This may imply that they served public rather than private purposes. There are fewer houses than cisterns on site indicating that some cisterns must have functioned communally. It is also important to note that simply because a cistern is closer to one house than another does not necessarily mean it was for the exclusive use of that household.

The cisterns are located down the slope of the hills that make up the settlement. This placement maximized their ability to capture run-off during rain storms. In several examples

[30] These are Cistern D with Complex A, Cistern F with House 16, Cistern I with House 17, Cistern B with House 14 and Cistern H with Complex B.

channels, either natural or manmade, appear to have been used to direct water into the cisterns. With these considerations in mind, it is understandable that not every house would have an associated cistern since the topography would not have allowed for it. This may also explain the location of the seemingly isolated cisterns, which were only built where they would be best suited. A cistern could have been built in many areas around the site, but the need to maximize the collection of water likely impacted their placement.

The main settlement of Sarania is made of a series of terraces that work as pathways and building platforms. It is unclear how much soil would have been taken from the hill itself and what would have had to be brought in. Since the cisterns were dug into the ground and needed to be at or below the level of the slope to function properly, they could only be built on terraced areas. Sometimes they jut out from the terrace, being partially built and partially dug out. But the top of the cistern remains at the level of the slope to ensure efficient water collection.

None of the cisterns are completely free standing, and all exploit the slope to full advantage. Some, such as Cisterns B and D, use bedrock to form at least one side (Fig. 35). The cistern is roughly oval, coated on its interior with hydraulic plaster and covered with large stones known as *makronia*; this is the typical construction technique for cisterns in the region.[31] In many of the preserved cisterns, the *makronia* have partially or totally collapsed. Since it is built at ground level a cistern can be difficult to discern from a distance until one is on top of it, as is testified by many unfortunate animals that have walked across their surface and fallen in.

The cisterns are not much larger than two meters in length and one meter in width, with the possible exception of Cistern F. The footprint of the cisterns is much larger, however. Cistern C demonstrates this well. The actual area for water collection is much smaller than the total area

[31] Saitas, *Greek Traditional Architecture*, 18-19.

built for the cistern itself. The thick walls were necessary to support the cistern; since it filled with water, the pressure exerted on the exposed walls would have greatly increased. To prevent the walls from buckling, they were built in excess of 1 meter in thickness. The success of this strategy is evident in the continued existence of these structures even after centuries of abandonment. Only Cistern E shows signs of the external wall collapsing, but the plastered interior remains intact (Fig. 36).

Cistern K is the only outlier in the settlement. Located on the north side of the hill, the cistern is situated away from the rest of the settlement and apparently outside some later fortifications. The topography of the area does not make it an especially ideal location since it is not on a noticeable incline. Its construction compares well with the other examples on the site, but the conservative nature of cistern construction does not mean that it may not have been a later construction. It appears as if the opening to the cistern was intentionally covered by a small pile of rocks at some point, perhaps to prevent goats or cows from accidentally falling into it.

The most impressive cistern is Cistern F. One approaches it on the eastern side of the stream bed before reaching House 16. While I have designated it as a single cistern, it is possibly two or three side by side cisterns. Two access points are visible, but it is possible that they both reach the same cistern. The unstableness of the cisterns prevented further investigation as it would have required climbing on top and over them. In either case, this is possibly the largest single area of water collection on site, surpassing what the needs of the nearby house would have been.

The concern with water at Sarania is not only evident in the ways that the villagers sought to collect it, but in how they dealt with its potential destructiveness as well. Living on the slopes of a rocky hill meant that there would have been a significant amount of runoff whenever it

rained. Along the eastern slope of the main hill are small basins that have rock channels leading to them. These might have been used to collect water for animals or gardens, and they also prevented some of the rainfall from washing down the hill. However, despite the villagers' best efforts they could not channel all of the water into cisterns or other areas for collection. Despite the size and thickness of the walls of the megalithic buildings, they were not watertight. This is also likely true of their roofs, which may have been covered by stones and soil.[32] This would have resulted in water entering and collecting in areas that were down slope.

The problem of rainfall was taken into consideration by the villagers. Visible on House 14 and several fortification walls at Sarania are apparent drainage holes placed on the lowest course of the downslope wall at around 30 cm in width (Fig. 37). These drains do not appear to have funneled water anywhere particular, but rather were used to prevent water from pooling in these areas. Using the incline of the slope to full advantage, these drains were important to maintain a dry environment, particularly in House 14 where it would have been necessary to keep the main storage area dry.

It is important to note that these drains appear at the bottom of the houses and were not latter additions. They were planned from the beginning and demonstrate a knowledge, not only of construction techniques, but of how to adapt the structures to the environment. Despite the rough appearance of megalithic architecture, it was not haphazard construction. While it was simple in form, no two buildings are identical. They reflect the needs of the occupants as well as the best use of the landscape. A significant amount of planning and understanding went into the construction of these deceptively simple village houses.

[32] While not water tight, stone and soil would have absorbed a significant amount of water before reaching a saturation point, allowing water into the house. Without the means or expertise to create a sealed tile roof, this may have been a better solution since a tile roof with any gaps would lead runoff to funnel directly into the house. See B. Lancaster, *Rainwater Harvesting for Drylands*, 1 (Tucson, 2006), 130.

An understanding of hydrology is also implicit in the construction of the terraces that surround the settlement. It is unclear exactly how the terraces found throughout the Mani were built. The practice does not continue today since most terraces are abandoned. What is evident, however, is that they were well built. They are likely not just walls filled with dirt. This appears to be the contemporary way of building pseudo-terraces to decorate homes or new buildings. These are made by simply lining the dirt with a stone front, which results in blowouts of the wall when it rains heavily.[33] In this case, the water pressure building up behind the walls likely forced the wall to buckle and then collapse. Despite hundreds of years without upkeep, such damage is not visible on the medieval terraces. While unclear at this point, they were almost certainly designed to facilitate drainage without weakening the retaining walls. In fact damage caused by the forging of shepherds' paths does not seem to have compromised the overall integrity of these walls even after hundreds of years without upkeep.

Defense

Sarania has an impressive number of fortifications. Along the west of the settlement is a thick defensive wall (Fig. 38). Built along with the natural bedrock this wall provided a substantial bulwark for the settlement. This wall becomes increasingly thin as it continues along the northern extent of the village, before it is obscured along the eastern side of Sarania. However, along the paths on this eastern side are high walls built on top of the terraces. In several locations these would have completely hidden the presence of anyone walking along the terraces. The slopes here are heavily built upon, but there does not appear to have been an

[33] Several of these collapses were observed throughout the area following heavy rains.

attempt to create a complete circuit of fortifications here. It is possible that substantial portions of the fortification walls have since eroded down the hill. The southern part of the site presents no evidence for a continuous wall either, though several other fortified elements are noticeable.

The fortification walls are built of megalithic stones, nearly identical to those used to build the houses of the settlement. The walls generally measure 1.1 meters in thickness, though parts to the west and the south are substantially thicker. These bulwarks are semicircular in form and can be up to 2.4 meters at their thickest point. The preservation of the height of the walls varies significantly as well, to less than 1 meter to almost 3 meters in height. The higher walls tend to be a mixture of masonry and natural bedrock. The height of the walls is often muted from within the fortifications because of the slope of the hill. It appears that in most areas along the west one would not stand behind the walls from within the fortification, but rather stand at the height of them.

Four towers are preserved at Sarania. Two, on the western and eastern side of the hill, are found in line with the walls. These elements are square in form with walls approximately 1.1 meters in thickness. The interior measures 1 x 2 meters. This is quite small and its placement along the walls and at the periphery of the village indicate their use as towers. Decay has significantly diminished their original height, since they now stand at approximately one meter. It is important to note that three of the four towers are located on the eastern slope of the hill. Tower 3 would have to be passed directly in order to gain access to the village. Despite the apparent lack of fortification walls on the eastern side of the hill, the presence of the towers here clearly indicate the concern that the inhabitants had with an approach from this side.

While some fortification elements have doubtlessly decayed beyond recognition, the spacing of fortification walls may be because of another reason. Only certain areas were

approachable in the Mani. While it is possible for individuals to climb over the mountains or around the ravines, such a process is slow, precarious, and unlikely to occur unnoticed. Where paths do exist, they come along the slope of hills, neither at the highest nor lowest point. These areas are not wide and bring travelers within view of the approaching site well before they gain access. As the main approaches to Sarania appear to have been from the northwest and the east, it is not surprising that these areas would have been the focus of the fortifications. It is also possible that these towers acted more as observation posts than for defense. In most cases one would not need to approach the towers on site in order to move into the settlement.[34]

No village, no matter how well fortified, would have survived against an organized assault by an army. At the same time, however, it is unlikely that a village would have been the target of an organized campaign. Villagers formed the economic backbone of the empire. Killing them and destroying their homes would have had lasting economic repercussions and would have been entirely punitive in action. What armies wanted from villages was food, either livestock or produce, along with water. None of these elements are significantly defensible. Herds of sheep and cattle are prone to attack. Fields of unharvested grain, olives, or grapes are also indefensible. It is unlikely that villagers had much in the realm of jewels or money. Killing them provided no real advantage, especially if the intention was conquest since this would significantly weaken the economic potential of the newly acquired land. The threat of piratical slavers was a real danger, but Sarania's position away from the coast would have served as a defense against such incursions.

[34] The exception being Tower 3 mentioned above.

It has been suggested that the houses in Byzantium, particularly after the Fourth Crusade, developed a more defensive form.[35] However, that does not seem to be the case with the houses at Sarania. If an army wanted to get inside one of these houses, they could. Even a small, but focused band of raiders could accomplish this goal. The lack of windows and openings also means that the occupants lacked the ability to fight back. They could only sit and wait. It is also unclear what, if any, weapons the average villager might have had at hand. Walls only act as a minor deterrent if people are not there to defend them. As has been stated before, there is no evidence for permanent doors in these megalithic houses. The entrances were likely covered with cloth, or possibly a wooden gate. In either case, this would not present much of an impediment to someone wishing to enter the house. The houses provided a means by which a family could remain isolated and hidden away while the surrounding area would have been ransacked. In fact, in the Ottoman period the villagers would not hole up in their homes, but rather move into the mountains or head to a larger fortified center, abandoning their lands and property altogether until the threat had passed.[36]

Our focus on these buildings should not be their defensive nature. The megalithic style of building lends well to defensive forms, but it cannot be said that this was their main purpose. The megalithic style makes solid, relatively easily constructed forms possible. Stone was the building material used because it was what was available in the region. The Mani lacks many trees for wood construction and brick manufacturing, while using clay, requires a significant amount of fuel to fire properly. This may also be why some churches and likely houses as well, were roofed

[35] E. Sigalos, "Housing People in Medieval Greece," *IJHA* 7 (2003): 212-215.

[36] D. E. Rogan, *Mani: History and Monuments* (Athens, 1973), 32.

with thin sheets of schist and not with clay tiles. An example of such a roof can be seen in many churches of the region, including Hagios Zacharias in nearby Lagia (Fig. 39).[37]

There is also another possible reason for the large walls on the western side of the settlement. Here we find broad agricultural terraces. The thick walls on the west side of Sarania are matched with thick walls further west, along the eastern slope of the mountain adjacent to Sarania. Along the base of the mountain these walls do not seem to suit any defensive purpose. It is possible that these "fortifications" worked as retaining walls, mitigating water runoff onto the terraces as well catching any debris that may have fallen down the mountain. The agricultural terraces would have been the lifeblood of the village, and ensuring that the crops could grow without being washed out would be important.

Structures

As is expected in a village, the built environment does not consist of domestic structures alone. Several buildings found in Sarania serve an unknown purpose. These are Structures A and B, two small buildings associated with a nearby house, as well as two round structures on opposite ends of the village. None of these buildings are identical to one another, and each possibly served a distinct purpose.

Structure A is approached from the south and is found about 10 meters before one reaches House 15. A doorway measuring about 0.9 meters wide is on the west side of the building, a location not observed among the houses of Sarania (Fig. 40). The interior is an uneven polygon, with the west wall measuring around 4.3 meters in length, the south measuring

[37] Drandakis, et al., "Ερευνα στή Μάνη," (1978): 140-144.

6.2 meters and the east over 6.7 meters. The building makes heavy use of the bedrock and the natural curve of the hill to complete its walls which dictates the unusual form of the structure. Within the interior, the bedrock rises to the height of the doorway near the back, raising questions as to how one would have used the building.[38] Unlike the houses of the settlement, the interior is relatively free of debris. This implies that the walls may not have been of a significant height and it may have been unroofed. Indeed the unusual size and shape of the building would have made it particularly challenging to roof.

The north wall is around 4 meters in length, but appears to end before reaching the east wall. Here a gap of approximately 0.75 meters is found, leading upwards to another open area. The construction of the walls is generally uneven, with an odd mix of megalithic blocks and smaller stones used to fill in the walls. This upper area is triangular in shape, but the use of bedrock and the poor preservation of the walls makes it difficult to measure the internal dimensions with certainty. It is to the west of this upper area that we have one of the large, semi-circular bulwarks (Fig. 41). Today it is possible to go from this area into the courtyard area to the east of House 15, though this was unlikely the original intent of the building. The position of the structure near House 15 as well as its unusual form may indicate that it acted as a pen or perhaps a stable.[39] An open air construction would be suited for this purpose, and the small, enclosed courtyard of House 15 would not have been able to keep animals.

Structure B is found adjacent to House 12 and clearly functioned as an outbuilding for the residents. This building is semicircular in shape, with walls ranging from 0.8 to 1 meter thick

[38] I observed similar issues with bedrock in the houses at Geraki, Lakonia where the bedrock is often uneven and of a significant height within the interior of the house.

[39] For information on Byzantine stables see, R. Ousterhout. *Visualizing Community, Art, Material Culture, and Settlement in Byzantine Cappadocia* (Washington D.C., 2017), 363.

(Fig. 42). The doorway is on the north wall almost directly across from the entrance to House 12 and measure over 1 meter in width, which is larger than the doorways found among the houses of the settlement. The interior is difficult to measure because of its shape, but it is roughly 1.3 meters from the doorway to the back wall, and no more than 4.5 meters in length. The construction technique is identical to that of House 12 and it was likely built shortly after the completion of the house. The reason for the unique form of the building is unclear, it may have simply been an easier form to construct.

Another possible out building is found in Complex B. Here a small structure appears to have been a late addition to the complex. It is built off of the wall of the courtyard but does not appear to share its construction. The structure is built of much smaller and thinner stones than the surrounding houses and courtyard. This is an indication that it was built later than the other structures in the complex. Its purpose is unclear, but its low height would not make it a suitable living space for people, nor would it have been an ideal storage area. It was likely a place for animals to shelter themselves while being out of the way of the day to day activities within the complex. The presence of a possible window on the courtyard wall above this structure indicates its roof probably served as an open working area employed by the residents of the complex. This is another example of the inhabitants maximizing the use of space within a relatively small area.

The round element near House 7 may have been a small silo (Fig. 43).[40] The position of this round structure far from the *kalderimia* and behind the other houses demonstrates that it was relatively well protected.[41] It is unique on the site, but its location away from the other houses

[40] Grain storage in other context appears to have been through means of pits lined with plaster, as at Thebes. These "silos" were frequently built next to houses. See, A. Louvi-Kizi, "Thebes," in *The Economic History of Byzantium* ed. A. Laiou (Washington D.C., 2002), 634, fig. 1b.

[41] A *kalderimi* was a cobbled path intended for foot and animal traffic.

and proximity to House 7 implies a private rather than public function for the structure. The walls measure around 1 meter thick with the interior measuring the same distance in diameter. Its construction appears to be the same as found among the majority of houses on site, though it is possible that mortar was used here. The circle appears to be inset into a square or rectangular foundation that blends into the surrounding terrace walls. No doorways or access points are present though there is a substantial amount of debris in and around the structure that may be obscuring an opening.

Located to the east of the *kalderimia* is a large structure of a circle inscribed in a square (Fig. 44). This structure is much larger than the one found near House 7, and measures over 4.1 meters in diameter for the round portion. The square base extends unevenly outside the round core, being as wide as 1.0 m in portions and tapering into the hill. Its purpose is unclear but its location may provide a clue. At first, I assumed that this was the remains of a granary. Its form is very similar the small round structure near House 7, being a circle set inside a square base. However, it would have been extremely unwise to store anything off of the main road to the settlement, outside of its defenses. I believe that it is possible that it served as a mill. The lack of running water in the area suggests that it may have been a windmill.[42] Being located in an open area with easy access indicates that this was a public building. A mill would be located in a more open, public area since even if it were privately owned it would be used by entire village.

Pathways

[42] A possible Byzantine windmill has been identified on the island of Kythera off the south coast of the Mani. While it lacks the square base of the example from Sarania, the size of the two are similar. See T. Koukoulis, "A Late Byzantine Windmill at Kythera," in *ΦΙΛΟΚΑΛΩΝ: Lakonian Studies in Honour of Hector Catling*, ed. J. Sanders (London, 1992), 155–63; Gerstel, *Rural Lives*, 21, 22 fig. 10.

The pathways within Sarania can generally be reconstructed based on the entryways into buildings as well as careful attention to the terraces that make up the hill. While from a distance the terraces appear to be evenly spaced rings emanating from the hill, they actually curve and form the pathways through the village. These are difficult to trace with certainty but possible pathways can be suggested based on the placement of buildings, doorways, and fortifications.

From outside Sarania itself, preserved *kalderimia* are visible. From the east one path leads along the side of the hills until it reaches the fertile valley below the settlement of Kato Lai. It also extends to the northwest and presumably followed the modern road up to the modern village of Lagia. Only small parts of the paths are clearly articulated. They are built of small stones and roughly paved with flagstones. The path is placed on a terrace that was likely constructed specifically for this purpose. It appears that the path from Lagia would lead one along the western side of Sarania before reaching a point from which one could enter the village itself.

On the main hill, all pathways go south. While they can only be traced with certainty a short distance from the entrance to the buildings, it is clear that they lead towards what likely served as the main entrance to the settlement. Entering Sarania from the west is untenable because of the incline of the mountain and ravine to the north. The *kalderimi* is to the east, but it appears that the main pathways in the settlement did not come directly off of this road. Instead, one had to proceed west along the edge of the seasonal stream. This would bring one first to Houses 8, 9, and 17, as well as a tower before reaching the main entrance of the settlement and gaining access to the main hill. This main pathway off of the *kalderimi* is likely obscured by the post-Byzantine house that was built in this area.

Even though settlements like Sarania are not located at the highest point in the landscape, they are almost always approached from below. This is the result of the topography as well as for defensive purposes. Some of the mountains can be quite steep, such as the incline immediately to the west of Sarania. Though the modern road now cuts through it, in the medieval period it would have been an imposing edifice that was unlikely to be regularly traveled. Rather, the path towards Lagia, which turns into the modern road, was likely the main way that Sarania was approached from the north.

Overall then, there is one main path which led to and from Sarania, to the north and the east. Despite being less than 2 km from the shore, there does not appear to have been any visible pathway to the sea. This was likely because of the danger that the sea presented. Sarania is not visible from the shore, and it only appears at certain locations as one approaches the site. The best defense against outside incursions was being undetected, and Sarania is positioned well for this.

Terraces

Although no significant work has been done on the terraces in the Mani some observations can be made about the terraces in and around Sarania.[43] Terraces were used for a number of reasons; providing arable land, building platforms, and a base for pathways. It is

[43] For preliminary research relating to medieval terraces see, O. Rackham and J. Moody, *The Making of the Cretan Landscape* (New York, 1996), 140-145; J. Crow, S. Turner, and A. Vionis, "Characterizing the Historic Landscapes of Naxos," *JMA* 24 (2011): 126-129; T. Kinnaird, J. Bolos, A. Turner, and S. Turner. "Optically-stimulated luminescence profiling and dating of historic agricultural terraces in Catalonia (Spain)," *JAS* 78 (2017): 66-77.

unsurprising then, that visible differences exist in the terraces. Two different types of terraces are visible in the landscape; broad, gently sloping ones and narrow, steeper terraces.

Broad, gentle terraces such as those found to the west side of Sarania and in the valley near Korogonianika appear to provide the best option for growing grain. This is based on my observation of the tilling of similar terraces near the settlement of Kato Oros. These terraces are broad enough, and more importantly deep enough, to allow a modern tractor to plow them without hitting bedrock or churning up debris. In fact, the complete lack of visible ceramics among the freshly tilled soil was remarkable, indicating that these terraces likely never served as sites of habitation, but were designed and continue to be used for growing crops. While the Byzantines did not make widespread use of the iron shod deep plow, preferring the sole ard, if one is to till the soil, particularly with the assistance of animals, the terraces would need to allow for this.[44]

The elevation between the terraces is not uniform. It appears that they taper towards one end, allowing for easier access between the different levels. If oxen or other animals were used to assist in the field, it would be difficult to move between terraces that were steep or narrow. The terraces do not taper along the same edge, alternating the high and low ends. This would force anyone wishing to travel the extent of the terraces to take a serpentine path over them. Such a path would take time and may have also functioned to slow down the approach of enemies attempting to travel through the fields to dodge fortifications.

[44] An iron plowshare was recovered in the excavation at the Late Byzantine settlement of Panakton, demonstrating that such equipment was available to communities of modest means. See S. E. J. Gerstel et al., "A Late Medieval Settlement at Panakton," *Hesperia* 72 (2003): 157, 165; A. Bryer, "The Means of Agricultural Production: Muscle and Tools" in *The Economic History of Byzantium: From the Seventh through the Fifteenth Century* ed. A. Laiou (Washington D. C., 2002), 107-108.

Also, on these broad terraces are thin, small stones stuck upright in the soil, usually dividing the terrace into two or more smaller sections. Unlike fieldstone walls, these stones do not form any physical barrier. These may have been used to demarcate property boundaries. The exact way that land was measured and valued changed significantly over the centuries and is still unclear.[45] However, as a village grew, land would change hands from parents to children, as dowries, and also from renting. Unlike farming on a plain where boundaries can be more easily and effectively created between lands, terraces offered a unique problem, especially since no two terraces are the same size. If land was to be divided evenly it would require partitioning a terrace at some point without affecting the actual structure of the terraces.

The terraces on which the settlement itself is built differ noticeably from the agricultural terraces. Not only are they much narrower, as is apparent from damaged portions of these walls, the soil here contained many small stones and other debris. These terraces were unlikely to be used to grow anything, instead serving as the main pathways and building platforms of the settlement. The inclusion of stones in the matrix of these terraces may have been intentional to both preserve more soil for use in the agricultural terraces, and provide a firmer base on which to erect the houses of the settlement.

The clearest evidence for the difference between terraces would be through the excavation or core sampling of several examples. It is clear that terraces made to build houses on were not the same as the terraces meant for agricultural production. However, the exact differences in building methods is still uncertain. If fertile soil was scarce, then it would have been utilized as efficiently as possible, being collected and used primarily for agricultural

[45] For discussion on the size of *zeugarion*, see M. Bartusis, *Land and Privilege in Byzantium: The Institution of Pronoia* (Cambridge, 2012), 215-220.

purposes. Terraces made for building on or acting as pathways likely had shallower soil and more stones.

Space

A more detailed spatial analysis of Sarania will be presented in Chapter 5. However, some general remarks on the layout of Sarania can be made here. Sarania has a central, fortified core which contains the majority of built structures; houses, cisterns, a church, threshing floors, and a quarry. It would at first appear that there is a central plaza or open area within this fortified core. This area is ringed by Houses 10, 13, 14, 15 and Church B. However, this space is not particularly open, being remarkably rocky and uneven. It does serve a public purpose, however. Within this area are to be found the threshing floors of the settlement, the quarry, and two cisterns. It also appears that at one point a wall connected Church B to House 13, further enclosing this area. This was undoubtedly a significant space for the village. Within were elements vital to its daily life. This well-defined area of public space may indicate the original core of the village. It must be noted however, that none of the houses that ring this core open directly to the space. The occupants of these homes would need to leave their houses and take a more circuitous route near to Church B in order to easily access the area. The houses to the north of this core, Houses 6 and 12, leave a significant amount of space between this initial core and the cluster of those buildings. Perhaps the intention was to build another area of public use. Cistern C, for example is clearly not associated with a single house and served as a public resource.

Other houses are outliers around the village. It is likely the first area of expansion was across from the seasonal stream onto the secondary hill where Houses 4, 5, and 16 are located along with Hagios Georgios. These houses are intervisible with the majority of the central settlement and are located near to the main eastern path to the village. Further from this are Houses 1, 2, and 3. Off of the main path these houses are likely examples of later expansion. Not only are the houses placed farther from the rest of the village, but they are located near to sets of broad terraces, indicating their function as possible farm houses. With the exception of House 3, their construction appears to be transitionary between the megalithic construction seen at Sarania and the architecture of the post-Byzantine house from the site. House 1 and 2 use smaller stones, have vaulting or an abundance of windows (Fig. 45). Importantly, despite its distance, House 2 is intervisible with the core of Sarania and the other, further houses. Even if it was relatively safe to move outside of the village proper, it was still important to remain within view of the settlement.

There does not appear to have been expansion towards the north, near the path to Lagia. This is likely because of the coarse, rocky soil of the hills in this direction. The additional houses to the east utilize gentler, more fertile hills. Expansion away from the safety of the core of the village was only beneficial if it brought more land under cultivation. While there is plenty of room to build more houses on the central and secondary hills of Sarania, there is insufficient land for the addition of more families. The scarcity of arable land in the Mani likely contributed to the proliferation of small, scattered settlements as opposed to larger towns. As an agrarian society, land was necessary to provide both self-sufficiency and an income, so when the area immediately surrounding a settlement was under cultivation, a new settlement or expansion needed to be made.

Conclusion

Sarania represents a small rural settlement that has its origins in the Byzantine period. As to whether it represents an *agridion* (seasonal hamlet) or a *chorion* (village) the evidence points to the latter.[46] The two are distinguished by both the size of the settlement and its function. The exact size of Sarania is difficult to determine and it clearly expanded over time. Even at its smallest, it was likely over one hectare. Its location near to a water source, the number of cisterns, the remains of paved *kalderimia* and fortifications provide evidence for the settlement's permanent status. Most importantly, however, is the presence of threshing floors at Sarania. Before they were discovered, I inquired how a settlement could not have threshing floors, an essential element for agricultural production. I was told that villagers from outlying settlements would bring the grain to Lagia or other large centers to have it threshed.[47] This makes sense for an *agridion*, a small, seasonal settlement bound to a larger village. However the presence of threshing floors at Sarania, along with the fortifications, cisterns, mill, and fertile terraces all demonstrate that it was a self-sufficient settlement.

The additions to several houses in Sarania demonstrate that the village existed for an extended period of time. The complete lack of any Early Modern architecture within the settlement proper indicate that it was abandoned before this time. Based on the use of megalithic architecture the village was likely founded in the Middle Byzantine period.[48] The erection of masonry screens in Hagios Georgios and Church B provide evidence for continued use of the site

[46] Gerstel, *Rural Lives*, 9-12.

[47] Personal Communication, Father Georgarios.

[48] For a discussion of the dating of the megalithic style in the Mani see Chapter 1.

into the Late Byzantine period.[49] After this time it appears that the core of the settlement was abandoned as houses such as House 1 and 2 were built outside of the main settlement, where their residents could better exploit agricultural lands in the area. These houses are likely farmhouses, seasonally occupied homes used during the growing season before the occupants would leave for a larger, and more secure, settlement.

[49] Gerstel, "An Alternate View," 135-57.

Chapter 3

Marathos: The Physical Remains

Marathos is located on the slopes of the Taygetos Mountains in the southwestern Mani (Fig. 46). Because of the rugged topography and the relative isolation of the site, a large number of houses, churches, and other buildings are well preserved. The study of this settlement allows us to consider the development and evolution of a Byzantine village over time since the houses have a series of additions and integrate different masonry styles. The built remains of Marathos thus facilitate a greater understanding of how building styles and construction techniques changed from the Byzantine period towards the Early Modern.

The village discussed is known by two names in the scholarly literature. Nikolaos Drandakis uses the name Marathos, and this is the name by which most of the local residents know the settlement.[1] The ethnographer Konstantinos Kassis, however, uses the name Katanemistika (Κατανεμίστικα).[2] It is likely both names are spurious and do not reflect the original Byzantine name of the settlement. However, we can almost certainly exclude Katanemistika. This name likely comes from the verb *katanemo* (κατανέμω), meaning to assign or distinguish a place as pasture land. The name Katanemistika then, was likely given to this settlement by another village that used its land for grazing. This is an apt description for the location today, which is frequently used by sheep and goats, but is unlikely to have been the name of a village that would itself not have been a pasture. The settlement appears to have been

[1] N. Drandakis, "Σχεδίασμα καταλόγου των τοιχογραφημένων βυζαντινών και μεταβυζαντινών νάων Λακωνίας," *ΛακΣπ* 13 (1996): 234; N. Drandakis, S. Kalopissi, and M. Panayotidi, "Έρευνα στὴ Μάνη," *ΠΑΕ* (1979): 202-209.

[2] Kyriakos Kassis labels the area that includes Marathos as Katanemistika, but he does not mention either Hagios Philippos or Hagia Kyriaki. K. Kassis, *Άνθη της Πέτρας: Οικογένεισες και εκκλησίες στην Μάνη* (Athens, 1990), 296, 333-334.

mostly abandoned by the Early Modern period, and the site never shows up in the post-Byzantine census records.[3]

The buildings on site can be dated from the Middle Byzantine period (843-1204) to the nineteenth century, a broad chronological span that witnessed enormous cultural and political changes in the region. The masonry demonstrates a significant range, including megalithic, Late Byzantine brickwork, and Byzantine and post-Byzantine stonework. In this chapter, I will attempt to provide a first dating of many of these buildings in order to understand how the settlement developed.

The mountainside where Marathos is positioned is very steep. The area was terraced to allow construction of the village, but no clearly agrarian terraces are found on site. The houses use the slope to full advantage, for both added height and greater stability. On the eastern slope of the mountain several of the houses exhibit significant changes in elevation between rooms.

Marathos is surrounded by a steep gorge that was the site of a seasonal stream. This gorge controls how one approaches the settlement, requiring a visitor to wind along the hill from a few possible access points. There appears to have been little effort to complete a fortification circuit around the entire village, a feature that would have been rendered unnecessary by the gorge. Several towers are positioned around the site, primarily focused on the more open eastern slope of the settlement.

Churches

[3] Neither the name Marathos or Katanemistika is found in the records, though they include the nearby settlements of Alika and Tsikalia are. According to Kostis Komis, Tsikalia referred to not just the modern village, but likely the surrounding area, which includes Kotrafi, modern Marathos, and the territory southeast until Alika. This territory would include the medieval settlement of Marathos. See K. Komis, *Πληθυσμός και οικισμοί της Μάνης, 15ος – 19ος αιώνας* (Ioannina, 1995), 399.

There are three standing churches at Marathos. The first is Hagios Philippos, a small, vaulted church with megalithic foundations that was reconstructed in the nineteenth century.[4] This church, with its schist roof sticking out of the trees, can still be seen from the modern road. The second, and most well-known, is Hagia Kyriaki.[5] This Late Byzantine church preserves paintings from the late- thirteenth to fourteenth century. The third church is located down slope in the southern portion of the settlement. It retains no dedication and is in an active state of decay.

Hagios Philippos is a vaulted, single-aisle church made of rubble masonry on top of a megalithic foundation. Entering the village from the north, it is the first church one encounters. Despite its apparent rebuilding, the church is only referred to as megalithic by Nikolaos Drandakis.[6] However, a later period of construction is clear. Small stones, some showing copious use of mortar, are used to build the superstructure (Fig. 47). The finish on the stones, white and with a noticeable sheen, is indicative of post-Byzantine masonry.[7] The west wall around the door only measures 0.6 m thick, almost a full meter less than the north and south walls, indicating a much different construction method. When the church was rebuilt, its axis was reoriented. The original door on the south was blocked and a new door to the west was added. At first this may seem to make the church more "regular" in its orientation. However, in order to approach the

[4] Drandakis et al., "Ἔρευνα στὴ Μάνη," (1979): 206; Drandakis, "Σχεδίασμα καταλόγου των τοιχογραφημένων," 542.

[5] Drandakis et al., "Ἔρευνα στὴ Μάνη," (1979): 202-206; Drandakis, "Σχεδίασμα καταλόγου των τοιχογραφημένων," 234; S. Kalopissi-Verti, *Dedicatory Inscriptions and Donor Portraits in Thirteenth-Century Churches of Greece* (Vienna, 1992), 101-102.

[6] Drandakis et al., "Ἔρευνα στὴ Μάνη," (1979): 206.

[7] The architectural changes from the medieval to the Early Modern period will be discussed in the conclusion of this dissertation.

church from this direction one must cross over jagged and uneven bedrock, making it a minor struggle even to stand in front of the entrance. The area to the south, was terraced and much easier to approach. It is likely that the change to the entrance indicates a shift in the function of the church in the post-Byzantine period. While it is easier to enter through the south door, access to this terrace requires one to approach from inside the village. Accessing the church from the west, however, is possible before the first house is even seen. One may walk up the uneven bedrock to enter the church without having to enter the village proper. This may imply that the church was rebuilt by those no longer living within the old boundaries of Marathos.[8]

The post-Byzantine frescoes that the church preserves, which Drandakis dates to the nineteenth century, are likely contemporaneous with the rebuilding.[9] The use of rubble masonry with excessive use of concrete is not something seen during the Byzantine period in this region. The construction is also of a lower quality than is found elsewhere in the settlement. The walls of the church are around a meter and a half thick, much thicker than other megalithic churches. Hagios Georgios at Sarania, for example, has walls of just 1 m, despite the two churches being approximately the same width. The vaulting is also quite low. The diminished interior space creates an area that would have been dark and cramped. While Hagios Philippos is 5.3 m wide externally, the interior has a width of only around 2.1 m. The extra thick walls and low height of the naos are indicative of a construction made as simple and stable as possible.

The representations preserved in the church are found on the masonry icon screen facing the naos and on the south wall. They are images of Christ, the Virgin Mary, and John the Baptist

[8] It is likely that the inhabitants of the village moved to the nearby settlement of Tsikalia at some point in the Post-Byzantine period. This church would have still marked the territory of these villagers and held significance for them after their move. Realigning the access of the church made it easier for them to access as they would no longer be coming from within the old village.

[9] Drandakis et al., "Ἔρευνα στὴ Μάνη," (1979): 206.

(Fig. 48). These representations are typical of the Post-Byzantine period in both subject and style. Christ and the Virgin are both enthroned with Christ wearing a golden crown. John the Baptist is depicted with wings, a type developed on Venetian controlled Crete following the fall of Constantinople.[10] The color palette of the paintings is also different from earlier examples, mainly consisting of whites and reds with the flesh being painted in much lighter colors than the yellowish tone of the Late Byzantine representations seen in Hagia Kyriaki. Faded remnants of mold covered plaster remain on the interior, testifying that the church was completely painted in the past.

Above the doorway are several pieces of spoliate marble. The fragments belong to a single block that was later shattered into three. The carving is of a high quality and features laurel wreaths and bucrania (Fig. 49). According to Drandakis, the fragments belong to a Roman laurel sarcophagus.[11] There is no evidence for Roman occupation at Marathos. In all likelihood, the sarcophagus panel was brought from elsewhere, possibly Kyparissos, an ancient settlement less than 2 km to the south.[12] When the church was rebuilt, the decorative sculpture became the center piece of the facade. The church was likely rebuilt in the nineteenth century by those who had originally lived in the village. Retaining the marble fragments may have been a way of ornamenting the church with sculpture of more personal significance.

[10] While the winged John the Baptist may have Byzantine origins, it did not become popularized and widespread until the Post-Byzantine period. See A. Lymberopoulou, "A Winged Saint John the Baptist Icon in the British Museum," *Apollo* 500 (2004): 19-24.

[11] Drandakis et al., "Ἔρευνα στὴ Μάνη," (1979): 206.

[12] Kyparissos (Ancient Kainepolis) dates back to at least the Roman Period as grave steles and other marbles have attested. The settlement is thought to have been founded by the residents of Tainaron when that settlement moved. Excavations at Kyparissos have focused on the Early Christian basilicas here. See N. Drandakis, "Σκαφικαί έρευναι έν Κυπαρίσσω Μάνης," *ΠΑΕ* (1958): 119-219; N. Drandakis, "'Ανασκαφή έν Κυπαρίσσω," *ΠΑΕ* (1958): 233-245.

Inside Hagios Philippos are two spoliate marble columns that frame the entrance to the sanctuary and form part of the icon screen. These columns are of unequal height and are well worn. It is possible that their source was the same as the sarcophagus fragments immured over the church entrance, Kyparissos. Because of the deterioration of the paintings that cover the masonry, it is unclear whether the representations on the iconostasis would have covered the marbles, although this is likely.

The church of Hagia Kyriaki is much better preserved, in part because of the quality of its construction. The church was originally a vaulted chamber, but a narthex was added later.[13] The exterior brickwork of the original church is elaborate and typical of the Late Byzantine period (Fig. 50).[14] This brickwork — a dog tooth frieze over the portal and a band of interlocking diamonds — was localized on the western facade of the church. It was common for churches in the Mani to have embellishment on the west facade surrounding the main door.[15] Despite the quality of this work, however, the brickwork was plastered over when the narthex was built, shortly after the church was completed. The narthex is of a noticeably lower quality than the church, as evidenced by the complete collapse of the roof in this area and the decay of the walls.

The walls of Hagia Kyriaki, ca. 60 cm in width, are much thinner than those of the megalithic churches, which typically measure over 1 m thick. The result of the thinner walls is a more spacious interior, amplified by the high ceiling of the church, which rises more than three meters above the floor. The walls are made of rough cut stones that were stacked together and have many small stones wedged into the gaps left. The extensive use of mortar is evident, but

[13] Drandakis et al., "Ἔρευνα στὴ Μάνη," (1979): 203.

[14] Ibid.

[15] This can be seen on Hagios Nikolaos in Kastania and Hagios Georgios in Keria. See N. Drandakis, S. Kalopissi, and M. Panayotidi, "Ἔρευνα στή Μεσσηνιακή Μάνη," *ΠΑΕ* (1980) 189-197; N. Drandakis, "Ἐρευναι εις τήν Μάνην," *ΠΑΕ* (1974): 128-129.

applied in a cleaner way than the mortar of the nineteenth-century reconstruction of Hagios Philippos. Internally, the church measures 5.55 m in length and 3 m in width. While wall paintings remain in many areas, they have been obscured by centuries of mold. Nonetheless, it is clear that the original decoration of this church was of a relatively high quality. The apse of the church is occupied by the Virgin Blachernitissa flanked by diminutive representations of supplicants, a man and a woman, likely the patrons of the church (Fig. 51).[16] Drandakis dated this fresco to the late 13th century, following the restoration of the Mani to Byzantine hegemony.[17]

In addition to those representations, a portion of the overall decorative program can be identified (Fig. 52). The lower register of the apse was decorated with four, frontal hierarchs; only one is preserved, likely Blasios.[18] The apse is ringed by a series of saints' portraits in roundels, though they are not preserved enough to allow identification. Next to Blasios on the outside of the apse is a full length female saint dressed in red, likely Saint Anne. Adjacent to this image on the north wall is Saint Stephen the Protomartyr dressed as a deacon. He swings a censor with his right hand and holds an elaborately decorated pyxis in the left. Above the sanctuary in its usual place is the Ascension, extending over the icon screen into the naos of the church. Along the north wall, are full-length representations Saint Demetrios and an Archangel. Above the door on the west wall are the remnants of the Crucifixion. On the vault is the Nativity and a peculiar depiction of an aged saint on a rearing horse being confronted by an angel who

[16] This representation is most widely referred to as Blachernitissa, but Sophia Kalopissi-Verti refers to it as a Platytera. This latter identification is more likely as it refers to the specific characteristics seen in this representation; The Virgin with her arms held wide in an orant position and the Christ child in a medallion on her chest. See Kalopissi-Verti, *Dedicatory Inscriptions*, 34.

[17] Drandakis et al., "Ἔρευνα στὴ Μάνη," 205-206; Drandakis, "Σχεδίασμα καταλόγου των τοιχογραφημένων," 234.

[18] On the representation of hierarchs in the sanctuary, see S. E. J. Gerstel, *Beholding the Sacred Mysteries* (Seattle, 1999), 15-36.

stands in front of a built facade (Fig. 53). It is unclear what this is supposed to represent and it is the only uncommon depiction within the church.

Lacking among these representations is an image of Saint Kyriaki. Nikolaos Drandakis reported that a representation of the saint was visible in the niche above the door to the naos. However, Drandakis did not publish the image and no painting is preserved in this niche. Also missing is a glazed bowl that was once immured above the door. This part of the church has decayed over the years and the bowl is now missing.[19]

What has been taken for granted in the past was that this church was commissioned by the two donors depicted in the apse (Fig. 54). As Sophia Kalopissi-Verti has noted that the representation of an ornate belt on the man suggests a noble status.[20] However, the question remains as to whether these representations show the donors as they were or as they wished to be portrayed. Presumably the donors would have had themselves represented in the finest way possible, whether or not it reflected their actual mode of dress.

The representation of the Virgin in Hagia Kyriaki is not unique in the area and appears to form part of a large group of such Late Byzantine representations. Because of this, it is possible to compare the Virgin from Hagia Kyriaki to other representations of the Blachernitissa from the thirteenth century in the Mani. The thirteenth-century paintings in Hagios Niketas in Kepoula, Hagios Ioannis at Kafiona, and at Agetria near the village of Agia Kyriaki, there are representations of the Blachernitissa (Figs. 55, 56, 57).[21] When placed side by side with the

[19] It is unclear when this happened but photographs show that it has been missing since at least 2002. Personal communication with Angeliki Mexia.

[20] Kalopissi-Verti, *Dedicatory Inscriptions*, 101-102.

[21] N. Drandakis, Ἔρευνα εἰς τὴν Μάνην," *ΠΑΕ* (1977): 212-219; N. Drandakis, "Οι τοιχογραφές τού δευτέρου στρώματος στόν Άγιο Νικήτα τής Κηπούλας," *ΔΧΑΕ* 10 (1980-81): 239-258; N. Drandakis, "Οί τοιχογραφίες τού Αγίου Ιωάννη Καφιόνας," *Byzantion* (1986): 241-249.

representation at Marathos, it becomes evident that the depiction of the Virgin from Marathos is of the lowest quality. The modeling of the skin and the features of the Virgin's face are noticeably less defined. The skin of the Virgin from Marathos is a nearly uniform yellow with the addition of a crimson to red her cheeks. Her eyes and brow are more geometric and much bolder than in the other examples.

None of these other churches are from particularly affluent villages or thought to be the product of aristocratic patronage, though their frescoes appear to be of a higher quality than the "aristocratic" funded images of Marathos. However, the halo framing the head of the Virgin at Marathos contains an intricate foliate pattern. This elaboration is absent in the other representations in the region. Such examples of elaborated haloes are rare and may demonstrate the pretensions of the donors. The foliate imagery is executed with a skill not seen in the representation of the Virgin herself. This points to a painter more comfortable with depicting decorative imagery than with the human form. The artist was not unskilled, but he was clearly better versed in executing decoration and costume than flesh. This can also be seen on the detail given to the dress of the donors. The man and woman are disproportionally represented with oversized heads despite the care taken to represent their finer clothing. This level of detail with decorative elements is also visible in the ornate censor and pyxis held by Saint Stephen (Fig. 58).

Elaborated haloes is rare in Byzantine paintings in Greece. Although scholars place the origins of this decoration in the thirteenth century, and link this flourish to Crusader influence in the Eastern Mediterranean, an earlier example is found in the church Hagios Strategos of 1194 outside of Kastania, a large and important village in the Messenian Mani.[22] This village is almost

[22] M. Kappas, "New evidence about the Ai-Stratigos church (Taxiarchis) near the village of Kastania in the Messenian Mani," *ΔΧΑΕ* 39 (2018): 207-24; K. Weitzmann, "Thirteenth Century Crusader Icons on Mount Sinai," *The Art Bulletin* 45 (1963): 183-184; K. Weitzmann, "Icon Painting in the Crusader Kingdom," *DOP* 20 (1966): 74, 78; M. Kappas, "Approaching Monemvasia and Mystras from the Outside: The View from Kastania," in *Viewing*

45 km from Marathos. Paintings in this village, however, feature embossed haloes where the decoration is made in relief; at Marathos the decoration is simply painted, a technique that could be adopted from icon painting. The donor or the artist need not have traveled far to see such examples if there was portable imagery available at this time.

What this brief discussion reveals is that the donors of Hagia Kyriaki were unlikely to be aristocrats or nobles. Rather, they were likely affluent members of the village.[23] There is no extant inscription within the church so it is not known whether the donors would have been identified by the honorific *kyr*, denoting a higher status. Even if they were, however, that would not necessarily imply that they had great wealth.[24] Of the ten donor inscriptions mentioning *kyr* from the thirteenth century published by Kalopissi-Verti, only one, from Polemitas in the Mani, mentions the amount that the "*kyr*" provided for the erection of the church.[25] In this case it was a single field and the donor was only one member of an entire village who gave parts of fields and other agrarian elements as well. There was social stratification within the village, but this does not mean the elite of a village in the Mani were even close to the status or wealth of those living in areas like Geraki, Mystras, or even Tigani. Medieval Byzantium differed from the West in that

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Greece: Cultural and Political Agency in the Medieval and Early Modern Mediterranean, ed. S. E. J. Gerstel (Turnhout, 2016), 153; S. Kalopissi-Verti, "Aspects of Byzantine Art after the Recapture of Constantinople (1261-c.1300): Reflections of Imperial Policy, Reactions, Confrontation with the Latins," in *Orient et Occident méditerranéens au XIII^e siècle,* eds. J. P. Calliet and F. Joubert (Picard, 2012), 41-56.

[23] The surviving Late-Byzantine inscriptions from the Mani suggest that this was a period of prosperity for the villagers and the region more generally. See A. Laiou, "The Agrarian Economy, Thirteenth-Fifteenth Centuries," in *The Economic History of Byzantium: From the Seventh through the Fifteenth Century*, ed. A. Laiou (Washington D.C., 2002), 314, 318.

[24] It is not clear what *kyr* implied in the village context. It was clearly an honorific given to a member of higher social standing, but whether this entailed substantial wealth or any official status is not known. *Kyr* was an abbreviation of *kyriakos*, meaning "lord," and corresponds to the Western use of the title "sir." See S. E. J. Gerstel, *Rural Lives and Landscapes in Late Byzantium: Art, Archaeology, and Ethnography* (Cambridge, 2015), 7; Kalopissi-Verti, *Donor Inscriptions*, 33-35.

[25] Kalopissi-Verti, *Donor Inscriptions*, 71-73.

the elite did not live on estates in the countryside, but rather resided in more urban centers and administered their lands from a distance.[26] It is unlikely then, that nobles would have lived in Marathos.

Comparing the donor portraits to others in the region also argues for the individuals being villagers and not aristocrats. In Karynia, near Polemitas, are two representations of aristocratic donors in the church of Hagios Georgios. They are depicted at about ¾ scale and wear richly embroidered clothes. Most noteworthy is that both donors are depicted wearing hats. Though such a white hat was relatively common in the Middle and Late Byzantine period, what identifies this hat as belonging to an official, "seems to have been a pair of white linen bands attached at the back of the officials hat, which could have been left flowing or brought to the front and tied in a knot under the chin."[27] These bands are clearly visible to either side of the male donor's head (Fig. 59). The representations of the donors at Marathos lack any such clear signs of status. There is a church in the Mani, however, that depicts donors similar to those of Marathos.

In the church of Hagios Nikolaos in Nyphi, on the eastern side of the Lakonian Mani, there are donor portraits that resemble those at Marathos (Fig. 60). Individuals in this church are represented wearing a monochromatic tunic with a pearled belt. No hat is worn and the impression is not one of an aristocrat, but rather a villager. In fact this church preserves several inscriptions that name the villagers who were responsible for its decoration.[28] The representation

[26] C. Bouras, "Aspects of the Byzantine City, Eighth-Fifteenth Centuries," in *Economic History of Byzantium* ed. A. Laiou, (Washington D.C., 2002), 523.

[27] M. Parani, "Optional Extras or Necessary Elements? Middle and Late Byzantine Male Dress Accessories," in *Δασκάλα. Απόδοση τιμής στην Καθηγήτρια Μαίρη Παναγιωτίδη-Κεσίσογλου*, eds. P. Petridis and V. Foskolou (Athens, 2015), 425-426.

[28] M. Agrevi, "Άγιος Νικόλαος στο Έξω Νύφι της Κάτω Μάνης. Εικονογραφικές παρατηρήσεις σε ένα άγνωστο σύνολο τοιχογραφιών του 1284/85," in *Επιστημονικό συμπόσιο στη Μνήμη Νικολάου Β. Δρανδάκη για τη βυζαντινή Μάνη*, eds. E. Eleutheriou and A. Mexia (Sparta, 2008–9), 171–96.

of the supplicant in Nyphi is one of these villagers, though probably a more affluent member of the community.

Like Hagios Philippos, Hagia Kyriaki has several pieces of marble spolia that were incorporated into the masonry. The exterior entrance to the narthex is spanned by a thin, flat piece of marble, possibly part of an unadorned sarcophagi. Placed inside of this door is a small white marble column, similar to the pieces incorporated into the icon screen of Hagios Philippos. This piece is not embedded in the wall and looks like it was propped up here at a later time. It may have been built into some aspect of the narthex that has since been destroyed. Inside of the church, several blocks of marble were used to form the icon screen. A single piece preserves a carved medallion while the others are simply dressed stones. These likely came from nearby Kyparissos and were brought in for the construction of the screen which, despite its current state of decay, appears to have been well designed. The blocks were not haphazardly fitted into the screen, but appear to have been an integral part of its design (Fig. 61).

The third church in the village no longer preserves its dedication. I refer to it simply as Church C. Like the others on site, Church C is a single vaulted chamber. The roof has collapsed over the naos and a tree now grows in the center (Fig. 62). The semi-dome of the apse remains, but retains no fresco. The church appears to have had a megalithic phase, but the current construction is a mixture of rubble masonry and brick. A piece of marble, perhaps an impost, has been used for the lintel of the door, but it is visible only from the interior. The church is small and uneven, being almost a meter wider at the icon screen than at the entrance.

Dating this church is difficult because of its poor preservation. Its construction is of the poorest quality on site and might be indicative of either haste or lack of sufficient funding. The use of some brick and mortar however, provides an indication of its possible dating to the Late

Byzantine period (Fig. 63).[29] The megalithic foundations indicate that the church existed in some form before this period. The location of the church next to a cistern and its proximity to a collection of houses demonstrates its importance to the site, particularly to Zone B. It is possible that the church was rebuilt when Zone B was occupied since these cisterns likely formed the main water supply for the occupants of this area. Spray-painted initials on its side provide evidence of its continued significance for those in the area.[30]

Church at the Summit

Located near the summit of the mountain on which Marathos is located are the remains of another small vaulted church (Fig. 64). The stone vaulting has completely collapsed, but its walls remain solid. The church was built with what appears to be a mixture of megalithic masonry near the foundations, and smaller stones for the superstructure. However, the megalithic masonry here is substantially different from what has been discussed above. The bottom courses of the walls are made of large boulders that are barely worked.[31] It would appear that they were likely part of the bedrock in this area and slightly worked before the superstructure was built in order to provide a solid foundation for the building. A date for the church is uncertain. Its construction is different from the other churches at Marathos and it is located next to a large cistern, significantly better designed than those on site. This cistern is quite large, dug into the earth, but

[29] Personal communication with Angeliki Mexia.

[30] Though I have been unable to find the individual who painted his initials on the church, I was informed that they were placed there to demonstrate a family's claim of ownership of the building.

[31] The term megalithic is problematic when discussing building methods in the Mani. Though the most well-known term to refer to the building style of the region, the name is too broad to encompass all of the variations visible in the material record.

also built above it. Well defined drains are visible that would have funneled water inside, and on the top is a circular stone with its center cut out. This could be plugged easily and likely served as the main means of accessing the water inside. This design is not seen elsewhere in the area.

While it is possible to go from the church down to Marathos, the route is precarious and possible only at the south east. This path still requires one to jump from outcrop to outcrop in order to descend to village below. For these reasons I do not believe that this church is associated with the medieval phase of Marathos, and possibly not even the post-Byzantine phase. The church is most likely part of the settlement visible to the south of the cemetery of Kotrafi. This settlement has been partially destroyed by the modern road which was cut through it, obscuring the relationship of this church to the settlement above.

Houses

As at Sarania, most of the surviving structures at Marathos are houses. Thirty houses can be identified on site, the vast majority with multiple building phases. The original core of all of the houses is the roughly rectangular, megalithic house. These rectangular cores fall in the same range as those at Sarania, 9 - 14 m in length and 4 - 5 m in width. The wall thickness for the different phases fluctuates, between 0.6 and 1.2 m. Unlike Sarania, some of the houses at Marathos have expanded greatly beyond their original core. The expansion of the house starts to either long side of the original core with the construction of an additional rectangular room. This room is usually, though not always, smaller than the original core. After both the long ends were built on, expansion then began on the short side of the houses, in small, square rooms that went down the slope of the hill.

The houses all have a second floor. The evidence is found in high doors as well as extant joist hangers (Fig. 65). The floor for the second level was made from long *makronia*, some of which are still in place. These examples, which can measure well over 2.5 m in length, provide conclusive evidence that the floors could be spanned with stone and not wood (Fig. 66). It appears that most additions had a second floor as well. Two of the larger houses have an intricate system of covered external halls. These do not appear to have had a floor on top of them, and their construction is significantly different from the house to which they are attached. Their purpose is unclear but they may have been intended to provide greater seclusion for the household as well as to provide more storage space. As the houses expanded, the original ground floors may have been turned over to household function rather than storage, creating a greater need for storage space as the family expanded.

Noticeably absent from Marathos is the consistent presence of courtyards. No house has the kind of large, exterior drystone fence found at Sarania and other villages in the Mani.[32] This may be the result of the close proximity of the houses to one another as well as the subsequent additions which may have been built where a courtyard originally stood. The steep incline of the mountain may have also made courtyards impractical without significant effort to level more of the site.

In order to better study the development of the houses, I have divided Marathos into three zones; A, B, and C (Fig. 67). I have done this based primarily on the distribution of the buildings on site, though each cluster of buildings has a unique character. This division also makes a discussion of the settlement as a whole more manageable.

[32] Y. Saitas, *Greek Traditional Architecture: Mani* (Athens, 1990), 17-18.

Zone A consists of the northwest portion of the village and includes ten houses, Hagios Philippos, four cisterns, and fortifications. There is a roughly carved staircase that leads into the settlement from the north (Fig. 68). All but one of the houses in this zone have an addition added on to the long end of the original core. The largest house here is House A, which consists of at least seven distinct rooms, accounting for the first and second levels. Immediately next to this house to the north is a large megalithic cistern. This cistern was likely public initially, but over time it appears that House 3 encroached on this area and appropriated it for the exclusive use of the household. Walking into the village from the north, Houses 3 and 4, and the two fortified elements funnel the visitor into the village. To the west of House 3 was a tremendous bulwark, measuring over 18 m in length. It fluctuates in thickness from 1.8 m to almost 4 m. The only break is a small hall which leads to the doorway of House 3. There is no evidence that this bulwark had an opening or was used as anything other than a wall. Its purpose then must have been to present an intimidating and heavily fortified presence to anyone entering the site, though there must not have been much concern for safety since it does allow relatively easy access to House 3.

The additions built onto the houses are usually slightly smaller than the original unit. They are staggered from the core as well, rarely being built flush with the first phase. This technique likely made the addition more stable. The original core is frequently divided into two rooms at the second floor level. This division creates a small room near the back of the house, roughly one third to one quarter of the size of the second floor. These divider walls do not join with the walls of the house, indicating that they were a later addition, though it is unclear when they were built. They could have been created immediately following the construction of the superstructure of the house, or they could have been built many years later. Their construction is

dry stone masonry with medium sized stones. This is noticeably different from the megalithic walls of the original house. While this may indicate a later period of construction, the use of megalithic masonry to build a wall inside of the house would have been cumbersome and impractical.

Both Houses 3 and 9 have a series of covered halls built on the exterior of the house. For House 3 these are built off of the south wall and appear to allow entrance to the house as well as passage to the exterior at the southeast. House 9 has a much more robust series of halls built to the south of the house off of the short ends of the rooms. Their preservation has allowed a preliminary tracing of their path (Fig. 69). These halls appear to consist of a number of small rooms and allow passage into the house from the east wall as well as to the exterior on the west and southeast. In both examples it appears that the entrance to the halls was positioned as far from the main entrance to the house as possible. In House 9 these halls and rooms may have been used to provide additional storage and privacy. It would be difficult to use the narrow halls or small rooms as work or living spaces, especially since they would have been particularly dark. As mentioned before, these spaces may have become the primary storage areas if the house itself was entirely devoted to living or work space.

House 8 presents a complicated example for house expansion and the subsequent damage that occurs when the site is repurposed. The house had additions built at two different times. Unlike most examples on site, these extensions where on the short, west wall of the house and expanded down slope. The reason for this was that to the south was an open area of public space that the owner likely could not encroach upon without preventing access to the other houses of the area. To the north there does not appear to have been a door, meaning any addition could not communicate with the core. After the site was abandoned, a low wall was built that appears to

have cut off part of the original house, preserving only a fraction of the building. The elements that survive, however, clearly indicate that this was not only a house, but the first phase of the three building phases present.[33]

The subsequent extensions to House 8 are made up of a series of small rooms in an arrangement that does not preserve any extant doorways except to the lowest addition on the west slope. One room preserves an ovular construction within the room that exhibits evidence of burning. Despite this burning, it does not appear to have been hearth. The ovular construction is quite large and there is no way to access one room from the other because of the change in elevation. This indicates that the expansion to House 8 did not serve as living space, but likely as storage and work areas.

Zone B is located near the bottom of the southwestern slope of the village. It is a cluster of five houses and Church C, approximately 100 meters from Zone A. Four of the houses in this zone have at least one addition built onto them. Only House 14 appears to be of a single phase. This area is much steeper than Zone A as well, making it difficult to move among the ruins. The incline results in significant changes in height between the rooms as they expanded down slope. Debris from the walls of the houses has obscured the pathways and terraces in this area, though these houses are situated where one might be able to access the site from the south. This path is difficult however, both because of the incline as well as a ravine that winds along the south. Even though these houses are less than 200 m from the post-Byzantine church of Hagios Nikolaos to the south, access between the two would have been difficult and indirect.[34]

[33] The first phase has a second floor window, a door, and internal area of around 17 m^2. This fits well with both the size and design seen among the houses at Marathos and Sarania.

[34] Drandakis, et al. "Ερευνα στη Μανη" (1979): 207.

The houses in this zone have some notable differences from the houses seen in Zone A. While there is a megalithic core to these houses as well, their extensions are made of smaller stones than those generally seen in Zone A. The masonry is better cut, but there are no traces of mortar or cement on the walls. Also present in greater numbers are *therides*, storage niches built into the walls of the houses (Fig. 70). In Zone A there is at most one of these niches per house, built into the corner of one of the walls, as in House 11 (Fig. 71). Here, however, there are up to three built along the wall against the slope. These storage niches could not be built after the construction of the house, but had to be designed from the beginning. This means that the inclusion of these features in the houses here may indicate a shift in the design of the houses.

As in Zone A, additional rooms on Houses 12 and 13 were built off of the long side of the building, staggered from the original core. These additions were significantly narrower than the original house, something that is unique to this zone. House 15 expanded down slope with small square rooms. It could not expand to the east since this would have encroached on House 16. While there are more than 5 meters to the west in which to expand, the large amount of debris in this area may indicate the presence of some other built feature that would have prevented expansion to this side.

Further south there is another cluster of houses, no more than three. The slope of the mountain in this area and the amount of debris did not allow close examination of these houses. However, they do not appear to be significantly different from the houses in Zone B. Their proximity to this location likely indicates that they were part of the same settlement phase.

Despite the minor aesthetic differences in the buildings, the layout of these houses is essentially the same as those in Zone A. This indicates that while there was innovation in construction methods, there must not have been a significant change in lifestyle. The houses are

still rectangular, linear buildings which based on ground plan alone, would not look different from the oldest megalithic houses in the region. The topography here is not ideal. It is much steeper and a significant distance from the main quarry of the site located at the top of the settlement. The stones for these houses were likely taken from the immediate area, and this may be the reason that they were constructed differently from the other houses on site. It would have been more difficult to get the larger *makronia* to span the floors, which resulted in the reduced width of the expansions. Also because of the steep slope and distance from the quarry, the residents in this area may have needed to abandon the megalithic style of construction earlier because of the difficulties of positioning such blocks in this area.

Between Zones A and B is House 11, the largest megalithic house on site (Fig. 72). Despite its impressive size and location next to Hagia Kyriaki, it is 65 meters from the nearest house of Zone B and 45 meters from Zone A. As is common on site, House 11 has an addition built on the long side of the original house. The core of House 11 is not a perfect rectangle and slants about halfway down. It measures 13.65 m in length and 5 meters in width. The thickness of the walls vary from 1.2 – 1.3 meters. A single doorway on the west side measures 1.15 m wide and accesses the addition. A small room was made in the north of the house, measuring 2.2 m long. A small doorway of 0.6 m allows access from the main area of the house.

The addition to the west is significantly smaller than the core, measuring only 8 m in length and 2.9 meters wide from the exterior. The walls are noticeably thinner, ranging from 0.7-0.8 m thick. To the south the wall blends with the bedrock that curves, directing one to the entrance of the building. The only door, to the south, measures 0.7 meters wide. Because of the significant changes in its construction, it appears that this addition was built sometime after the completion of the original house core.

Attached to the north of House 11 is a large, well-built oval structure (Fig. 73). The construction of this structure is much finer than that of the attached megalithic house, with the clear use of mortar and precisely cut stones. Yanis Saitas viewed this structure as an uncovered cistern that may have eventually become an ossuary.[35] This is the only above ground cistern on site and resembles the built cisterns at Tigani better than the village examples. It is certain that this building had some relationship to the church because of its proximity, but also because of its construction method of stone and mortar. Though it is attached to House 11, the entrance to this house is to the south, requiring one to walk about 30 meters around the building to gain access. The elevation of the cistern makes it unlikely that it could have been accessed from within House 11 and thus it likely was not for the personal use of the household occupants.[36]

Zone C is the final and most complicated of the zones at Marathos. This area has what appears to be some of the oldest and most recent buildings on site. This may be the result of the area being occupied early on in the life of Marathos, then being abandoned as building focused on the first two zones, before becoming re-occupied again later on. Three of the houses here show what must have been decades, if not centuries, of additions that created dense complexes.

Within Zone C there are twenty structures including houses, complexes and towers. For all of these structures, there are only two cisterns in the area and no associated church. Some houses, such as House 31, have no additions and are in the simple rectangular, megalithic style. Others, like Houses 19 and 20 have sprawled significantly with the addition of many rooms of

[35] Y. Saitas, "'Ορθόλιθοι στή Μέσα Μάνη," *Πρακτικά του Α' τοπικού Συνεδρίου Λακωνικών Μελετών* (Athens, 1983): 162-163.

[36] The proximity of Hagia Kyriaki and House 11 to one another, as well as their isolation from other structures on site, indicates that there was a connection between the buildings.

varying sizes that are built of smaller, better cut stones. Mortar is present only in trace amounts in certain areas, something observed elsewhere on site.

Because of the size of several of the houses in this area, it is likely that multiple generations lived in a single complex. Houses 19 and 20 are related to one another based on the existence of facing doors and how close the walls are from the two houses (Fig. 74). All together there are eight distinct rooms visible. Several of these exhibit evidence of a second floor, which would bring the total to at least eleven rooms and possibly more. House 21 may also be related to this complex since a door on the east wall of House 20 opens onto a terrace that allows access to House 21 and is only 2.5 meters away. The door into House 21, however, does not face House 20, but instead opens to the south. Given the spacing of houses seen throughout the site, this connectivity between different structures provides a clear indication of what was likely a cluster of interrelated families. It is worth noting that the houses expanded over time and in so doing moved closer together. There is no topographic reason that this must have been the case indicating another, likely social, motive for its occurrence.

Further along the hill is another cluster of houses, exhibiting a similar pattern. There is only a single significant complex in this area. Mostly there are megalithic houses with a single addition to one of their long sides. Interestingly, two examples of subterranean rooms are found in this area. House 25, for example, has a small room that extends off of its southwest wall. The exact measurements are difficult to discern, but the room is over 1 meter deep. The entrance is only around 0.3 m wide, implying that it was not used as any kind of living space. Elsewhere near to House 27 there is an out building of unknown size that is built directly into one of the

terraces (Fig. 75). The entrance is completely blocked today but building directly into the terrace shows another innovative use of the landscape.[37]

House 27 is also particularly noteworthy since the first floor has remained intact for a single room. Though almost two meters of debris stand on top, the ceiling here has not collapsed (Fig. 76). This provides an important glimpse into how the inside of these rooms appeared, as well as a greater understanding of how strong the construction methods were for these houses. These houses were complicated structures designed to suit the topography of the area as well as the changing needs of the family.[38] The *makronia* used to support the ceiling here are not particularly thick, demonstrating the strength of the stone. Most of the houses at Marathos used much larger *makronia* to form the ceiling of the first level and floor of the second, creating very sturdy structures capable of easily supporting the occupants of the home.[39]

Even further to the east are the remnants of some other buildings. Preliminary examination of them however revealed much different construction methods than elsewhere on site as well as no evidence of a preserved megalithic phase (Fig. 77). The buildings here are more ramshackle in construction, with a significant mix of stones varying from large to small. While there is evidence that there were perhaps some medieval buildings here, they are too

[37] A similar construction was seen further north in Zone C. It is unclear what perhaps these types of rooms may have served, or if they were even rooms at all.

[38] Haris Kalligas believed that the megalithic houses, despite the size of the stones used in their construction, were so simple in construction that villages could easily be abandoned and relocated. See Ch. Kalligas, "Η ἐξέλιξη τῶν οἰκισμῶν στή Μάνη," in *Οικισμοί στην Ελλάδα* ed. O. Doumanis and P. Oliver (Athens, 1974), 117.

[39] The hallways mentioned previously are covered with small pieces of schist that the locals refer to as *marmara* (marble). This stone is quite hard but fractures easily. Its use to cover the hallways is likely an indication that the stones were not meant to be walked on.

heavily rebuilt and modified to know for sure.[40] For these reasons I do not consider this small cluster to be part of the original settlement of Marathos, but rather a later development.

A notable difference from the domestic architecture at Sarania is that the houses at Marathos do not consistently have their entrances along the long side of the house. As the buildings expanded, the placement of the doorway into the houses was dictated by issues of topography and privacy. The changing placement of the entryways into the houses may also demonstrate a change in relationship between the occupants of the homes to their neighbors over time. This is possibly demonstrated between the relationship of Houses 20 and 21 to each other as mentioned above (Fig. 74). At their earliest phase, both houses would have had entryways facing each other, accessible from the same terrace. The entrance was changed when the addition was added to House 21, placing the door on the less common short side of the building.

Access to the second floor of the buildings was by means of a wooden staircase or ladder that could be lifted up in times of crisis as was the case for the tower houses of the Early Modern period.[41] However, at Marathos, almost all of the second floor entrances are accessed by a terrace that is above the level of the first floor. This difference in elevation effectively separates the two levels further between the living and storage space. Whatever defensive advantage a second floor entrance could provide was evidently not a priority for the villagers here.

Several houses at Marathos preserve trace amounts of mortar in their walls. The color of the mortar varies from an orange, soft pink, and gray (Fig. 78). The amount and size of inclusions also varies between examples. While traces of mortar are seen on the outside of the

[40] The buildings also resemble a complex of rooms found near the peak of the settlement. Access to this area is difficult and requires the scaling of the rocks that make up this side of the mountain. The form, building method, and even position of this building exclude it from being part of the Byzantine phase of the settlement and appears to have been a much later addition to the site.

[41] The Early Modern towers of the region used the same strategy. See Saitas, *Greek Traditional Architecture*, 138.

houses at both the first and second floor level, it is only at the second floor that mortar can be seen inside of a house. It is unlikely that mortar would have been applied sparingly during the construction of the houses, but its composition consisted of a great deal of the local soil which is high in clay content. The poor preservation is the result of erosion because of rain. The comparison of mortar from houses with that of dated churches may provide a means with which to date the construction of some of the houses on site.

Worthy of note are Houses 28 and 29. These two megalithic houses are built in close proximity to one another, only 2.5 meters apart. Because of their proximity, it is likely that these houses were related in some way. Preserved in House 28 is a window that faces the adjacent house, though it is unclear if this was duplicated in the other structure. One could not walk through one house to get to the other, and they are accessed on different terraces requiring one to walk around the house to gain access. This suggests that whatever the relationship between the two homes' occupants, there was still a need for privacy. The inhabitants of the houses may have been in-laws or siblings who found it beneficial to work together, but still required their own living space. Based on analysis of the masonry, House 28 appears to be older than 29, with thicker walls and more traditional megalithic masonry. Both houses retain the rectangular, linear design common in medieval houses in Byzantium.

The dating of the houses and their additions is difficult and will be discussed in a later chapter. Megalithic houses have been generally dated from the beginning of the Middle Byzantine period through the fifteenth century. This is a tremendous time span in which to have had no innovation or alteration to design or masonry. The current dating is simply too broad. Even among houses identified as megalithic, differentiation can be seen in size and shape of the stones and also in construction methods.

Overall, the thirty houses at Marathos, of which many have additions, could conservatively house over 150 people at the apex of the life of the village. This was not the largest village in the area, but it was not small. It appears that new structures were only built in peripheral areas of the village, Zones B and C. Within Zone A, there are no *ex novo* structures after the erection of the megalithic buildings. The old megalithic houses were preserved and had additions built onto them. Though the masonry and architectural style changed, there was seemingly no need to build new houses. This likely has to do with the amount of people that a given area could comfortably support. As families grew or new people came to settle in the village, they had to occupy new zones. The population of Marathos grew significantly over time until its eventual abandonment at some point in the post-Byzantine period. The families that had such a long history must never have forgot their connection to that place, as the graffiti marking Church C and nineteenth-century reconstruction of Hagios Philippos demonstrate.

Water

I have been able to identify ten cisterns at Marathos, providing a ratio of around three houses to every one cistern. It is unclear if this would have been sufficient for the individuals living there, but there are several possible basin structures built out of the bedrock that may have supplemented the water supply of the village (Fig. 79). It is possible these served as open air water collection areas, something that may have been necessary if the soil was too shallow in parts of the village to dig a cistern. It is also possible that water collection was incorporated into the homes as they expanded, but only in one instance, the complex of House 19 and 20, is such an area identifiable. It should be noted that at Sarania, between the two main hills there are eight

cisterns for fourteen houses, a ratio closer to 2:1, but still indicating that one cistern must have been sufficient for more than one household.

All of the large megalithic cisterns at Marathos appear to have been at least semi-public. They are sparsely placed around the village, with Cisterns G and H being directly adjacent to Church C. Cistern A may have been used privately for a household, but this would have only been a later development as House 3 expanded. Cisterns D and E are in relative isolation between Zones A and B. This empty space does not appear to contain anything else. Though it is overgrown today with trees and brush, it may have been a large, clear public area on some of the most level ground of the entire site.

As at Sarania, most of the cisterns are not free standing.[42] They are dug into the ground with their top at or below the level of the surface. Cisterns I and J are the type being partially built, partially dug. These cisterns appear to be quite large, but this is likely because of the thickness of their walls. All three appear on the eastern half of the site, Zone C, likely because of the shallower soil in that area.

Cistern I is the largest water collection structure in Marathos. The external wall is easily over two meters in height at its highest point. It was built with two layers of wall, making the total thickness of the wall over 1.5 meters. This second layer of wall may have addressed structural issues the cistern was having. It was built rather high, but directly below the exposed bedrock that makes up the top of the mountain. This would ensure that all run off from these stones would come down to be collected here. By placing the cistern here, the villagers not only optimized its ability to collect water, but assured that water would not run down the mountain

[42] Only the cistern next to House 11 is freestanding.

into the homes below. Much like Sarania, the villagers here planned the placement of these cisterns well to maximize collection and prevent any issues with runoff.

Cistern J is unique for several reasons. The first is its form. Though it belongs to the type being partially built, partially dug, it has a square shape (Fig. 80). This cistern resembles the cistern near the House 1 at Sarania, which itself is almost certainly post-Byzantine (Fig. 81). At first it was not clear that this was in fact a cistern since no *makronia* are visible. However, some holes on the surface allowed for some preliminary depth measurements, which indicated that the cavity extended over two meters in depth. What caused me to further examine the structure is the second unique element of this cistern, a built drain above (Fig. 82). This was clearly built to funnel water down into the cistern. If this was not used for water collection it would be simply running water off down the mountain. While cisterns at Sarania had grooves and channels dug into the bedrock to direct water, this is the only example I found of a built drain in the villages.[43]

The final unique element of this cistern is its placement. It is located relatively far east in Zone C, and built lower than the other cisterns noted here. This position, along with its form and the presence of a built drain, would all indicate that it may well have been the latest cistern built on the site, since the population of this zone increased and there was a greater need for water.

The stone on site demonstrates significant erosion from flowing water. This developed natural channels into which rain water would run off. By blocking some of these channels with small walls, the water would collect in these basins. While they were open to the air and not sealed like a cistern, they may have been essential in providing water for a growing community. Marathos does not have a significant number of cisterns and only two have been identified on the

[43] A similar construction is also seen near the large cisterns at Tigani, though these appear to drain off of the plateau and not into the cisterns.

southeast slope of the settlement in Zone C. It is here where we find the basins for water collection (Fig. 83). As mentioned before, the soil in this area is very shallow making it difficult to build cisterns without the construction of a terrace for the purpose. It may simply have been easier and more economical to use basins to collect water.

Open air water collection is not unheard of in the Mani. A significant example can be seen near Kepoula (Fig. 84).[44] While this would not have made for the most sanitary of water collection, the thin soil and rocky conditions of this area would have made the construction of cisterns impossible in many places. It is also possible that this water would have been used for animals or irrigation and not humans. The fragmentary conditions of these basins and their construction from natural rock formations suggests that these were not an original part of the village plan but would have been built after observing the flow of water following rain fall and as the needs of the population expanded.

Defense

As noted at the beginning of this chapter, Marathos does not preserve evidence of a full defensive wall around the site. A few places where a possible fortification wall is evident taper off to the side of the mountain where it seems the natural bedrock became the wall. Many walls do exist throughout the site, though they vary significantly in construction method and quality, appearing more to demarcate property boundaries than serve a defensive purpose. Overall, many of these walls appear to be later constructions on site. There are at least four towers at Marathos. Unlike the towers at Sarania none of these are joined with a fortification wall and none are

[44] This area was completely dry during my time there and it may have been reverted subsequently to a field after Kassis's photograph from the 1980's. See Kassis, *'Ανθη της Πέτρας*, 112.

connected to a house. Three of these towers are found in Zone C to the east of the site. These may have served more as lookouts than defense since they could easily be avoided by attackers. In Zone A there is a single tower near the walls and the northern entrance to the site. This tower may have had a more active function in defense since it is the only tower positioned directly at an access point.

None of the towers on site are preserved to a significant height. What makes them identifiable is their walls, small form, and location. Tower 2, for example, is found leading to Zone C. Its walls are an uneven thickness being at most 1.6 m thick and as thin as 0.8 m. A single entrance in the east wall allows access to an interior that is just over 4 m^2. This is preceded by Tower 1 on the south eastern slope. This tower, like Tower 2, has one wall much thicker than the others, measuring 1.8 m thick, twice that of the thinnest wall of the building. Interestingly, this tower is not a square but a rectangle, measuring 4.3 x 6.7 m. Originally I thought it may have served as a small house, but a single entrance into an interior just over 1.5 m wide and a total area of just over 7 m^2 would make it exceptionally small. The thickness of its walls and its position on the periphery of the settlement indicate that it most likely served as a tower.

Near the northwest entrance is the only tower in Zone A. Tower 3 comes very close to House B, almost touching it. The building is uneven in form, resembling a trapezoid. The walls are not as thick in the other examples, ranging from 0.9 m to 0.6 m. There is no evidence for the entrance to the building. At over 8 m^2 for the interior, it would be the most spacious tower on site. I conclude that it is a tower based on its form, which does not match the form of houses on site, as well as its location near to an entrance of the village. That no entrance to the tower is visible despite the preservation of multiple courses of stone indicates that it must have been

entered from a higher elevation, something impractical for an out building and unheard of for a domestic structure.

Across from Tower 3 is another fortification element whose purpose is difficult to discern. It takes a roughly triangular form that connects to a wall which demonstrates multiple phases of construction (Fig. 85). The structure itself is quite small, measuring 3.3 x 3.6 x 3.5 m. The internal space measures just under 6 m^2 with walls ranging from 0.4 – 0.6 m in width. A small opening pierces its south wall. However, it is extremely low and only 0.4 m wide. It almost certainly was not a door, and because of its height it could not be a window. Since this opening is down slope, it is likely a drain. This odd structure may have simply been a bulwark designed to help frame an entrance to the village. Cistern A is only a few meters down slope from here and the drain may have served the dual purpose of directing water to the cistern as well as preventing any build up and potential damage within the wall.

Tower 4 appears to have been more elaborate than the others. It is found at a higher elevation in Zone C and commands a broad view of the landscape.[45] The tower is made of some of the largest megalithic blocks on site, with walls that measure 1.2 -1.0 m thick. The interior is around 7.2 m^2. A smaller, later wall continues off of the north wall of the building where it meets bedrock to the east forming almost a small courtyard into which the doorway to the tower is found. Immediately behind Tower 4 to the north is a large cistern, slightly higher on the mountain. This tower likely was built to mark and possibly control access to the cistern.

Marathos appears to have had a number of points of access to the village. Three doorways were found in exterior walls around Zone A. Two of these appear to have provided

[45] This building is unique on site for having white stones. This was the result of a Greek fighter jet crashing into the building. The subsequent fire turned the stone white in addition to displacing several of the megalithic blocks of the south wall. If ever a testament to the quality of these towers was needed, it was that this building was only damaged, not destroyed, by a crashed jet.

greater access after the construction of walls that would have cut off earlier paths to the settlement. The other, between Houses 8 and 10 may have served as one of the original access points to the settlement. The final entrance is a carved staircase found to the northwest of the settlement. No clear doorway is preserved here, but it is unlikely that the village would have had a gated entrance.

The most elaborate entrance is found on the west side of the upper site. Here a long covered entrance flanked by Houses 8 and 10 provides the only indication of a large, almost monumental entrance to the settlement. It was very well built, with thick walls and a solid foundation (Fig. 86). It is built in the megalithic style that is reminiscent of some of the earliest buildings on site. At some point this entrance was completely filled in and blocked up. The foundation was reused for the houses in the area, though this could have occurred while the entrance was still functional.[46] This appears to be the case since the original core of House 10 is placed over these foundations. The debris that fills the entrance may be the result of a subsequent collapse or intentional blocking as access to the settlement shifted over time.

This entrance is around 1 meter wide, is covered, and can be traced to go over two meters into the site. It is likely that this served as an entrance for those who came from the west. If one proceeds further south from outside of Marathos, the cliff becomes significantly steeper, making it impassable. A wall continues along this ridge the length of the site. The placement of this entrance would require visitors or potential enemies to walk a distance along the village before they could attempt to enter. This would allow the villagers to observe anyone approaching the site and work to repel them. The placement of a tower near the northwest provides evidence of a fortification element that could have served this purpose as well.

[46] House II at the medieval site of Panakton also incorporates older fortifications into its foundation. See S. E. J. Gerstel et al., "A Late Medieval Settlement at Panakton," *Hesperia* 72 (2003): 166.

It is in the northwest that the clearest entrance to the village is preserved. Here a staircase cut into the bedrock is visible. It is unclear whether a defined doorway existed here or if the flanking of a house and tower served to define the entrance. As mentioned earlier, Houses 3 and 4, along with Tower 3 frame the entrance to the site. Anyone entering would have walked between these buildings, the steep bedrock to the east and the sheer drop to the west would have required it. Based on its preservation and modern access to the village, this entrance appears to have never gone out of use. Even to access Hagios Philippos without entering the rest of the settlement, one must proceed up this staircase first.

Elaborated Features

The topography of Marathos creates a variety of interesting natural rock formations. One of the most unique elements from the village is what appears to have been caves, or semi-natural buildings. It is difficult to get clear images of them because of the debris and overgrowth on site, but at least one preserves an identifiable opening and signs of human intervention. None are accessible today since they appear to have collapsed at some point. These formations could have been elaborated by the settlement's inhabitants to create solid and easily constructed buildings or storage rooms.

Feature 1 near House 25 demonstrates the possible use of these natural formations well.[47] What appears to be a framed doorway with a lintel is accessible from the nearby house (Fig. 87). A collapse of the rock has blocked the entrance to the cave, though gaps are still visible among the debris. The smoothed surface of the interior along with the doorway provide sufficient

[47] This is the same house which has a small, subterranean room mentioned earlier. See page 109.

evidence that the rock had been worked in the past. House 25 does have a doorway that leads to the level on which to access this cave, providing further evidence of its use in the past.

Other caves also exist on site, such as Feature 2, on the southeast slope of the hill. While this cave demonstrates less working than Feature 1, soot and other evidence for burning is evident in the back of the cave. Because there is no built facade, it is difficult to associate this cave with the medieval occupation of the site. As the site was abandoned and became pasture land it would not be unexpected for a shepherd to seek a temporary shelter. The cave certainly would have been more stable than the decaying buildings around him. The cave may not have been used in the medieval period, but its function may have changed over time.[48]

Quarries

The quarry for Marathos was located at the peak of the site. Here the bedrock is exposed and exhibits significant evidence for quarrying (Fig. 88). Even the highest rock formation on the site shows striations from past quarrying. Near the peak are the remains of several partially carved blocks. The most impressive of these is a large rectangular block almost two meters in length (Fig. 89). The stone was apparently abandoned when a crack formed through it. What is remarkable about this stone is not only its size, but the quality of the carving. It is perplexing, however, that no blocks resembling this are found among the houses or churches on site. While many megalithic stones are used, they tend to be less worked and are rarely square. It is possible

[48] The use of caves or rock-cut chambers for storage or as cisterns is also seen in Didymoteicho in Thrace. See R. Ousterhout, "A Byzantine Chapel at Didymoteicho and its Frescoes," in *L'arte di Bisanzio e l'Italia al tempo dei Paleologi, 1261-1453*, eds. A. Iacobini and M. D. Valle (Argos, 1999), 195. Closer to Marathos, the monastic site of Agetria also has storerooms built into caves. Except for the church, the site is still unpublished.

this represents an earlier phase of the quarrying process where a large block may have been cut only to be worked down later closer to its intended building.

Marathos is a steep settlement. While we do not know the exact quarrying techniques employed by the villagers, the large stones used in the construction of the earliest houses and churches on site would be difficult to lower gradually. Since the highest peak of the site was quarried, it can be assumed that stone was taken from the top down. This implies that a good deal of quarrying was likely performed at the inception of the village, prior to any construction. Hagios Philippos, for example, stands immediately below this quarry, less than 30 meters away, and Houses 1 and 2 are even closer. It is unlikely that large stones would have continued to be quarried here after these structures were built. A single mishap in guiding the stones would have been disastrous.

There is evidence for quarrying found lower on the site as well, near the northwest entrance to the site. As the site was being leveled and buildings were being planned, exposed bedrock would certainly have been exploited and chiseled away. As mentioned previously, we do not know how the terraces were constructed, but it is possible that the stones that face the terraces were quarried from the same spot as efforts were made to make the site more habitable.

Space

The layout of Marathos suggests expansion and spatial demarcation over time. The lower and upper zones were likely not contemporaneous in their original construction. While megalithic houses exist in both areas, this style of architecture was not limited to a short period of production, as discussed in Chapter One. The two zones enclose a central area that is flatter

and less built over than other parts of the site. Three cisterns are found here as well as the church of Hagia Kyriaki along with its adjacent house. While not a *plateia* in any sense, this does appear to have been an open, public space in the village.[49] The church of Hagia Kyriaki may well have been one of the last constructions of the Byzantine period at Marathos and given time, this area may have filled in with more houses.

Down the slope to the south of House 2 are series of well-built walls. Within the lower section is what appears to be an empty grave (Fig. 90). The grave is roughly oval in form, measuring around 0.8 m wide and under 2 m in length. Initial survey did not uncover any other graves in the area, but the grave is dug into a well-constructed, level terrace that could accommodate several more. Broken pieces of thin schist are visible about halfway down the grave which may have been the original covering for the burial that has subsequently collapsed. No other site for a potential graveyard has been identified at Marathos.

Following the collapse of the Byzantine Empire, the occupation of this site seems to have shifted in focus. While building continued, expansion of the settlement did not. Additions were built onto the existing houses in the following centuries creating a denser and more nucleated settlement pattern. This turn towards an inward focus may relate to the later development of the Mani towards a dense clan structure. When Marathos started to grow again it moved to the east side of the mountain, re-inhabiting an area that must have been abandoned for a lengthy period of time. However, the lack of spread continued and large complexes were constructed. These are similar to the Early Modern complexes that are well known in the Mani, but do not have the sophistication or quality of construction of these later complexes.[50] It is likely that these

[49] A *plateia* is a central plaza that is found in most villages.

[50] Saitas, *Greek Traditional Architecture*, 49-50, 70-83, 104-122.

complexes belong to the transitional period between the Medieval and Early Modern period. Interestingly, this area does not have any discernable fortification walls or other bulwarks. Something had changed that made such fortifications unnecessary. The fortification walls that we do see at Early Modern settlements are often built around family compounds, and not the entire settlement. This is, in part, because of the villagers need to defend themselves against a different threat. Whereas in the Byzantine period the villages would have been protecting themselves against foreign soldiers or marauding pirates, in the Early Modern period the clans were defending against each other, requiring a smaller circuit of fortifications based around the extended family, not the wider village.

Pathways

The pathways through Marathos are difficult to discern and changed significantly over time. However, clear entry points into parts of the village as well as the frequent preservation of doorways, allows for the tracing of the likely paths in and around the settlement. Leading to the carved staircase is a clear path along a terrace. It is unlikely that my access to this terrace is the same as the one a villager took in the medieval period. The deterioration of terraces in the formation of goat paths has created the path that I used for my fieldwork. Nonetheless, this access led up to what must have been one of the main approaches to the village. It is relatively narrow, flanked by bedrock on one side and a steep drop on the other. It is remarkable how the bedrock frames the path. In many points the stone rises up several meters as if one was walking along a massive fortification wall, similar to the ascent to Ano Poula.[51] As at Sarania the view of

[51] P. Katsafados, *Τα Κάστρα της Μαίνης* (Athens, 1992), 460-462.

the site is not immediately clear during one's approach. This path likely wound around the mountain, eventually leading to the village of Alika to the south.

Within the settlement itself, the pathways are more obscured by debris and centuries of plant growth. Access through the village seems to have been dictated by the placement of the houses. Entrances were built and blocked up as houses expanded and relationships changed. It is apparent that there were several open access areas from which one could go between a number of houses. This includes an area where one could access House 3, 4, 5 and 6 and another for Houses 8, 9, and 10. Eventually walls were built in these areas increasing separation between the houses. For example, a wall built between Houses 5 and 6 cut off immediate access to the second open area, requiring one to walk around the east side of House 5 to gain access. Importantly, there is no entrance on the east side of House 5, meaning that the creation of the wall separating the spaces may have been to increase privacy for the occupants of the home by making the path in front of the house less traveled.

The southeast part of the site does not preserve any clear entrance to Marathos, but the even distribution of megalithic buildings indicates that they are part of the entire village. Based on the construction of the terraces, Zone C was accessed from the extreme east, probably leading to where the modern road is, and up to the settlements of Kotrafi and Tsikalia. The gorges to the west and east make direct access from these areas impossible.

Finally, to the south of Marathos, there was likely a path that led up through Zone B. The post-Byzantine church of Hagios Nikolaos is further down, but as mentioned earlier, the walk between the two is very difficult.[52] The church and small settlement here is also guarded by a steep gorge, making it difficult to access (Fig. 91). The houses in this area need to be

[52] Drandakis et al., "Ἔρευνα στὴ Μάνη," 207; Kassis, *Ἄνθη της Πέτρας*, 333.

investigated, but it was likely an area that some inhabitants of Marathos moved to after the fall of the Empire. The paintings in the church here are post-Byzantine. It is closer to the agricultural lands and more hidden from view, particularly from the coast. Because of the topography of the area, the houses are difficult to spot at a distance as hills and mountains rise to hide it. While Marathos is naturally fortified, it is visible in the landscape and one can only imagine how present it was in the past with complete houses and towers standing well above the ruins of today.

Terraces

Unlike Sarania, there are no agricultural terraces immediately adjacent to Marathos. The terraces were only used for leveling, pathways, and building platforms. The intense agricultural terracing around the village of Tsikalia likely post-dates the occupation of Marathos. Even if it did not, there does not appear to be any substantial entrance to the east of the site that would have been used to access these terraces easily. The two outcrops of the Taygetos Mountains are separated by a narrow, but very steep gorge, requiring a significant hike to go from Marathos to those terraces. Given that Tsikalia is mentioned in the records as early as 1618 it is unlikely such terraces would have been shared with an adjacent settlement.[53] It is possible that Marathos exploited the valley to the south. This medieval use may have become obscured by the subsequent post-Byzantine settlements in the area. The villagers of Marathos must have had some access to agricultural land. The continued expansion and subsequent re-occupation of the south side of the site indicate that the area served as a dynamic settlement, not a refuge. Though

[53] Komis, *Πληθυσμός και οικισμοί*, 399.

the medieval pathways are obscured today by deterioration, foliage, and debris, they would have been clear and defined in the past. The fertile area to the south would require a walk of only a few hundred meters. Even with changes in incline and the unevenness of the path this would not be a long walk. The entire area is observable from Marathos and would easily provide enough land for the inhabitants of the village.

Dating

Hagia Kyriaki provides conclusive proof for the occupation of the site in the Late Byzantine period. However, the proximity of this church to a megalithic house provides significant evidence for the Middle Byzantine occupation of the site as well. Adjacent to Hagia Kyriaki at the center of the settlement is House 11, which has an attached cistern. This cistern is unique on site being built to a high level above ground, and using well cut stones and plentiful amounts of mortar (Fig. 92). The only other building on site with somewhat comparable material and building methods is Hagia Kyriaki. Because of the proximity of the two to each other as well as these similarities, it is likely both were constructed around the same time, in the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century.[54] The cistern attached to House 11, abuts the walls of the house and does not bond with them. It is also clear that the wall of the cistern here is much thinner than the surrounding walls, presupposing the existence of the house to bolster the structure. The evidence shows that House 11 built sometime before the Late Byzantine period, pre-dated the cistern.

Not only is the megalithic core of House 11 built prior to the Late Byzantine period, but the addition to the house, which is constructed of smaller stones without mortar, also pre-dates

[54] N. Drandakis, "Σχεδίασμα καταλόγου των τοιχογραφημένων," 234; Drandakis, et al. "Έρευνα στὴ Μάνη" (1979): 202-209.

this period. This does not mean that the life-span of the megalithic style was short. It likely indicates, as mentioned above, that the use of megalithic style to add onto the houses was impractical. The quarrying and moving of such large stones throughout a populated settlement would have been unnecessarily difficult. Despite the smaller scale of the addition, thinner walls, narrower doorways, and a shorter length and width, the construction methods are essentially the same; roughly-cut stones fit together without the use of mortar. There is no indication of a significant technological shift or an increase in means for the resulting addition.

This evidence suggests that for the megalithic style at Marathos, we have an end to its construction in the main area prior to the late thirteenth or early fourteenth centuries. Since there is no evidence to suggest the style of house found among these settlements pre-dates the medieval period and since the earliest evidentiary-based date for the style is the tenth century, the megalithic style at Marathos likely dates between the tenth and thirteenth centuries. The origin for this village then could be in the Middle Byzantine period. The village continued to grow and expand until sometime in the post-Byzantine period when it was finally abandoned.

Conclusion

Marathos was a vibrant village in the Byzantine period. This is best shown in the construction and decoration of Hagia Kyriaki, which includes portraits of two prominent villagers in the apse. Its position on a steep hill surrounded by a gorge provided a naturally defensible position that overlooked a fertile plain. Marathos spread to the south and the west, likely following the fall of the Byzantine Empire, with its inhabitants eventually being absorbed into the neighboring villages of Alika or Tsikalia. Both of these settlements have a significant

Early Modern phase, and they are better positioned to maintain control of and administer the agricultural lands around them.

It is possible that Marathos was the site of medieval Tsikalia in the Byzantine period. It is not unusual in the Mani to have Early Modern settlements move from their original Byzantine locations.[55] Marathos had at least thirty houses. Even if they were not all occupied at the same time, this would still indicate a population of well over one hundred individuals. It would seem unlikely that such a settlement would have been overlooked in the post-Byzantine censuses, but when we look at the documents, Alika and Tsikalia are mentioned one after the other with no reference to another settlement in between. It is also unlikely that the settlement would be immediately abandoned following the fall of the Byzantine Empire. During this time the Mani saw an influx of Greeks seeking refuge, and it would make little sense that a village would be completely abandoned at this time.

The key to tracing the movement of the villagers of Marathos lies in the spoliate marble present in the churches of the village. In the Late Roman period (4th-6th centuries), as State control was weakening and the imperial coffers were running low, a series of laws were passed regulating the re-use of marbles from public monuments. These focused on preventing the use of spolia in private residences and the transference of marbles from one settlement to another.[56] Civic identity and pride was contained in these marbles, and as such they should not leave their community or their place in public buildings. As the State weakened further and villages became more important in the countryside, it is likely that maintenance and control of these marbles

[55] Kouloumi, Boularioi and others are located a significant distance from the medieval site bearing the same name.

[56] J. Alchermes, "Spolia in Roman Cities of the Late Empire: Legislative Rationales and Architectural Reuse," *DOP* 48 (1994): 172-175.

switched to the village. The only place that spoliate marbles have been recorded in my research is in churches, public architecture. They are never found built into the houses, no matter how grand.

All three churches in Marathos incorporate spoliate marble. Their likely source was Kyparissos, a settlement with a deep history going back to the Classical Roman period. Kyparissos was founded by the residents of Tainaron further to the south.[57] Considering the civic identity imbued in marbles as well as their importance in visually connecting the current residents to the past, it is unlikely that these marbles would have been taken if the residents of Marathos did not have some connection to this settlement, whether real or perceived. We know that medieval and Early Modern marbles would travel with communities when they relocated.[58] Immured over the post-Byzantine entrance to Hagios Philippos are fragments of a Roman sarcophagus. These marbles are identical to a larger fragment placed above the entrance of Hagia Kyriaki in Tsikalia (Fig. 93). Hagios Philippos was rebuilt in the nineteenth century, the same time at which the Tsikalia church was constructed. These fragments likely derive from the same Roman sarcophagus. The reorientation of the entrance of Hagios Philippos, as well as the use of the better preserved marble in the Tsikalia church gives the impression that the two settlements had related populations and that the earlier inhabitants of Marathos shifted to Tsikalia, a better positioned and more modern settlement. Marathos would have remained the property of the villagers here, who likely continued to exploit the area through pasturage, an activity that may have generated the name Katanemistika (pasture land) for the settlement.

[57] See note 12.

[58] Gerstel, *Rural Lives*, 15; G. Pallis, "Νεότερα για το εργαστήριο γλυπτικής της Σαμαρίνας (τέλη 12ου-αρχές 13ου αί.)," *ΔΧΑΕ* 27 (2006): 91–100.

Chapter 4

Tigani: The Physical Remains

The medieval settlement of Tigani is situated on a promontory that juts out from the western coast of the Mani. It is connected to the mainland by a narrow, rocky isthmus (Fig. 94). Here, built on a natural plateau above steep bedrock, are the remains of a fortress, the Byzantine *kastron* of Maine.[1] Despite its low elevation, this *kastron* is intervisible with many settlements on the western side of the Mani, an indication of its central importance for the surrounding region.

Research at Tigani has focused on the excavated remains of the basilica. The fortifications have been only cursorily surveyed.[2] Preserved to a substantial degree within the fortifications, yet unexamined, are houses, cisterns, and other buildings that witness the settlement that once thrived here. My work at Tigani seeks to present a fuller picture of the *kastron* as an important citadel serving as the Byzantine State's main center of influence in the Mani.

As presented in Chapter 1, historic references to the *kastron* are few. However, they do provide important information about the occupants of the settlement. The *De Administrando Imperio* informs us that the inhabitants of the *kastron* "accept a head man (άρχοντα) from the military governor."[3] The Episcopal list from the reign of Leo VI (r. 886-912) testifies to the presence of a bishop, which is affirmed by subsequent documents such as an early- thirteenth-

[1] For the identification of Tigani as the Byzantine *kastron* of Maine, see Chapter 1.

[2] For the fortifications, see N. Gkioles and P. Damoulos, "Οι οχυρώσεις στο βυζαντινό κάστρο της Μαΐνης στο Τηγάνι της Μέσα Μάνης," in *Η Οχυρωματική Αρχιτεκτονικήστο Αιγαίο και ο Μεσαιωνικός Οικισμός Αναβάτου Χίου, Χίος, 26 - 28 Σεπτεμβρίου 2008*, ed. P. Damoulos (Chios, 2012), 187-194.

[3] *De Administrando Imperio*, trans. R. J. H. Jenkins (Washington D.C., 1967), 237.

century letter of Demetrios Chomatenos.[4] Both the archon and the bishop would have resided at the *kastron* along with support staff — clergy in the case of the bishop, and lower officials in the case of the archon. Material recovered during the excavation of the basilica provides further support for the elite occupation of the *kastron*. Of particular note is a Middle Byzantine inscription found in the area of the narthex, which reads: "ΔΑΚΗΟΥ ΚΟΜΗΤΟΣ ΤΩ ΚΤΗΣΑΜΕΝΩ ΤΟΥΤ[ΟΝ]" (Fig. 95).[5] The mention of a *Komes* affirms the presence of a naval officer at the *kastron*, indicating that it was likely the home of this military official and other soldiers.[6]

In Chapter 1 I presented the evidence that Tigani was the Byzantine *kastron* of Maine. To understand what role the *kastron* of Maine had in the region, it is important to discuss its relationship to other settlements in the Peloponnese. Notably, in the *Chronicle of the Morea*, the *kastron* of Maine is mentioned along with Mystras and Monemvasia as the *kastra* given to Michael VIII Palaiologos in 1262.[7] While on a smaller scale, the *kastron* would house officials that would exert the State's influence in the region. Because of the lesser importance of Maine than these other centers, the settlement would have been smaller. There was not the kind of

[4] P. Zerlentos, *Ταξίς ιεραρχική εν Πελοπόννησω άγιον του θεού εκκλησίων – Η μητροπολίς Ζαρνάτας και αι εν Μάνη, επισκοπαί* (Ermoupolis, 1922), 29-30; D. Chomatenos, *Ponemata Diaphora*, ed. G. Prinzing (Berlin, 2002), 89.

[5] "Of Count (Komes) Dakios, who built this." See Drandakis, Gkioles, and Konstantinidi, "Ανασκαφή στό Τηγάνι," (1978), 190; A. Mexia and P. Perdikoulias, "Inscribed Architectural Member," in *Byzantium: An Oecumenical Empire*, eds. M. Evangelatou, H. Papastavrou, and T.-P. Skotti (Athens, 2002), 183; D. Feissel and A. Philippidis-Braat, "Inventaires en vue d'un receuil des inscriptions historiques de Byzance. III. Inscriptions du Péloponnése (à l'exception de Mistra)," *TM* 9 (1985): 308; *Tales of Religious Faith in the Mani* (Athens, 2005), 121.

[6] A. Avramea, "Le Magne byzantine: problèmes d'histoire et de topographie," *Mélanges offerts à Hélène Ahrweiler* (Paris, 1998): 14-24; N. Oikonomides, *Les listes de préséance byzantines des IXe et Xe siècles* (Paris, 1972), 109, 341; H. Glykatzi-Ahrweiler, "Recherches sur l'administration de l'empire byzantin aux IX^{e}-XI^{e} siècles," *BCH* 84 (1960): 2-3; J. B. Bury, *The Imperial Administrative System in the Ninth Century: with a Revised Text of Kletorologion of Philotheos* (London, 1911), 41, 139.

[7] A. Van Arsdall and H. Moody, trans., *The Old French Chronicle of Morea: An Account of Frankish Greece after the Fourth Crusade* (Burlington, 2015), 91; Lurier, *Crusaders as Conquerors*, 197-198.

wealth and opportunity available in the Mani as at Monemvasia or Mystras, two important centers in Lakonia.[8]

Within the *kastron* and its surrounding fortification walls, there are at least seven churches or chapels.[9] Most of these have undergone a series of reconstructions and repairs. While some of the churches outside of the *kastron* may have a post-Byzantine phase, their original construction is megalithic, placing their origins in the Byzantine period. There is a significant number of cisterns both in and around the *kastron*. While local legend says there are 365, one for each day of the year, the actual number is likely under 100.[10] Moreover, the cisterns are not uniform, but come in a variety of shapes and sizes, with some measuring under three meters in length, while others are over fourteen. Their quantity alone, however, provides little information about the number of residents that they could support.

The most surprising element of the *kastron* is the small number of identifiable houses. Thus far I have been able to securely identify only seven on site. While the intricate and ever-growing complex of cisterns in the center of the *kastron* may once have had houses built above them, the absence of debris within the cisterns and their multiplicity of building phases does not indicate the presence of a significant superstructure. The houses that are still preserved, however, are quite large and of a higher quality than those of the surrounding villages. This would make it unusual and unexpected to have smaller, poorly built houses at the center of the site since they would be in stark contrast not only to the other houses at Tigani, but to those of the villages in

[8] For the history of Monemvasia, see H. Kalligas, *Monemvasia: A Byzantine City State* (London, 2009); For the history of Mystras, see S. Runciman, *The Lost Capital of Byzantium: The History of Mistra and the Peloponnese* (Cambridge, 2009).

[9] This number includes the three churches on the initial hill one descends to approach the *kastron*.

[10] Personal communication with local residents.

the Mani. Based on the ruins on site as well as the potential for water collection, there were likely more houses as will be discussed below.

Churches

The basilica within the *kastron* has been the subject of extensive excavation and study (Fig. 96).[11] The church is a three aisle, three apse basilica with a narthex. The shape of the basilica has drawn comparisons to the Acropolis Basilica in Sparta (Fig. 97).[12] The exact period of construction for the Acropolis Basilica is unclear, however, with estimates ranging from the fifth to the tenth century.[13] Both churches have polygonal apses with flanking pastophoria, though at Tigani these chambers communicate directly with the sanctuary. Each basilica has a raised platform in the main apse that was likely the base for a *synthronon*, benches for the clergy. The Acropolis Basilica, however, has an annular crypt below the sanctuary and likely contained galleries as well.[14] These variations indicate important differences between the two buildings and their communities, demonstrating that the Acropolis Basilica was a far more significant

[11] N. Drandakis, "Ανασκαφή εἰς τό Τηγάνι της Μάνης," *ΠΑΕ* (1964): 121-135; N. Drandakis, N. Gkioles, and Ch. Konstantinidi, "Ανασκαφή στό Τηγάνι της Μάνης," *ΠΑΕ* (1978): 183-191; N. Drandakis and N. Gkioles, "Ανασκαφή στό Τηγάνι της Μάνης," *ΠΑΕ* (1980): 188-246; N. Drandakis, N. Gkioles, and Ch. Konstantinidi, "Ανασκαφή στό Τηγάνι της Μάνης," *ΠΑΕ* (1981): 241-253; N. Drandakis and N. Gkioles, "Ανασκαφή στό Τηγάνι της Μάνης," *ΠΑΕ* (1983): 264-270; N. Drandakis and N. Gkioles, "Ανασκαφή στό Τηγάνι της Μάνης," *ΠΑΕ* (1984): 248-255; Mexia, "Η Βασιλική στο Τηγάνι, 57-66.

[12] Drandakis also compared the basilica to the Basilica of Saint John Studios in Constantinople, which has a single faceted apse. The church is also significantly larger than the basilica at Tigani, measuring approximately 25 x 24 meters excluding the apse. See Drandakis, "Ανασκαφή εἰς τό Τηγάνι" (1964): 125, n. 4; N. Drandakis, N. Gkioles, and Ch. Konstantinidi, "Σκαφικές έρευνες στή Μάνη. Τοιχογραφίες στόν Άγιο Πέτρο Διρού," *ΠΑΕ* (1979): 221.

[13] R. Sweetman and E. Katsara, "The Acropolis Basilica Project, Sparta: Preliminary Report for the 2000 Season," *BSA* 97 (2002): 429-468; R. Sweetman, "The Acropolis Basilica Church, Sparta: The Broader Research Issues," *British School at Athens Studies* 16 (2009): 331-341; G. Soteriou, "Ανασκαφαί εν τή παλαιά Σπάρτη," *ΠΑΕ* (1939): 107-118.

[14] Sweetman, "The Acropolis Basilica church," 333.

construction than the basilica at Tigani, one that was intended to accommodate a much larger number of worshipers.

As the excavation of the basilica began, it became evident to the excavator, Nikolaos Drandakis, that several pieces of carved marble had been removed from the site and placed in other churches around the area. These include two fragments of marble columns immured in the churches of Hagios Nikolaos in Stavri and the Ascension in Mezapos.[15] The pieces are thought to have come from the sanctuary of Tigani and were placed in a similar position in the sanctuary of the other churches.[16] These settlements are not far from Tigani. Mezapos is across the bay and likely served as the port for the Byzantine *kastron,* while Stavri is a small village less than 2.5 km to the south. Other marbles are also found in the farther villages of Kounos and Alika.[17] The incorporation of these marbles into later churches in the region demonstrates not only the importance that Tigani had for the area, but also the sustained connection these settlements had with the *kastron* itself.[18]

During the excavation, six carved inscriptions were recovered.[19] Based on the letter forms, the excavators dated the carvings to the eleventh or twelfth century.[20] Two of these pieces are significant for the information they provide about the basilica and the history of the site. The first is the *komes* inscription mentioned above, which was recovered from the area of the narthex

[15] Drandakis, "Ανασκαφή εἰς τό Τηγάνι," 127-128.

[16] Ibid.

[17] N. Drandakis, "Ερευνα εις τήν Μάνην," 137-138; Drandakis and Gkioles, "Ανασκαφή στό Τηγάνι," (1984): 253.

[18] Early on in the excavation, Drandakis and his team took a boat from Mezapos to Tigani instead of traveling by land. See Drandakis, "Ανασκαφή εἰς τό Τηγάνι," 124-125.

[19] Drandakis, "Ανασκαφή εἰς τό Τηγάνι," (1964): 134; N. Drandakis, Ἔρευνα εἰς τὴν Μάνην," *ΠΑΕ* (1977): 204-205; Drandakis et al. "Ανασκαφή στό Τηγάνι της Μάνης," 190; Drandakis and Gkioles, "Ανασκαφή στό Τηγάνι," (1983), 270.

[20] This method of dating is problematic as the letter forms from the different inscriptions from Tigani are not similar.

in 1978.[21] The use of this term indicates that a naval official was stationed at Tigani.[22] It is tempting to think that this *komes* was the "headman" that was assigned by the *strategos* mentioned in the *De Administrando Imperio*.[23] The exact status of the *komes* is difficult to determine as it is a general title that applies to a number of different positions.[24] Complicating matters further, the rank and importance of the *komes* changes not just over time, but also varies by location.[25] Over time it appears that the rank of the *komes* diminishes in importance, but this may not have been consistent across Byzantium. So what kind of *komes* was stationed at Tigani?

The *komes* Dakios in the inscription at Tigani could not have been the low ranking official who was only paid 6 *nomismata,* 3 more than the standard soldier.[26] We know from an inscription of 1265 from the nearby village of Kepoula that a notary and church reader donated 8 *nomismata* himself for the erection and decoration of church that cost a sum of 14.5 *nomismata*.[27] It would be impossible for Dakios to have paid for the construction of all or part of

[21] Drandakis, Gkioles, and Konstantinidi, "Ανασκαφή στό Τηγάνι," 190.

[22] Anna Avramea argues for an earlier dating to this inscription to the ninth or tenth century and that the *komes* was stationed here to aid in the struggle against the Arabs of Crete. An eleventh-century inscription from Naxos, however, attests to the presence of such officials in the Aegean well after the campaigns on Crete. See Avramea, "Le Magne byzantine," 56; N. Zarras, "Identity and Patronage in Byzantium: Epigraphic Evidence and Donor Portraits of Naxos," in *Inscriptions in the Byzantine and Post-Byzantine History of Art* ed. C. Stavrakos (Ioannina, 2016), 57-58.

[23] *De Administrando Imperio,* 236-237.

[24] For example, in the rankings under the *strategos* (general), there is a *komes tes kortes, komites bandorum,* and a *komes tes etaireias*. Each had different responsibilities and status. See Bury, *Imperial Administrative System*, 41.

[25] During the expedition to Crete in the tenth century, the Mardaites unit had 42 *droungarioi* and 42 *kometes* while the *Takitka* of Leo VI makes it clear that there would be multiple *kometes* under each *droungarios*, See, J. Haldon, *A Critical Commentary on the Taktika of Leo VI* (Washington D.C, 2014), 150; G. Dennis, *The Taktika of Leo VI, Text, Translation and Commentary* (Washington, D.C., 2014) 52-53.

[26] J. Haldon, "Theory and Practice in Tenth-Century Military Administration: Chapters II, 44 and 45 of the *Book of Ceremonies*," *TM* 13 (2000): 258-260.

[27] S. Kalopissi-Verti, *Dedicatory Inscriptions and Donor Portraits in Thirteenth-Century Churches of Greece* (Vienna, 1992), 67-69.

the basilica and for this inscription if his salary was so low.[28] Given the orientation of Tigani towards the sea, it is likely that this *komes* was the type mentioned in the *Taktika* of Leo VI in charge of 3 or 5 *dromons*.[29] Leo explains that this position is the same as the more antiquated term *navarchos* or admiral.[30] Based on the average number of crew per ship, this *komes* would be in charge of at least 300 to 500 individuals and perhaps even more.[31] These numbers are higher than the *bandon* commanded by the *komes* paid 6 nomismata, which would have numbered around 200 soldiers. There is no reference to the pay for this presumably higher ranking *komes*, but given the greater number of men under his command it must have been more significant. In addition to his military position, the *komes* would also perform civil functions where they were located. At Tigani he likely functioned as civil administrator as well, further increasing his status and importance for the area.

A second important inscription from the basilica is from two adjoining fragments of an inscribed cornice recovered in 1977 from the southeast corner of the south aisle reading: "Θ(ΕΟΤΟ)ΚΕ ΒΟΗΘΗ ΤΟΥΣ ΟΔΕ ΗΣΤΑΜΕΙΝΟΥΣ ΑΡΧ(ΟΝΤΑΣ)."[32] The inscription invokes the Theotokos for help and may indicate that the original dedication of the church was to the Virgin. The mention of *archontes* (leaders) further suggests that the *kastron* was the home of

[28] Given the location where the inscription was found, it is possible that Dakios funded the construction and decoration of the narthex.

[29] Dennis, *Taktika*, 512-513.

[30] Ibid.

[31] Each *dromon* would have at least 100 oarsmen, but could have up to 200 depending on the size of the ship in addition to other officers or support staff that might be on this ships. It would be possible then, that a *komes* could be in charge of more than 1000 individuals. See J. Pryor and E. Jeffreys, *The Age of the ΔΡΟΜΩΝ, The Byzantine Navy ca 500-1204* (Leiden, 2006), 254-255.

[32] "Theotokos, help these leaders standing here…"

important individuals. The use of this word is not replicated in any other inscription from the Mani, indicating the significance of Tigani for the surrounding area.[33]

The dating of the basilica to the Early Christian period (4th – 7th centuries) by the excavators relies mainly on the grave goods recovered from the more than fifty burials found throughout the church.[34] According to the excavation report, these burials were lined with lime mortar, and covered with stone slabs that were held down with mortar.[35] Above the cover of the graves was a layer of black earth thought to indicate a period of abandonment prior to the installation of the Middle Byzantine pavement of the church.[36] None of the known graves seem to have been damaged by the foundations of the basilica. While it appears from the ground plan that the burials are exclusively found within the church, the surrounding area was never excavated and may, in fact, also contain burials. It is possible that the area where the basilica was erected was an Early Christian cemetery that was in use prior to the erection of the church. That they were erecting the church in a graveyard could not have gone unnoticed by the builders since they must have come upon the graves during its construction.[37] Few graves appear to be aligned with the walls of the basilica and, indeed, some examples are found under the walls.[38]

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[33] *Tales of Religious Faith*, 121-122.

[34] Drandakis and Gkioles, "Ανασκαφή στό Τηγάνι," (1980), 247-50, 252-56, 258; Drandakis, Gkioles, and Konstantinidi, "Ανασκαφή στό Τηγάνι," 241-246, 248-251.

[35] Drandakis and Gkioles, "Ανασκαφή στό Τηγάνι," (1980), 249.

[36] Ibid, 248-249.

[37] The bones and grave goods found during the excavation of the chapel added to the north wall of the church are thought to have been the result of later building around the basilica. See Drandakis and Gkioles, "Ανασκαφή στό Τηγάνι," (1983), 266-267.

[38] Grave 29 is found under the doorway to the central aisle of the basilica. Its presence clearly indicates that the threshold must postdate the construction of the grave. See Drandakis and Gkioles, "Ανασκαφή στό Τηγάνι," (1980), 248; Drandakis, Gkioles, and Konstantinidi, "Ανασκαφή στό Τηγάνι," 245.

Constructing a later church on top of an Early Christian cemetery is commonplace in Byzantium. The Kodratus Basilica and the Kraneion Basilica in Corinth, for example, were both erected over earlier Christian cemeteries.[39]

The small finds from the graves have not been conclusively dated. The original dating placed the glass and other materials recovered in the fifth to seventh centuries based on comparisons to similar material from Corinth.[40] Recently, Nikolaos Gkioles has argued for an even earlier date in the fifth or sixth centuries.[41] These same materials have also been dated more broadly from the fifth through eighth centuries.[42] While a number of finds – including some jewelry and belt buckles – date to the Early Christian period, new research urges a reconsideration of many of the finds. Current research by Anastassios Antonaras suggests a much later date, from the late- tenth to early- eleventh century, for much of the glass.[43] Similarly, the enameled ring recovered from Grave 52 in the narthex was originally dated to the sixth century (Fig. 98). Comparisons to similar works, such as a pair of enameled bracelets from

[39] E. Stikas, "Κοιμητηριακή Βασιλική Παλαιάς Κορίνθου," *ΠΑΕ* (1964): 129-136; E. Stikas, "Ανασκαφή κοιμητηριακής Βασιλικής Παλαιάς Κορίνθου," *ΠΑΕ* (1966): 51-56; D. Pallas, "Ανασκαφική έρευνα εις την Βασιλικήν του Κρανείου εν Κορίνθω," *ΠΑΕ* (1970): 98-117; D. Pallas, "Ανασκαφική έρευνα εις την Βασιλικήν του Κρανείου εν Κορίνθω," *ΠΑΕ* (1972): 205-250; D. Pallas, "Ανασκαφική έρευνα εις την Βασιλικήν του Κρανείου εν Κορίνθω," *ΠΑΕ* (1976): 163-195.

[40] Overall Drandakis argues for a strong connection of the material at Tigani to Corinth not just for the comparison of grave goods, but also arguing that the guard for the *kastron* came from Corinth. See Drandakis, Gkioles, and Konstantinidi, "Ανασκαφή στό Τηγάνι," 253.

[41] N. Gkioles, "Η ανασκαφή στο Τηγάνι της Μέσα Μάνης," in *Επιστημονικό Συμπόσιο στη μνήμη Ν. Β. Δρανδάκη για τη Βυζαντινή Μάνη, Οίτυλο 21-22 Ιουνίου 2008*, eds. E. Eleutheriou and A. Mexia (Sparta, 2008-2009), 62-68.

[42] N. Poulou-Papadimitriou, E. Tzavella, and J. Ott, "Burial Practices in Byzantine Greece: Archaeological Evidence and Methodological Problems for its Interpretation," in *Rome, Constantinople and Newly-Converted Europe: Archaeological and Historical Evidence* eds. M. Salamon, M. Wołoszyn, A. Musin, P. Špehar (Krakow, 2012), 393-394.

[43] Personal communication.

Thessaloniki, has encouraged scholars to now suggest a later, Middle Byzantine date.[44] Found in Grave 50, also in the narthex, were two glass vessels, an iron cross pendant and a steatite Maltese cross (Fig. 99). None of these are dated by the excavator. They compare the steatite cross to a similar find in Corinth, though the only dating given for this piece is the "Byzantine period."[45] This cross, however, should be re-dated to the Middle Byzantine period.[46] Similarly, the glass likely comes from this later period as well.[47]

Two likely arcosolia were also uncovered in the narthex of the basilica (Fig. 100). The one along the north wall was never labeled and presumably yielded no grave goods. The arcosolium along the south wall, Grave 55, contained only a few bone fragments.[48] These graves must have been created after the erection of the basilica since they clearly make use of the walls for their construction. The position of these graves as well as their construction indicate that they were intended for prominent members of the *kastron*. The absence of grave goods is not surprising. The visibility of the tombs above the floor of the church would have made them easy targets for looting after the abandonment of the settlement or, as frequently happens, the community took the bones with them when they moved.

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[44] Drandakis, Gkioles, and Konstantinidi, "Ανασκαφή στό Τηγάνι," 250; A. Antonaras, "Middle and Late Byzantine Jewelry from Thessaloniki and its Region," in *Byzantine Small Finds in Archaeological Contexts*, eds. B. Böhlendorf-Arslan and A. Ricci (Istanbul, 2012), 119-121; A. Antonaras and S. E. J. Gerstel, "Between Heaven and Earth: Views of Byzantine Thessaloniki," in *Viewing Greece: Cultural and Political Agency in the Medieval and Early Modern Mediterranean*, ed. S. E. J. Gerstel (Turnhout, 2016), 85-109.

[45] While still dating this cross to around the sixth century, comparisons of this type are made to examples from the eleventh and twelfth centuries. See, *Tales of Religious Faith*, 54; G. Davidson, *The Minor Objects* (Princeton, 1952), 259-260.

[46] Brigittte Pitarakis, personal communication.

[47] Anastassios Antonaras dates the glass from this grave to the tenth or eleventh century. Personal communication.

[48] Drandakis, Gkioles, and Konstantinidi, "Ανασκαφή στό Τηγάνι," 245.

A significant issue in favor of arguing for an Early Christian date for the majority of the graves is that it is unusual for graves to be placed within churches at this time, particularly in the nave and sanctuary.[49] Graves in the Early Christian period tended to be extramural. The aforementioned Kodratus and Kraneion Basilicas in Corinth were both Early Christian basilicas erected over existing cemeteries. If the graves at Tigani date to this early period, then it would suggest that the basilica must have been later, not contemporaneous. Accepting the evidence for an early date for the graves would argue for a later date for the basilica. Drandakis also reported that most graves had bones of multiple burials. The more than fifty graves would have yielded a minimum of one hundred individuals and likely more. This would be a substantial Early Christian population that has left virtually no trace among the extant remains.[50] Based on the recovered architectural marbles, the size of the church, and the history of the settlement, the basilica must be Middle Byzantine.

Prior to the discovery of the graves, Nikolaos Drandakis dated the erection of the basilica to the seventh century on the basis of its form and size.[51] However, the basilica at Tigani is different from the Early Christian basilicas found in the Mani. Both Hagios Petros at Kyparissos and the unpublished basilica at Gytheio are large, three aisle basilicas, but they have a single, round, central apse. They are also significantly larger. The Basilica at Gytheio measures 36 meters long and 21 meters wide, while the basilica at Tigani measures only 23.3 x 15.25

[49] Poulou-Papadimitriou, Tzavella, and Ott, "Burial practices," 377-428.

[50] Half of a marble table, for example, found in Grave 43 may date to around the fifth century, though it could have been interred later. See Drandakis, Gkioles, and Konstantinidis, "Ανασκαφή στό Τηγάνι," 246.

[51] N. Drandakis, "Από την παλαιοχριστιανική και Βυζαντινή Μάνη," *Ιστορικογεωγραφικά* 1 (1986): 16.

meters.[52] The basilica at Kyparissos, while not fully excavated, measures around 23 meters in width.[53]

Recently, Angeliki Mexia has re-dated the earliest phase of the church to around the second half of the tenth to the early eleventh century based on the recovered marbles as well as the masonry of the church walls.[54] However, there are two substantial phases visible in the wall construction of the church. The first consists of well-cut blocks of poros likely quarried close to the nearby church of Hagios Prokopios. The second is the use of the local limestone in rougher cut blocks with the substantial use of mortar and bricks. This is clearly visible within the construction of the apse (Fig. 101). Large, well cut poros blocks were used for the foundation, with the later Middle Byzantine masonry above. The use of large poros blocks is also seen in the first courses of masonry at Hagios Nikolaos in Kambinari near Platsa in Messenian Mani, its earliest phase dated to the ninth century.[55] Taking this earlier masonry into consideration along with the carved stone dating to the ninth or tenth century, it is possible that the basilica was erected prior to the late tenth century, probably in the ninth or early tenth century. While evidence does not confirm a ninth-century date for its construction, it does not preclude it. Furthermore, if the church was not built until the second half of the tenth century, then where was the Bishop of Maine installed prior to its construction? The first mention of the bishopric dates to 901-907, but the bishopric was likely created prior to this reference since this was a

[52] *Tales of Religious Faith*, 144.

[53] Drandakis, "Ανασκαφή εν Κυπαρίσσω," 206-216.

[54] Mexia, "Η Βασιλική στο Τηγάνι," 57-62.

[55] G. Velenis and M. Kappas, "Ο Άγιος Νικόλαος στο Καμπινάρι Πλάτσας." Addenda et corrigenda, *Εταιρεία Πελοποννησιακών Σπουδών, Δ΄ Τοπικόν Συνέδριον Μεσσηνιακών Σπουδών, Καλαμάτα 8–11.10.2010*. (unpublished paper)

document listing existent episcopal Sees, not their creation. This would mean that the bishop was without a church for more than half a century since no other church in the Mani has been suggested to fulfill this role.[56] It is possible that the Christianization of the inhabitants mentioned in *De Administrando Imperio* was a confused reference to the construction of the basilica during the reign of Basil I (r. 867-886). Certainly, such a construction would have been unnecessary if the inhabitants were not Christian.[57]

This basilica was almost certainly the seat of the Bishop of Maine, first mentioned during the reign of Leo VI (886-911). A few fragments of painting simulating marble revetment were found during excavation of the basilica.[58] The importance of the church's decoration, however, is seen in the significant number of carved marbles and other stone that were recovered from throughout the building. The majority of these carvings date from the eleventh to twelfth centuries, though some firmly date earlier to the ninth or tenth centuries.[59] Fragments of liturgical furniture provide evidence for the importance of the church and its use by a bishop. The presence of a synthronon, a series of raised benches for the clergy, in the apse is commonly found in episcopal churches. Further, marble fragments from an ambo, a raised platform in front of the sanctuary used for gospel readings and sermons, support the conclusion that this church was designed for an ecclesiastical official of high status (Fig. 102).[60] Also recovered were pieces

[56] The only other basilica in the immediate area that could have served this purpose would have been the Early Christian Basilica at Kyparissos. However, the name of this area is known from the Byzantine period, and was never called Maine. It would be highly unusual to install a bishop in one settlement, but refer to him as from another.

[57] The number of crucifixes recovered from the graves at Tigani as well as their overwhelming E-W orientation indicates that those interred were Christians.

[58] N. Drandakis, Ἔρευνα εἰς τὴν Μάνην," *ΠΑΕ* (1977): 200.

[59] Mexia, "Η Βασιλική στο Τηγάνι," 61.

[60] Drandakis, Gkioles, and Konstantinidi, "Σκαφικές έρευνες στή Μάνη," 220; Drandakis and Gkioles, "Ανασκαφή στό Τηγάνι," 253; Drandakis, *Βυζαντινά γλυπτά*, 292-293; *Tales of Religious Faith*, 127.

of a marble *proskynetarion* dating to the twelfth century.[61] In addition to these unique and lavish elements, the location of the basilica within the *kastron* at Tigani further emphasizes its importance for the region. A bishop would not have been located in a small village, but rather an important administrative center.

Drandakis argues for the diminution of the basilica over time. The debris that filled the cistern of the north aisle is seen as evidence of a massive earthquake that severely damaged the church.[62] By the Late Byzantine or post Byzantine period he believes that the south aisle and narthex had become segmented into houses.[63] However, it is not clear why he makes this assessment. No domestic assemblages are mentioned, nor are there any drawings provided of what these houses looked like. It would be highly unusual for a church to become a secular, domestic space. The importance and sacred nature of the buildings would be preserved by the surrounding populace, as evidenced by the relocation of marbles from the basilica into new churches of the neighboring villages. Often such abandoned structures would become graveyards, sometimes with a small chapel erected over the ruins, making use of the sacred ground of the building.[64] It is likely that over time, walls were built to support the structure, or turn the areas over to some other function for the operation of the church.

During the excavation of the basilica, Drandakis performed a preliminary survey of the settlement and identified a second, much smaller church (Church B) in the northwest section of

[61] Drandakis, *Βυζαντινά γλυπτά*, 290; Drandakis, Drandakis, Gkioles, and Konstantidi, "'Ανασκαφή στο Τηγάνι της Μάνης," *ΠΑΕ* (1978): 188.

[62] Drandakis and Gkioles, "Ανασκαφή στό Τηγάνι" (1983), 265-266.

[63] Ibid, 265.

[64] An example of this can be seen at Iasos. See U. Serin, *Early Christian and Byzantine Churches at Iasos in Caria: An Architectural Survey* (Vatican City, 2004), 99-101.

the *kastron* (Fig. 103). This church exists in a highly fragmentary condition with just its apse and south wall intact. The north and west sides are completely missing. This church is briefly mentioned by Drandakis, and he provides a drawing of the building.[65] However, his drawing omits the rest of the walls to the south of the church (Fig. 104). What is evident from on-site examination is that they pre-existed the construction of the apse. The apse is not bonded with the south wall (Fig. 105). Further, this wall and the west wall of the adjacent building are bonded, as clearly seen in the corner. In addition, the masonry of each is noticeably different, with smaller stones being used in the construction of the apse, and a different kind of mortar. The mortar of the apse is a sandy brown, while that of the wall is grey, with large inclusions of smooth pebbles.

The identity of this adjacent building is unclear. Drandakis refers to it as a house. The width of the building is 7.2 m, which would make it the second widest house on site. It is also evident that the north wall of the building ended where it is today, near to the apse of the church. This would create a square house, which would be unique on site and indeed among all of the houses that I have surveyed in the Mani. My investigation of the area has uncovered what appears to be part of an apse on the east end of the building. On the ground, obscured by soil accumulation and plant growth, are the remnants of a thin wall with a noticeable curve. These stones are the same as those seen in the walls of the building and are held together with mortar, excluding the possibility that it is simply debris that fell in the area. It would be unusual to have a church added onto a house, even more so with a window that opens into the sanctuary. This adjacent building was likely a church that had another chapel added onto its north wall. Such double churches are not uncommon in the region; indeed, one exists on the slopes leading to Tigani (Fig. 106).

[65] Drandakis and Gkioles, "Ανασκαφή στό Τηγάνι," (1984), 253; Drandakis, Ἔρευνα εἰς τὴν Μάνην," (1977) 203-207.

Outside of the *kastron*, between the primary and secondary defensive walls, are the remains of another chapel. It exists in a fragmentary condition, though the apse is still visible (Fig. 107). The chapel was 2.6 m wide and no more than 6 m in length. Built of rubble masonry, the chapel preserves no trace of its decoration. What is remarkable about this chapel is its position. There is one possible house in this area, but otherwise there are no other buildings in the immediate vicinity.

On the hill one descends to approach the peninsula of Tigani, there are four more chapels (Fig. 108). There are no visible houses in this area, nor is there a known medieval settlement nearby except for Tigani. They likely had some purpose or connection to the *kastron*. Church C, for example, was a megalithic church that was later reinforced and rebuilt (Fig. 109). To the west of this church are the remains of three small threshing floors built of stone and bedrock, similar to those at Sarania. Since there is no nearby village from the medieval period that would use these threshing floors, or even many agricultural terraces, it is likely that this was a spot were grain would be threshed for the *kastron*. All of these churches are behind the first defensive wall that stretches from the eastern and western ridges of the hill, further indicating their association with the *kastron*.

Houses

The most noteworthy aspect of the houses at Tigani is how few there are. Only seven buildings that can be clearly identified as houses are visible today within the *kastron* in addition to one tower that may have functioned as a residence. It is possible that more houses did exist around the complex of cisterns in the center, but there could not have been much more than a

dozen houses based on the visible material remains. It appears that each house had three to five cisterns associated with it, either attached or nearby. All of the houses, except for the house attached to the basilica, correspond to the rectangular, linear form found elsewhere in the Mani and Peloponnese.[66] There is no megalithic phase for any of the houses. All of the buildings were constructed with rubble masonry consisting of roughhewn stones of small to medium size and extensive use of mortar. The mortar and the stones show significant wear from the salt spray of the surrounding sea. Most stones are salt encrusted white and the mortar is severely pockmarked. The walls are thinner than the megalithic examples, ranging between 60 and 80 cm. The houses are mostly larger than the first phase of the houses in the villages. House 1, measuring over 8 meters in width and 19 meters in length, is significantly larger than any other house included in this study. The substantial span of this house also indicates that it could not be roofed with *makronia* like the village houses, but must have had a vaulted or timber roof.[67]

The majority of the houses are built in the northern half of the *kastron*, with the interior reserved for cisterns and small rooms (Fig. 94). House 1 is the first house that one approaches when entering the *kastron*. Located to the west of the basilica, the size of the house indicates that it must have belonged to someone of importance. The preserved height of the wall near the north end, along with the debris filling the interior, indicates the presence of a second floor that may have been isolated to this portion of the house (Fig. 110). No internal divisions were visible, though these may have been obscured by debris and plant growth. Attached to the north wall is a large cistern that is the same width as the house and, from the extant plaster, reached the full

[66] For the form of houses in the northwest Peloponnese, see K. Kourelis, "The Rural Houses in the Medieval Peloponnese," in *Archaeology in Architecture: Studies in Honor of Cecil L. Striker*, eds. J. Emerick and D. Deliyannis (Mainz, 2005), 119-129.

[67] There were no roof tiles visible on the surface of the site. It is possible that even with a vaulted or timber roof that stone was used as roofing material as seen elsewhere in the region.

height of the house as well, at least 3 meters high on the current wall. This was a very large and deep cistern. Yet, evidently it was not enough since a second, smaller cistern was built along the west wall of the original.

House 4, the best-preserved house on site, exhibits a large number of alterations. It was built in the linear style, measuring approximately 12 m x 5 m. From the beginning, the builder appeared to have a more complex design in mind than a simple rectangular house. Four pilasters were built along the south wall. While they are not bonded with the wall, their masonry style as well as their mortar appear identical, indicating that they were likely intended from the beginning as structural supports (Fig. 111). They were a necessity since the south wall is very thin, measuring only 40 cm thick. This would have not been substantial enough to support a roof or second floor. For whatever reason, the builder wanted to use pilasters to support a superstructure instead of making the south wall the same thickness as the others.

The use of the pilasters must not have been entirely successful since a later wall was built along the east end, partially covering the pilaster on that side. This added reinforcement may also have been accompanied by the creation of an internal cistern in the west end of the house. The addition of another internal wall to build this cistern would have provided greater support for a second floor. The cistern was accessed from above, clearly indicating the presence of a second floor. The inclusion of the cistern must have limited the extent of the second floor as it is unlikely that living space would have been placed on the roof of the cistern. There is no evidence that a floor was placed over the roof of the cistern, further supporting that its construction decreased the size of the second floor living space.

The main entrance for the house is on the north side. It opens towards the sea as do all three windows. Depending on the presence and size of a fortification wall along the edge of the

plateau, the view to the sea would have been relatively unobstructed. At some point a doorway was created by punching a hole through the east and west walls of the cistern. This alteration likely occurred after the abandonment of the house since the "doorways" are not framed or well-articulated (Fig. 112). There is no lintel and the doorways are only supported by the mortar of the surrounding walls. There was also no evidence that the cistern became a separate room since the plaster is still intact and there are no signs of intervention. It is unlikely that a house of this quality would suddenly abandon a cistern in favor of extra doors that were haphazardly created.

House 7 is unique among the houses because of both its shape and location. It is a small building, built off of the north wall of the apsidal addition to the basilica. It consists of at least three separate building phases, though they may have functioned together as a single house. A window on the north wall of one section testifies to the depth of the soil that has accumulated on top of the building. This is in no small part the result of debris from the basilica that was evidently placed on top of this structure during the excavations of the 1960's, 70's and 80's. For this reason it is not possible to see if the walls connect to the wall of the chapel attached to the basilica, though this is highly likely given the proximity of the building.

From the plan of the building the house appears to consist of at least two separate rooms, one built to the east and one to the west (Fig. 113). While the rooms are of different construction methods, the alignment of their north walls may indicate that they functioned as a single built unit, approximately 11.2 x 5.7 meters. Because of the presence of a window at ground level as well as the level of the floor of the basilica it is clear that this house is preserved to a significant height. Future excavation of the area can clarify the relationship of the rooms to one another as well as its relationship to the basilica.

Potentially the most important secular building within the *kastron* is a ruined house in the northeast of the site (House 5) (Fig. 114). It is a complex of at least two separate rooms along with three large cisterns. The smaller of the two rooms is the earlier construction. This is shown by the west wall of the larger room abutting the corner of the smaller room (Fig. 115). The remains of the walls for the small room are fragmentary. Only the south wall remains fully extant, measuring 3.9 meters. A window was placed in this wall, in the form of an arrow slit, measuring approximately 30 cm high and 10 cm wide (Fig. 116). The shape of this window is unique on site since the others, even in the towers, are square. The full extent of the east and west walls of the small room is unclear, but they appear to have stopped short of connecting with a small cistern to the north. The room was likely a small rectangle, less than 7 meters in length. Because of this small size it is likely that this earlier room was not a house. It may have been a tower, the only one present on the north side of the *kastron*.

For the large room only part of two walls remain. The north wall for this building has been completely obscured by debris and degradation over the years. The western wall of the large room measures 5 meters in length and the south wall is 16.25 meters. The south wall extends to the edge of the large cistern to the east. It is likely that the east wall of the house was at least partially built on the west wall of the cistern. A few stones attached to the cistern may be the corner for the north wall of the house, but its extent is unclear. The west wall of the large room abuts the small room, but shows no trace of ever having a corner. This means that it is possible the north wall for the large building was built off of the now destroyed northeast corner of the existing small room. If we use the length of the cistern as a guide to the room's original width, it would be approximately 8 meters, making it almost the same dimensions as House 1.

There is no evidence for a doorway in the southern wall of the large building. Since the east wall is complete and the west wall appears to join with the cistern, the entrance must have been in the north wall, facing the sea. With the small room and the presence of a cistern further north, this would have effectively created a complex that was only accessible from the west. If one walked by the entrance to this house and continued on, they would be blocked by the cisterns and would be forced to turn back. This was not a public space. The small room then, may have functioned as a gate house, mediating access to the area. It is possible that this was a tower or other fortification element prior to the addition of the large house. The large cisterns as well as apparent access to the sea would make this building complex of great importance to the *kastron*. Whoever occupied the house would effectively regulate the use of the communal cisterns as well as access to the sea. Because of the control over these important features it is likely that this house served as the home of the government official in charge of the *kastron*.

The difference in masonry between the small and large room is similar to the apse of Church B and the building to which it is attached. The earlier building uses noticeably larger stones than the later. The walls of House 5 and House 1 are not identical. House 1 uses larger stones similar to the earlier buildings on site. Both of these houses are nearly identical in size, making these the two largest secular buildings on site. The later building of House 5 along with the importance of its location may indicate a reorganization of the administration of the *kastron*. The masonry of House 5 resembles that of houses at Karyoupolis, a Late Byzantine center in the north of the Mani (Fig. 117).[68] In both examples the rubble masonry consists of small stones with the gaps in the masonry filled with stone fragments.

[68] Etzeoglou, "Karyoupolis: Une ville byzantine desértée," 83-123; R. Etzeoglou, "Καρυούπολις, μία ερειπωμένη βυζαντινή πόλη. Σχεδίασμα ιστορικής γεωγραφίας της βορειοανατολικής Μάνης," *ΛακΣπ* 9 (1988), 2-60.

I have mentioned how the lack of debris and excess stone on the interior of the *kastron* is indicative of the absence of houses. It is possible that the stone was robbed and used to construct buildings elsewhere. However, the closest settlement to Tigani is the Early Modern hamlet of Hagia Kyriaki, almost 2 km away. The difficulty involved with walking to the *kastron* and transporting the stones, without the use of wheels, would have been an unnecessary hardship. Additionally, the use of a significant amount of mortar meant that the stones would have been very difficult to separate from one another for re-use. Together this would make it highly impractical to expect large-scale robbing of stone from the *kastron*. More valuable pieces, such as carved marbles or *makronia*, were targets for repurposing, but these were the exception on site.[69] Large parts of the walls of buildings, such as the small church or House 7 may well have fallen into the sea.[70] It must be noted that there is significant soil accumulation within the *kastron*. Unlike Sarania and Marathos which have very thin soil, it is likely that more features remain buried at Tigani, and are no longer visible above the surface.

The use of brick at Tigani is unique among the sites I surveyed in the Mani. While churches such as Hagia Kyriaki in Marathos include brickwork, this material is not found among the houses at either Sarania or Marathos. The use of brickwork can be compared to examples at both Mystras and Geraki. The bricks are used to fill in the gaps left by the stones during construction of the walls. They were not used for decorative purposes as in the cloisonné masonry of the eleventh century. Interestingly, the use of bricks here is replicated by the use of

[69] The reuse of marbles in the later churches in the area provide evidence for this. See above, p. 90.

[70] From my own observation, those visiting the site often throw stones into the sea from the top of the *kastron*. If we consider that this may likely have been the case for several hundred years, a significant amount of material may have been lost.

small stones elsewhere on site (Figs. 118 and 119). The purpose and use of each is identical, but the use of stones would have been more economical.

The inclusion of brick in the construction of the houses at Tigani demonstrates that the material for them, if not the builders themselves, was brought in from other areas. The houses at Tigani were not a local construction, but reflect the planning and funding of the Byzantine State for this administrative center. The government had a vested interest in creating an appropriate settlement from which it could administer the surrounding area. This can be seen as well at Karyoupolis in the northern Mani. Here, another bishopric was seated in the Late Byzantine period.[71] When the central government was involved, money and builders came as well in order to establish the State's presence in the area. By establishing a fortified seat of power that stood in contrast to the surrounding area, the power and control of the Byzantine State was effectively conveyed.

The large, well-built houses stand in contrast to the megalithic and drystone masonry of the village houses of the Mani. The few identifiable houses at Tigani is striking given the size of the *kastron*. For a settlement with a basilica, well-built fortifications, and administrative officials, it would be expected that more affluent residents of the Mani would want to live here. While there must have been more houses than the seven which I have identified, there could not have been many more. The structures built in the center of the *kastron* are uneven, and built over a long period of time. Walls are not bonded with each other and often meet at extreme angles (Fig. 120). If these were houses, then they would have been smaller and of a significantly lower quality than the houses in the villages. This is unlikely given the size and quality of construction elsewhere on site. For this complex to consist of houses, they would be roughly square,

[71] Etzeoglou, "Karyoupolis: Une ville byzantine desértée," 97.

something not attested to elsewhere either. It is unlikely that the *kastron* would contain such a dichotomy of buildings that were either significantly better or significantly worse than those in the surrounding area.

The lack of houses begs the question of where the soldiers serving as the garrison of Tigani lived.[72] While some of the towers may have housed a few, the majority had to be sheltered elsewhere. It is possible that the complex in the center may have served as a kind of barracks, but this is unlikely given the above issues. There are also no extant Byzantine barracks from other *kastra* with which to compare the structures at Tigani. At Mystras there is no evidence for a barracks in the keep though there is a general understanding that this is where the garrison must have resided.[73] The medieval *kastra* of the Cyclades similarly appear to lack accommodation for the soldiers that would have resided there.[74] In some cases the soldiers may have stayed in structures not much different from the houses of the residents of the *kastra*, but at Tigani the small number of domestic structures does not make this a possibility.[75]

The soldiers likely resided in a more ephemeral form of architecture, possibly in tents. Tents were a required part of the soldier's supplies.[76] No historical reference to soldiers residing in tents at a *kastron* are known, but neither is there any clear reference to where they lived at all.[77] This simply was not a concern of writers. While military treatises do exist, they are

[72] The presence of the *komes* inscription demonstrates the presence of a naval commander at Tigani. While this means that it likely served as a naval station, it would still have had a garrison to defend and monitor the fortifications of the *kastron*.

[73] P. Perdikoulias, "Fortifications: Security in the Towns," in *The City of Mystras* (Athens, 2001), 45.

[74] A. Vionis, *A Crusader, Ottoman, and Early Modern Aegean Archaeology* (Leiden, 2012), 125-161.

[75] Ibid, 139.

[76] Dennis, *Taktika*, 79, 195, 201.

[77] This continues in modern scholarship with the fortifications of castles being discussed in detail, but no effort is made to locate the population responsible for defending them.

concerned with campaigning and battlefield tactics, not with garrison duty. Since the soldiers were equipped with tents, it is possible that they would be used both on campaign and when garrisoned. They could easily have been set up in the open spaces found inside the *kastron* (Fig. 94).[78] This would also allow flexibility when the garrison had to be increased during conflict.

Water

The need for water at Tigani was great. In addition to requiring a supply to outlast a potential siege, there needed to be additional storage to compensate for the dry and arid conditions of the region. Tigani needed to provide water for its residents as well as the soldiers that would be stationed there in both peace time and war. While rainfall at Tigani was not significantly less than in many other areas in Greece, there is no nearby spring or river that could supplement the needs of the population. All of the water that those at Tigani had would come from their cisterns. The continued quest for a sufficient water supply over the centuries is evidenced by the numerous additions and reconstructions of cisterns throughout the *kastron*.

It seems that the earliest cisterns on site were quite large, both in area and capacity. Over time, a multiplicity of smaller cisterns was gradually built within the *kastron*. The cluster of cisterns in the center appears to have been an ongoing development. There was good reason to favor a multiplicity of smaller cisterns over the presence of a few large ones. While a large cistern can hold a large volume of water, its use presents several issues. The water that it collects comes from rainfall. Thus, no matter how large or deep the cistern is, it can only collect the

[78] The open areas are quite rocky, particularly the area behind the megalithic wall which is also very uneven. Inside the *kastron* the area is relatively level, which may have made a good location for a small encampment.

water that runs into it. Since Tigani is relatively flat, there is no significant slope to exploit for collection. In a location like Tigani, the greater the surface area covered, the more water that will be collected.

Another issue with the large cisterns is their upkeep. The largest cisterns on site are built, not dug into the ground as elsewhere in the Mani. Because of this, they cannot rely on the ground to absorb the hydrostatic pressure exerted on the walls by the water within. The fragility of the walls is visible in the frequent repair to the exterior walls of cisterns built along the edge of the plateau. Even the largest cisterns, located in the north east of the site, exhibit multiple phases of rebuilding and repair. The larger the cistern is, the greater force exerted on the walls by the water within. A smaller cistern will exert less force, allowing it to last longer without repair as well as minimizing the risk of failure.

Finally, if the *kastron* only has a few large cisterns, damage or corruption to any would be a significant problem. As many of these tend to be built near the edge of the *kastron,* they could easily become damaged if there was ever an attack. By having many small cisterns, not only is there an increased ability to collect water, but there are safeguards to ensure a stable water supply for the population.

The large complex of cisterns that dominates the center of the fortress shows continuous additions, evidence of growth over the centuries (Fig. 121). Since they are centrally located, it appears that they were likely communal and not for private houses. The means to access the cisterns is unclear. They are almost all dug into the ground, not built up like the cisterns attached to House 1. The common construction is a small oval cistern with around 1-2 meters of open ground within a walled area. Most of the cisterns are only partially filled with debris, indicating that there was not a large superstructure built over them. Moreover, if the all of these cisterns had

houses above them, their ability to collect water efficiently would have been significantly diminished.

While there does not appear to be evidence of houses or living space above many of the cisterns, they were likely sheltered. This would have limited the possible corruption of the water supply as well as aid in minimizing water loss because of evaporation. It is also likely the roofs of the cisterns were designed in such a way to act as a catchment for rainwater that would then be drained into the cistern below.[79] It is unclear how efficient these cisterns were at water collection. Because of the dry conditions of the region, the size of the cistern is not as important as its ability to collect rainwater. Modern cistern systems utilizing the roof of a house as a catchment system can collect as much as 75-90% of rainwater. It must be assumed that the medieval examples were less efficient as material such as stone or tile further limit the amount of water that can be collected.[80]

The number of cisterns built immediately around the houses indicates the difficulty the residents had in securing a sufficient water supply. House 1, for example, has two attached cisterns. The first was quite large, around 7.2 x 8.3 m externally. If this entire area served as a catchment for the rain, over the course of a year we could expect the cistern to collect enough

[79] The majority of cisterns at Tigani are not placed in open spaces, but rather built against or near houses and other cisterns. While the holding tank of the cistern is below ground level, most examples have walls built around them. It is unclear how water actually entered the cistern. If the roof was semi-porous, acting as a natural filter for the falling rain water, the amount of evaporation seen in the cistern over the year would increase. Likely, the roof of the cistern or adjacent houses had some means of directing runoff, though what this system was is unclear. It is unlikely to be as sophisticated as modern examples exploiting pitched roofs, gutters, and piping to collect as much water as possible. Such hydraulic engineering is unheard of in the Byzantine world for an entire settlement. At Geraki there are only has two houses with internal cisterns and only in one was there a system for directing water into it. See Simatou and Christodoulopoulou, "Παρατηρήσεις στον μεσαιωνικό," 67-88.

[80] Ceramic tile and stone would both absorb water before reaching a saturation point when water could run off. This would mean that in the summer months or any day without significant rainfall, no water was likely to be collected in this fashion. The Byzantine houses were also unlikely to have a roof designed at an optimum angle to allow the efficient runoff of water.

rainwater to have around 87 liters a day if operating at 75% efficiency.[81] According to the World Health Organization, the minimum amount of water for basic survival is 2.5 to 3 liters a day.[82] This varies depending on the activities of the individual as well as the climate. We can expect in the summer that those in the Mani would need more water daily. This also does not include minimums required for cooking and hygiene, which are an additional 3-6 and 2-6 liters per day respectively.[83] This creates a bare minimum of 7.5 liters per day for each individual.[84] Consequently, this cistern could provide for at most eleven individuals. We should expect, however, that the owners of such a large house would subsist on over the bare minimum requirement of water. Even if we double their consumption, the water would be sufficient for just over five individuals. This should be plenty for the occupants of the home, however, they added another, much smaller cistern onto the west side of the original cistern. Using the same calculations as before, this would have added over 28 more liters of water a day. Located further north and south of the house are smaller cisterns likely related to this building. These additions imply that the original cistern was not sufficient for the household. The only way that such a large cistern was not sufficient, is if it was not able to collect enough water to fill itself during the course of the year. After the initial, large cisterns, the smaller cisterns tend not to be as deep as

[81] This number is based on an annual average rainfall of 710 mm. This number is based on the average annual rainfall in the region from 1901-2015 by the World Bank. 75% efficiency is chosen as a generous assumption of the ability of the cisterns to collect water. See worldbank.org/climateportal/.

[82] World Health Organization, *Technical Notes on Drinking-water, Sanitation and Hygiene in Emergencies* (2011). http://www.who.int/water_sanitation_health/publications/2011/tn9_how_much_water_en.pdf

[83] Ibid.

[84] This is the bare minimum for short term survival, but in order for a settlement to last and grow, a larger amount of water is required. Ibid.

the example from House 1, which is preserved to around 3 meters. This change demonstrates that such large cisterns were unnecessary since they were unlikely to have been filled.

Even smaller houses like Houses 2 and 4 have a number of cisterns in and around them. This building activity indicates that there was a need for greater water collection than originally planned.[85] The large cistern next to House 5, given its generous external measurements of 8.4 x 3.4 m, would only provide an average of just over 41 liters a day.[86] While it is likely that there was drainage into this cistern from up slope, the construction of other cisterns and buildings here would have mitigated any potential runoff. It should be noted that my estimations are intentionally generous, providing 100% usage of the cistern surface as a catchment operating at the efficiency of modern examples. The reality is that these collection numbers were likely much smaller.[87] It is also important to note that the number of 7.5 liters a day does not account for providing drinking water to any animals or watering any gardens. Both of these would require a significant amount of water in their own right, further reducing the real number of individuals that could be supported by the cisterns on site.[88]

[85] These additions are unlikely to be the result of a growing household. House 2 for example, has at least three cisterns built against its walls. These would provide enough water for around eight people per year, a large household for a relatively small house with no additions to its living space.

[86] There must have been some other means of directing water into these large cisterns. At around 2.5 meters deep this cistern could hold 34,650 liters of water, but even 100 % of the rainfall on this area would only yield 17,138 liters, about half of its capacity. If we assume 75% efficiency for water collection, then this cistern would need a catchment area of over 72 m^2, an area about 2.5 times larger than its own external measurements.

[87] Because of the materials used to construct the cisterns and houses, during the summer it was unlikely any water could be collected from rain if the total rainfall was not significant since it would either evaporate from the surface of the stone or be absorbed by it.

[88] The World Health Organization estimates 3-6 liters of water per square meter of vegetable garden, and 20-30 liters per horse or cow, and 10-20 per sheep or goat. Even on the low end of these estimates this is a significant strain on the water resources of Tigani. It is almost certain that gardens and livestock existed at the *kastron*, further limiting the population it could support. See World Health Organization, *Technical Notes*.

Affecting the efficiency of the cisterns at Tigani are two topographical issues. The first issue, as mentioned before, is that Tigani is relatively flat. Only near the edges of the *kastron* can the slope really be exploited to collect water and it is here we find the largest cisterns. The other issue is that Tigani has a significant amount of soil. Unlike Sarania or Marathos, which can rely on the bedrock and natural or man-made channels to drain water into its cisterns, Tigani would have relied on artificial structures to attempt to collect as much water as possible. This also explains the existence of several larger cisterns outside of the main *kastron*. By exploiting the rockier surface and greater incline, these cisterns were likely more efficient than the examples inside the fortress.

Taking the ability to collect and store water into consideration, along with the examples of houses with multiple cisterns, it is clear that we cannot expect a ratio of one cistern to one house. As seen in the additions directly to the Houses 2, 4 and 6, we can expect anywhere from 3-5 medium-size cisterns to support a household. This is very different from the village examples we have seen that have multiple houses per cistern. The situation at Tigani is the opposite, reflecting the difficulty in collecting water. If we take into account that the soldiers at Tigani did not likely have houses, this also explains the large number of cisterns apparently unassociated with a clear domestic structure. Taking the theoretical number of one hundred total cisterns at Tigani, that would provide enough water for between 20 and 33 households that could be supported, based 3-5 cisterns per household. This would imply a population of anywhere from 60 to 132 individuals.[89] If this includes soldiers, then there would be a non-military population of 20

[89] This is based on an average household size of 3-4 individuals, the most common household size according to known demographic information. See F. Kondyli, "Changes to the Structure of the Late Byzantine Family," in *Approaches to the Byzantine Family*, eds. L. Brubaker and S. Tougher (London, 2013), 373-375; A. Laiou-Thomadakis, *Peasant Society in the Late Byzantine Empire: A Social and Demographic Study* (Princeton, 1977), 225-227.

to 72 individuals or 5 to 18 households. These numbers, while only estimates, do correspond with the physical remains at Tigani. It is possible that there could be almost a dozen more unidentified houses on site.

Another significant issue affecting the population that could be supported by the cisterns at Tigani was its likely role as a naval station. As the inscription mentioning a *komes* attests, a naval commander was almost certainly stationed here. It would likely be the job of this *kastron* to aid in the resupply of sailors that were navigating around the Peloponnese. It has been calculated that an oarsman would need about 8 liters of water a day.[90] A standard ship would have 108 people.[91] This would require 864 liters of water to supply a single ship for a day, which John Pryor and Elizabeth Jeffreys suggest should be rounded to 1,000 liters to accommodate officers and others on the ship.[92] As the *komes* would be in command of 3 or 5 *dromons* himself, there would likely be more than one ship needing supplies at once and they would want to carry sufficient water to last more than a single day. Given the limited amount of water available at Tigani this would be a significant strain on its water resources if there was a large, permanent population there.

The large cisterns near House 7 and Tower 3 were not likely for private households since their location and size is indicative of public use. I do not think that these would have been used on a daily basis, but rather they likely served as security in the event of a siege. Not only would this be necessary for the general well-being of the inhabitants of the *kastron*, but we should expect that villagers from outside the castle might seek shelter within its walls. This would be a

[90] Pryor and Jeffreys, *The Age of the ΔΡΟΜΩΝ*, 357.

[91] Ibid.

[92] Ibid.

strain on the already scarce supply of water and necessitate some means of supplying this demand. The large cisterns would be well suited for this purpose and similar examples of large cisterns for use in case of a siege can be seen at other *kastra* in Greece.[93]

How the cisterns were repaired and refurbished can be observed in multiple examples. It appears that after a cistern began to fail, the interior may have been plastered again, but more commonly a thin wall was built covering the face of the existing wall on the interior and then plastered. This shrank the size of the cistern, but would have made for a more robust repair than simply plastering. It is not known what problems were being fixed, whether the old plaster simply began to deteriorate or if the walls began to crack. If it was the latter, only building a new wall could effectively fix the problem and it was far more cost effective than disassembling part of the cistern in order to rebuild it.

The cistern attached to Tower C demonstrates how the cisterns were repaired and altered over time. While the superstructure of the tower appears to be of a single phase, the cistern shows at least four different building phases and five different periods of plastering. The first phase of the cistern belongs to the middle wall.[94] This phase shows two periods of plastering. The two layers of plaster are significantly different in their appearance. The first layer was pinkish with small crushed stones and ceramic, while the second layer was significantly chunkier with pieces of stone and ceramic. It is possible that the second phase of plastering corresponded with the construction of an additional layer on the exterior. The construction of additional layers on the exterior of the cistern that faced the edge of the plateau indicates the periodic need for

[93] For example, at the summit of Monemvasia. See L. Buck, *Monemvasia: The Town and its History* (Athens, 1981), 67-68.

[94] The internal and external walls of the cistern are both later than this middle layer. The outside wall was likely added to provide greater support for the cistern.

reinforcement. The pressure of the water in the cistern must have been causing problems. The final interior layer preserves three different phases of plastering, though they all appear to be identical (Fig. 122). Given the series of repairs made to this cistern previously, it is possible that three layers were applied as a precaution. Interestingly, the north wall of the cistern only belongs to the final phase, and there does not appear to be any walls from the earlier periods on this side. It is possible that the original cistern was significantly wider, and they decided to make it narrower in order to ensure its structural integrity.

Between the *kastron* and the secondary defensive wall, there are at least a dozen cisterns. These cisterns appear to be excavated into the bedrock, with walls partially formed by natural stone. The placement of the cisterns is in an area of a steeper incline, allowing the greater collection of runoff during the rain. Some of these cisterns are small, while others, including one in front of the megalithic fortification wall, are quite large. While the bulk of water collection was within the citadel itself, these external cisterns were likely necessary to supplement this supply. These cisterns may have also been essential for providing water to any sailors or other people who were staying outside of the main *kastron*, perhaps during a time of siege or resupplying a ship.

Defense

There are numerous fortifications at Tigani. The first fortification wall is over 1 km from the *kastron*. This wall has been mostly destroyed, and was built over in the post-Byzantine period to demarcate property lines for pasture. However, the size and quality of this wall is still evident. It stretches from the western edge of the peninsula to a steep mountain ridge in the east,

effectively cutting off direct access to the *kastron*. There are no signs of any towers along this wall, though these may have been obscured by the later use of the wall. In addition to this, the modern parking area for accessing Tigani appears to have penetrated where one would expect to see the gate for this wall.

From the first fortification layer one walks about 870 meters before they reach the next fortification wall. The second defensive circuit stretches from a hill on the east presumably to the edge of the peninsula to the west. This area, however, is very rough. There is no trace of a wall stretching the full extent of the peninsula. To the west, this wall tapers slightly back towards the *kastron*, but ends at the rough and jagged bedrock. This natural barrier was likely sufficient, providing as much protection as a built wall would have. Two towers are located along this wall, one near the center and another on top of the hill. The latter tower is not well preserved, with only foundations remaining. The second is better preserved. It juts out from the wall, measuring roughly 5 x 5.8 m. The walls are a relatively uniform thickness of 1.2 meters, providing just less than 9 m^2 of internal space. These towers would have provided necessary defense for the wall and would have allowed the occupants to keep a watchful eye over the salt production of the peninsula below, as I will discuss below.

Approaching the *kastron* one first notices the megalithic wall stretching to the west. It is stark at Tigani since it is the only construction that has an appearance of the local style. All of the other walls and towers are built with extensive use of mortar and better cut stones. The wall stretches from the southwest corner of the *kastron* to the edge of the peninsula to the west. Built along the wall are three towers. Unlike the previous towers, these do not appear to have had any internal space at all. Even with the debris filling the area, the towers are quite small, measuring less than 4 meters long and 3 meters deep. Even with the most generous measurements, if we

assume a thickness similar to the other towers on site there would be less than 1 m^2 of internal space. These towers then, worked more as bulwarks that may have had a higher superstructure on top of which a guard would stand.

Attached to the megalithic wall is a later wall that appears to extend in front of the plateau. A large pile of debris, no doubt made up of collapsed walls from both on and below the *kastron*, stretches elliptically from the northeast edge of the megalithic wall and appears to taper towards the main entrance to the *kastron*. There is enough evidence to support that there was a wall built here, though its exact form and purpose is obscured.

The *kastron* itself is entered through a gateway to the southeast. The holes for the gate posts are still evident on the remnants of the gateway, though the surrounding wall has been leveled to its foundations (Fig. 123). Immediately to the west of the gate is what appears to be a large tower. However, it is actually a massive bastion. With walls as thick as 2.8 m, it is a massive fortification element that likely formed part of the main guard for the gate. There is no evidence, however, for internal divisions or walls that form an enclosed space. It is possible that these have been destroyed and their foundations lay under the soil though this is unlikely for such a robust construction. It appears as if this entry guard worked similar to the small faux towers of the megalithic wall, providing ample space to stand on top of a superstructure, but not within it. There may have been a much higher superstructure that had multiple levels of access, but it does not appear to have been a sealed unit, being open to the interior of the *kastron*.

The two other towers along the south wall appear to be more traditional in form, though both are heavily damaged. They are both square with a small internal space. Both underwent significant alterations over time, as evident by the different forms of masonry and mortar in their

constructions. The south west tower had a round addition added to the west wall (Fig. 124). This is the only round element among the extant fortifications of the *kastron*.

The long occupation of the *kastron* is attested to by numerous rebuilding efforts and additions to the fortifications and cisterns. Within these building phases are noticeable differences in both masonry and mortar, the division of which into a firm chronology is beyond the scope of my present research. However, a relative chronology can be established that indicates which mortar type is the earliest on site.

Repairs to a tower and cistern near the middle of the southern wall of the *kastron* demonstrate a relative order for the mortar. The earliest was a thick, pink mortar that had medium size, rough stones and large chunks of ceramic mixed with it. It was generously applied between the stones, oozing out to cover the edges (Fig. 125). This is evident on part of a wall that was damaged, and then shortened. The wall was built around, instead of against during the rebuilding. The mortar from repairs above the pink mortar, was a sandy gray with small stone inclusions. A final wall built along the exterior of the *kastron* was made with grey mortar with small to fine pebble inclusions. The chunky pink mortar does not appear in any of the houses surveyed on site. However, it was part of the earliest phase for the large cistern adjacent to House 5 (Fig. 126). It was also found among the level platforms of the northwest corner of the *kastron* and in the towers of the second fortification layer. Based on this evidence, it appears that this pink mortar was the earliest used in the *kastron*, dating to its period of construction.

In the northwest corner is a final tower that can more properly be viewed as a tower house. It is rectangular, unlike all of the other examples. It measures 9.4 x 2.7 meters internally, a much larger space than in other examples. It has three square windows along its south wall designed as loopholes. One of these openings is directed towards the area behind the megalithic

fortifications; and the other two face out to the sea. The only complete window provides a clear view of the northern end of the Makryna Ridge (Fig. 127). It is possible that there was a tower at this point on the ridge that could signal those at Tigani if a ship was approaching from the south. This tower is the least likely to have seen combat as it is well behind the megalithic fortifications. It could defend against an attack from the sea, but likely served only as a last resort if the enemy had managed to come ashore behind the megalithic fortifications.

The wall of the *kastron* does not appear to have circled the entire plateau. Particularly on the sides facing the sea, little if any wall can be seen. I believe this to be the result of destruction over time that would have seen the wall fall into the sea below. Even with the cliffs as protection, the inhabitants would have wanted at least a small wall along the edge to provide protection from threats at sea as well as safety when defending the *kastron* from these areas. Without a wall the defenders and inhabitants would be completely exposed to missile fire from the sea, likely from crossbow, but also from bow ballistae attached to enemy ships.[95] This would be an unlikely oversight given the extent of the fortifications here.

It would have been extremely difficult to besiege the *kastron* at Tigani. The lack of a defined path or road from the land side would have made it impossible to bring siege equipment against the walls. From the sea, the fortress could be isolated by a naval force, but it would still be unlikely that it would be taken by force. Rather the inhabitants would likely be sieged until they ran out of food or water. While Tigani would not be a necessary position to possess in order to control the Mani peninsula, it would likely have resources worth taking. As the administrative center of the region, the officials residing at Tigani were likely integral to the tax collection of the area. In addition to the salt production on the peninsula, we know from *De Administrando*

[95] Pryor and Jefferys, *The Age of the ΔΡΟΜΩΝ*, 378-381.

Imperio that the *kastron* payed 400 *nomismata* to the Byzantine State. This is a significant amount of money. Though the text refers to this as tribute, it is likely a reflection of tax revenue from the area. While lacking a significant population or natural resources, the salt and tax revenue likely kept at Tigani would be a valuable incentive to besiege the *kastron*.

Salt Production

Salt pans, both ancient and modern, line the isthmus of Tigani, stretching for hundreds of meters between the primary and secondary defensive walls (Fig. 128). While not the largest saltworks in Byzantium, their production must have been steady and profitable. The State itself, while owning the saltworks, did not run their day to day operations. Instead this privilege was auctioned off.[96] This provided the state with an immediate source of income and also freed them from the cost of running the saltworks directly. The state also made money off of the salt tax, which was a steady 2.4% per *mouzourion*.[97]

Many things could affect the yield of the saltpans and therefore the profit to be made as well as the taxes to be collected. George Maniatis lists the factors affecting salt production as, "dusty interior winds, heavy rains, swift streams," as well as, "dry or wet summers, overcast and blazing sun."[98] The saltworks at Tigani are ideally suited for all of these condition as the prevailing wind comes from the north over the sea, and it has a very dry, sunny summer and

[96] G. Maniatis, "Organization and Modus Operandi of the Byzantine Salt Monopoly," *BZ* 102 (2010): 664-669, 671-675.

[97] Ibid, 690.

[98] Ibid, 670.

early fall. This would have made for a long, productive season of salt generation that would rarely be affected by adverse weather conditions.

Another issue that plagued saltworks was the smuggling of salt. This would affect both the total yield that the proprietor could sell as well as the taxes that could be collected. Those wishing to smuggle salt from the saltworks at Tigani must have had a very difficult time doing so. With the *kastron* and towers to the north and the rugged coast to the east and west the only possible area to go would be the south. However, the remnants of the large fortification wall here would mean that anyone leaving the area would have to pass through a gate watched by soldiers, making it difficult to conceal any significant amount of illicit goods. Smugglers could try to scale the cliff side to the east of these walls towards Mezapos, but they would be unlikely to go unnoticed. Strict access control would have made the collection of taxes much simpler as well since they were likely collected at the saltworks, either from the proprietor or from wholesalers who purchased the product there.[99]

Other Features

While not identified on site, in addition to the many cisterns of the *kastron*, there must have been storage for food. The need to feed the soldiers and inhabitants as well as maintain a sufficient food supply during a siege would have required facilities to keep these supplies. It is possible that some of the small, round cisterns may in fact have functioned as built pithoi (Fig.

[99] Ibid

129).[100] The storage of grain would require a cool, watertight environment and may not have been built much different from the cisterns on site.

Built along the megalithic fortification wall of the *kastron* is a long building that contained multiple ovens. At least three can be confirmed though there are likely more under the debris. These ovens are built of stone, show signs of burning and in some examples appear to have sand at the bottom (Fig. 130). They are open at the top, which would have allowed smoke to escape. This kind of cooking installation presents a picture of communal cooking on a large scale. This was unlikely to have been the primary source of cooking for the occupants of the houses since these were located outside of the *kastron* proper.

An additional oven was located north east of this area. The remains of a two walls appear to be the remnants of a small building that housed the oven. Scattered around this area are many pieces of coarse and cooking wares. It would be expected of an area focusing on food production to have the remains of broken storage and cooking vessels. The unusually high concentration in this area demonstrates a strong link between the function of the building and the ceramic material.

Tigani had enough water to provide for a significant number of inhabitants, despite the paucity of preserved houses. The presence of several ovens indicates large scale cooking as well, far more than would be necessary for the number of houses present. There are large empty spaces within the walled areas of Tigani, including some areas within the *kastron* itself. This empty space as well as the clear evidence for large scale water collection and cooking leads me to believe that Tigani was the home to a small number of military, administrative, and ecclesiastical officials, and a larger number of soldiers or sailors.

[100] Examples of these kinds of built pithoi can be seen in House III at Panakton. See Gerstel et al., "A Late Medieval Settlement," 168-169.

As the seat of government and the church in the Mani, the *kastron* at Tigani would have been home to soldiers meant to protect the inhabitants and enforce State control in the area. They would need to be fed *en masse*, which explains the ovens. As stated above, they may not have had permanent houses, perhaps staying in tents that could easily have been placed in the empty areas in and around the *kastron*. There was likely never any permanent housing between the primary and secondary fortification walls. There are few cisterns in this area and no evidence for foundations of any buildings. The map of the *kastron* by Helen Waterhouse and Richard Hope Simpson simply labeled the center as barracks and cisterns.[101] There are houses in this area, but there are also small rooms around the cisterns. It is not clear whether this were simply part of an intricate cistern complex or perhaps rooms for soldiers. Undoubtedly some soldiers lived within the *kastron*, however the majority must have primarily lived outside of the main walls despite the rough ground in this area. During a siege, they could have gone inside the *kastron*, where the majority of resources were to sustain them, living in the open space within the walls. The exact number of soldiers that would be stationed here is hard to estimate. As Mark Bartusis notes, there are no sources that enumerate the size of a garrison during peacetime.[102] Those that are mentioned are reflective of forces sufficient to defend against an army, or subdue the population of a newly acquired *kastron.* The nature of the settlement makes it unlikely that a large cavalry force would have ever been stationed here. Instead we should expect a force primarily consisting of archers, of which there would not have been more than 60-80 soldiers when not expecting imminent conflict. The total population of the *kastron* was likely well under 150 persons when not under siege.

[101] H. Waterhouse and R. H. Simpson, "Prehistoric Laconia: Part II," *BSA* 56 (1961): 122.

[102] M. Bartusis, *The Late Byzantine Army: Arms and Society, 1204-1453* (Philadelphia, 1992), 291-302.

Tigani was itself a citadel more than a fortified settlement. No keep is found inside of the walls as is seen in Mystra, Monemvasia and Geraki. The larger settlement to which Tigani may have belonged could have been Mezapos, or a more nucleated series of settlements in the plain to the east. This explains the lack of domestic structures and how such a settlement could have survived. If it was a large, functioning town, water and food would have been an issue. No evidence for a major port at the Tigani implies that trade or fishing could not have been the main means of a supporting the population. The lack of fresh water and arable land in the immediate vicinity underlines how the settlement must have been supported from elsewhere. Here was the seat of government in the region, housing the elite, and separate from the surrounding countryside.

Access

The peninsula is approached from the south. The exact path is unclear, but it was likely similar to the modern route (Fig. 131). Access from the area of Mezapos to the east by land is not possible because of the rugged cliffs of the mountain that precede the peninsula. The presence of a thick wall prior to the peninsula provides an indication of an initial fortification circuit that regulated access to the *kastron*.

The second defensive circuit cuts across the peninsula just before it begins to widen in front of the promontory. The past entrance here is obscured by debris and rubble, but likely was located where the modern path goes, directly to the west of the central tower. It would not be further east where a hill and preserved wall attest to a coherent circuit. Further west the ground

becomes significantly more uneven, and would not be the location of a main access point. As mentioned above, this rugged area was a natural barrier complementing the built wall to the east.

What is immediately noticeable when walking towards the *kastron* is that the path over the isthmus is remarkably uneven. The stone that makes up the path is jagged and there does not appear to have ever been an effort to cut or level the stone to make a secure pathway. This is perplexing since such a rough path, while making it more difficult for attackers to approach, would make it difficult for the average individual to bring supplies or simply come and go. The key to understanding how the path was formed might be found in the saltpans on site.

Since Byzantine salt production relied upon solar evaporation, saltpans need to be relatively level and broad in order to allow for effective evaporation and salt formation.[103] Observing the destroyed saltpans, it is apparent that the ground was not cut to make it level, but rather the gaps were filled with a mixture of sand and soil and then plastered over. Walking towards the *kastron* one sees the more level areas are indeed filled with such a mixture as well. It is possible that this was used as an economical and pragmatic way of forming a level path. This would have required upkeep and after hundreds of years of abandonment, the rain and the wind would have washed much of this path away. It would be unlikely that a *kastron* and administrative center that existed for hundreds of years would have such a difficult approach. Further, after such a long time of people and animals walking the same path, we should expect the stone to become eroded and smoothed. The stone here is not as well worn, which may indicate that it was covered for a period of time mitigating the amount of erosion that could occur.

[103] Maniatis, "Organization and Modus Operandi," 661-663.

At the *kastron* there is the main entrance to the southeast. This consists of a carved staircase and the remains of a large gate that would have regulated access. Curiously, a low wall appears to have been built blocking this path at some point, though this would likely date to after the abandonment of the *kastron*. Immediately to the east of the carved stairs appears to be another path, perhaps the original way up the promontory prior to the construction of the stairs and a later fortification wall. The gate is 2.2 m wide, which would be wide enough for a cart, however the lack of a ramp to ascend the *kastron* as well as the rough terrain of the peninsula would imply that as elsewhere in the Mani, wheeled transport was not used, but rather pack animals were the main means of conveyance.

The megalithic circuit preserves an entrance to the east. It is 1.6 m wide, the same width as the wall around it. Unlike the main entrance to the *kastron*, there is no evidence for a gate having been placed here, but there must have been some form of door. Signs of gate posts may have eroded over time. One entering this gate was immediately confronted by another fortification all requiring a sharp left turn and a walk along a corridor before access was allowed. This kind of entrance required the enemy to expose themselves to missile fire upon breaching the main gate. After one entered this lower section they may have been able to ascend up to the *kastron*. It is not as steep as the rest of the plateau and it is possible to climb today with little effort. The only difficulty is presented by the debris of fallen walls. If there was an entrance here, it was likely gated as well. The presence of a near complete circuit of walls as well as a tower on either corner attest to the fact that this lower area was not fully integrated with the rest of the *kastron*. These megalithic walls were likely intended to prevent an attacking force from sieging the *kastron* on multiple sides from the land.

In the northwest corner of the *kastron*, near the large cisterns, there was a way to access the sea. The land here slopes down in a series of switch backs that would make it possible to climb, though not particularly easily. Walls were built along this area, apparently to secure level building platforms along the edge as well as protect this access point from attackers. The presence of these walls indicates that access to the sea must have been at least possible, even if it was not regularly used. It is likely there was more construction in this area that has subsequently eroded off the cliff, such as a small dock.

Chronology

It is difficult to date the origins of the *kastron* because of the lack of firmly dated material. A close examination of the fortifications and the buildings within allow for some preliminary conclusions. The megalithic wall in front of the *kastron* is likely medieval. While Helen Waterhouse and Richard Hope Simpson declared it to be undoubtedly prehistoric, they also noted that they did not observe any prehistoric ceramic on site.[104] Moreover, the megalithic construction of this wall is no different from the megalithic masonry observed in the Byzantine churches of the region. In addition to the similarity of the wall's construction to Byzantine megalithic buildings in the region, built into the wall is a spoliate column base. (Fig. 132) While the date of this piece is unclear, it is certainly not Mycenaean. Evidence suggests that this wall should be dated to the Middle Byzantine period along with the majority of other megalithic buildings in the Mani. Furthermore, the lack of fresh water and the inability to farm in the immediate vicinity did not make Tigani an attractive location for settlement. The substantial

[104] Waterhouse and Simpson, "Prehistoric Laconia," 122.

medieval remains, particularly the cisterns, demonstrates the necessity of a concerted state effort to make the site habitable, particularly in the provision of food and water.

Based on the written sources, the construction of the *kastron* could be no earlier than the ninth century. The earliest mention of the *kastron* is from the tenth-century *De Administrando Imperio*. This area was not placed under direct Byzantine control until after the campaigns of Skleros during the reign of Nikephoros I (802-811).[105] Elsewhere in the Mani, there is little evidence for a medieval occupation before this period as well.[106] The reference that the inhabitants of the *kastron* were Christianized in the reign of Basil, despite its problematic nature, implies the existence of the *kastron* at least from that time as well, going back to the mid-ninth century or earlier. The *kastron* was likely built as part of the process of recovering the Peloponnese in the ninth century. This does not mean it was necessarily built during the reign of Nikephoros I, but may have been part of the continuing reintegration of the province by his successors. It was unlikely to have been built to actively combat the Slavic population in the northwest Mani.[107] There is no evidence that the Slavs came this far south, and the maritime orientation of the *kastron* would not be particularly useful in combating the Slavs who were a land based threat. Rather, its construction should be linked with the reinvigoration of State administration of the area. The nearby island of Kythera was reportedly abandoned prior to the mid- tenth century because of the Arab threat from the island of Crete.[108] It was not until the sea

[105] I. Dujčev, *Cronaca di Monemvasia: Introduzione, Testo critico, Traduzione e Note* (Palermo, 1976), 20.

[106] For example, Karyoupolis is not mentioned in any source until the ninth century. See Etzeoglou, "Karyoupolis: Une ville byzantine desértée," 91-92.

[107] Katsafados, *Τα Κάστρα της Μαίνης* (Athens, 1992), 52-54.

[108] N. Oikonomides, "Ο βίος του αγίου Θεοδώρου Κυθήρον (10ος αι.)," in *Byzantium in the Ninth Century to the Fourth Crusade* (Brookfield, 1992), VII 286-288.

around the area was under greater Byzantine control that populations began to return, which in the case of Kythera was the mid- tenth century. The *kastron* at Tigani may have functioned as a naval station relating to the subsequent reconquest of these areas in the tenth century. Its military role, however, should not be the sole focus of the reason for the *kastron* as it was essential for the ecclesiastical and state administration of the area.

Linked to the erection of the basilica and the *kastron* is the church of Hagios Prokopios. Just over 1 km from the first layer of fortifications leading to the *kastron*, this church is located next to a quarry from which the poros stones of the basilica were likely extracted. From the church one has a clear view to Tigani (Fig. 133). The church does not appear to be part of a larger settlement, but is equidistant from five Early Modern settlements.[109] Its construction is likely linked to the use of the adjacent quarry. The same chunky, pink mortar found in the earliest phases of the *kastron* is also found in the earliest phases of Hagios Prokopios. Its proximity and connection to Tigani should make it unsurprising that they share construction methods since the same builders must have worked at both sites. At least two layers of fresco decorate the interior walls of the church; the exterior has clearly undergone a series of repairs. The decoration of the earliest layer of fresco is aniconic. A cross mounted on four steps is represented in the apse, rendered in red on a white background (Fig. 134). Around the bottom edge of the semi-dome was a series of rosettes, now faded because of exposure to the sun following the collapse of the roof in this section of the building (Fig. 135). While it is not possible to firmly establish that this church was decorated during the Iconoclastic period, evidence does suggest a probable ninth-century date for its construction.

[109] These are the settlements of Hagia Kyriaki, Fimalotos, Agios Georgios, Episkopi and Stavri.

The quality of the cross in the conch as well as the rosettes indicates that these were not markings made by the builders as seen some other "iconoclastic churches."[110] The use of aniconic decoration could simply imply that a skilled painter was not present at the time of the church's initial construction.[111] In the more rural areas of Byzantium it would not be surprising if it took longer after the restoration of icons to hire painters skilled in representational imagery. There is a similarity between the decoration of Hagios Prokopios and the "iconoclast" churches on the island of Naxos, notably in the use of Mandelrosettes, though the examples from Hagios Prokopios are not as elaborate (Fig. 136).[112] Based on the dating of manuscripts containing this same motif, Brubaker and Haldon have placed the decoration of these churches in the late- ninth or early- tenth century.[113] From these comparisons, a ninth-century date is at least plausible on stylistic grounds.

The same potential dating is also supported by the architecture of the church. Hagios Prokopios has undergone numerous repairs, particularly at the west end. One of these repair phases used megalithic masonry (Fig. 137). This indicates that the original construction of the church was unlikely to be later than the tenth century.[114] As with the decoration we are left with a possible date from the mid- ninth to the early- tenth century for its construction.

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[110] L. Brubaker and J. Haldon, *Byzantium in the Iconoclast Era (ca 680-850): The Sources* (Burlington, 2001): 25-26.

[111] Ibid, 24.

[112] For example from the church of Hagios Artemios, see A. Vasilaki-Karakatsani, "Εικονομαχικές εκκλησίες στη Νάξο," *ΔΧΑΕ* 3 (1964): 63-64, fig. 19.

[113] This is based on Brubaker and Haldon favoring a contemporaneous use of the rosettes in fresco and manuscript decorations, as well as an implicit acceptance that the earliest datable use in manuscripts, 862/3, is the earliest possible date for use in fresco decoration. Brubaker and Haldon, *Byzantium in the Iconoclast Era*, 27-28.

[114] See the preliminary dating of the megalithic style in Chapter 3.

If the Peloponnese was placed under direct Byzantine control in the ninth century during the reign of Nikephoros I (802-811), it should follow that the creation of local administrative centers would happen shortly thereafter. We see this in the *Chronicle of Monemvasia* when Nikephoros I re-founded both Patras and Sparta (Lakedaimonia).[115] The policy of establishing administrative centers likely continued under his successors. The *kastron* of Maine was built as control of the Peloponnese solidified. The Bishopric of Maine is not mentioned in the *Chronicle of Monemvasia*, while it does mention several in the surrounding area: Sparta, Methone, Korone, and Monemvasia.[116] The Bishopric existed already by the beginning of the tenth century, and the *De Administrando Imperio* explicitly mentions the existence of the *kastron* in the ninth century. This presents a window for the construction of the *kastron* and the basilica between 811 and 901-907. Based on the material and historical evidence, a mid- to late- ninth-century date is the most likely for the construction of both. The *kastron* was likely built first, establishing State authority in the area prior to the erection of the basilica. Nothing found in the excavation of the basilica precludes dating its medieval phase to the ninth century.

The stark difference in construction methods for the *kastron* and its houses from those of the surrounding villages requires a brief discussion. It is certain that some of the materials for the construction of the buildings must have been imported, particularly the bricks found in the basilica and several houses. The significant use of mortar, the large scale of the buildings, and the use of mortar in the fortification walls demonstrate a building method that would have been unfamiliar to the local communities.[117] If the *kastron* at Tigani is to be associated with the

[115] Dujčev, *Cronaca di Monemvasia*, 20-22.

[116] Ibid.

[117] Though churches contain the use of mortar and in some cases brick, they were not necessarily built exclusively by the villagers. The erection of a stable dome would have required some training and understanding of more advanced building methods than is observed in the secular architecture and small, megalithic churches of the region.

recapture of the Peloponnese during the ninth century, it is likely that the initial fortifications could have been built by foreign workers, perhaps the soldiers themselves. Locals may have participated in quarrying and transporting the stone, but the construction methods used must have been demonstrated and introduced to them. This would also explain the later megalithic wall. After the plateau was fortified, and new fortification were required, the locals may have been instructed to build a new wall and they did so in the methods with which they were most familiar. The two other walls leading up to the *kastron*, while using mortar, are also different from the remains seen in the *kastron* itself, being larger, and rougher cut. It is possible that the State funds and effort to fortify the area were limited to the *kastron* itself, and subsequent fortifications were the result of *kastroktidia*, a castle building tax that originally required the labor of residents to build fortifications.[118]

Occupation throughout the Middle Byzantine period is attested by the carvings in the church, many of the grave goods, as well as glazed ceramics that I observed on the surface of the site. Within the *kastron*, near to House 2 fragments of glazed sgraffito ware were visible on the surface (Fig. 138). These fragments likely belong to a broad plate dating to the twelfth century.[119] Another piece of glazed fine ware belongs to a rim of green and brown painted ware bowl (Fig. 139). Such a small fragment does not provide a secure date since this style of

Part of the cost that villagers donated for the erection of a church may well have been to pay for a skilled builder to at least oversee the construction of the church.

[118] Bartusis, *The Late Byzantine Army*, 289-291; S. Kyriakidis, *Warfare in Late Byzantium, 1204-1453* (Boston, 2011), 159-160.

[119] D. Papanikola-Bakirtzi, *Byzantine Glazed Ceramics: The Art of Sgraffito* (Athens, 1999), 18-20.

decoration is found in both the Middle and Late Byzantine period.[120] Nowhere else in my work in the Mani have I seen any glazed ceramics on the surface of a site.

The Late Byzantine phase is not well attested in the excavation of the basilica. Drandakis records both Middle and Late Byzantine ceramics, but does not describe or illustrate any examples.[121] Found in the north aisle and the narthex were a total of eight Venetian *torneselli*, silver coins. Four of these coins were of Andrea Dandolo (r. 1343-1354), three were of Antonio Venier (1382-1400), and one was too worn to read.[122] The majority of these coins were found in fill or in previously opened tombs.[123] The discovery of these coins suggests the settlement was still active in the Late Byzantine period. The comparisons of masonry techniques of some buildings at Tigani with other Late Byzantine centers made above, further, suggests the possibility that the *kastron* remained active. If it is indeed the "Frankish" castle as well, it must have been occupied even in the thirteenth century. References to the Bishop of Maine are found in Demetrios Chomatenos from the early thirteenth century and a letter of John Eugenikos from the fourteenth century.[124] This would indicate that that the *kastron* likely continued in this time as well.

[120] Ibid, 23-24; G. Sanders, "Excavations at Sparta: The Roman Stoa, 1988-91, Preliminary Report, Part 1: (c) Medieval Pottery," *BSA* 88 (1993): 258; C. Morgan, *Corinth: The Byzantine Pottery* (Cambridge, 1942), 72-83; J. Vroom, *Byzantine to Modern Pottery in the Aegean, 7th to 20th Century: An Introduction and Field Guide* (Turnhout, 2014), 82-83, 116-117,120-121, 144-145.

[121] Drandakis, Gkioles, and Konstantinidi, "Σκαφικές έρευνες στή Μάνη," 221.

[122] Drandakis, Ἔρευνα εἰς τὴν Μάνην," 200-201.

[123] Drandakis and Gkioles, "Ανασκαφή στό Τηγάνι" (1984), 257.

[124] S. Lambros, *Παλαιολόγεια και Πελοποννησιακά* 1 (Athens, 1912), 178.

Another indication that the *kastron* may have continued to function in the Late Byzantine period is found in the church of Hagioi Theodoroi in Kafiona.[125] This church is intervisible with Tigani and preserves a painted inscription mentioning the visit of Konstantinos Palaiologos, the brother of the Emperor Michael VIII Palaiologos, to the Peloponnese. This visit occurred between 1263 and 1270. While the inscription does not mention a specific settlement, if such an important individual visited the area with his retinue, he would need a secure place to reside. The *kastron* at Tigani would be the most likely choice.

The construction phases of the basilica as presented by Nikolaos Drandakis are accurate. It is the dating of these phases, however, that must be revised. According to Drandakis's plan of the basilica, the earliest construction is the north wall of the basilica and a parallel wall under the Middle Byzantine level near the center of the church. The placement of graves around this wall suggests that it pre-existed the burials. These two walls then, may be the remnants of an earlier church or chapel. These earlier walls may belong to an Early Christian church on the site that was subsequently abandoned. It is difficult to confidently date the materials recovered from the graves to this early period. Bronze belt buckles of the "Corinth type" recovered from graves 32, 42, and 45 that were dated by the excavators to the Early Christian period have been recovered from other contexts dating as late as ninth century.[126] Potentially the most diagnostic graves for understanding the chronology of the basilica are similarly unclear. Graves 1-7 in the sanctuary must date from a period prior to the erection of the church or following its abandonment. However, few datable finds were recovered from these graves. Grave 1 contained two glass

[125] S. Kalopissi-Verti, *Dedicatory Inscriptions and Donor Portraits in Thirteenth-Century Churches of Greece* (Vienna, 1992), 65-66; N. Drandakis, *Βυζαντινές τοιχογραφίες της Μέσα Μάνης* (Athens, 1995), 70-100.

[126] Poulou-Papadimitriou, Tzavella, and Ott, "Burial Practices in Byzantine Greece," 393.

vessels which may date to the Early Christian period.[127] Grave 2 contained a glass vessel and a bronze reliquary cross and a cruciform bronze belt buckle. The excavators compare this buckle to a fifth- or sixth- century piece from Sicily.[128] The reliquary cross is less certain. While such reliquary crosses can be found well into the Middle Byzantine period, such a date is unlikely here. Given the robust amount of architectural material dating from the Middle Byzantine period found within the church, it was clearly not abandoned at this time and it is unlikely that there would be burials placed within the sanctuary of a church that was still being used. What provides a better indication of the chronology of the graves overall is their relationship with the architecture of the basilica. Grave 29, for example, was found under the main threshold of the church, and must predate its construction. Grave 55, the arcosolium discussed above, clearly presupposes the existence of the narthex and must date to after its construction.

The first phase of the medieval basilica belongs to the Middle Byzantine period, likely the late- ninth century. Several fragments of carved stone date to the ninth or tenth centuries.[129] Additionally, the mention of the Bishop of Maine existing in the beginning of the ninth century strongly suggests the existence of the church prior to this time. Later in the Middle Byzantine period, likely in the eleventh or twelfth century, the church was revitalized as evidenced by the significant amount of carved stone dating to this period. When the church was limited to the central aisle is difficult to discern. At some point the use of columns was replaced with piers to stabilize the interior. That the recovered pieces of column and capital date to the Middle Byzantine period implies that this shift to piers occurred at a later time. When the church was

[127] Drandakis and Gkioles, "Ανασκαφή στό Τηγάνι," (1980): 252.

[128] Ibid, 254.

[129] Mexia, "Η Βασιλική στο Τηγάνι," 60-61.

limited to the central aisle, the north aisle became a massive cistern. The *prothesis* and *diakonikon* appear to have continued to function with the sanctuary since access was not blocked between them. During this later period the chapel in the north aisle may have been built. Found here is a green and brown painted jug that likely dates to the thirteenth or fourteenth century.[130] The discovery of Venetian *torneselli* in addition to this jug and the reported finds of other Late Byzantine ceramics provide evidence that the church remained in use at this time.[131] The narthex likely remained in use, providing access to the main church as well as the converted aisles.

When the *kastron* was finally abandoned is similarly unclear. However, the account of the Venetian Fabiano Barbo from 1571 indicates that it was already abandoned in his time.[132] Leaving from the village of Koita, he went with local residents to "paliokastro" (old castle).[133] There he saw the ruins of a settlement, including marble columns, likely from the basilica.[134] This site must be Tigani since it is the only *kastron* in the area of Koita. Some of the columns were apparently shipped off by the Ottomans. By the fifteenth century, the basilica and settlement were already in ruins.

Tigani continued to be used in the Post Byzantine period, but not as a settlement or fortress. The churches that contain marbles from Tigani, Hagios Nikolaos in Stavri and the church of the Ascension in Mezapos, are more recent contructions, indicating the continued

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[130] This glazed jug has been dated by Nikolaos Drandakis to the fifth or sixth centuries and then subsequently dated to the twelfth century on the basis of comparison with Green and Brown painted ware. The use of a three color glaze on the exterior of closed-form vessel, however, is more common in the Late Byzantine period and after. See *Εκατό χρόνια της Χριστιανικής Αρχαολογικής Εταιρείας* (Athens, 1984), 61; *Tales of Religious Faith in the Mani*, 60.

[131] Drandakis, Ἔρευνα εἰς τὴν Μάνην," 200-201.

[132] D. Konstantinou, "Επαναστατικαί κινήσεις εις Μάνην προ της Ναυμαχίας της Ναυπάκτου και η έναντι αυτών στάσις της Βενετίας και Ισπανίας (1570-1571)," *Εταιρεία Λακωνικών Σπουδών* 1 (1972): 212-266.

[133] Ibid, 258.

[134] Ibid.

importance of the site well after its abandonment.[135] The production of salt continues to the present day. Additionally, the area may have been used for pasturing flocks. Rubble walls built around some collapsed cisterns may have been an effort by local shepherds to prevent animals from falling inside. The first fortification wall was built over as land was divided into smaller properties along the hills leading to Tigani. Today, in addition to salt production, the peninsula is used for fishing and remains an attraction to tourists willing to make the hike.

Conclusion

Tigani was not a city. The few houses there likely belonged to government and military officials, the Bishop, clergy and some others in charge of local administration, particularly of the saltworks. The open space found in the southwest and northeast of the *kastron* as well as the area between the circuit wall and the *kastron* may have had tents erected to house garrison soldiers or sailors staying at Tigani temporarily. The sparse domestic environment of Tigani stands in contrast to other *kastra*, such as Mystras and Monemvasia. This was because of a number of factors, including the importance of these areas as well as the topography of each. The *kastron* at Tigani simply could not support a large civilian population as well as a military one. The lack of fresh water and adjacent arable land would have prevented this. However, this small *kastron* fits well with the other medieval settlements in the Mani that tend to be small and widely dispersed. There was no lower settlement at Tigani as at *kastra* outside the peninsula. The topography simply did not allow it. The lower settlement of Tigani was effectively the relatively flat area to

[135] K. Kassis, *'Ανθη της Πέτρας: Οικογένεισες και εκκλησίες στην Μάνη* (Athens, 1990), 356.

the south which would have made up the *Χώρα Μαήνης* referred to by the marble carver Niketas.[136]

Given the topographic limitations of the site, why was the *kastron* located where it is? The plateau makes it a naturally defensible location, but there is not much evidence for a settlement with a significant population. However, according to the *De Administrando Imperio*, the *kastron* paid a tribute of 400 nomismata.[137] This is more than the combined total paid by the Slavic tribes in the north.[138] Clearly the *kastron* and its inhabitants had the means to pay such a sum. While Tigani likely controlled settlements in the relatively fertile area to the south, it is unclear how lucrative this would have been.[139] A more significant source of wealth undoubtedly derived from the production of salt.

As discussed in Chapter 1, Tigani has been identified as the Byzantine *kastron* of Maine. What has been a matter of more significant discussion and debate is where the Frankish castle of Grand Magne is located.[140] Possible locations have been as far north as Kelefa and as far south as Porto Kayio.[141] While the *Chronicle of the Morea* has many irregularities and inconsistencies across its different versions, it is relatively unambiguous about the castle founded by William II

[136] Chapter 1, 10-11.

[137] *De Administrando Imperio,* 236-237.

[138] Ibid, 234-235.

[139] This was likely the area of *Χώρα Μαήνης* referred to by the marble carver Niketas. See Chapter 1.

[140] For more recent publications on this question see Heslop, "Villehardouin's Castle," (Forthcoming); Katsafados, *Τα Κάστρα της Μαίνης*; J. M. Wagstaff, "Further Observations on the Location of Grand Magne," *DOP* 45 (1991): 141-148; Avramea, "Le Magne byzantine," 49-62; J. van Leuven, "The Phantom Baronies of the Western Mani," in *Studies in the Archaeology of the Medieval Mediterranean*, ed. J. Schryver (Boston, 2010), 41-69.

[141] Porto Kayio was identified in the Post Byzantine sources as Grand Magne, but subsequent research has revealed that this castle was not built prior to the 16th century and therefore could not be the Frankish castle. This case demonstrates the confusion in the sources as to the location of the Grand Magne in the Post-Byzantine material. See Wagstaff, "Further Observations," 143-144.

Villehardouin. Following the construction of Mystras, William traveled past Passavas and arrived at Maine. At Maine he saw an "awesome crag on a promontory," and here is where he wanted to build a castle known in the French version as "Grand Magne."[142]

As has been shown, in the Middle Byzantine period, Maine was not the entire peninsula. It was likely a defined area near to the *kastron* at Tigani. There is no reference from the Late Byzantine period that would suggest a change in terminology occurred. A letter of John Eugenikos from the fifteenth century discussing the churches of the Morea lists Maine along with Monemvasia and Helos, again indicating it was a settlement and not a region.[143] Also in the fifteenth century, Cyriac of Ancona traveled to the region, but named only individual towns.[144] When he refers to the peninsula, he uses the ancient name of Tainaron.[145] Had the name Mani been in use, it is likely he would have commented on it as he does for Kyparissos, explaining that the ancient name was Tainaron.[146] *The Chronicle of the Morea* has also been shown to use the term Maine only as a reference to a distinct settlement.[147] For these reasons, in order for William II Villehardouin to have traveled to Maine he must have gone to the same area known by this name in the Middle Byzantine period. In this area, the only "awesome crag" may be either the Makryna Ridge or Tigani.

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[142] The entire episode of William's travel to the area and the construction of the *kastron* is missing from the extant copy of the French version of the *Chronicle*. See Van Arsdall and Moody, *The Old French Chronicle of Morea*, 73-34.

[143] Lambros, *Παλαιολόγεια και Πελοποννησιακά*, 178.

[144] Cyriac of Ancona, *Later Travels*, trans. E. Bodnar with C. Foss (Cambridge, 2003), 311-329.

[145] Ibid, 310-311.

[146] Ibid, 312-315.

[147] See Chapter 1, 48-49.

There is little evidence for extensive fortifications on Makryna Ridge. Along the eastern side of the ridge are the remnants of a rough fortification wall.[148] The circuit is not complete and the wall lacks evidence of mortar in its construction. Such partial fortification walls are seen at both Marathos and Sarania and are not indicative of the presence of a *kastron* or significant fortified center. The identifiable houses here are few and their construction is identical to those of the surrounding villages.[149] It is only at Tigani that we have construction methods that are distinct from the rural housing of the surrounding area. The mention of any kind of fortification here is absent from the account of Cyriac of Ancona. He stayed and traveled to villages below the ridge and had a large, important castle been overlooking it, he saw no reason to mention it.[150]

Further supporting that Villehardouin traveled to the area of Tigani is that *kastra* are not named for entire regions, they are named for the immediate settlement or area. Since there is no *kastron* of Thessaly or *kastron* of Lakonia, we should not expect the *kastron* of Maine or Grand Magne to be the sole exception to this rule. Situating the *kastron* at Kelefa near Oitylo, as Wagstaff does, is also improbable. Since Tigani was the Byzantine *kastron* of Maine, we can assume it is in the general area of Maine. Naming a *kastron* at Kelefa after Maine would be the same as building a *kastron* in Argos and calling it Grand Nemea.[151] Grand Magne must have been constructed in the area of its Byzantine namesake.

Tigani is the only settlement in the region that is both undeniably a *kastron* and has domestic architecture that exhibits State, instead of local, influence. I have compared

[148] Katsafados, *Τα Κάστρα της Μαίνης*, 398-424.

[149] This will be further demonstrated in Chapter 5.

[150] Cyriac of Ancona, *Later Travels*, 310-321.

[151] The distance between these two areas is around 18-19 km.

construction methods here to both Geraki and Mystras, both of which were built in the thirteenth centuries. The similarity of the masonry of House 7 with the buildings at Karyoupolis may well indicate a more substantial Late Byzantine phase here than is currently thought. Other locations that have been posited as the site of the Frankish castle are theoretical exercises since no physical evidence exists to even suggest a Frankish construction.[152] The presence of large, well-built houses with extensive use of mortar make the settlement at Tigani unique in the Mani.

There is substantial evidence to support that the *kastron* at Tigani was no minor outpost. It is larger than the fortified settlements at Kelefa and Passavas. It is also about three times the size of the walled area of Karyoupolis. Compared to *kastra* outside of the Mani, it is dwarfed by Monemvasia, but larger than Geraki. It was not small, but it was limited by what it could support and by the contours of the peninsula. Unlike a *kastron* such as Monemvasia that was both significantly larger and facing important waterways in the Aegean Sea, the *kastron* of Maine was a governmental administration apparatus first and foremost, not a trading hub or the site of significant military conflict.[153] The lack of a natural port encouraged the development of Mezapos to the north and followed the dispersed settlement pattern typical in the region. Tigani cannot be understood outside of its context. It is not like the other *kastra* mentioned in the sources alongside it since it was unique in its topography and setting.[154] As much as the

[152] Remains at Beaufort, Kelefa, and Porto Kayio have either been destroyed or date to the Ottoman period.

[153] There is no mention in the historical sources of any siege at the *kastron* of Maine. After the fall of Monemvasia to William II Villehardouin, it appears to have simply capitulated. Conflicts with the Turks are similarly not mentioned, likely because of its quick abandonment following the fall of the Byzantine State in the Peloponnese in 1460. For much the same reason that the peninsula continued as a semi-autonomous region during the Ottoman period, the Mani simply did not have essential resources that would have encouraged the military expenditure necessary to fully submit the region.

[154] Great, Old, or just Maine is mentioned as one of the three castles given to Michael VIII to secure the freedom of William II Villehardouin in the *Chronicle of the Morea* along with Monemvasia and Mystras. See J. Schmitt, *The Chronicle of Morea: A History in Political Verse, Relating the Establishment of Feudalism in Greece by the Franks in the Thirteenth Century* (London, 1904), 286-287.

Byzantine government affected the development of the *kastron* here, it was a product of the Mani.

Chapter 5

Space in the Settlements

To discuss planning and the use of space in the village I will divide my discussion into three sections. The first focuses on the built landscape and what a close examination of the buildings and their placement can tell us about the villages and those who lived in them. This discussion includes the houses at each settlement, focusing on the available living space they provide, the main points of access, and the overall layout of the settlements. The second section relies on the spatial analysis of the settlements, focusing on the axial maps in order to understand the overall integration or segregation for different parts of each settlement. Finally, I will discuss overall conclusions about the buildings and settlements, including the location of certain activities and the social implications of the settlement layout.

Houses

In order to compare the houses from the three sites presented in this dissertation, I calculated the relative internal space provided in the first phase of each house.[1] The megalithic phase of the houses can confidently be dated to the Middle Byzantine period. While most additions likely date from the Middle to Late Byzantine period as well, their creation relative to one another is difficult to determine with confidence. Looking at the first phase also allows us to understand the original plan of the settlements. Over time, the fortunes of families may come and go resulting in modifications to structures and subsequent re-orientations of the settlement.

[1] These numbers can be found in Appendix B.

As can be seen in Tables 1-3, some measurements for buildings are left blank. This is the result of debris that makes it difficult to determine the internal measurements of the houses. In several examples this is the first floor. The first floor will be smaller than the second because of the construction of the house on a slope, but the debris from the second floor sometimes obscures where this floor ends. I have omitted any kind of measurement for these spaces since any estimate would be purely speculative. In some cases the entire house is omitted, as in House 15, if internal dimensions cannot be reliably measured, or if the first phase cannot be determined. The external measurements for these houses, however, do not suggest that the averages would change significantly if they were included. When an estimate of the internal area is necessary, this measurement is marked with an asterisk. These measurements are the result of uneven bedrock or lopsided construction. As a rule I have been as conservative as possible with any estimations.

What these data demonstrate is that it may be possible to determine which buildings on site functioned as houses and which might have served other purposes. When we look at the size of the houses, the smallest has just over 20 m^2 of internal space. Some examples fulfill this with a single floor, though most accomplish it with two stories. Other buildings on site, such as towers, routinely provide much less interior space. This is also true of the small additions to houses that served as outbuildings for storage or production.

It is also important to look at the second floor separate from the first. The second floor was the main living space of the house where the family resided, slept, ate and welcomed guests. The smallest second floor belongs to House 18 at Marathos, measuring just over 12 m^2. This appears to be exceptionally small among the houses. The second floors here average just under 19 m^2 and over 25 m^2 at Sarania. With the exception of House 18, the six other smallest houses

have a second floor that is within 1 m^2 of 15 m^2. Based on these measurements, I would consider 15 m^2 to be closer to the minimum required living space for a house. There will always be exceptions to any such rules, but it is instructive to define parameters that can aid in building identification.

Outbuildings and other non-domestic structures can readily be observed in the villages. Across from House 12 at Sarania is an oval outbuilding (Fig. 42). Its location and unique shape indicate it was likely an outbuilding for the occupants of the home. Internally it measures just over 8 m^2. The towers at all sites have under 10 m^2 of internal space. These numbers reflect a general rule that non-domestic buildings will routinely have under 10 m^2. Those with 15 m^2 or more internal space will likely be houses, particularly if additional rooms or outbuildings are located nearby. The buildings that fall between 10 m^2 and 15 m^2 must be evaluated based on the building, its form, location, and structure. Comparing excavated houses from Geraki and Panakton to these numbers, we see that they also adhere to having at least 15 m^2 for the living space (Appendix B, Table 4).[2] The total area of interior space for these houses also falls in line with the examples from the Mani. A larger database is required to draw any universal conclusions, but it appears that size of houses appears to be relatively consistent. In each example there is clear variation in size among houses in the settlement that may indicate a social hierarchy among those living there. For example, House I at Panakton in Boiotia is the largest house excavated so far on site and it is positioned adjacent to the central church (Fig. 140).[3] A comparison can be made to House 11 and Hagia Kyriaki at Marathos. In both examples there

[2] The numbers for these buildings were calculated based on the published, scaled drawings of the houses. This does allow for the possibility of error in calculating the internal space, but this margin of error is small and would not affect the overall conclusions drawn from the data.

[3] S. E. J. Gerstel et al., "A Late Medieval Settlement at Panakton," *Hesperia* 72 (2003): 152, fig. 5, 155-156.

was also a conscious effort to segregate the entrance of the house from that of the church.[4] This separation may imply that the while residents of these houses may have had a greater connection with the churches, these churches were not intended to function as private chapels.

At Sarania there are two buildings that can be identified as non-domestic structures. Originally I had labeled these two structures, C and D, as houses because of their position in the settlement and the presence of an attached courtyard. However, both buildings are small, and show no evidence of having two floors. Structure C has an internal area of only 8.25 m^2 and Structure D has around 8 m^2.[5] They do not appear to be towers since their walls are not significantly thicker than those of the houses on site. The inclusion of a well-built courtyard with both examples would also be unique among the towers in the Mani. It is likely that they served some aspect of production, perhaps as stables or pens with storerooms.

With the buildings at Tigani it can be more difficult to determine function from size alone. As mentioned, the westernmost tower may well have served as a residence since its ground floor measures over 25 m^2. Its rectangular form is more in line with the shape of houses of the Mani. At the same time, its position at the corner of the *kastron* and the inclusion of arrow slits indicates that it may have served primarily as a fortification element. These kind of hybrid buildings will require excavation in order to determine their use.

Elsewhere at Tigani, building function can be determined by examining size, placement, and orientation. A small building southwest of House 5 preserves its four walls and a doorway

[4] At Panakton this was the construction of a wall between the house and church. In Marathos this separation was accomplished by the construction of an addition that re-orientated the entrance of the building away from that of the church. See Gerstel et al., "A Late Medieval Settlement," 155-156.

[5] While lots of debris obscure the complete form of Structure 5, a complete, square unit can be observed. The segregation of the building into two spaces never has the small room downslope, so there is strong reason to believe that this was the full extent of the building. No door is visible in the extent walls, indicating that it may have been entered above ground level.

(Fig. 141). It is surrounded by cisterns with at least two attached to its eastern wall. There is no evidence of second floor, and its internal area measures 11.8 m^2. This is quite small for Tigani and under the proposed minimum of 15 m^2. The small size alone does not prevent this from being a house. However, it is around 10 m from House 5, much closer than the other houses on site are to one another.[6] Its orientation is also different from the other houses on site. With the exception of House 1, all of the houses have their long walls facing N-S. This building has its long walls orientated E-W. Considering its small size, single level, proximity to another house, and orientation, it likely functioned as an outbuilding.

At Marathos, the smallest house, House 18, has just over 22 m^2 of total internal space. Curiously this house does not have any additions. There does not seem to be a correlation between the size of the original unit and the number or size of subsequent additions. The largest houses, 3 and 11, both have additions while some of the smallest houses, 2, 18 and 31, do not. This phenomenon is not as readily observable at Sarania, in part because of the lack of additions in general. The two smallest houses for which I can estimate internal space do not have additions, but the largest house does not have any either. It is not clear whether the lack of additions at Sarania was a factor of time, with the settlement having a shorter lifespan than Marathos, or a reflection of the means of the villagers. It is possible that those of Sarania could not easily afford the time or labor to expand their homes, or perhaps as the larger houses on site, they simply had no need. At Tigani, no house appears to have had any addition to its living space. Instead, the construction of new cisterns appears to have been the focus of most subsequent building efforts.

[6] The next closest, Houses 4 and 6, are less than 20 m from one another.

The expansion of the larger houses along with the co-opting of public space can be seen readily at Marathos. House 3 appears to have eventually built over Cistern A and Houses 9 and 10 appropriated part of the main path through Zone A into a private area. This may be an indication of the more affluent members of the community increasing their wealth. As Angeliki Laiou showed in her examination of the tax documents for Macedonia, the families that tended to appear in multiple censuses were the more prosperous families in a village.[7] The poorer families would disappear in subsequent records, indicating the family likely left the village in search of a better situation. The variation in initial house size, which in some examples could be more than 30 m^2, likely indicates families that had greater means. These families had a greater likelihood of remaining in the village for multiple generations. As the size of the family would increase, so would their wealth, allowing them to build additions onto their houses. It is perhaps unsurprising that the smaller houses without additions appear at the edge of the settlement or in more marginal areas.

One question for the houses in the Mani is whether or not the second floors were an original part of the houses or expansions. Based on the examples in this study, the second floor was certainly planned from the beginning. As houses were constructed on a slope, the first floor is usually significantly smaller than the second. There simply would not be sufficient space to live, work, and store items in this area. Additionally, because of the rocky soil and porous construction of the walls, the first floor was likely to become damp during rainfall, making it an uninviting living space. It also appears from the construction of the houses that the first floor was essential to provide a leveled living area. Any construction on a slope, whether parallel or perpendicular with the incline, would result in a truncated ground floor since it could not be

[7] A. Laiou-Thomadakis, *Peasant Society in the Late Byzantine Empire: A Social and Demographic Study* (Princeton, 1977), 204-206, 228-232.

completely level and open. The only way to provide this was the construction of a second floor on top of a first that functioned as a necessary building platform.

Measurements also provide an interesting indication of how topography affects the form of the houses. Marathos is a much larger and by all indications wealthier settlement than Sarania.[8] However, the average area for the first phase of houses at Sarania is almost 17 m^2 larger than the first phase of the houses at Marathos, with around 7 m^2 more for the living space of the second floor. This should not be seen as a reflection of wealthier inhabitants at Sarania than at Marathos. Rather, the more significant slope at Marathos dictates the relative size of the houses. Building a longer structure became more difficult because of the change in elevation. The longer a house was, the more significant the change in elevation from one end to another, resulting in the need for a taller and more complicated first floor to provide a level space for the second floor. The size of the initial phase of the buildings was limited by the site of the building more than the affluence of its builder.

Within the settlements there was clearly a hierarchy of size among the buildings. There is no uniform average for the house size and no two are the same. However, there is an issue when we seek to compare relative size across settlements. The largest building at Marathos in the first phase is House 11 at 48.64 m^2, while the largest at Sarania is an estimated 67.03 m^2.[9] As mentioned, the houses at Marathos are around an average of 17 m^2 smaller than those of Sarania as the buildings were constrained by their topography. This means that within a settlement it is possible to observe a hierarchy of size among the buildings, likely indicating wealthier

[8] The use of ornate brickwork, donor portraits, and continued growth are all indications of a wealthier settlement than Sarania.

[9] As noted in Table 2, the extent of the first floor is unclear. Given the relatively flat area where the house was built, as well as the appearance of the extant remains, it is likely not much smaller than the second floor. The slightly smaller dimensions reflect the likelihood of an uneven bedrock floor that would limit the amount of useable space.

inhabitants, but that these comparisons cannot be made across sites. For example, if in an excavation a single house is found that measures 50 m^2, we cannot know if this was big or small for the settlement. It could belong to a wealthier member of the village or one of the poorest. Conclusions about the occupants based on size when a house is found in isolation is not possible.[10] What might be quite large for one village may be average or small for another.

The influence of topography could also explain why nearly every house in Marathos has an addition while only a handful at Sarania and none at Tigani do. There was a greater need for space that could only be achieved by adding onto the initial core of the house. 17 m^2 is a significant area, essentially equal to an additional floor. If we also consider that the houses at Sarania were more likely to have a courtyard as well, there was significantly more domestic space from the outset compared to Marathos. As the houses in Marathos expanded they would have equaled or surpassed the size of most buildings at Sarania. The addition of smaller rooms at Marathos resulted in a more physically segregated use of space while at Sarania we would expect the use of space inside of the house to be divided temporally. That is, space would be used for different activities at different times with no single activity taking place in a single location. Despite the larger structures at Sarania, there is little evidence for the room partitions that are common at Marathos.

When comparing the village examples to the houses at Tigani, it is unsurprising that they are larger. What is significant is just how much larger they are than the more humble village buildings. The average total area of living space for the houses at Tigani is 111.51 m^2. This is somewhat skewed by the massive size of House 1 at Tigani, but even omitting this example gives us an average of 74.48 m^2. This is more than 42.92 m^2 greater than the houses at Sarania

[10] This was the case with the houses recovered at Elian Pylos. It was the only medieval house recovered on site. See, J. Coleman and K. Abramovitz, *Excavations at Pylos in Elis* Hesperia Supplements 21 (Princeton, 1986), 139-149.

and more than 30 m^2 larger than those at Marathos. The smallest example of a possible dwelling at Tigani is Tower 3, which has an area of over 25 m^2 with only a single floor. If we look at examples that are strictly domestic, then the smallest example we have is over 70 m^2. The closest village example to this is House 7 at Sarania, which has approximately 67 m^2 of internal space. The high end of the village houses does not match the low end of the houses at Tigani.

Comparing the houses at Tigani to other centers we see how significant they are for the region. An average for the first phase of four houses at Geraki gives an interior area of approximately 36 m^2, the largest being Building 13 at around 45 m^2. The Laskaris House at Mystras, at its earliest phase, provided an interior area of approximately 84 m^2.[11] This compares well with the examples at Tigani, though the expansion of the houses at Mystras would significantly surpass those at Tigani.[12] Likewise if we look at the best preserved and largest house at Ano Poula in the Mani, we have an interior space of only 35.73 m^2 with approximately 20 m^2 for the second floor. This compares much better with the village examples than it does with those of Tigani.[13]

An interesting observation from these measurements when compared to a plan of the settlements, is that the largest houses at their earliest phase were the closest houses to the entrance of the site. House 15 at Sarania is positioned at the main point of entry, while House 3,

[11] G. Marinou, "Οικιστικά συγκροτήματα της Κάτω Πόλης," in *The Monuments of Mystras: The Work of the Committee for the Restoration of the Monuments of Mystras,* ed. S. Sinos (Athens, 2009), 248-249.

[12] The Laskaris house would expand to surpass the total area of House 1 at Tigani and is only one of numerous examples of such large houses at Mystras. This expansion is the result of the continued and increasing importance of Mystras as the capital of the Despotate of the Morea while the significance of Tigani likely diminished and it was never an urban center.

[13] When taking the size of this building into consideration, along with the megalithic construction of the house, it is unlikely that this would have been an elite dwelling of a *kastron* or other kind of administrative center. Rather, it appears to have been the house of an affluent villager since it compares well with houses at Marathos.

the largest structure in Zone A, is at the main entrance to the site from the north as well.[14] Even at Tigani the largest on site, House 1, is the closest house to the main gate of the *kastron*. This is an interesting phenomenon that implies that more affluent villagers did not want to distance themselves from the outside, but rather were among the first to encounter any outsiders coming to the village. Perhaps these more affluent members functioned as mediators between outsiders and the village, requiring them to be closer to the main points of access.

Within the settlements surveyed, there is also no sign of a "tower house" that could be an antecedent of the Early Modern tower houses that became synonymous with the Mani. There are many towers at Sarania and Marathos, but none are part of houses. Some are in close proximity, but none shares a wall or was ever connected, even by later additions. It has been thought that the small back room seen in many of these houses was the base for a tower within the house as in the case of the well-preserved house at Ano Poula mentioned above (Fig. 142).[15] However, this room was likely used for storage. Along the south wall are two *therides*, storage niches built into the walls of the house, and in the middle of the room at floor level is a wall running north-south that divides the area.[16] There was likely a storage pit here or possibly a cistern that was subsequently blocked with debris. House 11 at Marathos also has a well-defined back room, measuring less than 6 m^2 of internal space. Against the north east corner is a large *therida*. There may be a storage pit against the west wall, though this is unclear. In both examples, there is no room for stairs here, and it is not possible to place a ladder in this area without blocking access to other parts of the room. Such a compromise should only be expected if the inclusion of a tower

[14] The internal area of House 16 at Sarania is unknown, but it would have been significant because of the flat area on which it was built and the size of its external dimensions. This house would continue to expand to become a massive structure and quite possibly the largest overall building in the villages in my study.

[15] Katsafados, *Τα Κάστρα της Μαίνης* (Athens, 1992), 458.

[16] Personal observation.

was of great importance, but both houses are set well back from the walls or edge of the site. A tower would not help to monitor approaches to the village or defend against attackers. It would only be useful to observe or defend against other members of the village, which was unlikely to have been a priority.

The back room at both Ano Poula and Marathos is formed by an internal wall that is not bonded with the main walls of the house. At Marathos, it is markedly thinner, measuring only 60 cm built of roughly cut dry-stone masonry. This type of wall would make any tall superstructure quite unstable. In both of these examples, as well as others at Marathos, there is no evidence of a greater superstructure existing over these small rooms. The height of the walls is consistent with the rest of the building. There is no more debris in or around these areas than the rest of the house. No physical evidence suggests that we are looking the base of a significantly higher part of the house. They often include *therides* as well as possible storage pits. They tend to be in the back of the house, engaged with the slope. While they may have been planned from the beginning, their walls are never bonded with the walls of the house. Their small size would make them unsuitable for sleeping comfortably. In the cold and damp winter, it would be much more comfortable to stay with the family in the main room which may have included a fireplace. If the ground floor was used mainly for animals, food storage may have been preferred on the second floor. Since this back room was often engaged with the slope, pits could have been dug into the earth, providing for cooler storage.[17]

The tower house would have been unnecessary in the Byzantine village. Such towers would have duplicated the free standing towers. Rather, the tower houses likely came into use with the upsurge of firearms in the region in the Early Modern period. The prolific amount of

[17] An example of storage carved into bedrock can be seen in House I at Panakton. See Gerstel, et al., "A Late Medieval Settlement," 155-165.

guns and cannon in the region along with the creation of an intense clan structure made the tower houses viable and useful. The Early Modern houses of the region, though with a similar ground plan to the megalithic examples, demonstrate a significantly different architecture. The roots of this style may well be found outside of the Mani. The influence of the Venetians and French in the area following the Ottoman conquest could have affected the creation of a new architectural style in the region meant to convey power. Just as the megalithic architecture appears to be a new style of the Middle Byzantine period, the Early Modern tower houses do not appear to be a natural evolution of previous forms. They appear in their finished form earlier in the more integrated northwest Mani, which may be an indication of how outside influences led to their creation.[18]

Village Planning

The study of Marathos and Sarania provides information on settlement selection and layout for the Byzantine village. Despite the differences between the two sites, both are positioned on higher ground, though not at the highest spot in the immediate area.[19] Both were positioned near seasonal streams and a naturally defensible cliff or gorge, though this is much more pronounced at Marathos. These were undoubtedly important factors since it was essential for the villagers to have access to water before cisterns were built and to defend themselves prior to the construction of walls. In each location the place where the houses were built was along the

[18] On the more conservative nature of the southern Mani, see Y. Saitas, *Greek Traditional Architecture: Mani* (Athens, 1990), 38-44.

[19] This is very common in the Mani as the high peaks tend not only to be smaller, but less hospitable since they are much further removed from arable land.

rockier and more marginal area. Arable land was at a premium and by building in these areas they opened up more land for cultivation.

The village site was also selected to be near stone that could be quarried or collected for the houses. Building on a slope, the villagers likely did not want to have to carry stones uphill. Since large stones were being used in house construction, the quarry is usually at the high point of the settlement as is seen in both Marathos and Sarania. By quarrying at the top of the settlement, the stones could be rolled down hill to be further worked and placed into position.[20] The nature of the megalithic buildings implies that the stones were finished on site. Since the stones were not a uniform shape or size, there would be no way to plan ahead how certain stones would fit in a particular place until the actual house was being built. This also means that any damage that occurred to the stones as they were rolled to the building site would be unimportant since they would be worked further.

Based on the architecture and layout of the settlements, it is also likely that many of the houses were built at the same time. The use of large stones would require many people to move them and indicates that the nascence of the village was a community effort. This also provides information on why few additions were built in the megalithic style. Once the houses were built, expansion of individual homes would have become a family matter, not a community one. Also, it would become more difficult to roll or transport large stones downhill once the settlement was built. The chances of damaging another person's property would have been high, requiring the use of smaller stones that could be brought from the quarry more easily. The nature of the terraced settlements and narrow pathways did not allow for the use of carts or wagons in the

[20] Panayiotis Katsafados believes the rounded nature of these stones is an indication that they were rolled in order to be brought into position. Personal communication.

village, meaning that any transportation of goods had to be done by the use of pack animals or by hand.

The construction of many of the houses around the same time is evident in the clustering that appears at Marathos. In Zone A we see that most of the houses, all with a megalithic phase, are built near each other. Originally, they would have been mostly accessible from the same area. Zones B and C each exhibit clear clustering as well for the houses within their respective area. This division that is possible both at the site level and within the individual zones indicates a kind of global and local clustering pattern in the settlement. At Sarania, this tendency is less noticeable because of the smaller number of houses and the shorter life of the settlement. Houses 10, 13 and 14 make one such cluster, but this seems to be the only such example. It may be that visibility of this pattern is a matter of scale and simply more visible in the larger settlements that would have had more family groups than the smaller villages.

What is not present at any settlement in this study is the use of party walls. Houses are not connected to one another. A house can expand over time, but these additions are not independent houses, but rather individual rooms. The lack of such party walls indicates that there was no communal housing in the village, even if it took a communal effort to construct individual houses. Each family had its own, independent house with a distinct sense of space. In examples like Houses 4 and 5 at Sarania or 30 and 31 at Marathos that may be examples of a later house being built near an older one, the houses are still independent entities. Whatever the connection between the residents, they did not share the same structure. This raises questions about how many people resided in a single house. Some examples, like House 15 at Sarania or House 3 at Marathos have several additions that could accommodate an extended family. A small addition like the one at House 11 in Marathos or House 12 at Sarania did not provide much

more space. If we look at 15 m^2 as the minimum for a single family, then any addition that measures well under this number would likely not provide enough space to accommodate an additional nuclear family under the same roof.

Another factor of these settlements indicates the communal nature of their creation; the terraces. The settlements at Marathos and Sarania are built on a series of terraces. Based on the position of the houses, these terraces were built prior to their construction. Not only are the houses built onto the terraces, but often the back wall of the first floor ends at a terrace wall. Doors open onto the terraces indicating that they pre-existed the construction of the house. Further, the building of these terraces would have required a communal work force. No one family could have accomplished this task alone. Construction of the terraces would require removing soil, cutting stone, and placing walls that could then be backfilled to create a stable platform on which to build or farm. The scale of this project as well as how integral they are for the construction of the village strongly implies a communal effort. The placement of the houses upon these terraces must have also been a matter of community consensus since the public area of the village would then be turned over to a private individual.

An example of the creation of these villages may have been as follows. A group of villagers, perhaps from a nearby settlement or a different part of Byzantium, came together to establish a new settlement.[21] A location was chosen that presumably no other group could claim. This location needed to be near arable land, at least a seasonal source of freshwater, and be somewhat defensible. Building resources also needed to be at hand, which in the Mani meant a

[21] Angeliki Laiou's work on peasant families in Macedonia demonstrates that children of some households disappear in the following decades indicating that offspring, if they did not take over their parents' holdings, must have moved elsewhere. Fotini Kondyli has also provided evidence of what were possibly recently formed villages. See Laiou-Thomadakis, *Peasant Society*, 197-200; F. Kondyli, "Changes in the Structure of the Late Byzantine Family and Society," in *Approaches to the Byzantine Family* ed. L. Brubaker and S. Tougher (Burlington, 2013), 284-287.

source of stone. After the site was selected, work would set out to level the main building area through the use of terraces. Agricultural terraces might have also been built at this time. Once these were completed, the construction of communal cisterns and other public features may have been done. It is possible that a church may have been constructed at this time as well, though this may have occurred later. After the infrastructure of the village was in place, the placement of the family homes would be laid out. This process may have been done in order of importance, as certain villagers likely brought more resources to the effort than others. Larger houses are built in locations that are either flatter or near communal resources and may be the result of such a process. When this was completed and the houses were built, the village would have been created and additions to the homes or the construction of new houses would now become a family matter. Finally, the agricultural land would need to be distributed, likely in the same manner as with the placement of the houses.

The process mentioned above is hypothetical, but logical, for the built environment that is observed. It implies a significant level of organization and settlement planning. Unlike the urban environments of Corinth, Athens, and even Pergamum that would have developed and evolved along existing plans, these villages were in most cases *ex novo* constructions.[22] There is no evidence for haphazard planning in the villages. The availability of essential resources and the transformation of the natural landscape into a productive village all provide evidence for the careful selection of the sites.

The site of Tigani is much different from the village examples. There is no source of freshwater in the *kastron* and the use of brick and poros stone demonstrate the use of imported

[22] R. Scranton, *Medieval Architecture in the Central Area of Corinth* (Princeton, 1957); C. Bouras, "Houses in Byzantium," *ΔΧΑΕ* 11 (1983): 1-26; K. Rheidt, "Byzantinische Wohnhäuser des 11. bis 14. Jahrhunderts in Pergamon," *DOP* 44 (1990): 195-204.

building materials so they were not relying exclusively on the materials available at the site. This also extends to the use of mortar at Tigani. While it could have been made from materials available at the *kastron*, it was likely imported as well.[23] The natural defensibility was certainly the primary concern of its builders. Only two sides could be attacked from the land, and this was limited to one with the creation of the megalithic wall at the site and the two other fortification walls further down the peninsula. Arable land was clearly not a concern either since there is no evidence for agricultural terraces near the fortress. The landscape itself testifies to the much different function of this site from the villages of the area. This is also consistent with the evidence of the built remains from Tigani, which are fewer houses, a multiplicity of cisterns, communal ovens and other features that indicate this was not a simple village or town. The landscape would not support this kind of population and the physical evidence does not support the idea that such a settlement existed here.

Access

All of the settlements in this survey had clear points of access from the outside into their built core. At Sarania this is to the south, in Marathos to the north and east, and at Tigani to the southeast. It is no surprise that this entry point is dictated mainly by topography. Attempting to approach Marathos from the south is possible, but requires a particularly arduous hike and climb. Likewise, one could enter Sarania from the north or east, but this would require scaling either walls, terraces, or a sheer cliff. These might have been approaches favored by those with hostile

[23] The change in the mortar used over time also demonstrates that the source could not have been local for the life of the settlement.

intentions, but for the villagers themselves they would have use the points of access that were easier.

In all three settlements, this access point would have been either well-guarded or monitored. At Tigani, a *kastron*, this is to be expected, but in the villages it is more remarkable. At Marathos, entering from the north, one is funneled between a tower and the massive bulwark built against House 3. Towers also dot Zone C, an area more accessible from the east. At Sarania, as one approaches the entrance to the villages, they are met by House 15, which at its fullest extent would have been a massive structure over 18 m long and around 3 m in height. To the east would have been several bulwarks and towers that give the impression of a significantly fortified entrance.

One question in the villages is who would man these fortifications? We can assume that the male villagers might have taken turns standing watch from these towers, but as a means of defense it is unclear how viable these would have been.[24] It is an open question as to whether villagers were armed or not. Farm implements and rocks could be used to defend oneself if necessity required, but these are not very useful against an organized army. It appears that such structures may have served mainly as a point of observation and as a deterrent. By presenting the appearance of a fortified center, the villages would likely be dismissed as potential targets by raiding parties. It would not be worth the effort and there would be easier targets in the countryside.[25] This appears to be the case as at both Sarania and at Marathos since there does not appear to have been a concern to create a complete circuit of fortifications.

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[24] For a brief discussion of how some rural fortifications were manned see M. Bartusis, *The Late Byzantine Army: Arms and Society, 1204-1453* (Philadelphia, 1992), 314-318.

[25] The medieval settlement of Kouloumi in the south western Mani is completely unfortified and preserves no documented evidence for towers. This settlement is also located on relatively flat and level ground that would make it much easier to approach and a more viable candidate for raiding than Sarania or Marathos. See Saitas, *Greek Traditional Architecture*, 13-15.

It is likely that the towers within the villages served as look-out posts more than for active defense. They tend to be located along the edge of the settlements where they can survey the approaches to the village. Only in a few cases does a tower need to be directly walked by in order to access the village. In no example is there a tower positioned in the center of the village or at the highest point of the settlement, as is common in villages outside of the Mani.[26] The towers are also not large enough for a significant number of people to stay within, nor are there enough towers inside the villages to accommodate all of the families. It is likely that they served as a form of passive defensive architecture similar to the use of towers in monastic contexts.[27] Just as the monks would flee to a *kastron* when presented with an invading force, the Maniots would flee into the mountains.[28]

The placement of walls is relegated to the main points of access in the settlement. In Sarania, for example, the thickest walls and the largest bulwarks are placed to the south, at the entrance of the main hill of the settlement. To the north, where the natural ravine makes the approach precarious, no wall was initially built. At a later time a much thinner wall was built just past House 12, but around 80 meters back from the edge of the ravine to the north. This may have been intended to provide a more secure core to the village later on, or simply to demarcate a property boundary.

Even at Tigani we can see that the majority of fortifications are focused around the entrances. The main entrance to the northeast of the *kastron* has the largest fortifications. On the

[26] For example, the settlement at Panakton where the tower is positioned above the excavated remains. See Gerstel, et al., "A Late Medieval Settlement," 150-152. See also J. Bogdanović, "Life in a Late Byzantine Tower: Examples from Northern Greece," in *Approaches to Byzantine Architecture and Its Decoration: Studies in Honor of Slobodan Ćurčić*, eds. M. Johnson, R. Ousterhout and A. Papalexandrou (Farnham, 2012), 187-202.

[27] S. Popović, "Pyrgos in the Late Byzantine Monastic Context," in *Manastir Žica. Zbornik Radova*, eds. D. Drasković and S. Đordević (Kraljevo, 2000), 103-104.

[28] D. E. Rogan, *Mani: History and Monuments* (Athens, 1973), 32.

southern wall, where another entrance likely existed, multiple towers were built. Contrasting this to the sides facing the sea, there is little evidence for many towers having existed here. The natural cliff would have been sufficient to defend the area with minimal fortifications. The elevation of the plateau from the sea was also significant enough that a raised platform was unnecessary to observe the surrounding area.

Pathways

The preservation of doorways as well as the terraces enable the tracing of at least part of the pathways through each settlement, which appear in red on the maps. While it may be possible to travel different ways through the settlement or reach the buildings from a different area, the pathways that are highlighted represent the easiest, most direct ways to travel through the settlement. Because of the dilapidation of the settlements the pathways cannot be traced with complete certainty throughout the entire settlement, but the likely connections of the paths can be hypothesized based on the pathways that are recognizable as well as the location of extant doorways.

Within the settlements, movement into the village is much more regulated at Sarania than at Marathos. At Sarania, all of the pathways from different structures appear to go south on the main hill. Since these paths are not interconnected, to proceed from one house to another would require a circuitous path around the terraces unless one was to climb over them. A different layout is observable in Zone A at Marathos. Once one enters the site from the north they have easy access to Houses 3, 4, 5, and 6 from along the same path. Over time, however, this area becomes more segregated with the construction of additional walls that effectively divide what

would have likely been public space into more private areas. For example, a wall built between Houses 5 and 6 isolates Houses 7, 8, 9, and 10 from this public corridor, forcing one to walk around House 6 to access this area. These spaces were originally public areas, which is demonstrated in how they integrated the settlement, as discussed below. That the doorways of all of these houses opened into this same space provides further evidence for its public nature.

This kind of main corridor or access path is not seen at Sarania. No house has an entrance that opens directly onto a pathway through the village. Instead, the entrances are staggered from the path, as in House 11, or controlled by a courtyard that has an entrance off axis from that of the house, as in Houses 6 and 13. Even House 15, which appears to be located at the main access point of the village, does not have a door that can be accessed from this main path, being sheltered by its courtyard. At Marathos this staggered access is only present in Zones B and C. Here the entrances to the houses do not open onto the main paths. This dichotomy between Sarania and Zone A at Marathos is likely the result of the different topography of the settlements. As the doorways tend to be along one of the long sides of the houses, and the long side is parallel with the slope, the entrance will open along a path if the path proceeds parallel with the slope as well. This is the case only for Zone A, which has a vertical spread of buildings instead of the horizontal spread visible in the other zones and at Sarania.

It is also clear from the pathways that Sarania has a more distinct entrance to the settlement than at Marathos. While the north entrance at Marathos is well defined, the entrance to the east is not. This area was accessible from the sloping hills that lead to Tsikalia, but there is no clearly defined entrance here. This may be the result of the landscape more than any particular settlement plan. Since Sarania is placed in a valley between a mountain and taller hills, access is naturally limited to a narrow area that can be formalized in the built landscape of the

village. At Marathos, the gorge around the south limits access from that area, but the north and the east are both viable entry points. The rockier and steeper cliffs on the north side limit the possible access point to the carved staircase area. To the east, however, the slopes are more gradual and less sheer, allowing multiple potential pathways to enter the built area. It may simply have been impractical to attempt to formalize an entrance on this side.

Tigani has much different access than the two examined villages. While it does have a more prescribed way of access than either of the villages, it is relatively open once one enters the *kastron*. In order to walk around the settlement one needs to stick to the periphery since the center was filled with a dense network of cisterns (Fig. 94). With the exception of House 1, all of the houses at Tigani have their long side and entrances facing the north or south. This provided Houses 4, 5, and 6 with views of the sea. House 2 overlooked a mostly open area with several cisterns to the west of House 1. House 3 appears the most isolated, with its entrance only being accessible through a maze of cisterns to the north. Its second story however would have likely had an unobstructed view to the sea. Even House 2 may have had a view to the sea if it had a second story since the house is built upon higher ground than the house to its north. The placement of these houses is telling. They were more isolated from the entrance to the *kastron*, making them less likely to suffer damage from a siege on the land side. It also provided the occupants with a pleasant view. House 4 has 3 windows and its entrance positioned to the north facing towards the sea. No house is positioned to overlook the saltworks to the south, the harbor to the west at Mezapos, or even the Makryna Ridge to the east.

There may be more houses in the *kastron* that excavation would uncover, however there cannot be many more. It is unlikely that the scattered walls and cisterns indicate a number of houses since these would be much smaller than the others on site, and much more ramshackle in

their construction methods. Even the possible house outside the main wall may simply be an out building. With no evidence for a second floor and an interior space of only 16.47 m^2 it may have had a storage function. It is the only building in the area and it is surrounded by a number of cisterns. This may have been a supply area for the garrison or sailors, getting water from the cisterns and food or other supplies from this building.

Dating

Only at Tigani is there published evidence for the medieval phases of the settlement. The architectural plan of the basilica, along with grave goods, its monumental sculpture and glazed ceramic sherds found on the surface attest to a Middle Byzantine date for the origins of the settlement. At Sarania and Marathos the dating is a bit more difficult.

In Chapter 1, I discussed the reasons for dating the megalithic architecture of the Mani to the Middle Byzantine period.[29] In summary, the earliest datable remains of megalithic churches as well as the megalithic repairs to tenth-century churches, provide no physical evidence to support a date for the origins of this style to earlier than the tenth century. As shown in Chapter 3, the megalithic style at Marathos predates the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century as well, solidifying a dating of this style to the Middle Byzantine period. The Roman remains recovered in areas such as Kyparissos and Tainaron do not include any evidence for the rough megalithic buildings we have of the Middle Byzantine period. It should also not be assumed that the coarse or simple appearance of the buildings is indicative of some primordial age that may have had an architectural style that persisted for over a millennia. Despite efforts to relate the megalithic

[29] Pages 28-30.

structures to pagan ceremonial complexes that were later adapted by the Christian inhabitants of the region, this is not supported by the physical evidence of the settlements or the history of the region.[30]

The general house form in the Mani is well attested in Byzantine examples, with the most similar comparisons coming from the Late Byzantine period. Describing the houses from the Minnesota Morea Project, Kostis Kourelis remarks that they are placed along slopes, on terraced foundations and built of roughly cut, non-mortared masonry.[31] The ground plan of a house from Santomeri, except for the issue of size, is essentially the same plan as the houses of the Mani (Fig. 143). That does not make the examples from the Mani unique for being from the Middle Byzantine period, however. One reason for the more robust corpus of Late Byzantine examples is that Late Byzantine sites are often better preserved and are found in areas that have received the greatest archaeological attention, including the sites of Mystras, Geraki, and Panakton. The other is that the Middle Byzantine existence of these kinds of homes are found on the periphery of ancient urban centers. As the focus of research in these areas is on reaching the Classical remains of these cities, the most recovered style of Byzantine house from these areas has been the courtyard house.[32] While significantly larger and better articulated than the linear style, their creation rarely appears to be *ex novo*. Rather they are built on older foundations or reuse existing walls.[33] Since urban centers were certainly the minority of settlement types in Byzantium, it is likely that the commonality of the courtyard house is merely the result of a sustained focus on

[30] D. von Erffa, "Megalithische Baudenkmäler im maniotischen Charouda," *Antike Welt* 20 (1989): 21-30.

[31] K. Kourelis, "The Rural Houses in the Medieval Peloponnese," in *Archaeology in Architecture: Studies in Honor of Cecil L. Striker,* eds. J. Emerick and D. Deliyannis (Mainz, 2005), 123.

[32] E. Sigalos, "Housing People in Medieval Greece," *IJHA* 7 (2003): 199-204.

[33] Ibid, 200; K. Dark, "Early Byzantine Housing," in *Secular Buildings and the Archaeology of Everyday Life in the Byzantine Empire,* ed. K. Dark (Oxford, 2003), 37-52.

Classical urban areas. The linear style houses on the outskirts of the urban centers likely indicate new buildings constructed by less affluent members of the city.

Spatial Analysis

The spatial analysis used for understanding the integration of the settlement is that discussed in *The Social Logic of Space* by Bill Hillier and Julienne Hanson.[34] Their examples rely on densely placed housing blocks in a more urban setting. These dense settlements allow convex spaces to be drawn in the gaps where the blocks are not located. While not uniform in its appearance, all space on the map is designated as either a building or open space. In the settlements in the Mani, and indeed in many locations within Greece, there is a third kind of space that must be accounted for. I call this null space. This is space which exists on a map that is not passable. While this could be something like a steep incline or gorge, it could also be something less well defined such as an area that theoretically one could walk or climb up to reach a different area of the settlement, but was clearly never intended for such purpose. Space and paths are not the same thing, though they are synonymous in the examples used in *Social Logic*. The spaces used are the roads or alleyways within a settlement. For a settlement like Marathos, the spaces within the settlement are not always tenable paths. Since the houses are individual units and not large housing blocks, the spaces in the settlement are more globular than linear.

It is this irregular, organic structure to the settlements that does not make convex analysis ideal for understanding the use of space in the village. The natural landscape and the terraced

[34] B. Hillier and J. Hanson, *The Social Logic of Space* (Cambridge, 1984).

areas would create a multiplicity of convex spaces that would make subsequent calculations inaccurate since it would make the settlements appear far more segregated than they are in reality. I could attempt to correct for this issue, but this would require a large number of personal judgment calls that would risk making the analysis too subjective. For these reasons I have decided to focus on axial analysis for understanding the settlements. Axial analysis requires that the axial lines be the longest lines possible across empty space. I have adapted this approach for the settlements in this study by dividing the spaces into passable and null space. I treat null space as impassable, essentially a wall that defines the passable space. The determination of where null space begins and passable space ends is difficult. It cannot be determined from looking at maps or photographs. The space must actually be encountered in person. In some cases, as I did for Marathos, it requires going to the site and seeing first hand if it is possible to go from one point to another. Even if the path is serpentine, as it undoubtedly will be in a terraced settlement, as long as I can move through the space to reach another area without scaling rocks, passing through woods, or climbing terraces, it can be considered a coherent space. Likewise, even if a building is near another on the map, if access between them requires doing any of the above, it will not be connected by a single space. Defining the spaces this way is not an exact science since there is room for error. However, if an axial line extends into an area that is impassable, or falls short ending in passable space, this has no noticeable effect on the subsequent analysis of the settlement using these lines. The analysis is based on the number of the lines and their relative position in the settlement. Such errors in length are unlikely to cause the addition or subtraction of lines, or cause an error in placement that would affect the subsequent calculations. As will be evident from the maps shown in this section, the axial lines are accurate, and even if

shifted from their positions slightly, would have a negligible effect on the conclusions gained from their study.[35]

The axial maps for each settlement were created using an adapted method from that in *The Social Logic of Space*.[36] I drew the longest axial lines possible through passable space. Unlike the pathways that have direct access to the doorways of the houses and other buildings in the settlements, these axial lines will merely cross through the space that allows access to them. The axial lines do not show pathways, but rather the connectivity of space, implying the possibility to go from one part of the settlement to another. This method was applied consistently across each settlement so that whatever the shortcomings of the approach, the data is internally consistent and comparable.

For Tigani, we have an average Relative Asymmetry (RA) of 0.186.[37] This is a rather low number indicating that the settlement was highly integrated. This may seem unusual for a *kastron*. However the outside is the second most segregated space for Tigani, with only access to House 5 and the large cisterns being more segregated. Despite the integration of space inside of the *kastron*, there was clearly an effort to separate the inside from the outside, even with two points of access. Among the settlements surveyed, the outside is the most segregated at Tigani, though this may be the result of topography more than particular architectural features.

[35] Because of the issues discussed above, some of the axial lines will appear to end abruptly. This is the result of the situation on the ground that is not translated well in a topographic map. The limits of the lines are the result of my careful examination of each site in person and accurately reflect the reality of the settlement.

[36] Hillier and Hanson, *Social Logic*, 99-122.

[37] Relative Asymmetry will be a number between 0 and 1. The lower the number, the more integrated the layout of the settlement. The more integrated a settlement is, the easier it is to move within it and access all locations passing through a low number of spaces.

The segregation of House 5 and the large cisterns underscores the importance that this area had for the settlement. While other *kastra* like Mystras and Geraki have a separate keep at their summit, Tigani does not.[38] Since this area cannot be separated by height, it was separated by depth. It was speculated in Chapter 4 that this house was an important building for the settlement, being located near the large cisterns, but also having regulated control. These numbers support this theory. What it also indicates however, is that these large cisterns were not likely communal. The deeper segregation implies a different purpose. They likely served as surplus in the case of a siege. As was mentioned in Chapter 4, they likely could not be filled from rainfall alone, especially if they were being used throughout the year. If they were only used in emergencies, that would allow more time for them to be filled, and also allow for the possibility that they could be filled manually from some of the smaller cisterns outside of the main fortifications that likely gathered water much more efficiently.

The most integrated area of Tigani is along Line 17. This is the result of this area being relatively unobstructed, allowing one to go easily from the area of the main entrance to the back of the *kastron*. It also allows access to the other important avenues and buildings of the settlement. Interestingly, there does not appear to be any important buildings or structures accessible directly along this line. It passes by many ruins that consist mainly of cisterns, and perhaps a tower or two. Overall the area is open. The largest space is in the northeast area, and here the soil is very thin and rocky. While other areas of the *kastron* were overgrown with tall grass and weeds from the Spring rains, this area was still quite barren. It is possible that construction in this area was not done since it would be difficult to establish a level foundation.

[38] For Mystras, see S. Runciman, *The Lost Capital of Byzantium: The History of Mistra and the Peloponnese* (Cambridge, 2009). For Geraki, see, A.-M. Simatou and R. Christodoulopoulou, "Παρατηρήσεις στον μεσαιωνικό οικισμό του Γερακίου," *ΔΧΑΕ* 15 (1989-1990): 67-88.

This could have been an area for the tents of the soldiers or perhaps just reserved space for an influx of population when the area was under siege.

At Sarania we see a village that is more segregated internally with a value of 0.219. Unlike Tigani, Sarania has a multiplicity of walls and impassable terraces dispersed throughout the settlement. While this has not resulted in more axial lines, as Sarania is a much smaller settlement, it has more distinct points of access through the settlement than at Tigani. Once one enters Sarania, they can move throughout the settlement, but not with the directness or ease that we see at Tigani. Evidence of this is that Lines 15 and 16 are tied as the most segregated areas of the settlement, despite running through the center of the village.

The most integrated area of Sarania is crossed by Line 7. This line crosses the open area to the south of the settlement that provides access to Hagios Georgios, House 15 and provides connections to the lines that allow access to all other parts of the settlement. It is a movement hub for the settlement, but importantly, not inside of the built core of Sarania. While this area was essential for movement from one part of the village to another or to the outside, it was not at the center of the built core of the settlement. This would seem to provide more evidence for the privacy and security concerns of the village residents. Someone needing to go to a house on the secondary hill or other houses need not travel through the built core itself, but rather move around it.

The area of the threshing floors in the center of the core of Sarania as well as access to some of the cisterns is mediated by Line 16, tied for the most segregated area in the village. This might seem odd for what must have been a public area of the village as it contains features essential to the life of the settlement. However, threshing floors and cisterns must be placed in more specific locations. Threshing floors require a steady wind and the cisterns needed to be

placed downslope in areas best suited to collect water. Since this area is near the geographic center of the village, it is likely this area was selected when the settlement was laid out, with the houses being built around it. In this way, the integration values do not always demonstrate a clear dichotomy between public and private. When the landscape limited the possibility of the village layout, this had priority over integrating the area with the settlement.

A different situation can be seen with the putative mill located off of the main road to Sarania. This area was accessible from the outside, and unlike Tigani, the outside is around the middle of the RA values for Sarania. The outside is the tenth most integrated area out of 17 total axial lines. While not overtly public, it certainly cannot be seen as a totally private area, owing to both its integration with the settlement and the fact that it is accessible only from outside the village. The semi-public/private nature of this building would fit well with our understanding of the status mills in the village which would be privately owned, but publically used.[39]

For Marathos I have constructed two different axial maps. The first reflects the situation on the ground as it is today with all of the buildings and subsequent walls that were created over the centuries. The second map attempts to display how the site appeared with just the megalithic buildings. Any walls that presupposed the existence of a later addition were ignored as were very late additions, such as the halls attached to House 3. Few exceptions were actually required as most of the change occurred in the area of Zone A. The only substantial change in Zone C concerned the complex of Houses 22 and 23. Originally it would be possible to move between the megalithic phases of the buildings, but this area became closed off later with subsequent additions and a wall built further uphill. The RA values show increasing segregation over time, with the RA value of the old settlement being 0.216 and the current settlement being 0.247.

[39] S. E. J. Gerstel, *Rural Lives and Landscapes in Late Byzantium: Art, Archaeology, and Ethnography* (Cambridge, 2015), 119-123.

The most significant change over time occurred in access to the open area containing Cisterns D and E, House 11, and Hagia Kyriaki. Originally there would have been three potential points of access to the area coming from the outside. Through the centuries, however, this was limited to a single potential area, coming from Line 9. This space, however, was still among the most integrated within the settlement, being surpassed only by Line 10. This demonstrates that this area continued to serve a rather public function for the settlement, even as potential avenues were blocked.

Looking at the RA values again for the current layout of the settlement we can also see that the lines controlling access to Hagia Kyriaki and Hagios Philippos are the sixth and eighth most integrated areas in the settlement. Despite the segmentation of space in the settlement, access to these areas was still prominent in the village. In contrast, access to Church C is only possible on Line 11, which is tied for the fifth most segregated. The only spaces more segregated are the isolated sections of Zone B and C. This church has become far more segregated from the rest of the settlement. As it has a megalithic phase and likely a Late Byzantine phase, this segregation may have occurred in this late period. As Church C became spatially more separated from the base of the settlement, it became more focused around those living in Zone B. This later segregation of Church C may have also been one of the reasons behind the construction of Hagia Kyriaki. As a church of the late thirteenth century without any indication of an earlier phase, this church may have been built to accommodate a growing population and compensate for the increasing isolation of Church C. The donors represented in the apse may have been only part of a larger village effort to construct the church.

Within the old and current layout of Marathos, the most integrated area remains the same, Line 10 on the Current map and Line 11 on the Old. These lines represent the transitional area

between Zones A and B with Zone C. Despite later changes to the settlement, this area remained relatively unchanged. It is also important to note that here we have two towers. Because of the shape of the mountain on which Marathos was built, Zone A was not intervisible with Zone C. These towers are located along this transition area and would have allowed views into both zones. In this way it is clear that these towers would have been for observation and not for active defense. This makes sense with their location in the middle of the settlement. They were placed so that the whole settlement could be observed. By the time these towers could be used to repel attackers, the village would have already been penetrated, mitigating their usefulness. These towers also indicate that despite the spread of the settlement, Zones A and C were firmly connected into a coherent village.

It was mentioned in Chapter 3 that Zone B may be a later addition to Marathos. While there is some evidence for what may be a megalithic construction in this area, the houses have a different overall character. They are located in more marginal territory, and based on the RA values access to these buildings is the second most segregated area in both the old and current maps of Marathos. While there is a strong transition and connection between Zones A and C, the same does not exist for B. This isolation may indicate that Zone B was indeed a later addition to the settlement. Despite the spread of Zone C from Zone A, the integration of the two zones as well as the clear presence of megalithic buildings in each section, suggests a unity not seen with the other area. Further south of Zone B are more ruins of houses, likely later than the rest of those at Marathos. Not only are these buildings in a steeper, less desirable location, access to them would be even more segregated than Zone B, and far more difficult.

This segregation may indicate those who came to the village at a later time. Though a much later example, a resident of Mina, a small village in the southern Mani, explained that his

ancestors came to the area in the seventeenth century.[40] While they were part of the village of Mina, the land they were given was high up in the mountains overlooking the settlement. This was an area not claimed by the other residents and was therefore not integrated with the rest of the village. Over time, through work, they made this area productive, and eventually acquired land and property further down in more desirable areas integrated with the rest of the village.

Zone B and the habitation area further south, which eventually reaches more houses and the post-Byzantine Church of Hagios Nikolaos, may have served more as a refuge in the post Byzantine period. Being more isolated from the outside, and hidden by the surrounding hills, this area of settlement would suit a population valuing protection more than integration with the surrounding villages and landscape. A more extensive study of the wider landscape in this area may reveal a pattern of settlement movement in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

Comparing the settlements together requires one more calculation, that of the Real Relative Asymmetry (RRA).[41] This allows the values gained from each settlement to be normed against the RA of a standard, diamond-shaped settlement pattern. This calculation is required in order to compare settlements of different sizes. The RRA values for each settlement do not reveal any changes in which settlement was the most or least integrated. They do show, however, that the difference between the integration of Sarania and Tigani is not as significant as it first appeared. Likewise, while the current layout of Marathos is more segregated than the old layout, it is not significantly more so, being only 0.08 more segregated.

The villages are still more segregated than the *kastron*. Why might this be the case? There are certainly practical issues at play. Being a *kastron* there is a more encapsulated space

[40] Personal Communication with Aristides Panteliakos.

[41] Hillier and Hanson, *Social Logic*, 109-113.

with less possibilities for building placement. However, it is not so much building placement that affects the segregation of the villages, but access. Being more spread out than Tigani or Sarania, Marathos naturally lends itself to being more segregated. However, when we look at the villages, even in small areas, multiple axial lines are required to penetrate all of the spaces. This is evident in the core of Sarania as well as at Zone A at Marathos. Tigani is also settled in a more circular space, allowing access much easier than the more organic shapes in which the villages tend to be placed.

Another issue is the nature of the settlements themselves. Tigani does not appear to be of local construction. Its inhabitants were likely government or military officials who would only reside at the *kastron* during their appointment. While they could have brought their families along and the local residents were an essential part of the life of Tigani, the hierarchy of the settlement would be firmly established by virtue of the position individuals held with the State or Church. There would be no competition for a larger house, or accumulation of more space within the settlement. Indeed there is no evidence for this activity at all in Tigani.

This is the opposite of the tendency that we see at Marathos. The space between Houses 9 and 10 has become completely segregated from the rest of the settlement. The access points were all walled off and the only visible points of entry were through the houses themselves. This implies that public space could transition to private, even when this would affect the overall layout of the settlement.[42] This also implies that the residents of Houses 9 and 10 were likely related as they grew to share a common space that could only be accessed from their respective houses. The villages had their own hierarchy and social competition. Unlike Tigani, which would

[42] The integration of Cistern A into House 3 also demonstrates a shift of public space into private.

be occupied by those with no deep attachment to the settlement, there would be no need to expand and co-opt public space for a growing family or to demonstrate growing status. This tendency is less visible at Sarania because of the shorter life of the settlement as well as the lower population. When we see expansion at Sarania, it does not encroach on a public area, at least not one that can be currently recognized. There are some later walls at Sarania, such as the one running from the apse of Church B to the end of House 14. This would have significantly segregated this area from the rest of the settlement. It is odd since it cuts off the threshing floors from easy access. This may explain the lone threshing floor to the east of House 6. As the original area became segregated, a new floor would have been required. This may have been the primary threshing floor of Houses 6 and 12. Curiously, this floor also became walled in at one point, though this likely was the result of secondary use of this area, perhaps as an animal pen. This dataset also reinforces the idea that there was conscious planning in the organization of the village.

The public spaces of the village, such as the threshing floors of Sarania or the open area with cisterns near Hagia Kyriaki at Marathos, demonstrate an effort to integrate public space into the village, though in different ways. At Sarania, this was accomplished by placing the public area near the center of the built core of the village. While this integrated the area geographically, spatially it was segregated because of the topography of the hill on which the core of Sarania was built. At Marathos we observe an area near Hagia Kyriaki that is not in the geographic center of the village, but spatially well integrated. The public nature of this area is indicated by the presence of a church as well as large cisterns unassociated with any built structure. It could be thought that this area became public by virtue of their integration into the settlement. This is difficult to argue as it would imply that the settlement was fully formed and then features

essential to the life of the village were placed. As has been mentioned in the previously, cisterns could not be placed just anywhere in the settlement. They had to be positioned in an area that could be partially dug into the ground, and on a slope significant enough to allow water to flow inside. Likewise, threshing floors had to be placed in a relatively open area that received a steady amount of wind. That such spaces would randomly result in the layout of the settlement is untenable. Rather, these locations must have been selected prior to the construction of the rest of the village, even if they were not spatially integrated into the settlement as at Sarania. These public areas must have been left unobstructed when the houses were built. It is only as the village grows, illustrated well by Marathos, that these public areas begin to become more segregated from the rest of the settlement. Taking the whole built landscape into consideration it is clear that the layout of the village exhibits significant planning.

Use of Space

The examination of the houses and village landscape can also result in a determination of the use of space and its possible function. There are certain activities that must have occurred in the village, such as cooking, weaving, storage, and sleeping. While many more activities doubtlessly occurred, these are basic elements that must have had a place in the domestic space of each household. Looking at the built environment and the use of space in the village, along with the requirements of each of these activities, it is possible to propose the likely location of these activities in and around the house.

One of the most basic daily activities that would have occurred in the house was sleeping. We know from wills and other records that beds were quite rare in Byzantium.[43] In fact it would have been quite difficult to fit a bed into the living space of the house for a number of reasons, the most obvious being that such a frame could likely not be placed in a room without limiting access. It appears that the majority of people of any class slept on mats or other textiles. This would provide a suitable and comfortable sleeping space, while allowing the floor space to be used during the day when the rugs could be rolled up. This would be very important in these structures since the limited internal space would require the temporal distribution of activities.

A sleeping area would need to be somewhat comfortable, off of the ground, and in a dry area, that could be warmed during the winter. Based on the houses in this study, the most likely location for sleeping would be the second floor. The risk of getting wet or chilled from being on the ground would be minimal and, as will be mentioned later, a fire could be placed in the second floor to heat the space during the winter. It should also be noted, that based on the average height of fourteenth-century men and women whose skeletons were excavated at Panakton, a family could sleep parallel or perpendicular with the long walls of the houses.[44] An average house in the village could easily accommodate a family of four or more since everyone likely slept in the same space.

Storage is the easiest activity to locate, though there appears to be two distinct areas within the houses. The first floor appears to have functioned as a storage space for animals and goods based on other ethnographic examples and the nature of these areas.[45] The ground floor

[43] N. Oikonomides, "The Contents of the Byzantine House from the Eleventh to the Fifteenth Century," *DOP* 44 (1990): 209-210.

[44] Gerstel et al., "A Late Medieval Settlement," 198-217.

[45] Sigalos, "Housing People," 206-207.

tends to have a rough, uneven floor made of bedrock. It is the most accessible area of the house being located at ground level. There are also no windows located at this level on any extant house. This would have made the space very dark, especially as subsequent additions isolated the doorways from the light of the outside. The presence of drains as seen in the examples at Sarania also implies that these spaces would get wet at times.

The possibility for a damp environment would not make these spaces ideal for the storage of foodstuffs like grain that require a dry environment in order to be preserved. While a sealed or plastered area could mitigate the effects of moisture, it would not likely be sufficient. This explains the presence of storage in back rooms on the second floor of the houses. Being removed from ground level, in a raised storage area, would provide for an environment more conducive to the preservation of foodstuffs. Ceramic jars and vessels doubtlessly existed to supplement storage, but given the finite space of the second floor, it is unlikely that the back room would have been used for another purpose as storing large jars throughout the second floor would severely diminish the available space in which to sleep and perform other activities.

Cooking requires, at its most basic level, a source of fire. Cooking could occur outside of the home, particularly if the house contained a courtyard. However, during the cold, damp winters of the Mani, fire would need to be inside of the house in order to provide a comfortable environment. At Sarania, I could find no evidence of past burning among the extant remains, either inside of the houses or within the attached courtyards. The reason for this may be the level of preservation at Sarania. Most of the second floors are completely destroyed, providing only an outline of the floor but little evidence of what occurred inside. At Marathos, there is one preserved fireplace inside of House 1. Built into the southeast corner of the second floor was a void that may first be thought as a *therida*. However, there was a chimney that went through the

corner of the second floor, presumably reaching to the roof (Fig. 144). Evidence of burning was also present inside. The rough, circular smoke hole framed by roughly cut stones was reminiscent of the smoke holes present in the ovens at Tigani.[46]

While this fireplace appears unique among the examples at Marathos, this could be the result of preservation. The walls of the second floor for House 1 were preserved to almost a meter in height, unusual among the examples. There does appear to be evidence of burning on the second floor of other houses at Marathos however. These include Houses 8 and 9. It is also possible that there was another fireplace in House 30. The low level of preservation makes it difficult to determine if it was simply a *therida* or not. Importantly, the location of the burning appears to only be on the second floor, in a corner near the side of the house downslope. As an entirely stone structure, there was no risk that the superstructure of the house would burn down. It is unlikely that the fire would have been placed on the first floor, as there is no evidence of this, but moreover, as the location of animals and storage, it does not make a good environment in which to have an open fire. This would also require ventilating the smoke through the second floor or simply not at all, which would not be ideal.

We know that weaving and spinning were major activitites among the women of the village through cultural comparisons, written sources and osteological analysis.[47] While this activity can occur in a variety of spaces, it does have two basic requirements: protection from the rain and a well-lit space. This would mean that weaving would have to occur outside of the house itself unless there was a window large enough to light the interior. Also, once a loom has

[46] Ceramic smoke holes were also recovered at Panakton. See Gerstel, et al., "A Late Medieval Settlement," 155, 163-164, 170, 173.

[47] Gerstel, *Rural Lives*, 91.

been set up, it cannot be moved until the process is complete. The only space that would suit this would be in the courtyard area of the houses. During the dry summers no extra protection from the elements would be required. Most examples at Sarania have a courtyard or other more private exterior space, but the same is not true for Marathos. This may be the reason that houses at Marathos preserve more windows in the second floor.[48] It can also explain the way that some of the houses expanded. Houses 9 and 10 absorbed a public space and essentially turned it into a shared courtyard. Some of the additions to the buildings may have had only a single floor, allowing the roof of the addition to function as a workspace in the form of a *liakos,* a single story addition to the main core of the house, common in the post-Byzantine houses of the area.[49]

Proposing that weaving was done outside of the house itself may at first appear to be problematic. However, it fits well with what we know about women in the village. They were not segregated from the men, and were vital to the agricultural work of the household.[50] It has also been demonstrated by Sharon Gerstel that gossip was not only a major concern in the villages, but representations of those gossiping in scenes of hell were always female. It is likely that weaving, as a more time consuming activity would also have become an opportunity for gossip. Someone weaving in their courtyard could easily be seen by another villager and easily hold a conversation while performing their task. Likewise, when there is a shared courtyard, as with House 4 and 5 from Sarania or Houses 9 and 10 from Marathos, the women of the family could come together in this domestic space to talk and work at the same time. Weaving inside the

[48] Houses 2, 5 and 8 for example preserve clear evidence for a window at the second floor level.

[49] The roof of this addition was used as additional workspace, being accessible from the main entrance to the second floor. See Saitas, *Greek Traditional Architecture*, 55, 96, 132.

[50] Gerstel, *Rural Lives*, 89-91.

house would have been an unnecessary isolation of this activity and given the difficulties mentioned earlier, unlikely to have been primarily an indoor activity.

The need for activities to occur outside of the house itself as well as the limited interior space suggests a reason for the privacy concerns that we see within the built landscape. As mentioned at both Sarania and Marathos, concern with privacy appears to have dictated the placement of doors to the houses. The doorways are rarely accessible from a main path and the second floor is always further segregated, either by the use of a higher terrace or the requirement of a ladder. Most of the daily life of the villagers would have been in public, with few activities occurring indoors. This does not mean that the villagers were comfortable with living their lives out in public. As mentioned before, gossip was a major sin of the villages, demonstrating a concern with keeping family matters private. As the ultimate domain of the nuclear family, the house was designed to provide privacy that was not available anywhere else in the village. The domestic architecture of the Mani provides clear evidence of this. While the ground plans themselves do not reveal any particular actions taken to ensure privacy for the family, when looking at their placement within the settlement as a whole, this becomes evident. The public and private lives of those living in the village would often blur, but an attempt to ensure seclusion for the family within their house is evident.

Conclusion

The architectural form most associated with modern-day Mani is the tower house, the physical marker of the proud clans whose conflicts dominated the recent history of the peninsula. Most visitors to the Mani pause to photograph the well-preserved village of Vatheia, believing that the settlement's tower houses represent the architectural history of the region (Fig. 145). In 1839, Henry John George Herbert, the third Earl of Carnarvon, noted: "The external appearance of one of the Maniote towns, with its multitude of rival towers, must have been a very rude counterpart of some of the Italian cities of the Middle Ages."[1] In some villages, towers are built on megalithic foundations, suggesting, at first glance, a continuity in architectural practice from Byzantium to the modern day (Fig. 146).[2] But is this view accurate?

The important role the Mani played in securing the independence of the Modern Greek state and regional pride in the unique clan structure and tower architecture may have affected interpretations of the past. Peter Greenhalgh and Edward Eliopoulos refer to the Mani as being "[u]ntil the present century . . . almost a living fossil of the Middle Ages."[3] Some modern scholars have asserted that the people of the Byzantine Mani were rebellious, warlike, and even primitive.[4] In support of this view, scholars have cited an encomium attributed to the Byzantine

[1] Earl of Carnavorn, *Reminiscences of Athens and the Morea. Extracts from a Journal of Travels in Greece in 1839* (London, 1869), 167-168, as cited in *Settlements of Mani* (Athens, 2004), 60.

[2] See, for example, one such tower in Alika, close to Marathos, where the lower courses of the tower are formed of megalithic stones. *Settlements of Mani* (Athens, 2004), fig. 24.

[3] P. Greenhalgh and E. Eliopoulos, *Deep into Mani: Journey to the Southern Tip of Greece* (London, 1985), 18.

[4] Y. Saitas, *Greek Traditional Architecture: Mani* (Athens, 1990), 15.

author Demetrios Chrysoloras (d. ca. 1416).[5] Nearly every modern history of the Mani uses this source to claim that Manuel II Palaiologos came to the Mani in 1415 and destroyed the region's fortifications.[6] Writing about the events of 1415, Chrysoloras states: "He was doing this with knowledge and with a foreign power, on the one hand, he counselled them to what is right, and on the other *destroyed their fortifications*, which had made them arrogant, planning to do something unjust."[7] In a publication of 1912, Spyridon Lambros asserted that "the fortifications" referred to the towers of the Mani.[8] Over four decades later, Sokrates Kougeas countered that it was not the towers, but the *kastra* of the region that were destroyed since they were not rebuilt and are found in ruins even today.[9] Analysis of the text reveals that Chrysoloras never mentions the Mani, nor does he include any geographical marker that would identify this region as the subject of the emperor's ire. The only location that the Byzantine author mentions is an island, but this may refer to the Peloponnese, "the island of Pelops" in more general terms.[10] What seems clear from analysis of this text and the material sources, is that the towers and tower houses so ubiquitous in the region were not a development of the Byzantine period, but a

[5] The document preserves no attribution. Spyridon Lambros initially ascribed the letter to John Argyropoulos before later attributing it to Demetrios Chrysoloras, but he does not provide a justification. See S. Lambros, "Τό έθος του μασχαλισμού παρά τούς μανιάταις των μέσων αιώνων," *Νέος ελληνομνήμων* 2 (1905): 181; S. Lambros, *Παλαιολόγεια και Πελοποννησιακά* 3 (Athens, 1912), 222.

[6] Saitas, *Greek Traditional Architecture*, 15; J. Barker, *Manuel II Palaeologus (1391-1425): A Study in Late Byzantine Statesmanship* (New Brunswick, 1969), 317-318 n. 32; W. Miller, *The Latins in the Levant, A History of Frankish Greece (1204-1566)* (New York, 1908), 384; J. M. Wagstaff, "Evliya Celebi, the Mani and the Fortress of Kelefa," in *The Frontiers of the Ottoman World,* ed. A. C. S. Peacock (Oxford, 2009), 120-121.

[7] "Ποιεί δ'ούν αυτά γνώσει και δυνάμει ξένη χρησάμενος, τη μεν αυτούς παραινέσας όσον εικός, τη δε τα φρούρια λύσας αυτών, οίς θαρρούντες α μη θέμις δράν εβουλεύοντο."

[8] Lambros, "Τό έθος του μασχαλισμού," 185.

[9] S. Kougeas, "Περί των Μελιγκών του Ταϋγέτου εξ αφορμής ανεκδότου βυζαντινής επιγραφής εκ Λακωνίας," *Πραγματείαι της Ακαδημίας Αθηνών* 15 (1950), 31-32.

[10] The definite article is also missing from the manuscript, making the location even more ambiguous. See, Ibid, 181; Lambros, *Παλαιολόγεια και Πελοποννησιακά* 3, 239.

response to conditions in the Mani in a later period. J. M. Wagstaff noted the problematic nature of using these letters to discuss medieval views of the Mani or argue for the existence of tower houses.[11] As this dissertation has shown, there is no architectural evidence for the tower houses, so common in the Early Modern period, in Byzantine settlements. Indeed, the towers recorded in the survey of the Byzantine villages in this dissertation appear to have functioned primary for observation and not for active defense; moreover, they were intended to protect entire villages.[12] It is possible, as Dora Eliopoulou Rogan suggests, that their creation is the result of Western influence as Maniots served as mercenaries in Italy and elsewhere.[13]

Moving past tower houses, this dissertation is an important first step in demonstrating what we can learn about secular architecture and village planning in the Late Byzantine Mani, and by extension, in rural areas of the Empire. The dissertation begins with the close examination of Marathos and Sarania in order to understand the built landscape of the village. The dissertation then focuses on the *kastron* at Tigani, the administrative, military, and ecclesiastical center of the region. The three sites are then examined together, drawing conclusions about their common features and signaling their differences.

Between Marathos and Sarania, 47 houses were documented and examined, including measurements, analysis for each building, and a discussion of built context. This approach to uncovering information about individual settlements as well as housing in Byzantium proves to be effective for the study of the rural medieval landscape. As more settlements are examined

[11] J. M. Wagstaff, "Vendetta, War, and Society in the Morphogenesis of Rural Settlements in the Mani, Greece," *I Paesaggi Rurali Europei* 12 (1975): 521-523.

[12] See above, Chapter 5.

[13] D. E. Rogan, *Mani: History and Monuments* (Athens, 1973), 145-146.

using this or a similar approach, a larger data set can be used to analyze house forms, size, and spatial layout of villages.

As has been shown, by aggregating the data on house size, comparisons can be made to houses at other medieval sites in Greece, and even sites in the broader Mediterranean. Following Amos Rapaport, it is important not to focus solely on architecture or even form when making comparisons, but also to consider the placement of activities within and around the houses.[14] While the form and appearance of rural housing may differ across Byzantium, what remains consistent are the activities performed within domestic spaces. Rural settlements throughout Byzantium housed members of the same social and economic class. Within this category there was variation, of course, but the populations were relatively consistent. The proposed minimum for a living space at 15 m^2 reflects this consistency.

To examine the house by itself is to prevent us from properly understanding how the space was populated and used. We cannot expect that all activities took place within the four walls of a house. The discussion of domestic space is more than a discussion of domestic architecture. Cooking, eating, weaving, and other actives may not have occurred inside the house, but may have taken place in the courtyard or in other exterior spaces. Future excavation, which includes ceramic analysis, may clarify the use of individual spaces, but such investigations must include both interior and exterior spaces. With further study, it may be possible to locate more specific activities within and outside of the houses. These activities can then be examined on a regional basis.

Analysis of clusters of houses indicates that certain household units may have functioned together. A household divided between multiple separate dwellings may have performed

[14] A. Rapoport, "Systems of Activities and Systems of Settings," in *Domestic Architecture and the Use of Space: An Interdisciplinary Cross-Cultural Study*, ed. S. Kent (Cambridge, 1990), 9-20

activities together. Excavation could reveal whether individual houses were fully functioning units, or if several houses employed common spaces. For example, a communal oven may have been found outside of one house of the complex, but not in the other. Evidence for weaving in the form of loom weights or other material may be found in one house, but not the other, or perhaps in a shared courtyard.

The study of the domestic architecture in the Mani allows for important insights into housing in medieval Byzantium. The villages of Sarania and Marathos represent typical villages of the Byzantine Mani. While their residents would have belonged to a humble level of Byzantine society, their houses are well built and show evidence of conscious design including drains in the lower levels or built storage spaces within the living spaces. Even with the evidence for design, however, there appears to have been no set criteria for size. While the houses surveyed in the Minnesota Morea Project are reported to conform to a basic 5 x 5 meter unit, no such consistency is found in the houses in the Mani.[15] The variation in size among the houses I surveyed can be quite significant. In the first phase, the total internal area can range more than 20 m^2. As some houses grow with subsequent additions or form complexes, this difference can increase. The built remains of the village provide important evidence for a social complexity that has until now only been documented in written sources such as tax registers. Complementing the written record, the study of the built remains provides for a more inclusive understanding of village life.

As demonstrated in this study, topography and resources played important roles in the form and appearance of domestic architecture and the layout of the village. A settlement like Marathos, built on a steep incline, will likely have smaller houses than a settlement built on a flat

[15] K. Kourelis, "The Rural Houses in the Medieval Peloponnese," in *Archaeology in Architecture: Studies in Honor of Cecil L. Striker*, eds. J. Emerick and D. Deliyannis (Mainz, 2005), 119-128.

plain. This rule is not true in every individual example, however. Some houses at Sarania, such as Houses 3 and 17, are smaller than Houses 3 and 11 from Marathos. This difference is not necessarily an indicator of the wealth of the settlement or individual, but may also indicate the constraints put on the settlement by the topography and available resources. In areas such as Macedonia or elsewhere in the Peloponnese where megalithic architecture is not found, the houses may be smaller in size. At Geraki, a more affluent settlement than Marathos or Sarania and perhaps even more than Tigani, the internal area of the houses is smaller on average than the village examples.[16]

Money and access to markets also affected the form of domestic architecture, as seen through a comparison of the houses at Tigani to those in the villages. While the basic form of the house is identical — a roughly rectangular house that is two stories with a continuous room on each level — the scale of the house is significantly different and the construction methods are also different. This difference signals the importation of materials and laborers. It would be expected that similar studies undertaken in other areas of Byzantium would show the importance of topography and resources on the form and appearance of buildings. In Cappadocia, for example, where many buildings were carved into the soft stone of the mountains, house forms are in many cases unique, but still identifiably Byzantine.[17] It should be expected that when comparing settlements across regions that we will see a similar difference in the average size of the house. The larger the database and the more regions for which we have this data will allow firmer conclusions on averages and form.

[16] Chapter 5, 182.

[17] R. Ousterhout, *A Byzantine Settlement in Cappadocia* (Washington D.C., 2005).

As we have seen, the linear house form appears to dominate in the countryside.[18] Examples in this dissertation are drawn from the Mani, but also from the northern Peloponnese and Panakton, Boeotia.[19] The linear houses documented in the Mani, as well as the houses at Mystras, Panakton, and Geraki, all show a clear division between storage space and living space. While there appears to be a minimum of 15 m^2 for the living space of the house, we should expect that in more humble settlements there would be a maximum as well. At a certain point the house would be too large to be necessary, either taking up too much space or being too cumbersome to keep up.

Important research is still to be done on how the cost of housing — in time, labor, or material — affects the size and form of housing. In the Mani, the ready availability of stone would result in a low or zero cost for building material, while in another area, such as Geraki where brick and stone were used together with mortar, the cost for the materials would be significantly higher. The communal assistance required for moving the large stones used in megalithic architecture may have incurred a lower labor cost. Presumably the members of the community were not paid, but provided a reciprocal service for one another. The rubble masonry construction seen at Geraki, Mystras, and Tigani, would have had a much higher labor cost since construction would require paid workmen and at least a single individual with some architectural knowledge to ensure that the building was stable.[20] This greater cost again underlines the significant difference between the structures at Tigani and those at Marathos and Sarania.

[18] The linear form refers to an elongated division of space that it not framed around a courtyard. This form was one of the two significant house forms identified by Eleftherios Sigalos in his work on medieval housing in Greece. See, E. Sigalos, "Housing People in Medieval Greece," *IJHA* 7 (2003): 195-221.

[19] S. E. J. Gerstel et al., "A Late Medieval Settlement at Panakton," *Hesperia* 72 (2003): 147-234.

[20] R. Ousterhout, *Master Builders of Byzantium* (Princeton, 1999), 58-70.

This study also raises the question of how uniform housing may be across Byzantium. No two houses in this dissertation were identical, supporting Charlambos Bouras's statement that "there is no such thing as the Byzantine house, only Byzantine houses, of many types and categories."[21] In the Peloponnese it appears that the rectangular, two story house was quite common, but this form does not seem to be represented at other sites, such as Panakton and Pergamum.[22] We would also expect houses from different regions to have a different average size from other regions. Would a villager in Macedonia have a larger or smaller house than one in the Mani? Just as a family in the United States making the same income can afford a different size house depending on where they live, the same is likely true in Byzantium. Future study on village housing in different regions will reveal this local average for house size.

The *kastron* at Tigani yielded the most unexpected results of my investigation. The large size of the area enclosed by its fortifications along with its extensive remains led me to expect a large town or urban center. However, the physical remains indicate a much different type of settlement. Instead of a town or more urban center, Tigani appears to be solely an administrative center from which the State could control the surrounding population and the Church would house its bishop. Few houses are found within the *kastron*, but their large size and quality of construction indicate the elite status of their occupants. This status is further emphasized by the contrast between the houses here and those in the villages. The houses here are unique in the southern Mani and underline the importance of the settlement and the people who lived there.

The examination of the built environment has also provided significant evidence for settlement planning in the countryside. The location for each village was selected to provide an

[21] C. Bouras, "Houses in Byzantium," *ΔΧΑΕ* 11 (1983): 1.

[22] S. Gerstel, et al. "A Late Medieval Settlement"; K. Rheidt, "Byzantinische Wohnhäuser des 11. bis 14. Jahrhunderts in Pergamon," *DOP* 44 (1990): 195-204.

ideal setting for the settlement. Building materials were readily available, arable land and water were nearby, and some level of natural defense was present. In addition to this, a communal effort was required to terrace the settlement before building could begin. Public features such as cisterns, churches, and threshing floors would also have to be built collectively and laid out with consensus from the inhabitants.

The type of settlement also appears to have affected the choice of location for its construction. Tigani would have been a poor choice for a village. While there is plentiful stone that could be used in construction, the lack of a seasonal stream or significant slope that could be exploited for cisterns along with limited access to arable land, would have disqualified it as a site selected to be a primarily agrarian settlement. For a fortress, however, Tigani is ideal. The steep cliffs provide significant natural fortification. The Byzantine State was able to supplement the lack of water with extensive cistern construction inside and outside the *kastron*. Arable land was not necessary since food could be supplied from the surrounding villages. The construction of extensive fortifications, along with the presence of soldiers, would have made Tigani an impressive citadel.

Concluding that evidence for settlement planning is found in the built landscape of the village, new questions can be raised concerning the status of villagers in Byzantium. How free the villagers were is still an open question. Independent villages existed along with private ownership of large landed estates by the elite as well as *pronoia* grants.[23] The status of all three categories would doubtlessly change over time, particularly after the Fourth Crusade.[24]

[23] The institution of *pronoia* was a unique Byzantine system of land distribution that evolved over the centuries. See M. Bartusis, *Land and Privilege in Byzantium: The Institution of Pronoia* (Cambridge, 2012).

[24] Lands held by individuals or monasteries were redistributed after the fall of Constantinople and as former territories were reconquered by the Byzantine State. See Bartusis, *Land and Privilege*, 171-172.

Distinguishing between the different modes of land distribution is difficult. It is unclear how that distinction can be traced, if at all, in the material record. Since the elite lived in urban centers and managed their lands from a distance, it is not likely that a different settlement pattern would exist on an estate than in a private village.[25]

Settlement planning implies that there was mobility for those in the countryside. They could join together with others and settle new land, not being tied to their parents' land or village. The appearance and disappearance of families in the tax records of Macedonia provide evidence for this mobility.[26] Dating the origins for the megalithic settlements of the region to the Middle Byzantine period, on the basis of dated megalithic churches in the Mani along with the evidence from Marathos, coincides with the settlement expansions and increased economic vitality of this period. As land was coming under increased cultivations and populations shifted, new settlements had to be founded. While settlements continued to be created throughout the Byzantine period, the ubiquity of the megalithic settlements in the Mani testify to a more condensed period of significant expansion.

An interesting dichotomy of the Byzantine village is represented in the tax policy of the Byzantine Empire. While individual households were taxed based on their holdings and property, the village collectively would owe the entire tax on the village.[27] For example, if ten households

[25] The biggest difference expected would be improvements, such as mills or irrigation. These improvements would require a larger capital investment, but would yield greater production. An elite landowner would likely build as many improvements on their land as possible in order to maximize profits. That this was the case can be observed in special granting of the right to build improvements to select *pronoia* holders. See Bartusis, *Land and Privilege*, 413-414, 453.

[26] A. Laiou-Thomadakis, *Peasant Society in the Late Byzantine Empire: A Social and Demographic Study* (Princeton, 1977), 204-206, 228-232.

[27] A. Laiou and C. Morrisson, *The Byzantine Economy* (Cambridge, 2007); A. Harvey, *Economic Expansion in the Byzantine Empire, 900-1200* (Cambridge, 1989), 51.

owed one *nomisma* (gold coin) each, the village would owe 10 *nomismata*. If one household was unable to pay its share, the rest of the village was responsible for paying that amount. This interplay between the public and private is also visible in the built landscape of the village. The evidence for settlement planning shows communal effort in the construction and layout of the settlement. However, it also demonstrates the private aspect of the village as land is given over to individual families for the construction of their houses. At the same time, megalithic architecture almost certainly required a communal effort, but the community was building a private structure. As shown at Marathos, a private issue such as house expansion may also involve the community since, presumably, an individual family could not accrue public space without acceptance from the rest of the village. At Marathos when the main path through Zone A was segregated with later walls, it was still possible to access the lower portion of the settlement and easy access to Hagia Kyraki was not prevented. There was a constant interaction between the community and the individual. This can also be seen in issues of when individuals decided to build a mill or other structure on what would be considered public land since what was built would have an effect on the holdings of others.[28]

As discussed in Chapter 5, a few unique features were present within the two villages. The location of some of the largest houses near the entrance of settlements appears to be a unique characteristic of the settlements, but it is too early to tell if this is common in Byzantium or not. It would however present an interesting understanding of authority within the village. If the wealthier more powerful individuals decided to position their homes near the entrance where one would first encounter the village, it demonstrates their prioritizing being the first point of

[28] W. Ashburner, "The Farmer's Law (Continued)," *JHS* 32 (1912): 94-95.

contact. Acting as an intermediary with the outside may have legitimized their authority. [29] When one first enters the village, the more important individuals may have had the ability to allow or refuse entrance. This placement may be a particular social characteristic to Byzantium, but more studies are needed.

The megalithic architecture unique to the Mani not only preserves the form of medieval houses within the landscape, but also allows for easy identification of subsequent additions and alterations to the original core of the building. While an area like Cappadocia also preserves the form of medieval housing, since houses were excavated into rock, any subsequent additions or alterations would be harder to observe.[30] For example, if there were simple rectangular houses in Cappadocia, as appears to be the case, it would be difficult to discern when additional rooms were added or when the house was widened or lengthened.[31] Comparison with houses outside the Mani, however, shows the region to be in line with developments throughout Byzantium.[32]

Looking at all of the buildings of a settlement in context allows us to understand not only its layout, but also issues of relative affluence and family units within the village. Looking within the villages it has been shown that the size of the houses varies, but when we compare that size across settlements we could be given an inaccurate picture. For example, if we compare House 5 at Sarania to House 11 at Marathos, we see that the second floor is about 8 m^2 smaller for House 11, and about 19 m^2 smaller overall. We may conclude that House 11 was owned by a less

[29] This would not be formal authority of course, but, as Leonora Neville has demonstrated, unofficial authority. See L. Neville, *Authority in Byzantine Provincal Society, 950-1100* (Cambridge, 2004), 136-150; L. Neville, "Organic Local Government and Village Authority," in *Authority in Byzantium,* ed. P. Armstrong (London, 2013), 285-295.

[30] Ousterhout, *A Byzantine Settlement.*

[31] Similar forms of housing, a rectangular, single room dwelling, are also observable in Cappadocia, but have so far been unpublished and unexamined. Personal observation.

[32] Chapter 5

wealthy or less important individual. However, along with its proximity to Hagia Kyriaki, House 11 is the largest house at Marathos in the first phase indicating that it was likely owned by one of the most important families of the settlement. Looking in context is essential to understand how households functioned with one another. Likewise, looking at points of access like doorways provides insight into which buildings may have functioned together as a single unit and which may have functioned independently of one another.

It has been shown that integration and segregation can both be measured within the village but also that these measurements demonstrate important features, such as main avenues and more public space. There is a clear dichotomy seen at Marathos and Sarania. At Sarania, most of the settlement is built on a single hill. The hill may have been laid out without regard to access points, putting public features such as threshing floors, cisterns and a church in the center and placing the houses around, though the actual movement through the village would make this space far more segregated than it first appears. While at Marathos, which is built on a slope, there is no natural center. At Marathos the settlement may have been laid out along a main axis initially, as seen in Zone A. This tells us that there was an idea of settlement planning. This accomplishment could have taken many forms. While at Marathos the most segregated houses are smaller and in more marginal areas, at Sarania this does not appear to be the case. Here, the most segregated buildings are near the topographic center of the village. At the same time, access to the churches seems to have been a consideration. At Marathos, when we see public property become private, access to the churches is reoriented, but maintained in all cases. There was clearly some planning that went into the evolution of the settlements. This does not argue against organic growth that is seen in the meandering position of walls and the slow growth of buildings which are not a strictly planned evolution. How buildings evolved and how they were able to

expand into new areas must have at least been a matter of community consensus so that areas would not be cut off from the rest of the village. There is a clear sense of village governance occurring here to a significant level. Excavation in areas of higher and lower integration values may reveal more information about the use and function of those areas.[33]

The study of villages and other rural settlements is of course not unique to Byzantium. There has been extensive research on rural settlement from a variety of disciplines. It can be difficult to have a direct comparison between different disciplines as there is often different language used to describe the settlements being examined as well as varying definitions of what certain terms mean even within the same discipline.[34] As studies take part in different parts of the world, they often rely on a different basis of evidence.[35] However, in these disciplines the same issues are often encountered and engaged with in order to answer the same questions. What did these settlements look like? What can this tell us about the cultures that created them? How can understanding such settlements inform us about the history and development of a region? By examining just a few different cases, a correlation with some of the questions and conclusions developed in this dissertation can be seen.

Examining the English countryside, Christopher Taylor explored questions concerning how and when villages came into existence, the form they took and why as well as how they evolved over time.[36] Interestingly he came to conclude that many of the settlements could not be

[33] Of particular interest would be near Hagia Kyriaki, and the open space between Zones A and B at Marathos.

[34] C. Kramer, "Scale, Organization, and Function in Village and Town," in *Archaeological Views from the Countryside: Communities in Early Complex Societies* eds. G. Schwartz and S. Falconer, (Washington D. C., 1994), 207-212.

[35] Ibid.

[36] C. Taylor, *Village and Farmstead: A History of Rural Settlement in England* (London, 1983), 125-176.

dated back earlier than the twelfth century, despite the seeming testimony of their earlier existence in the Domesday Book.[37] This was surprising, but the material evidence allowed for a correction to the historical record. The dating of the megalithic architecture of the Mani argues for the creation of many of the villages of Mani no earlier than the tenth century. While further investigation may refine this dating, the current evidence suggests that the history of the village in the Mani is a medieval phenomenon.

Across the Atlantic, the Mississippi valley presents a seemingly marginal landscape that is wet and muddy, in contrast to the dry and rough landscape of the Mani. Because of the swampy nature of the region, less than 40% of the overall landscape was suitable for settlement.[38] This may have led to the more dispersed settlement pattern observed in the region through archaeological survey. However, Thomas Emerson notes that had there been a cultural priority to construct more nucleated settlements they could have altered the landscape.[39] The observed settlement pattern then must be an interplay between culture and topography. In the Mani, we can see the evidence of extensive land transformation through the terracing of the hills and mountainsides. This in turn allowed more area to be used for agriculture which allowed for the construction of more nucleated settlements. The effort to transform the landscape demonstrates the importance of the cultural influence on the formation of settlements in the Mani.

An important question about administrative centers constructed by the Inka is similar to one that the examination of Tigani as yielded; “Given that most people at Inka administrative

[37] Ibid, 126-128.

[38] T. Emerson, *Cahokia and the Archaeology of Power* (Tuscaloosa, 1997), 152.

[39] Ibid, 152-155.

settlements were temporary workers or officials, who were its permanent residents?"[40] It was determined that the more elaborate residential sectors of these centers were tied directly to the bureaucracy of the state.[41] These were state constructions built with a unique architectural vocabulary to display power and control.[42] This appears quite similar to Tigani. An administrative center with few permanent residents with architecture that is unique in the region. The relationship to the bureaucracy of the State to Tigani is undeniable given its history and architecture.

Other possible comparisons present intriguing lines of inquiry for future research. Among the evidence for settlement planning presented in this dissertation there was no discussion of how this planning occurred. Whether the villagers simply arranged the settlement by eye or if there was some sort of physical plan. There is evidence for this in other parts of the world. In the Andes there is evidence for the use of clay sculptures and paintings for the layout of settlements to allow space to be conceptualized in a more pragmatic way.[43] In Byzantium, there is scant evidence of even rudimentary drawings to understand the layout of buildings.[44] The sophistication of the layout of the settlements observed, however, would heavily imply some form of spatial thinking and organization that must have been used by the villagers. It is not inconceivable that this may have been aided by a painting or drawing, no matter how basic it may have been.

[40] J. Hyslop, *Inka Settlement Planning* (Austin, 1990), 294.

[41] Ibid, 295-298.

[42] S. Nair, "Witnessing the In-visibility of Inca Architecture in Colonial Peru," *Buildings and Landscapes* 14 (2007): 50-51.

[43] Hyslop, *Inka Settlement*, 27-28.

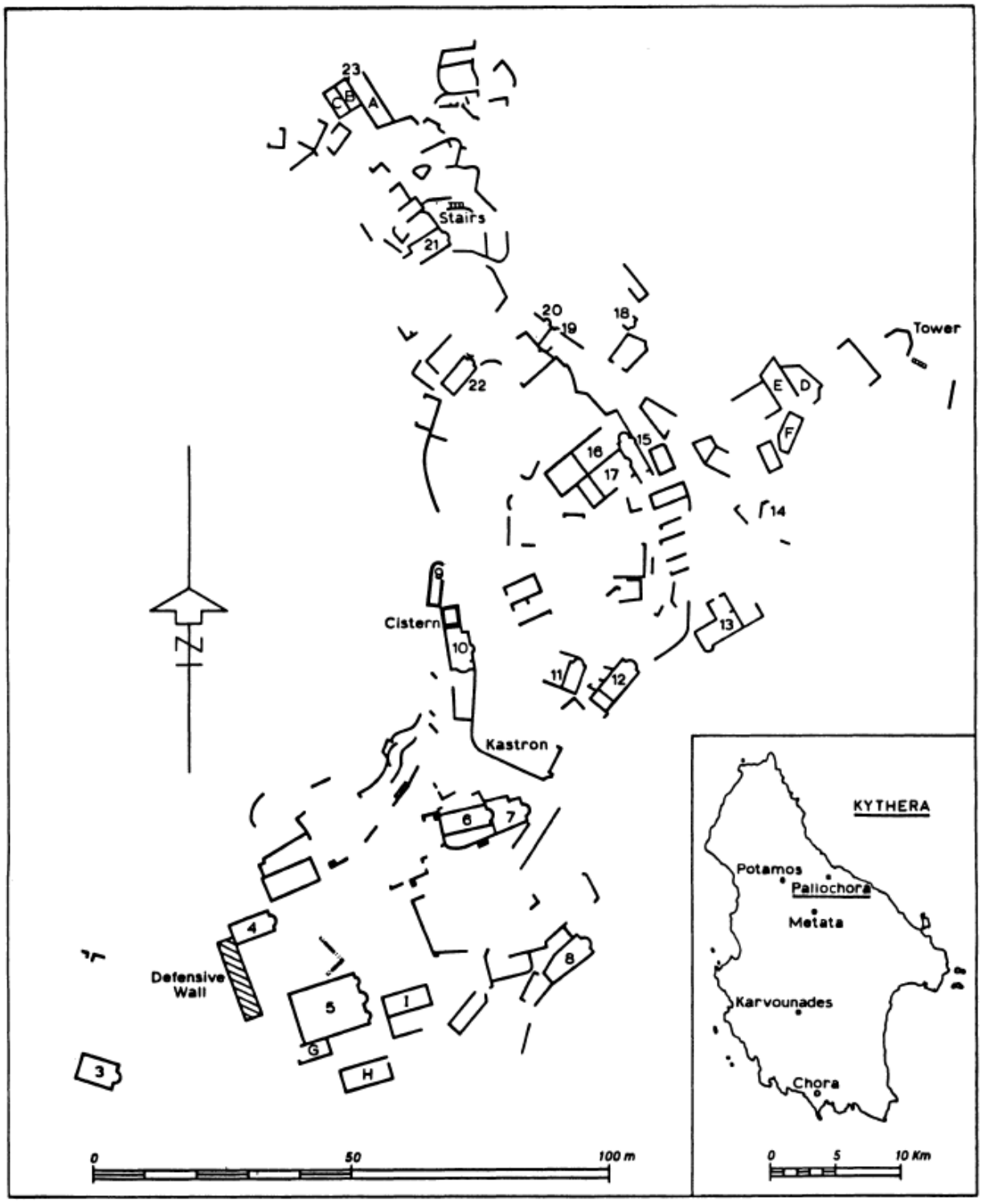
[44] Ousterhout, *Master Builders*, 62-66.

These examples are not to equate settlements across regions and time, but to illustrate the similarity among disciplines seeking to understand a complicated issue. Greater discussion among scholars and possibly even projects with an interdisciplinary team would help to bridge the language and data divide between fields. This would encourage the creation of a uniform and inclusive approach to the study of the countryside and its settlements.

By comparing the houses in this dissertation to other settlements of the Mani, I have demonstrated that the material here is not unusual or unique. The idea that there is some pure "Byzantine" form that is not found in the Mani is to disregard the testimony of the material remains. Letting the physical evidence speak for itself allows for important corrections to the historical record. Historically, archaeologically, architectural, the Mani was very much integrated into the history of Byzantium. This rough and rugged peninsula forms a rich source of material from which to understand the development and built landscape of the Byzantine countryside, and hopefully, rural settlements more generally.

Figures:

Figure 1: Map of the Mani. (After Saitas, 2001, 10)



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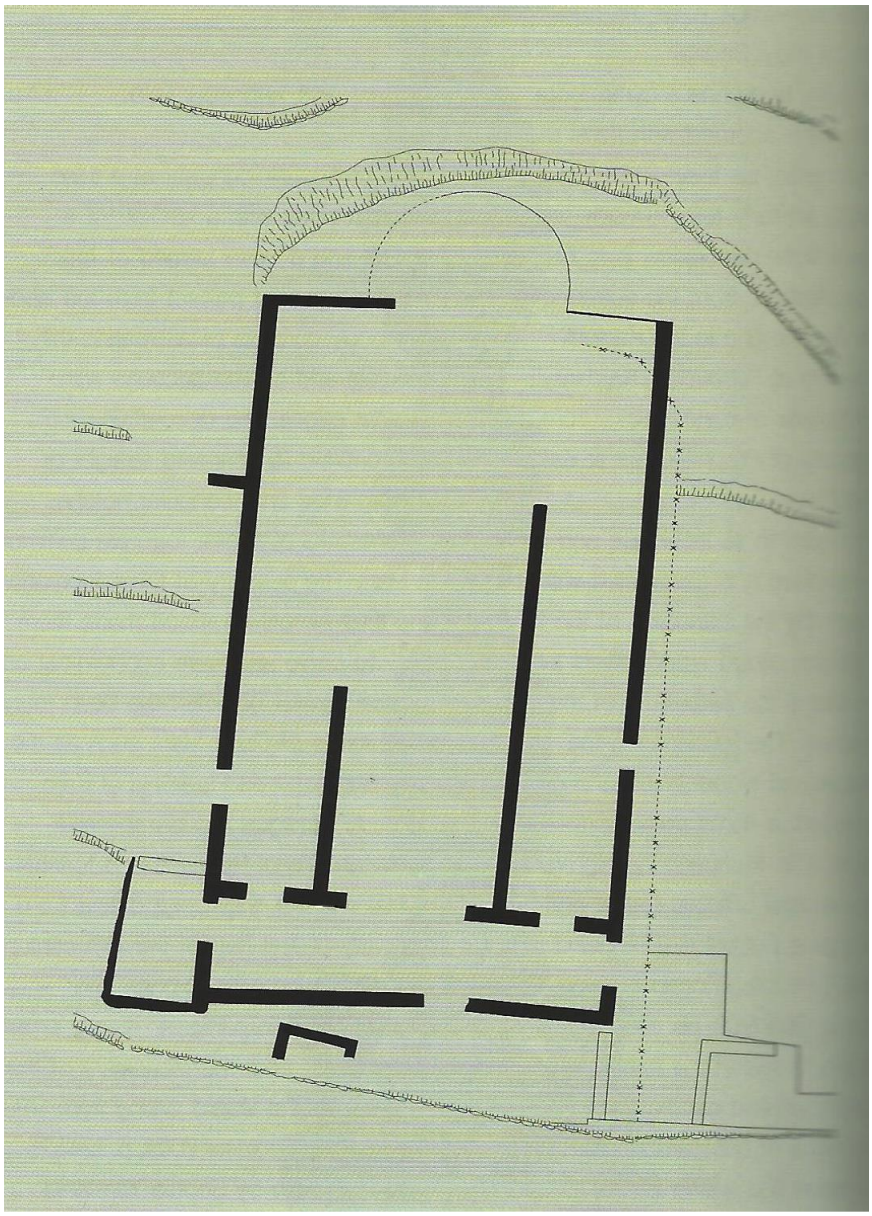

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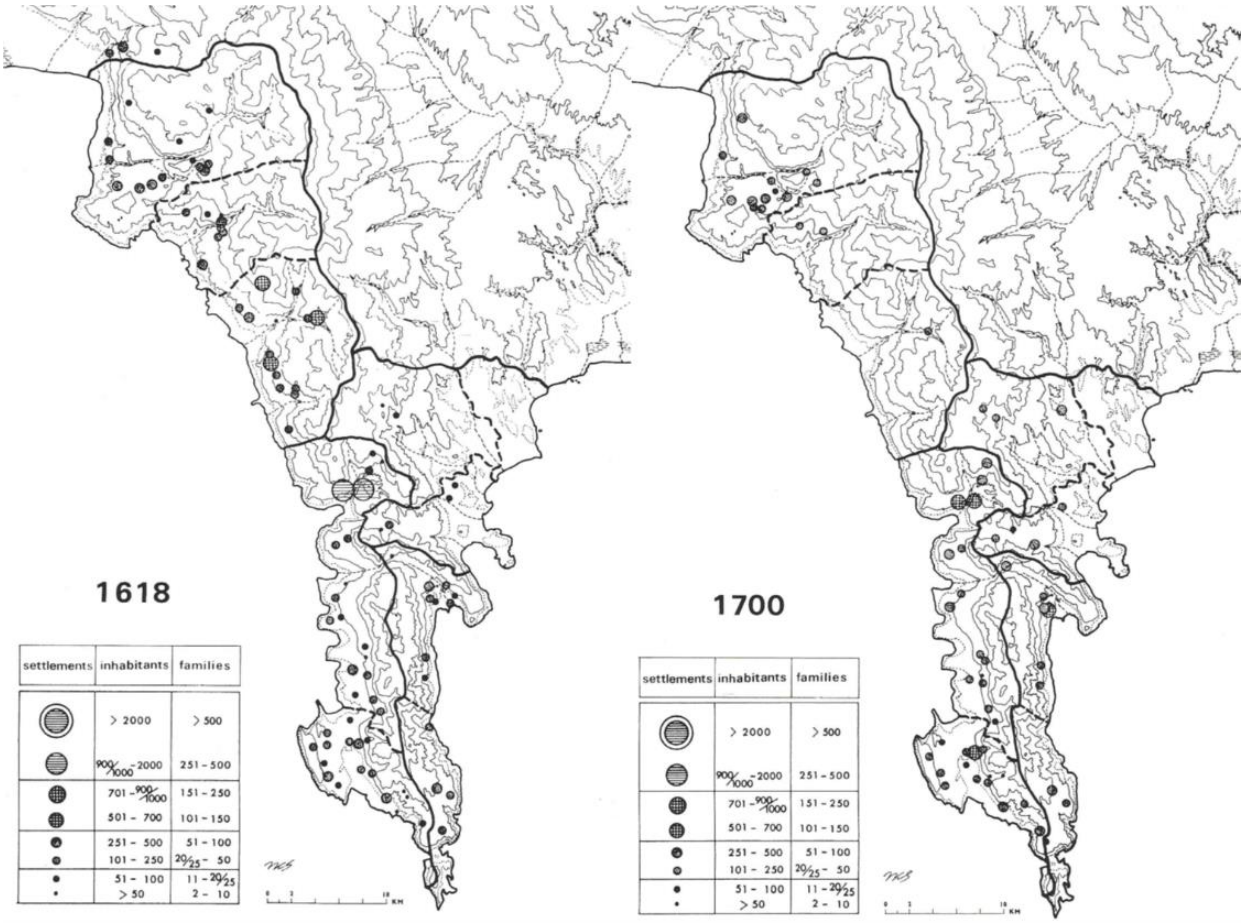

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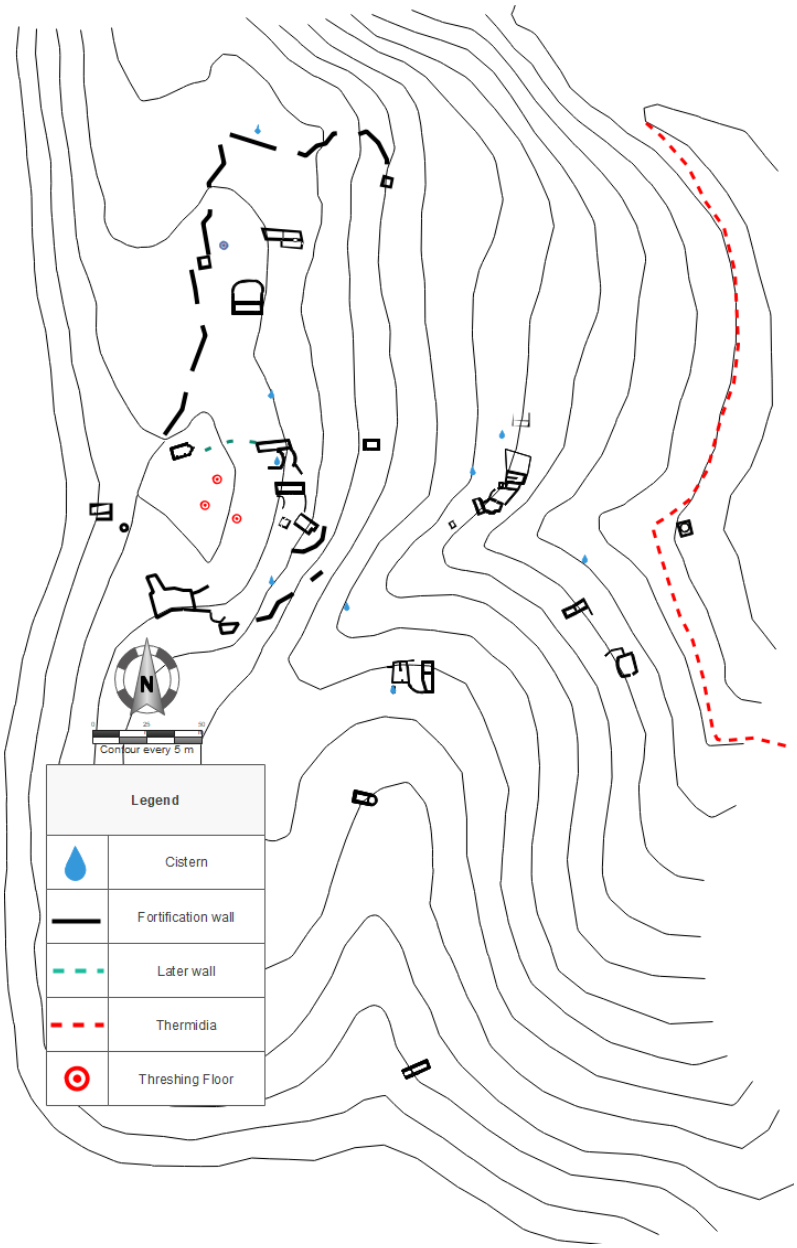
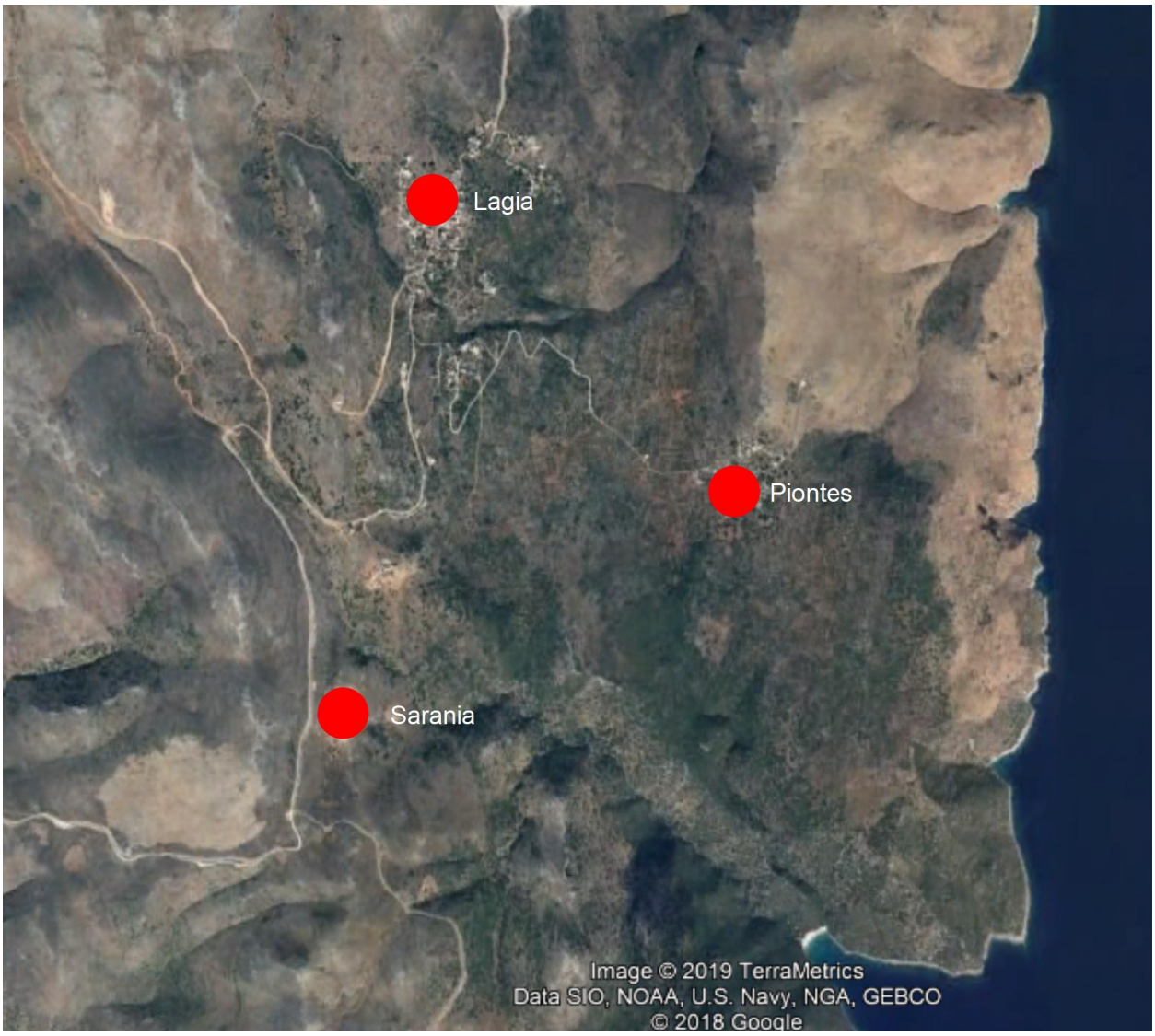


Figure 17: Plan of Sarania. (M. Pawlowski)



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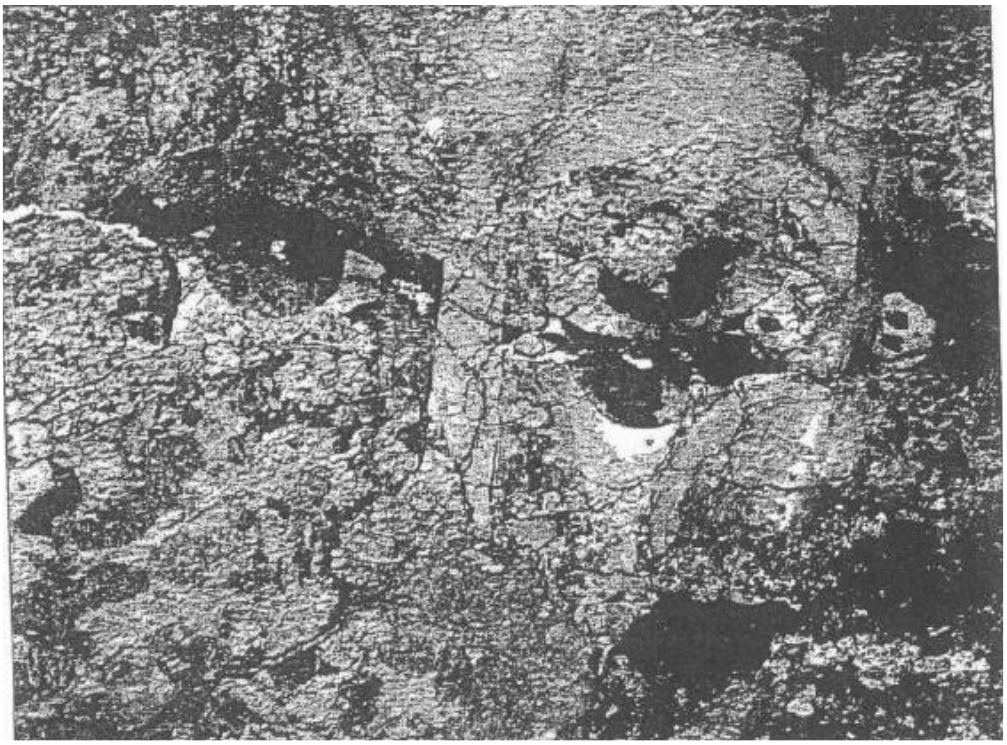

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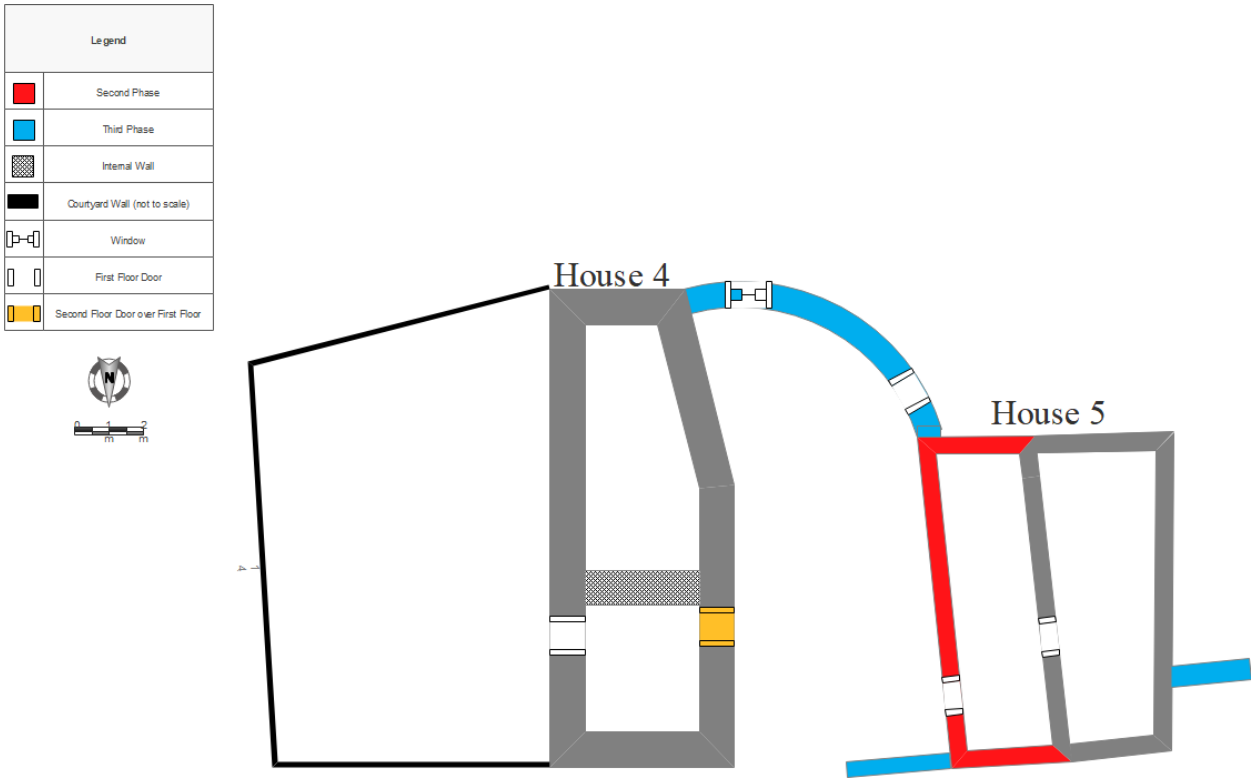

Figure 32: Ground plan of Houses 4 and 5, Sarania. (M. Pawlowski)

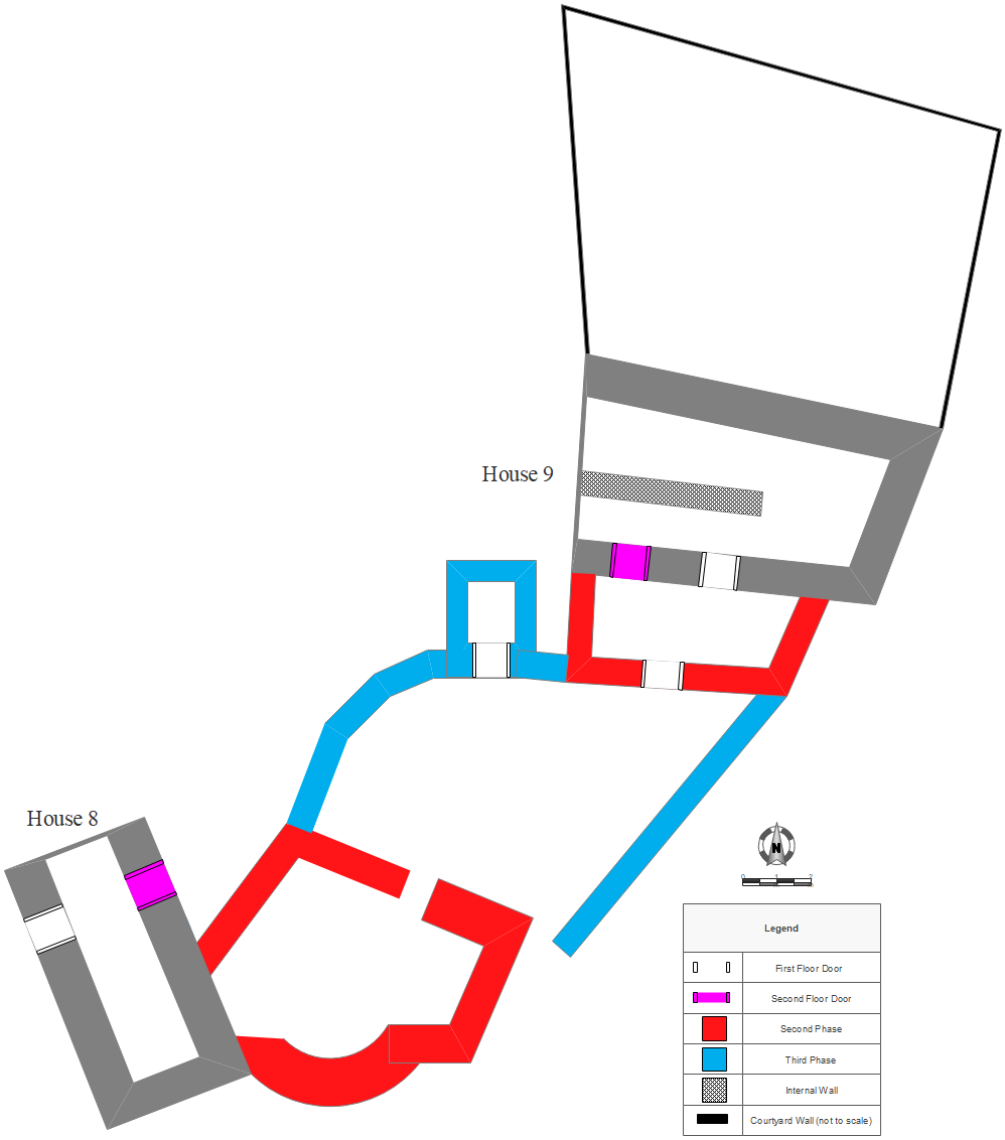

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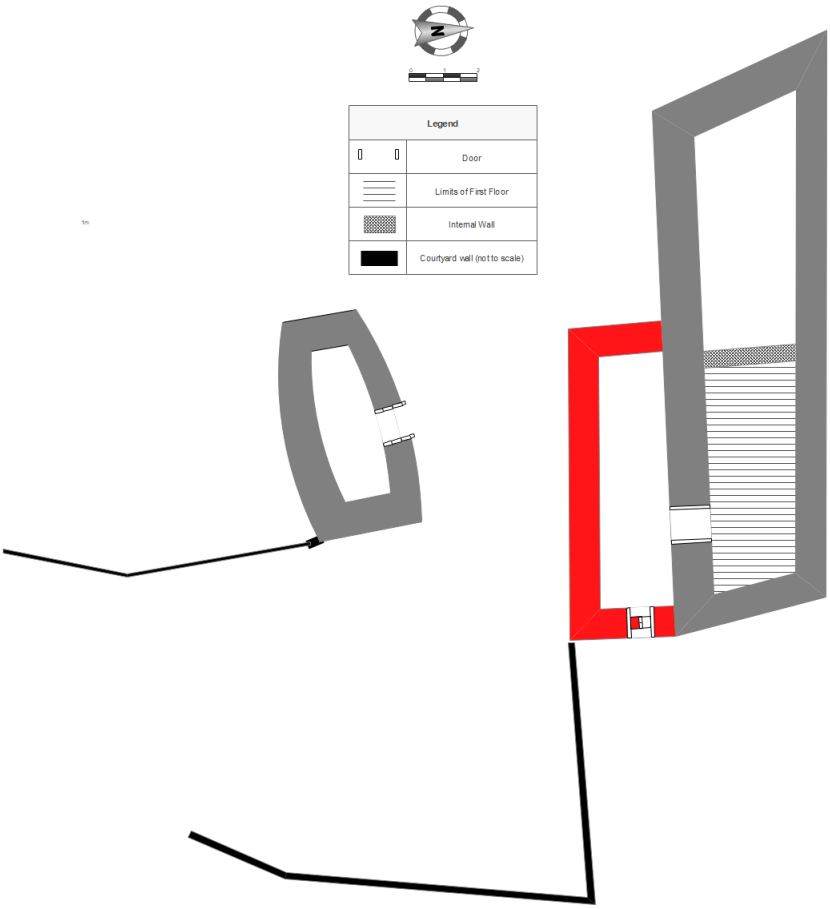
Figure 41: View of bulwark from above. (Photo: M. Pawlowski)



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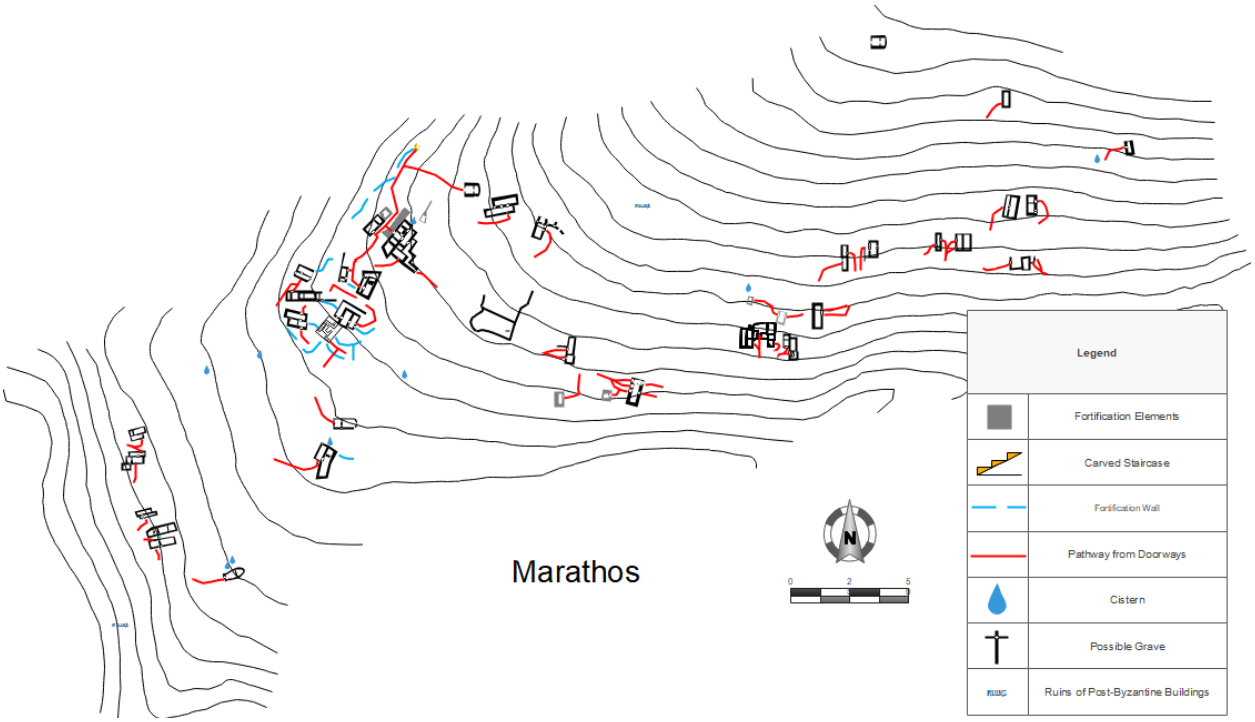

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1. Virgin Blachernitissa
2. Male Donor
3. Female Donor
4. Hierarch, Blasios or Athanasios (?)
5. Military Saint, Demetrios (?)
6. Archangel
7. Male Saint roundel
8. Male Saint roundel
9. Female Saint, Anne (?)
10. Saint Stephen
11. Acension
12. Nativity?
13. Crucifixtion
14. Saint Paul on road to Damascus (?)

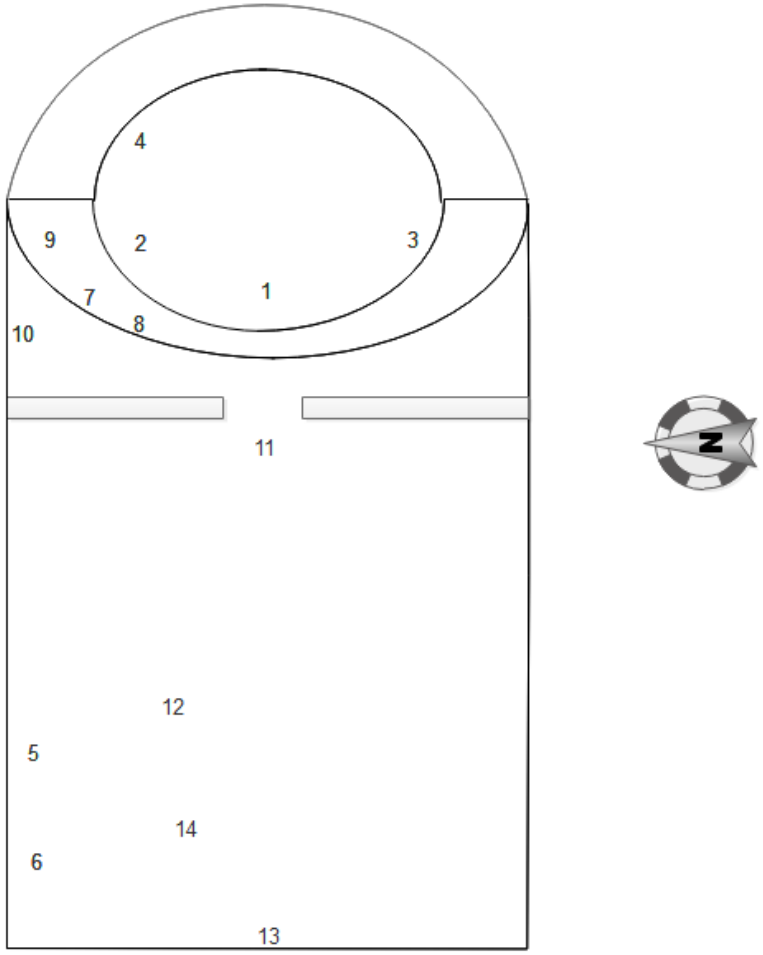

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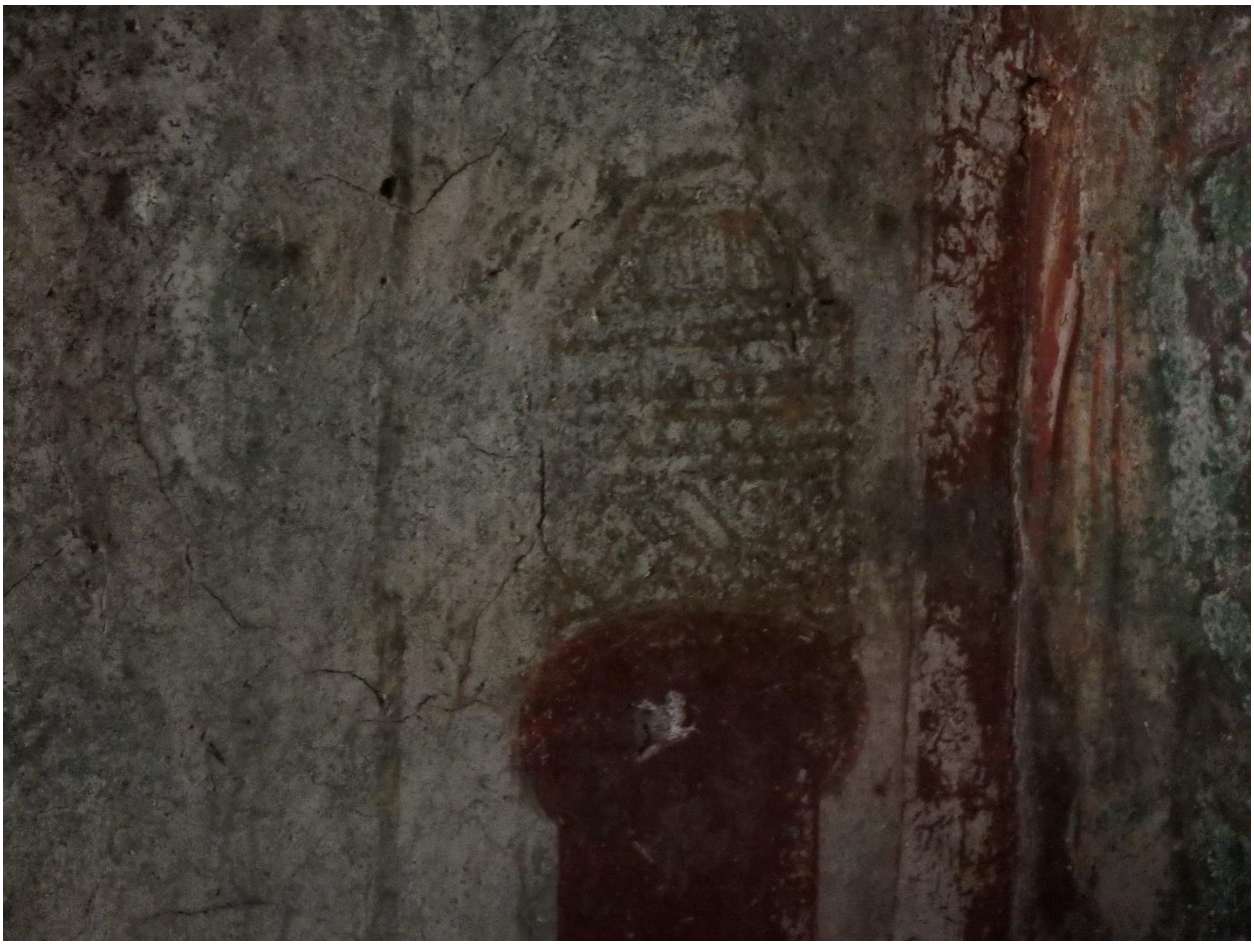
Figure 57: Head of the Virgin from Hagios Niketas, Kepoula. (Photo: S. E. J. Gerstel)



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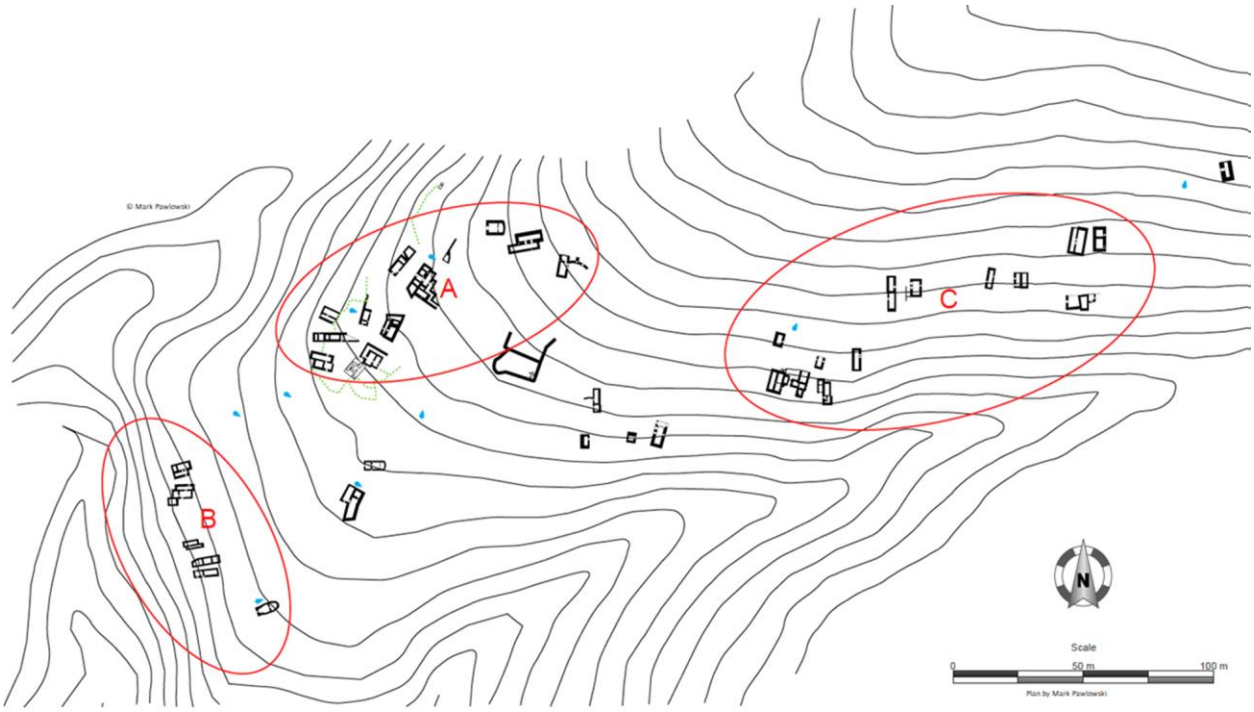
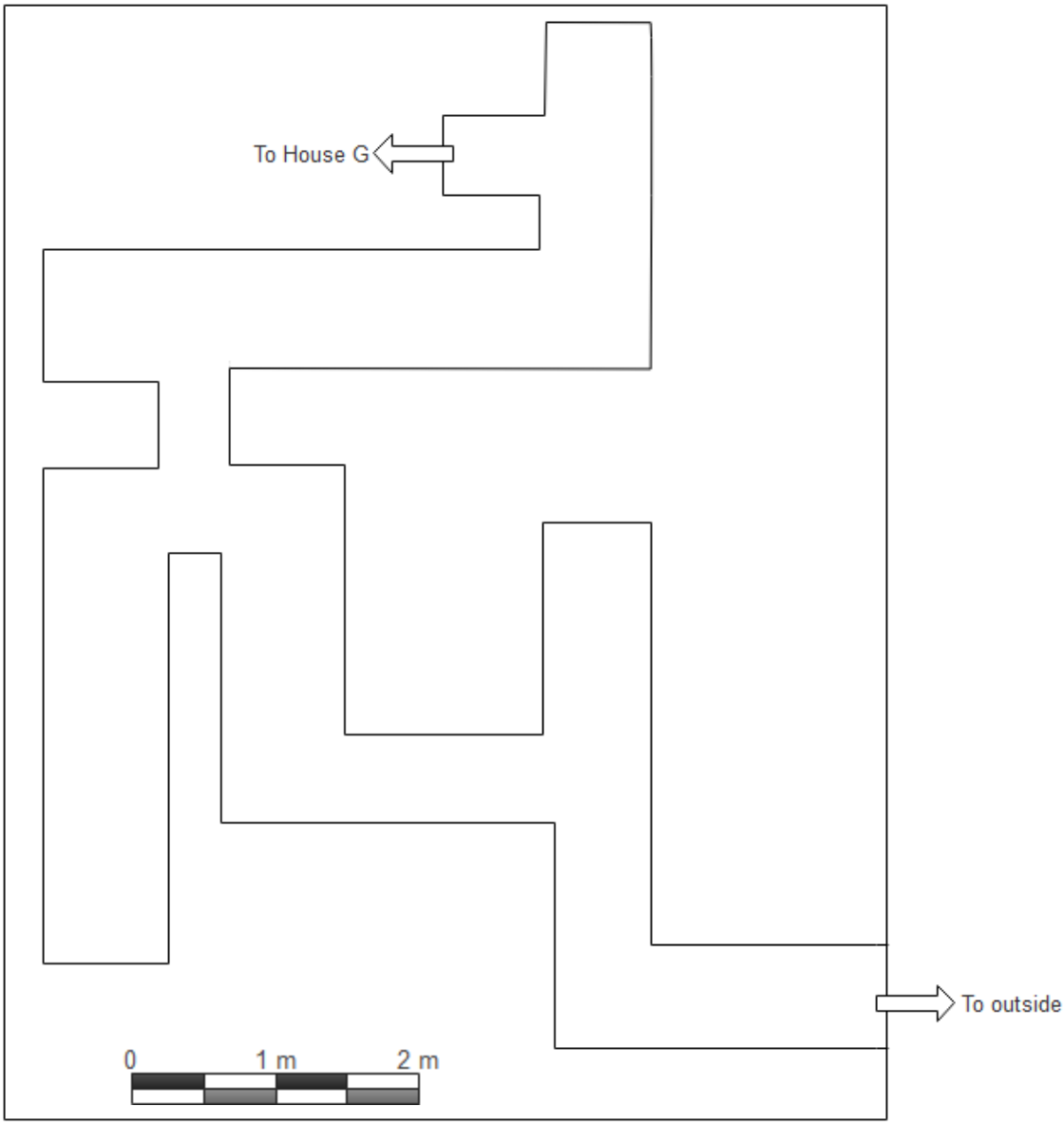


Figure 67: Marathos with zones labeled. (M. Pawlowski)

Figure 68: Staircase leading to north entrance of Marathos. (Photo: M. Pawlowski)



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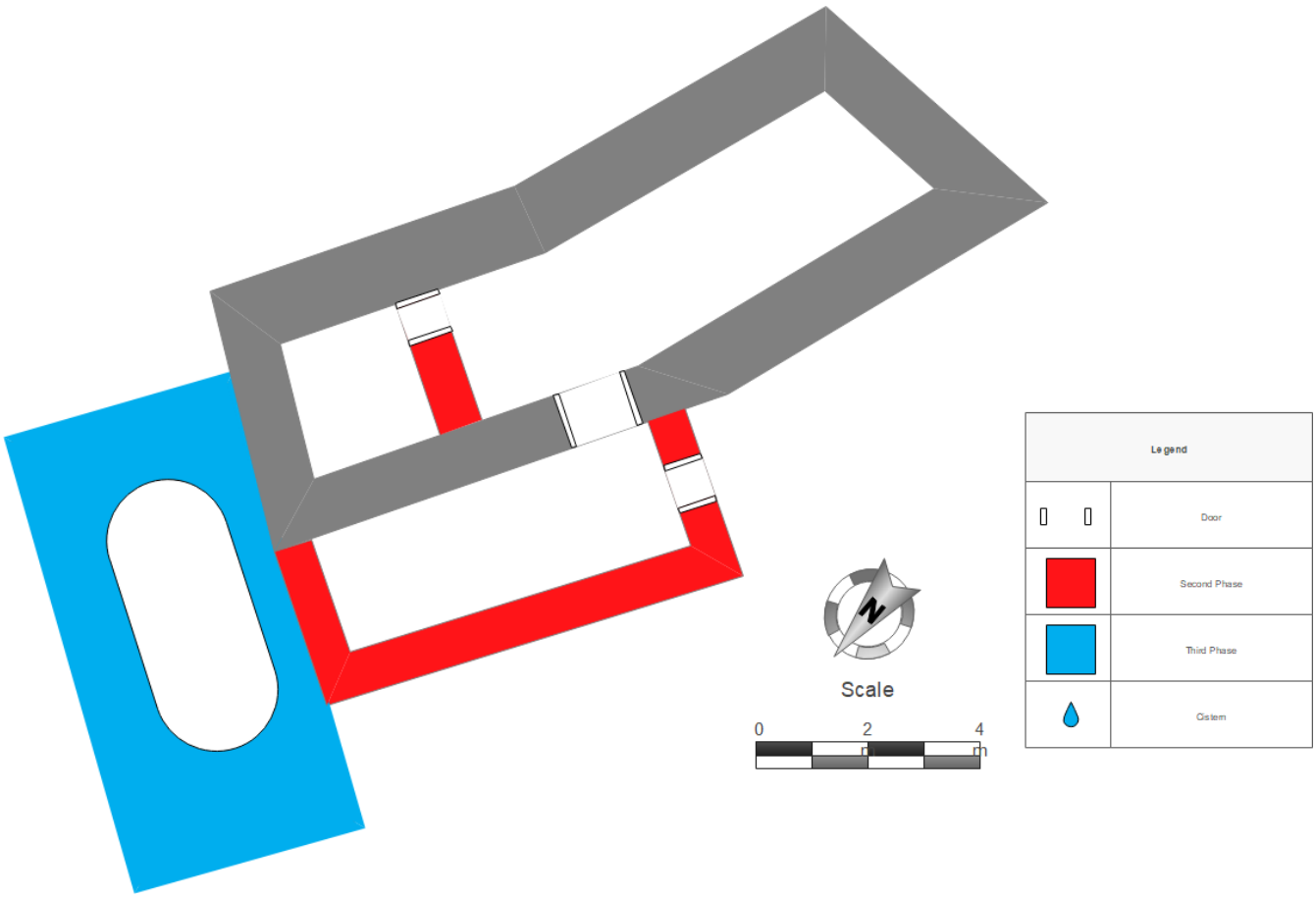

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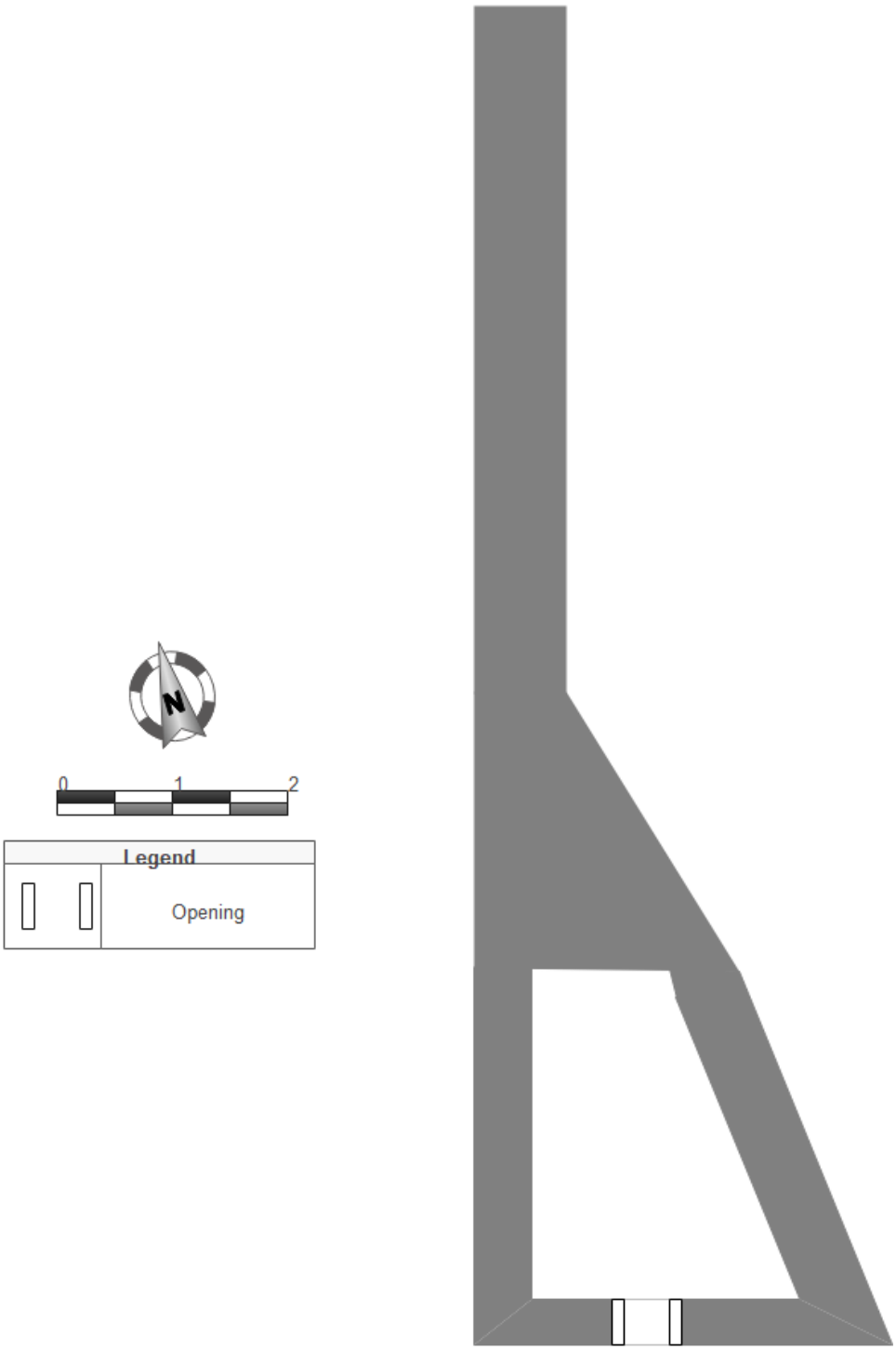
Figure 83: Basin down slope from House 24, Marathos. (Photo: M. Pawlowski)

Figure 84: Open air water collection at Kepoula. (After Kassis, 1990)



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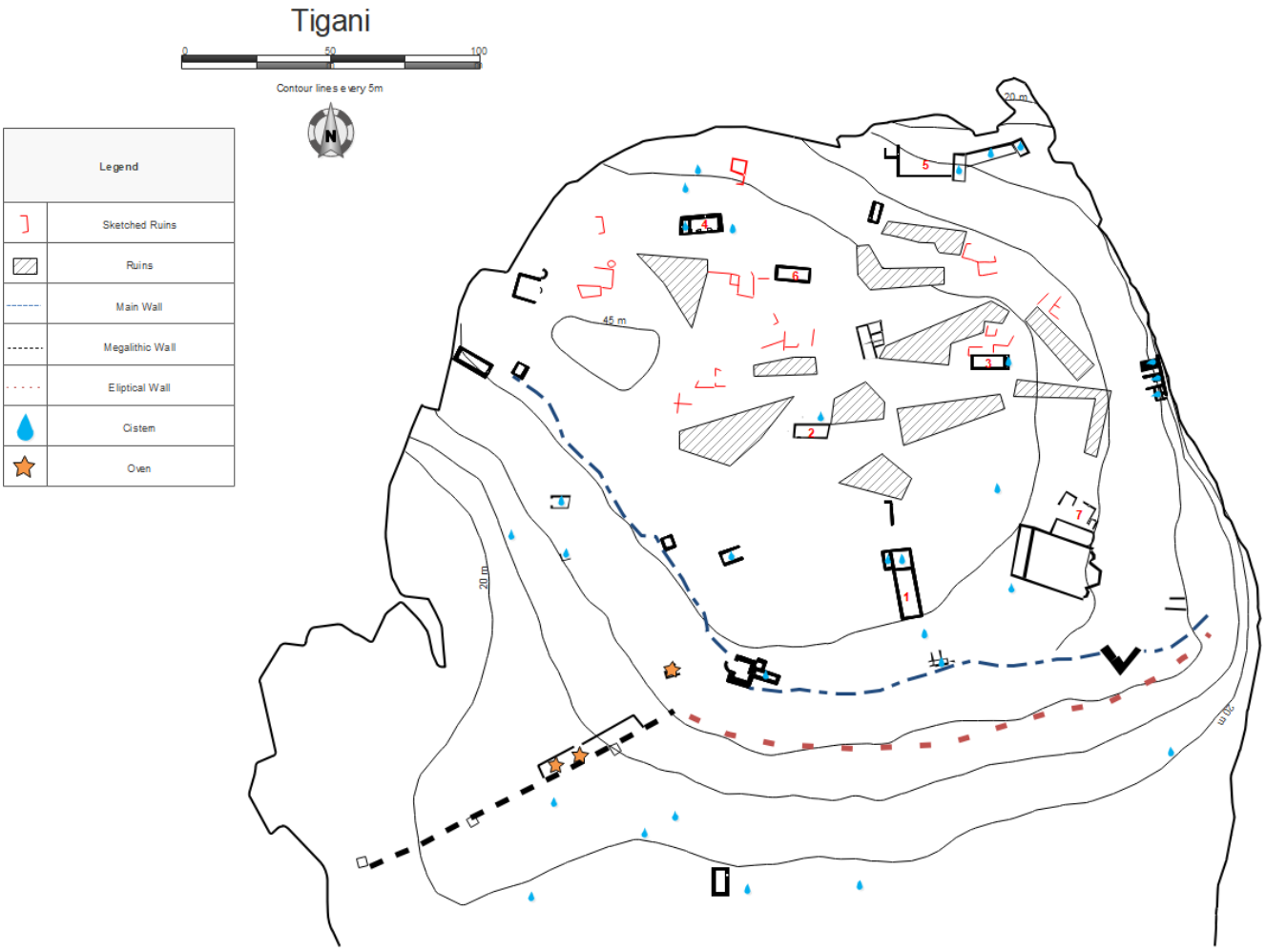

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Figure 95: *Komes* inscription from Tigani in the Pikolakes Museum, Areopoli. (Photo: S. E. J. Gerstel)

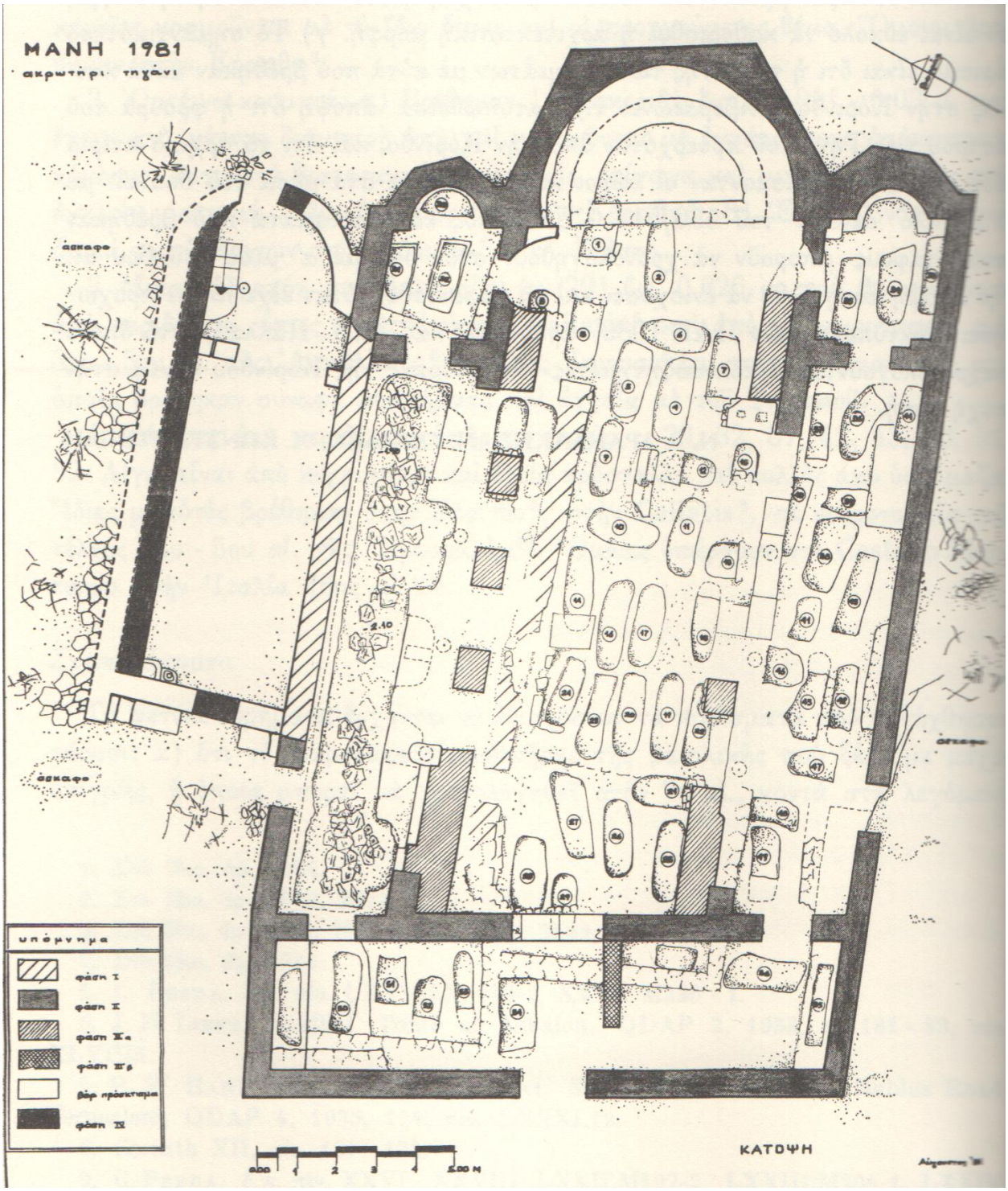
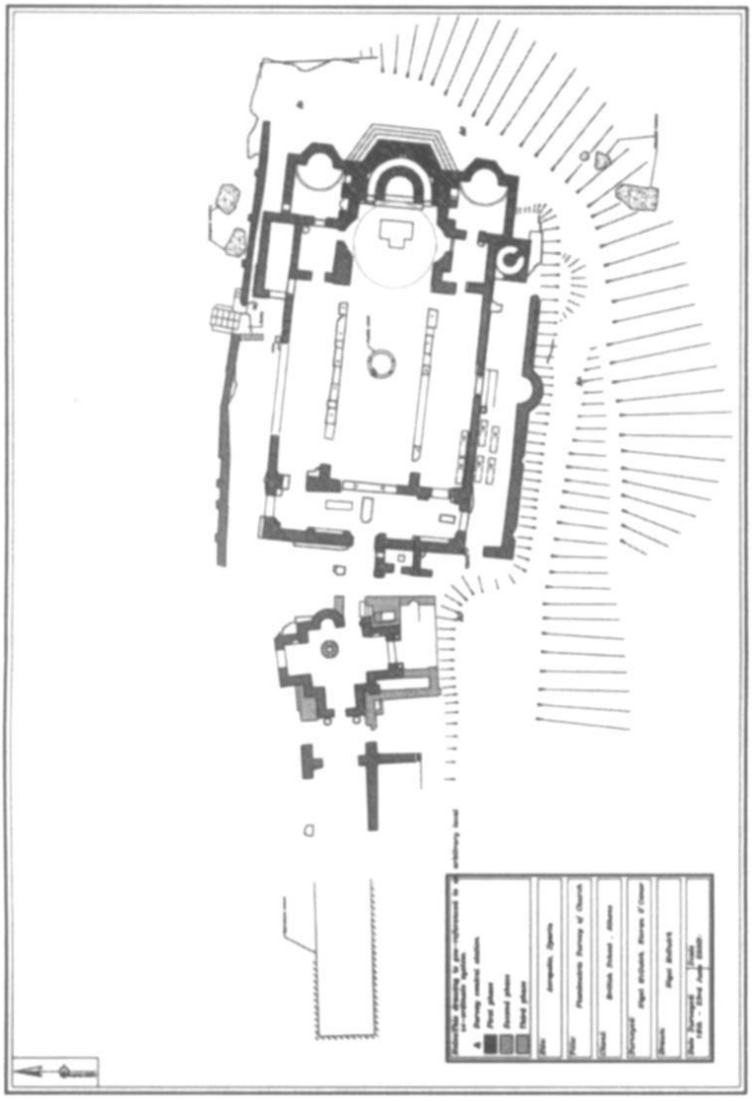


Figure 96: Plan of basilica at Tigani (After Drandakis et al. 1981)



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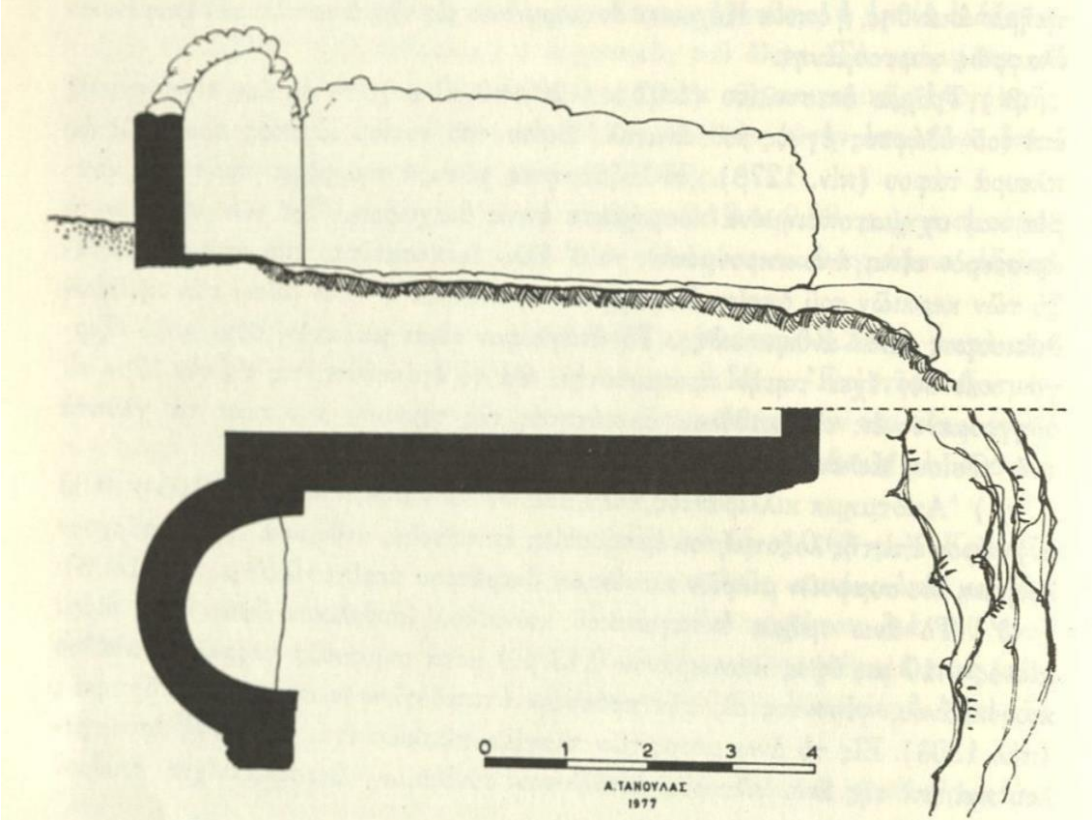
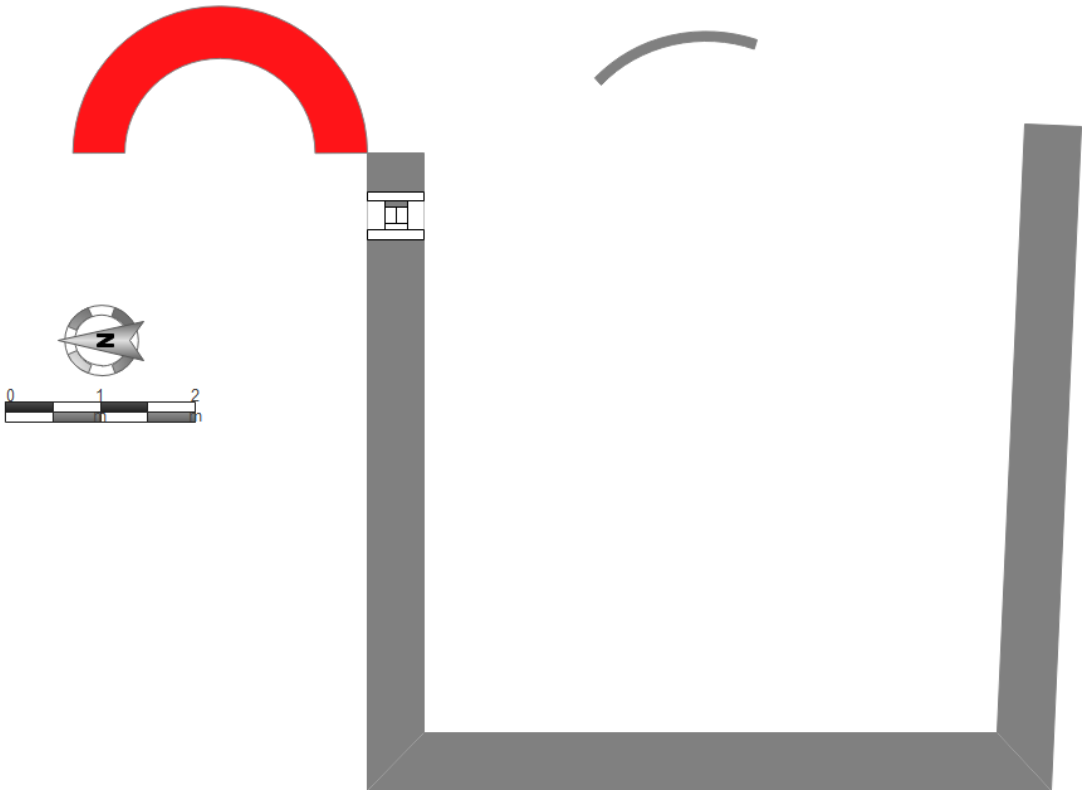


Figure 103: Drawing of Church B (After Drandakis, 1977)



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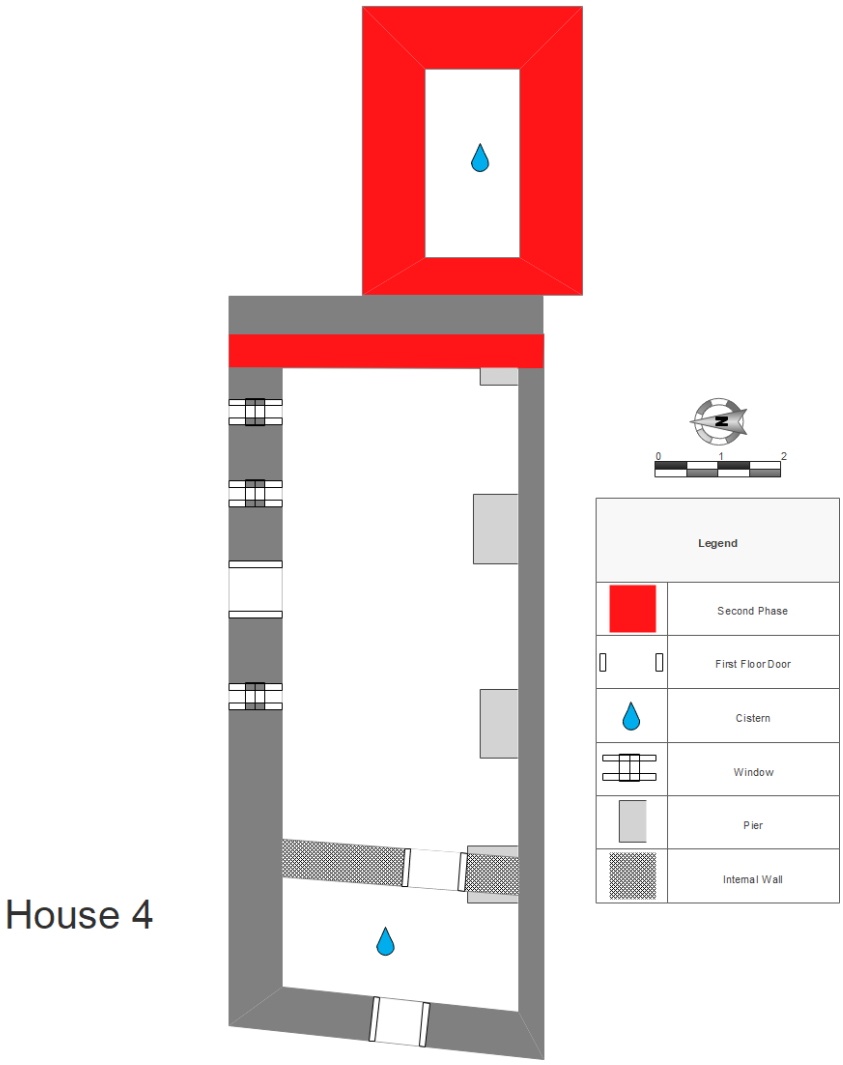


Figure 111: Pilasters and south wall of House 4 at Tigani. (Photo: M. Pawlowski)

Figure 112: Interior “doorway” to cistern in House 4 at Tigani. (Photo: M. Pawlowski)

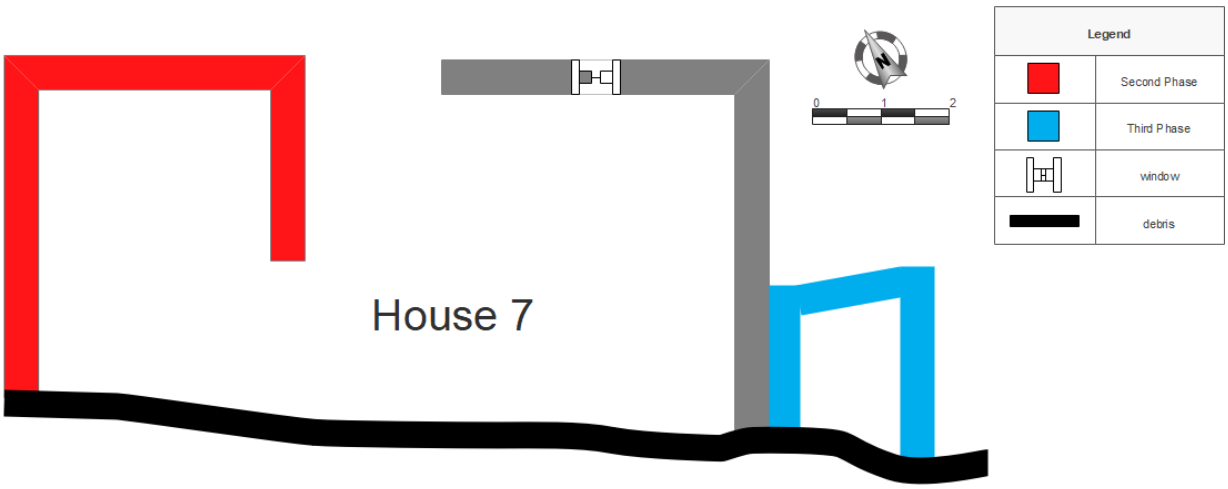


Figure 113: Ground Plan of House 7 at Tigani. (M. Pawlowski)

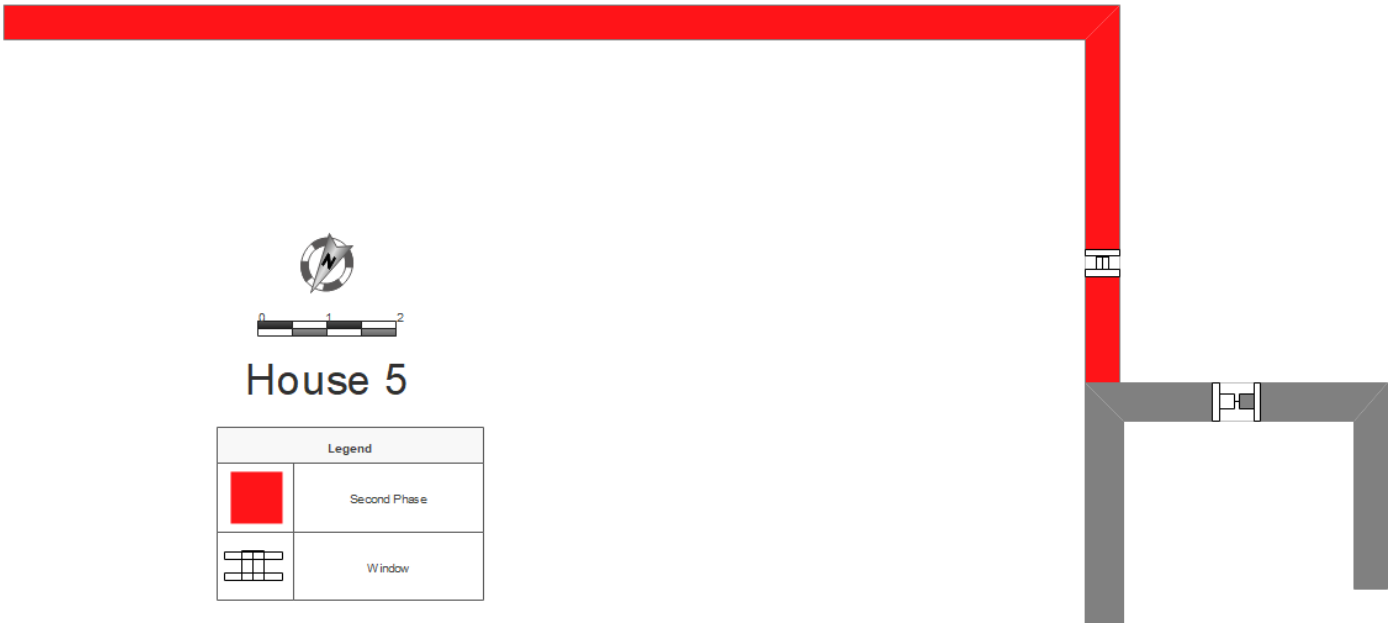


Figure 114: Plan of House 5 at Tigani. (M. Pawlowski)

Figure 115: View of walls of House 5 at Tigani from southwest. (Photo: M. Pawlowski)

Figure 116: View of arrow slit and remnants of building attached to House 5 from the south. (Photo: M. Pawlowski)

Figure 117: Detail of wall from Karyoupolis. (Photo: P. Katsafados)

Figure 118: Detail of wall construction from Tigani. (Photo: M. Pawlowski)

Figure 119: Detail of wall construction from Mystras. (Photo: M. Pawlowski)

Figure 120: Detail of multiple building phases in cistern complex at center of Tigani. (Photo: M. Pawlowski)

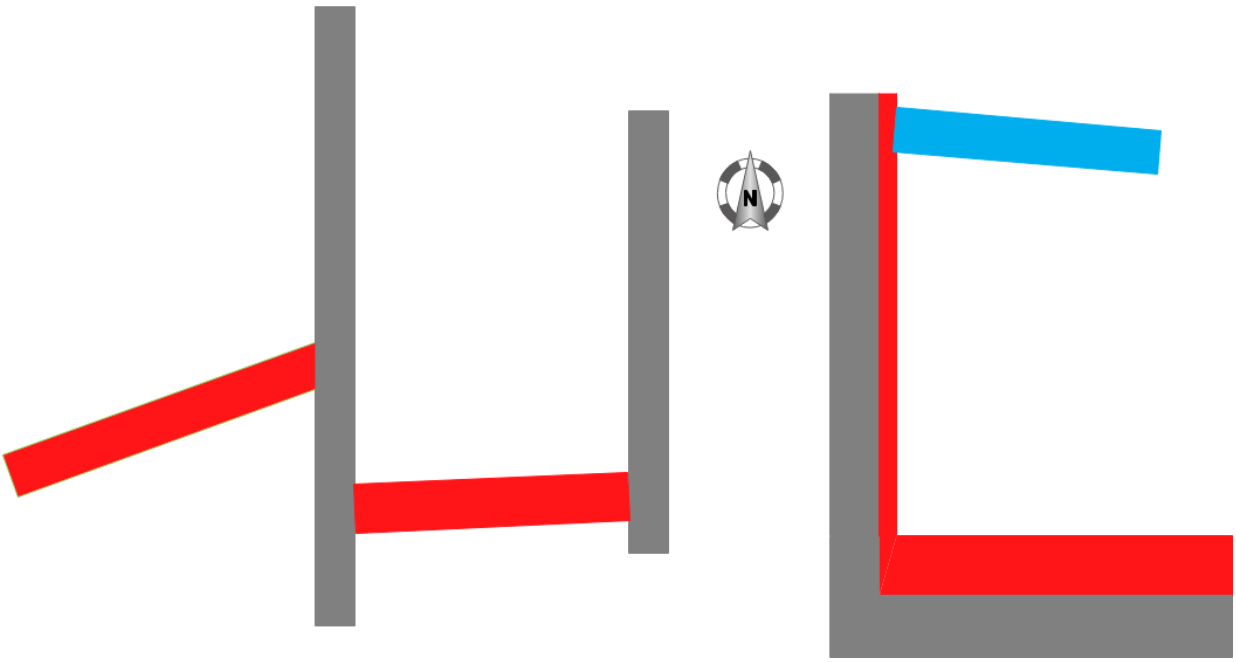


Figure 121: Plan of cisterns from center complex at Tigani. (M. Pawlowski)

Figure 122: Final plaster layers in cistern at Tigani. (Photo: M. Pawlowski)

Figure 123: View of interior of south wall of gate at Tigani. (Photo: M. Pawlowski)

Figure 124: View of Tower C at Tigani from southwest. (Photo: M. Pawlowski)

Figure 125: East wall of Tower B at Tigani. (Photo: M. Pawlowski)

Figure 126: Chunky pink mortar in lower wall of cistern near House 5 at Tigani. (Photo: M. Pawlowski)

Figure 127: View of Makryna Ridge from window of tower house at Tigani. (Photo: M. Pawlowski)

Figure 128: Modern salt production near Tigani. (Photo: M. Pawlowski)

Figure 129: Small round cistern, possible pithos at Tigani. (Photo: M. Pawlowski)

Figure 130: View of interior of oven from above near megalithic wall at Tigani. (Photo: M. Pawlowski)

Figure 131: Possible pathway through fortifications at Tigani. (After Google Earth)

Figure 132: Spolia in megalithic fortification wall of Tigani. (Photo: M. Pawlowski)

Figure 133: View of Hagios Prokopios and Tigani from the south. (Photo: M. Pawlowski)

Figure 134: Stepped cross in conch of Hagios Prokopios. (Photo: M. Pawlowski)

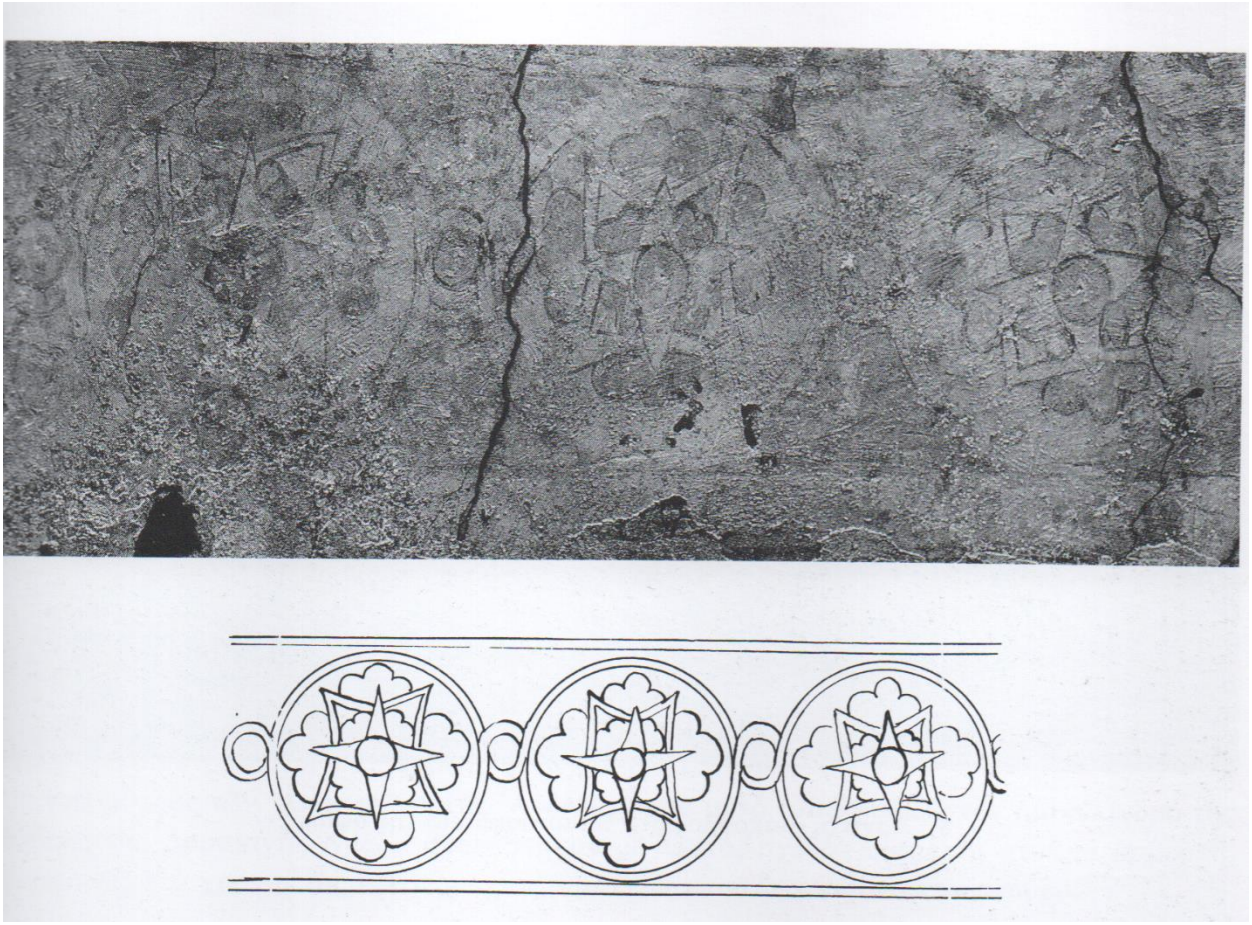


Figure 135: Rosettes from Hagios Prokopios. (After Drandakis, 1995, 217)

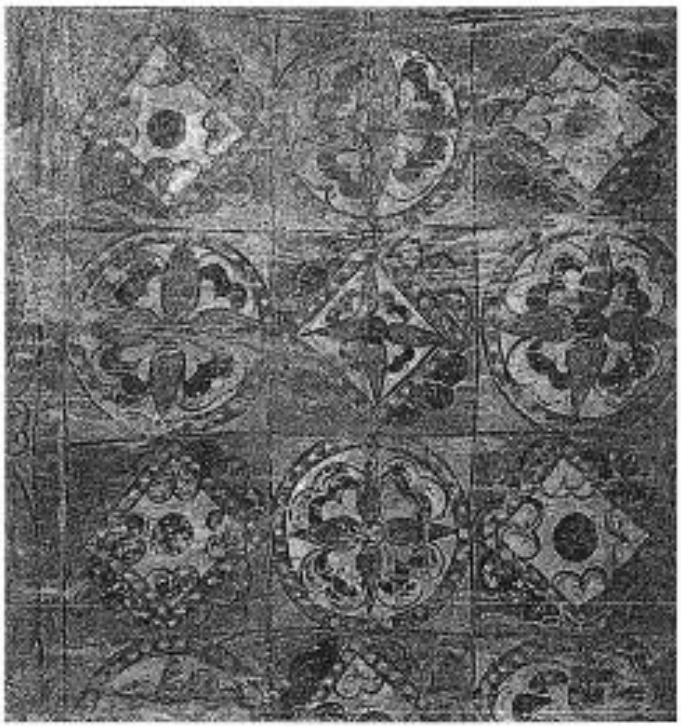


Figure 136: Rosettes from Hagios Artemios in Naxos. (After Brubaker and Haldon, 2001, 26)

Figure 137: West end of Hagios Prokopios, south wall. (Photo: M. Pawlowski)

Figure 138: Sgraffito ware from Tigani. (Photo: M. Pawlowski)

Figure 139: Lip of Green and Brown painted ware from Tigani. (Photo: M. Pawlowski)

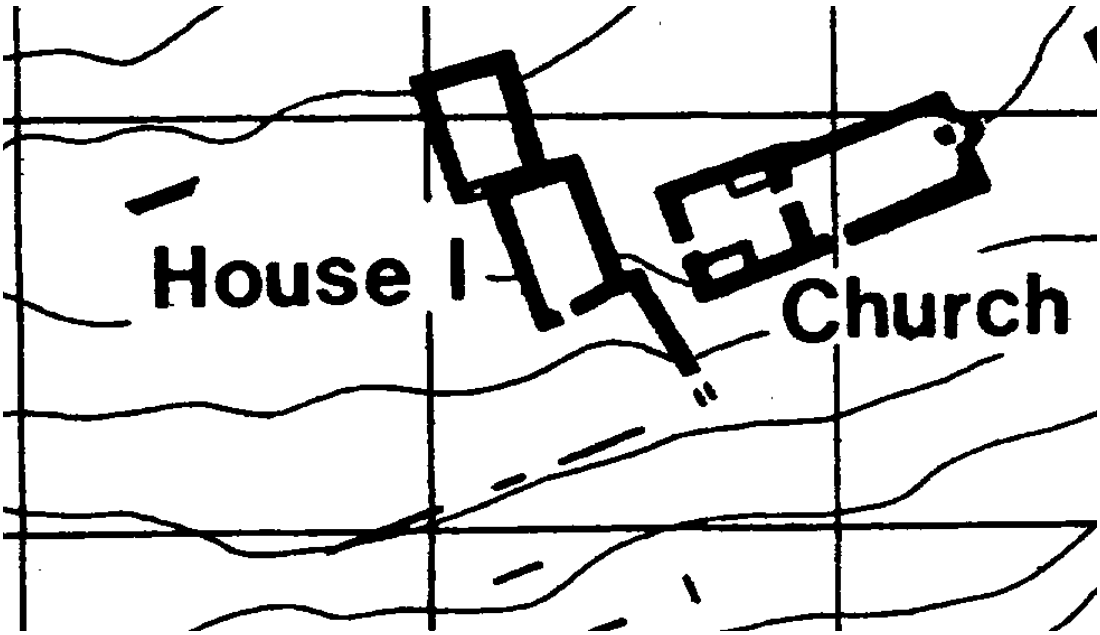


Figure 140: Detail of House 1 and church from Panakton. (After Gerstel et al., 2003, 152)

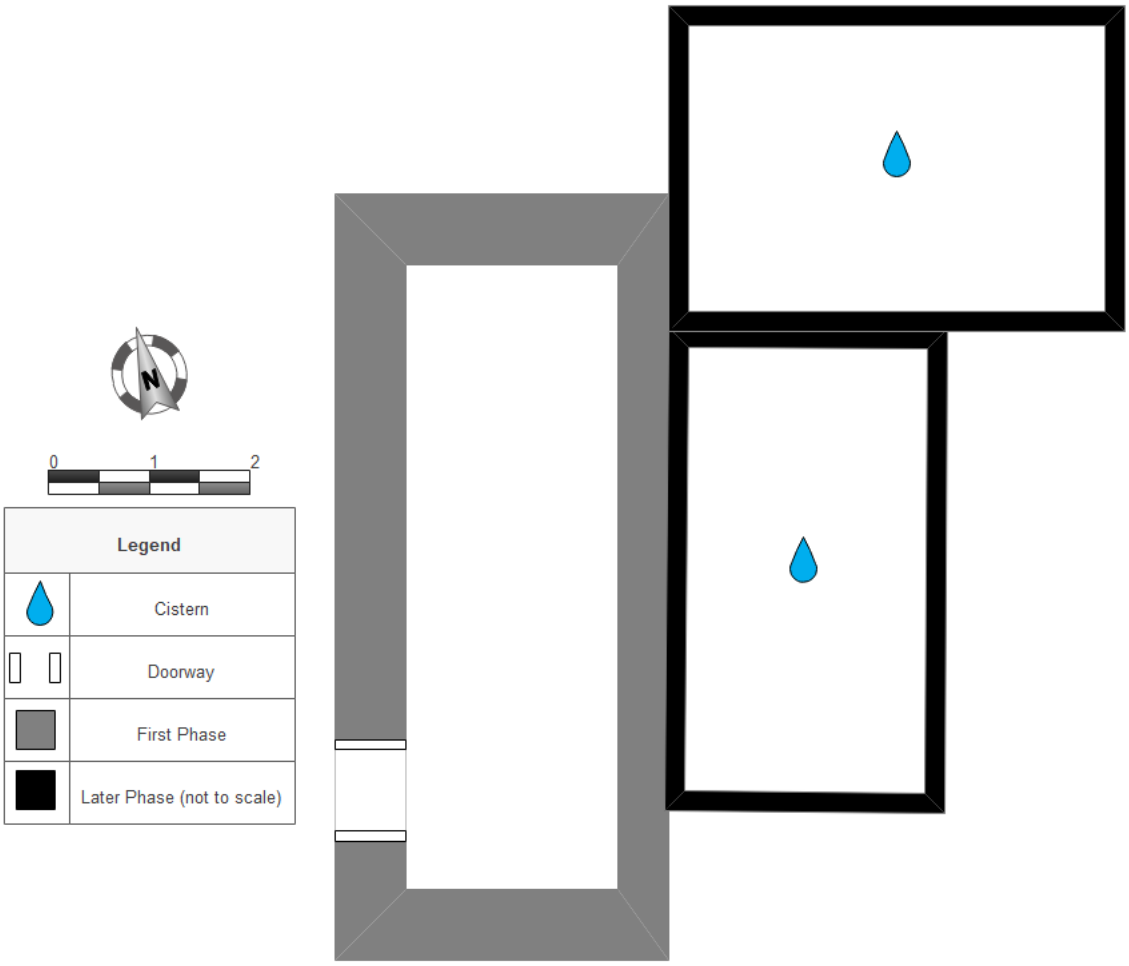


Figure 141: Building near to House 5. (M. Pawlowski)

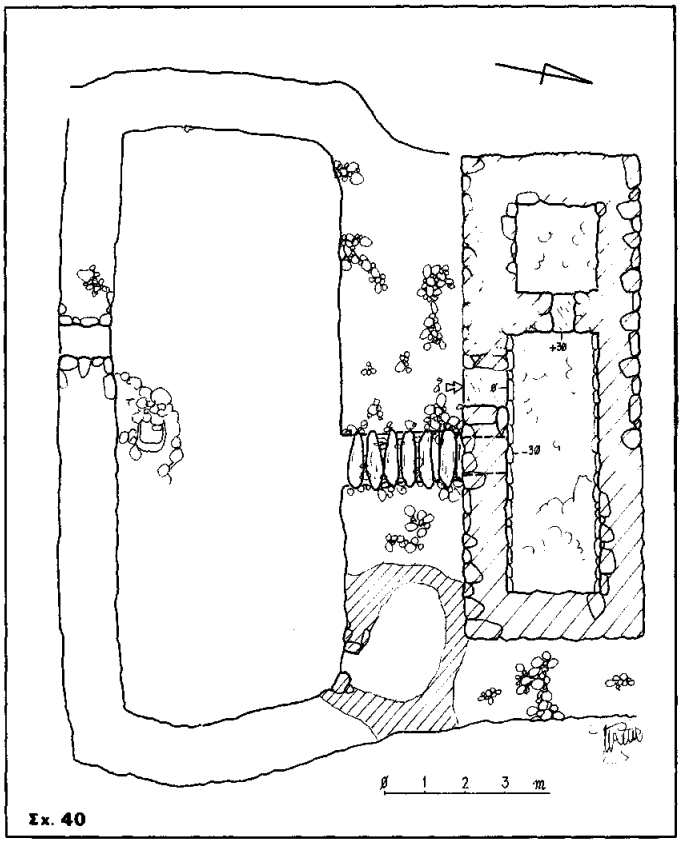


Figure 142: Plan of house from Ano Poula. (After Katsafados, 1992, 459)

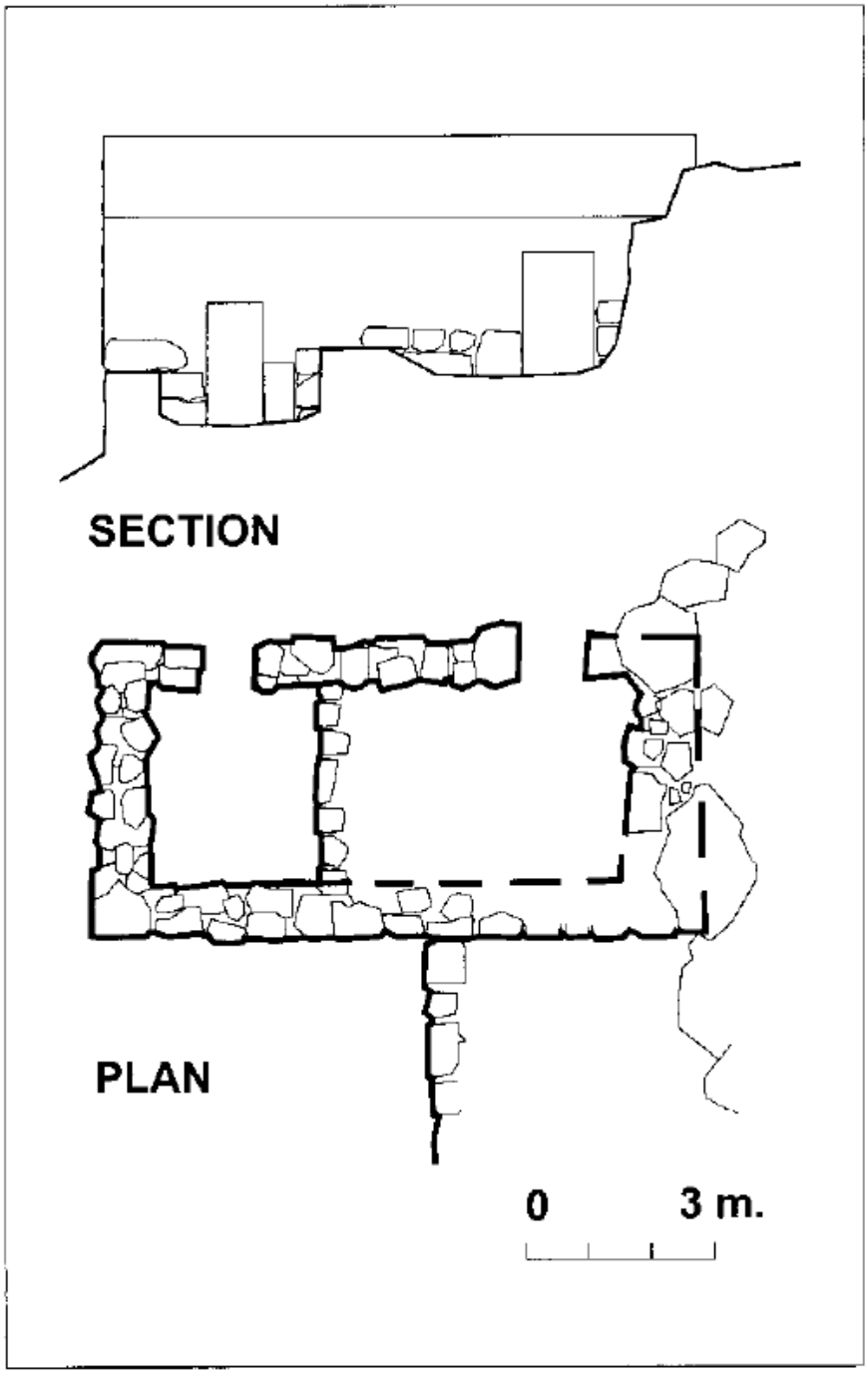


Figure 143: House of Santomeri. (After Kourelis, 2005, 123)

Figure 144: Chimney from House 1 in Marathos. (Photo: M. Pawlowski)

Figure 145: View of Vatheia. (Photo S. E. J. Gerstel)

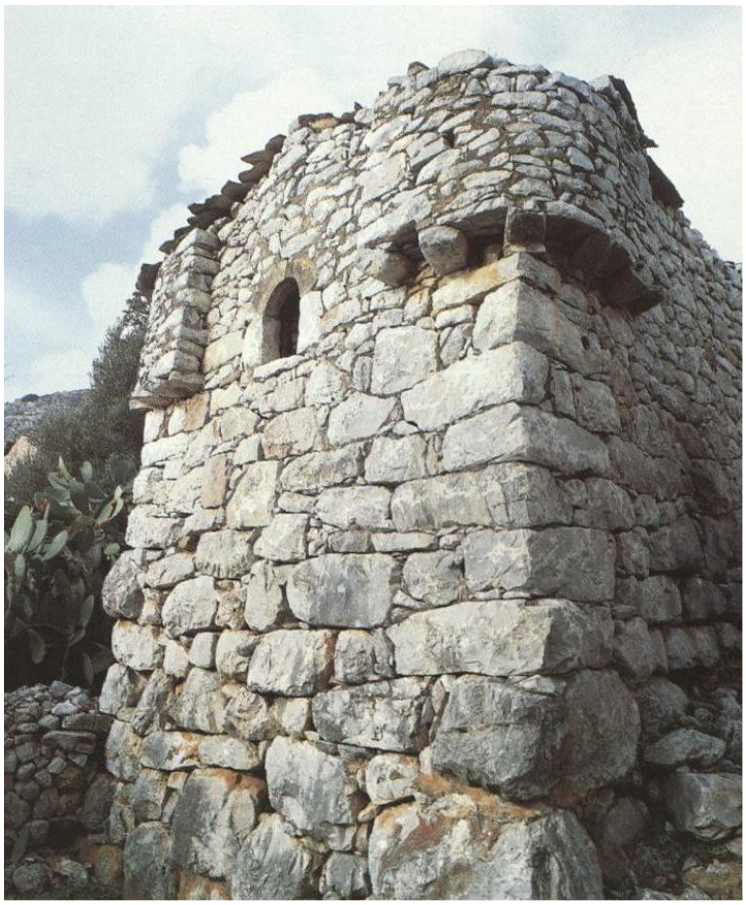


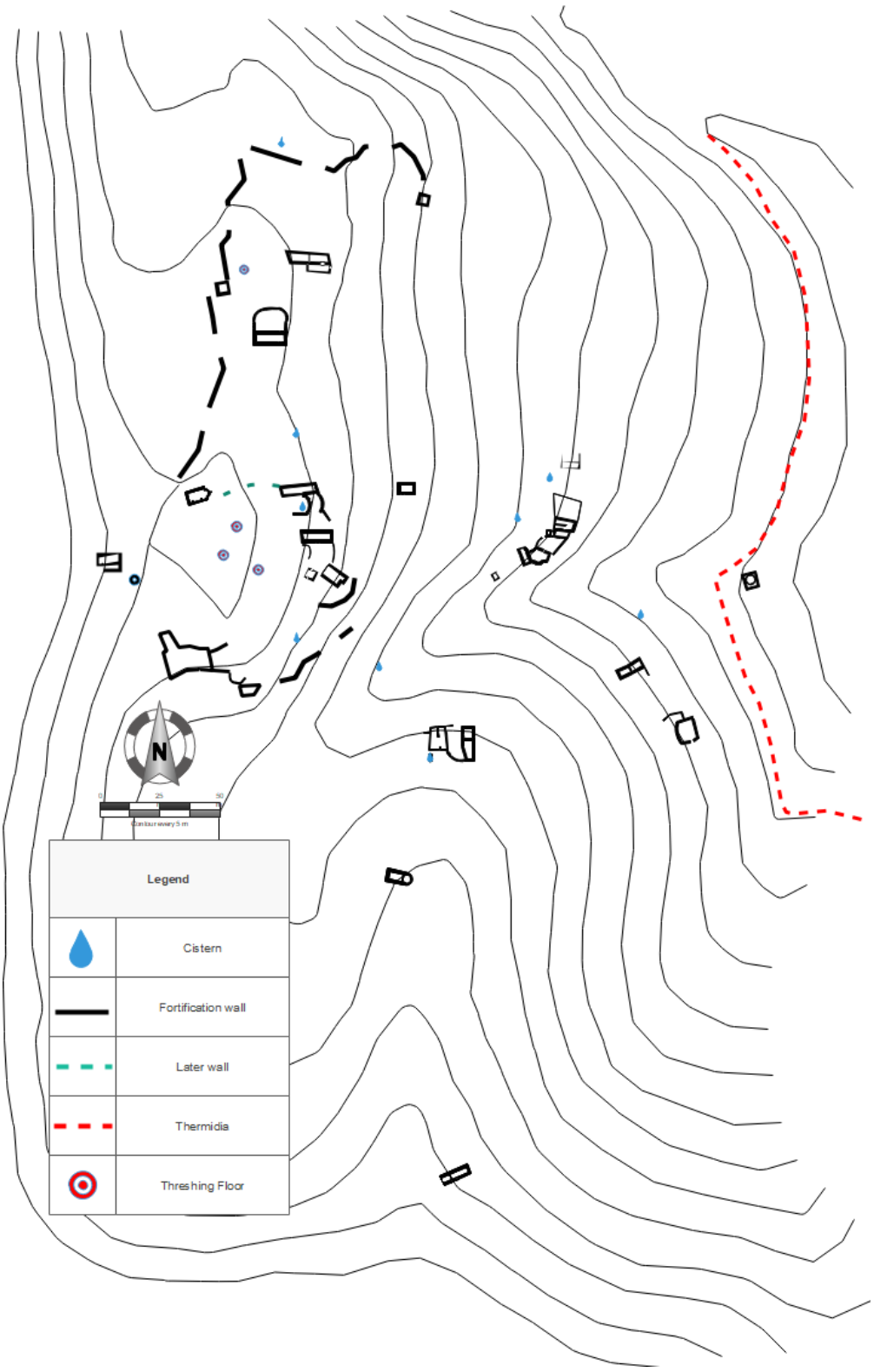
Figure 146: Tower with megalithic foundations in Alika. (After *Settlements of Mani*, 2004, 57)

Appendix A

Sarania

Table 1: Sarania Houses

House #	Location	Additions	Unique Features
1	Southeast, far from core	none	Vaulting over ground floor, two courtyards.
2	Southeast, far from core	1, to northeast	3 windows, reliving arch over door.
3	Southeast, secondary hill	none	none
4	East, secondary hill	none	Part of Complex with House 5.
5	East, secondary hill	1, to north	Part of Complex with House 4.
6	Northeast, main hill	none	Large void in south wall.
7	West of main hill	1, to south	Largest stones on site
8	East, main hill	1, to east	Part of Complex with House 9
9	East, main hill	1, to south	Part of Complex with House 8
10	East, main hill	1, phasing unclear	Highly fragmentary.
11	East, main hill	none	Bedrock forms pseduo-courtyard.
12	Northeast, main hill	1, to south	Drain built into addition.
13	Center, main hill	none	Drain built into ground floor.
14	Center, main hill	none	Nearby cistern
15	South, main hill	at least 2, phasing unclear	Highly fragmentary, but massive ground plan.
16	North, secondary hill	none	Thick, curved courtyard wall.
17	Northeast, main hill	1, to south	Highly fragmentary.


N
0
25
50
Contour every 5 m
Legend
Cistern
Fortification wall
Later wall
Thermidia
Threshing Floor

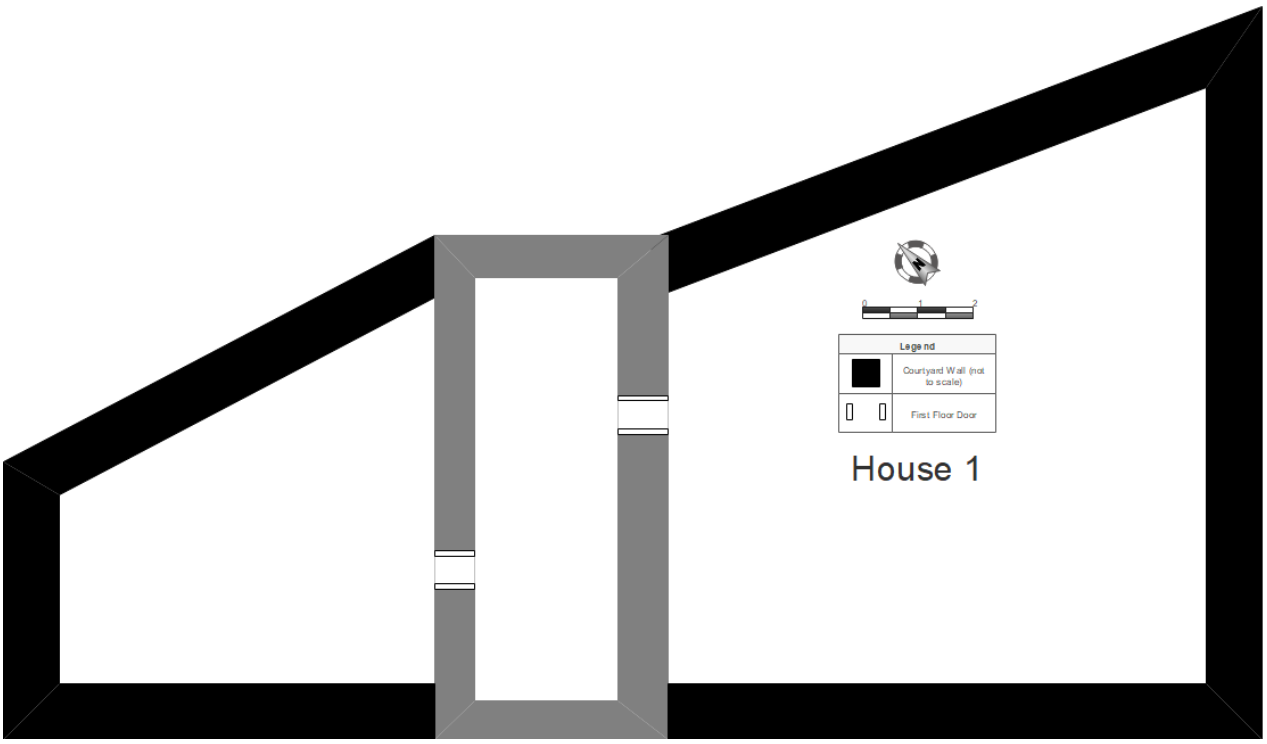
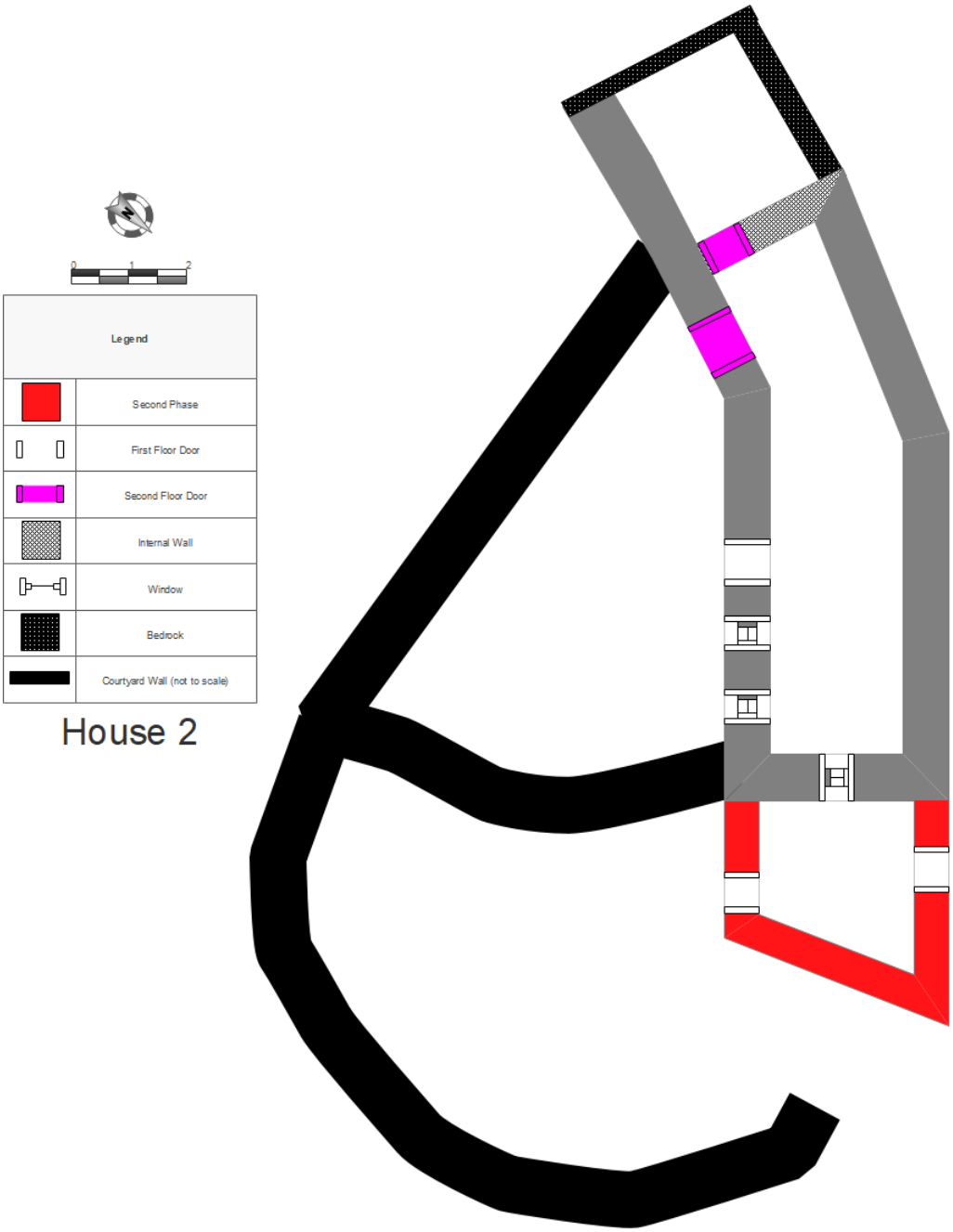

0
1
2
Legend
Courtyard Wall (not to scale)
First Floor Door
House 1

Figure 147: View of House 1 from the northwest. (Photo: M. Pawlowski)

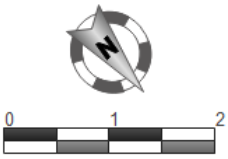
Figure 148: Interior of House 1. (Photo: M. Pawlowski)


0
1
2
Legend
Second Phase
First Floor Door
Second Floor Door
Internal Wall
Window
Bedrock
Courtyard Wall (not to scale)

House 2

Figure 149: View of House 2 from the northeast. (Photo: M. Pawlowski)

Figure 150: View of House 2 from the southwest. (Photo: M. Pawlowski)



Legend	
	First Floor Door
	Second Floor Door
	Internal Wall
	Wall Engaged with Hill

House 3

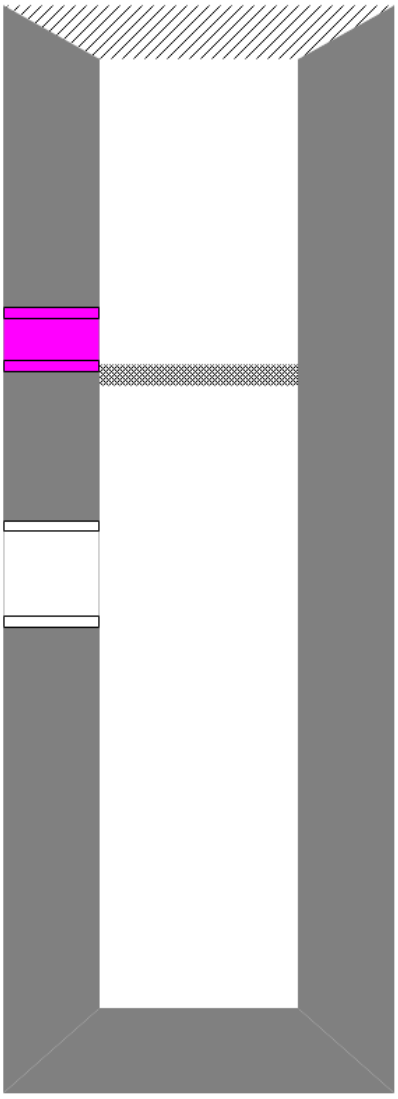


Figure 151: View of House 3 from the southwest. (Photo: M. Pawlowski)

Figure 152: Northeast corner of House 3. (Photo: M. Pawlowski)

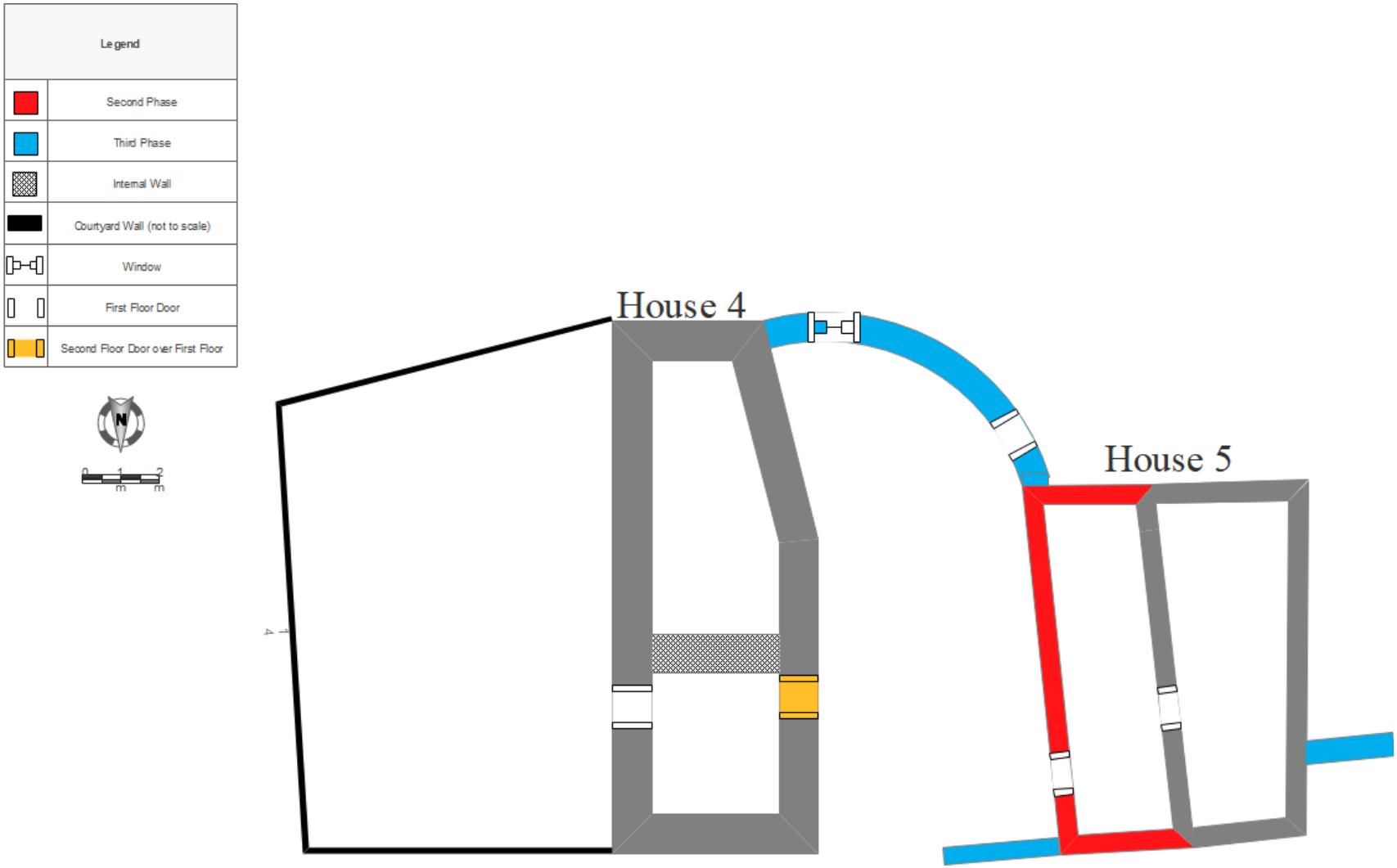

Legend
Second Phase
Third Phase
Internal Wall
Courtyard Wall (not to scale)
Window
First Floor Door
Second Floor Door over First Floor
N
0
1
2
m
m
House 4
House 5

Figure 153: House 4 and 5 from the north. (Photo: M. Pawlowski)

Figure 154: View of House 4 from the east. (Photo: M. Pawlowski)

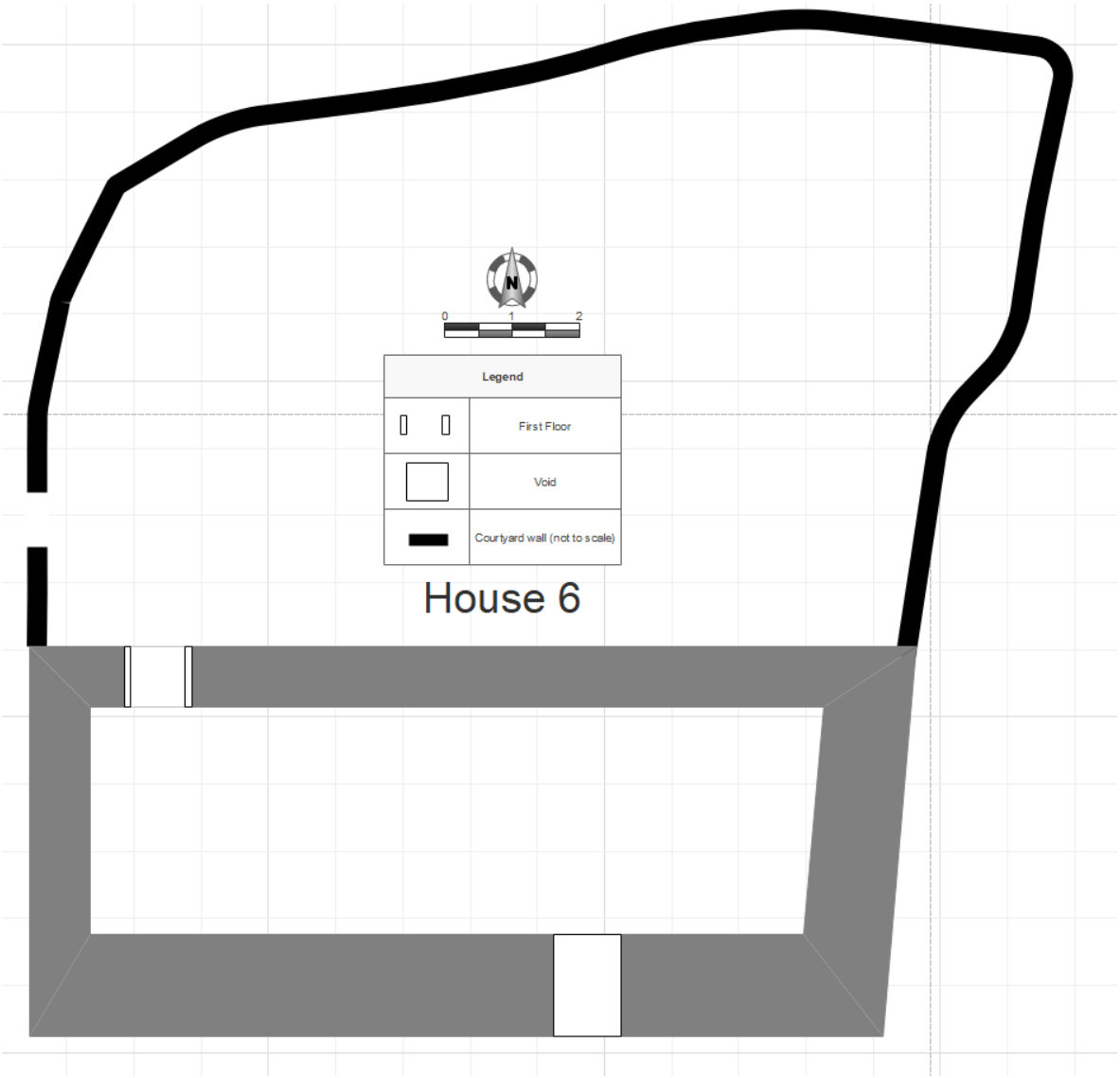
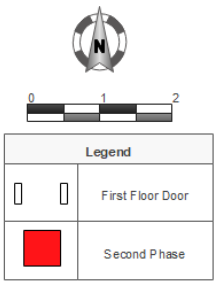

N
0
1
2
Legend
First Floor
Void
Courtyard wall (not to scale)
House 6

Figure 155: View of House 6 from the west. (Photo: M. Pawlowski)

Figure 156: View of doorway to House 6 from the north. (Photo: M. Pawlowski)



House 7

Figure 157: View of House 7 from the west. (Photo: M. Pawlowski)

Figure 158: Lower doorway to House 7. (Photo: M. Pawlowski)

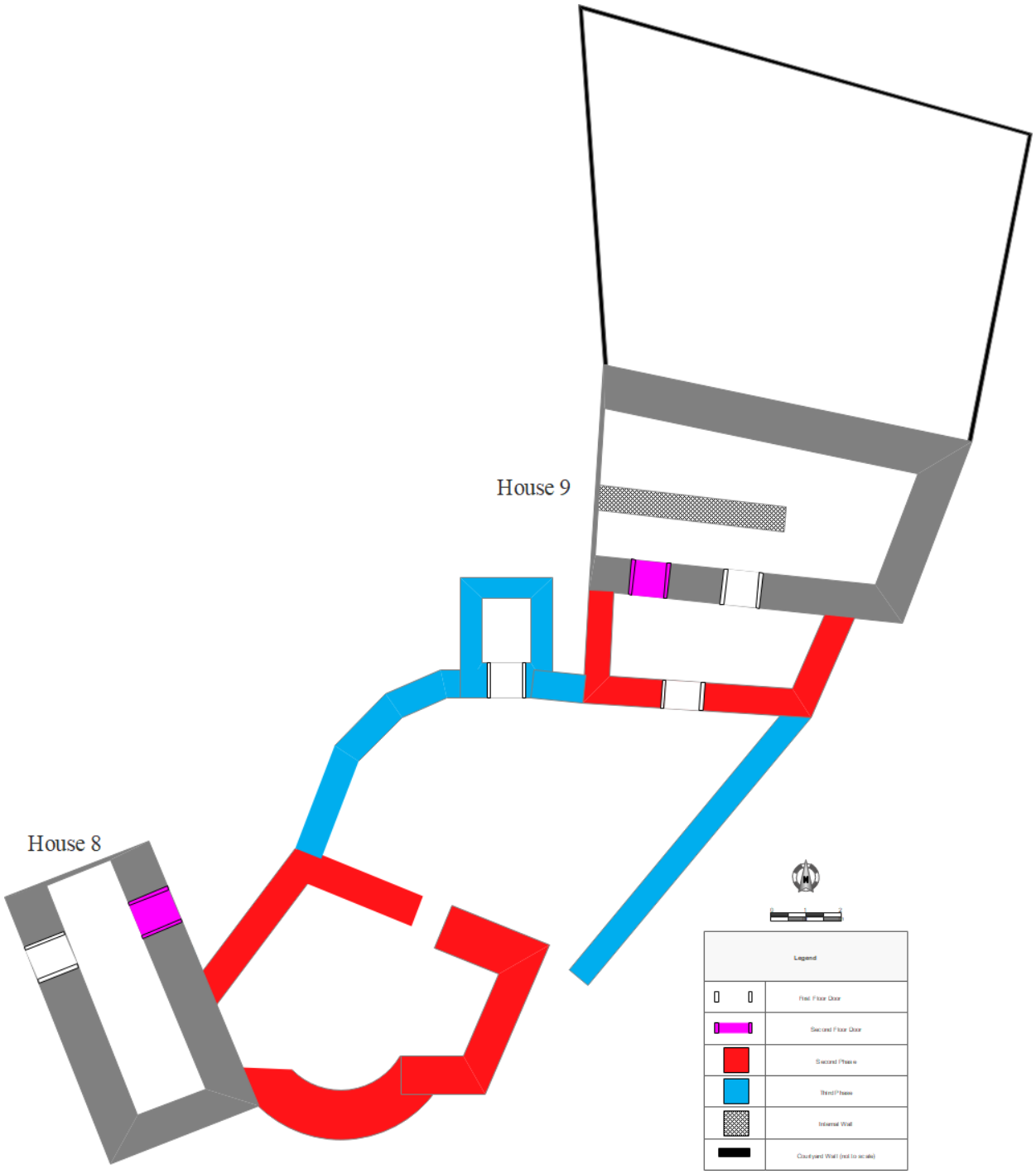

House 9
House 8
Legend
First Floor Door
Second Floor Door
Second Phase
Third Phase
Internal Wall
Courtyard Wall (not to scale)

Figure 159: View of House 8 and 9 from the south. (Photo: M. Pawlowski)

Figure 160: Lower doorway to House 8 in the west wall. (Photo: M. Pawlowski)

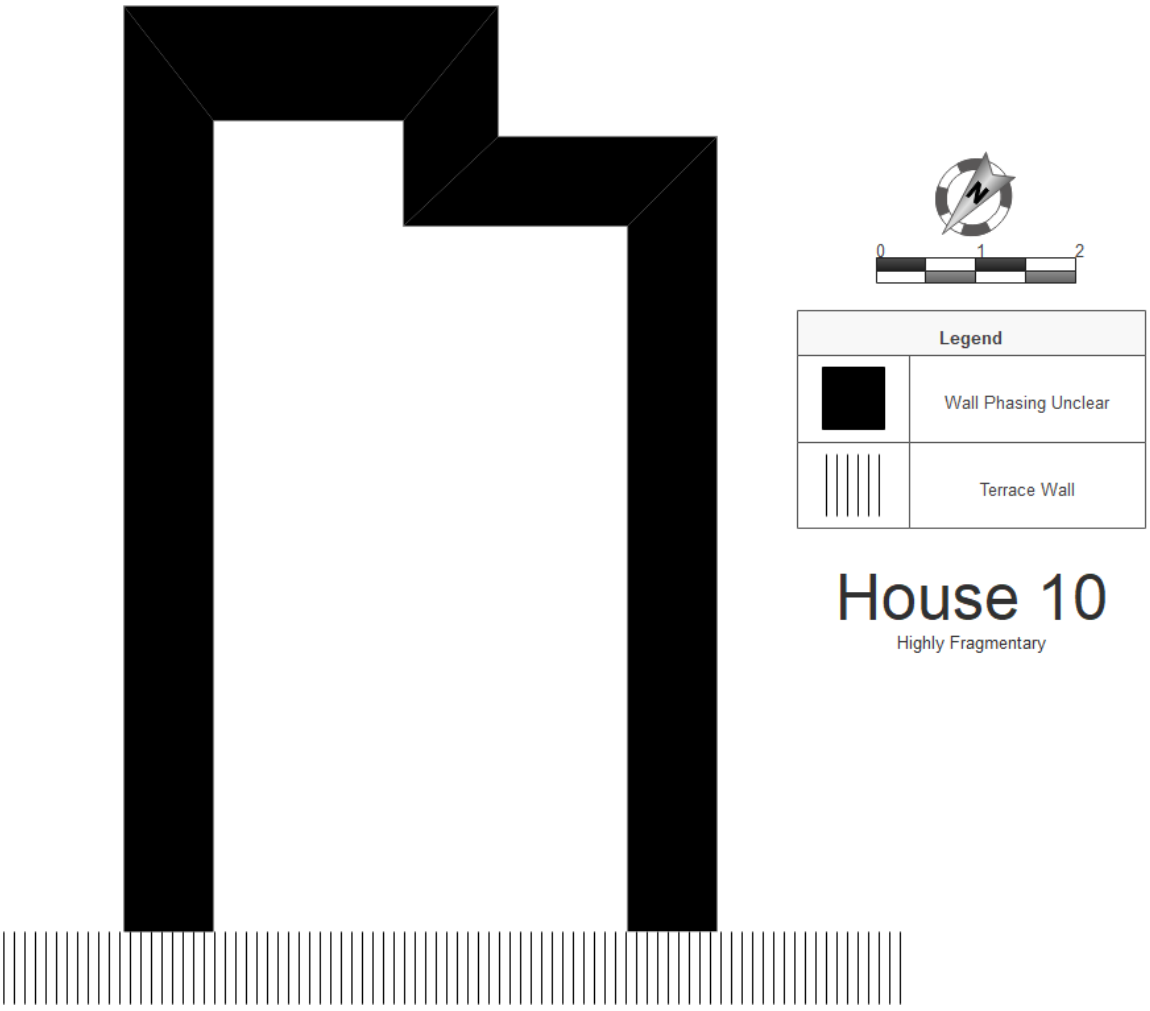

0
1
2
Legend
Wall Phasing Unclear
Terrace Wall
House 10
Highly Fragmentary

Figure 161: View of House 10 from the east. (Photo: M. Pawlowski)

Figure 162: View of House 10 from the southwest. (Photo: M. Pawlowski)

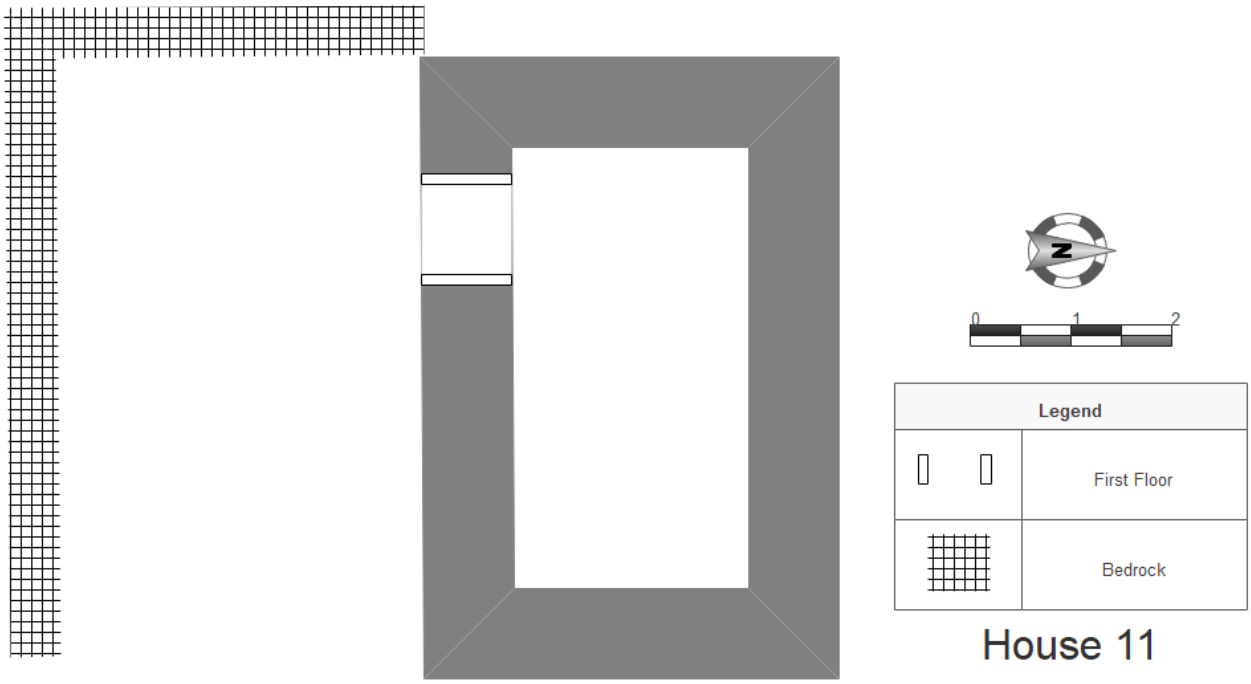

N
0
1
2
Legend
First Floor
Bedrock
House 11

Figure 163: View of House 11 from the west. (Photo: M. Pawlowski)

Figure 164: Collapsed doorway of House 11. (Photo: M. Pawlowski)

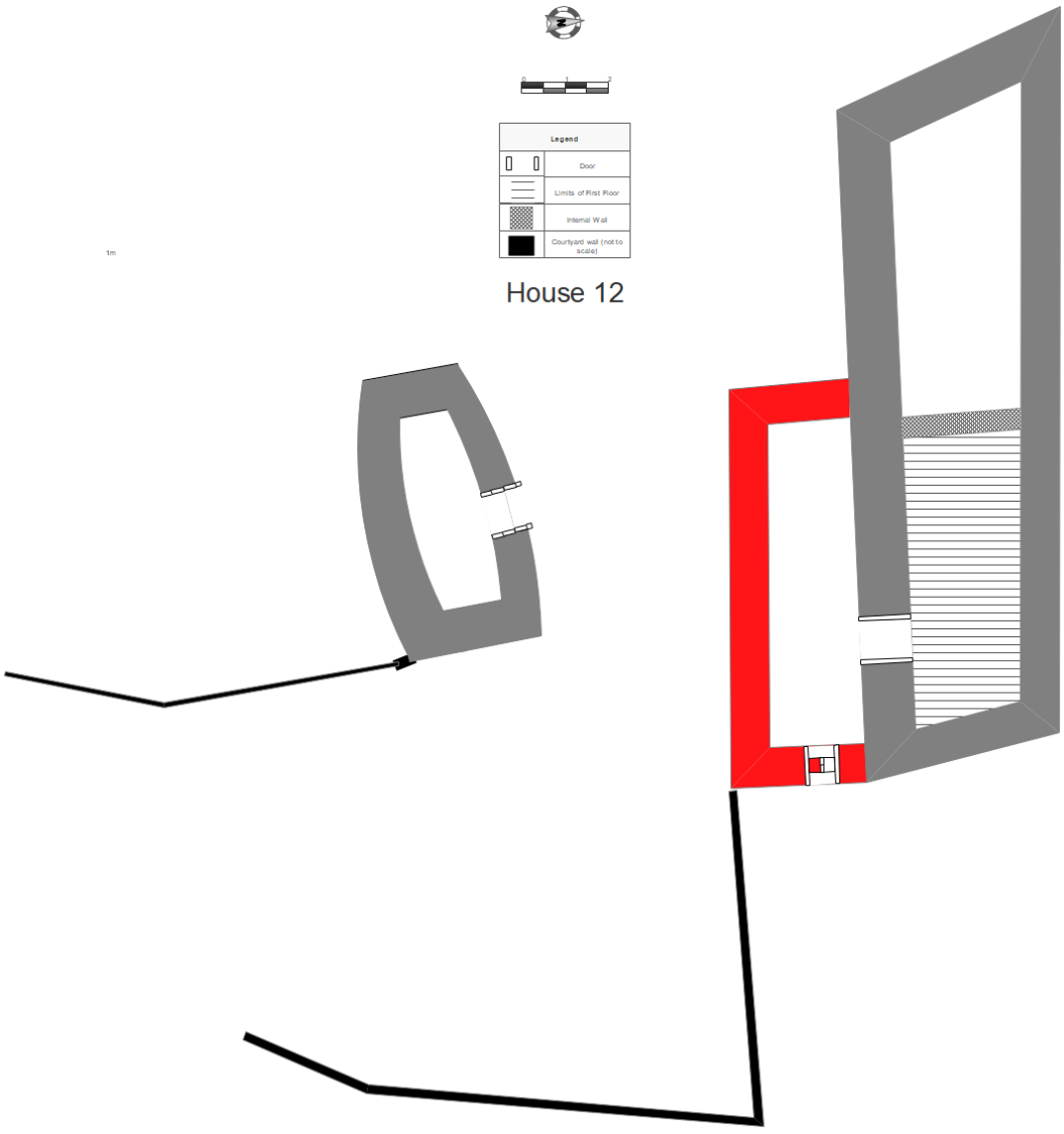

Legend
Door
Limits of First Floor
Internal Wall
Courtyard wall (not to scale)
House 12

Figure 165: View of House 12 from the west. (Photo: M. Pawlowski)

Figure 166: Doorway to outbuilding. (Photo: M. Pawlowski)

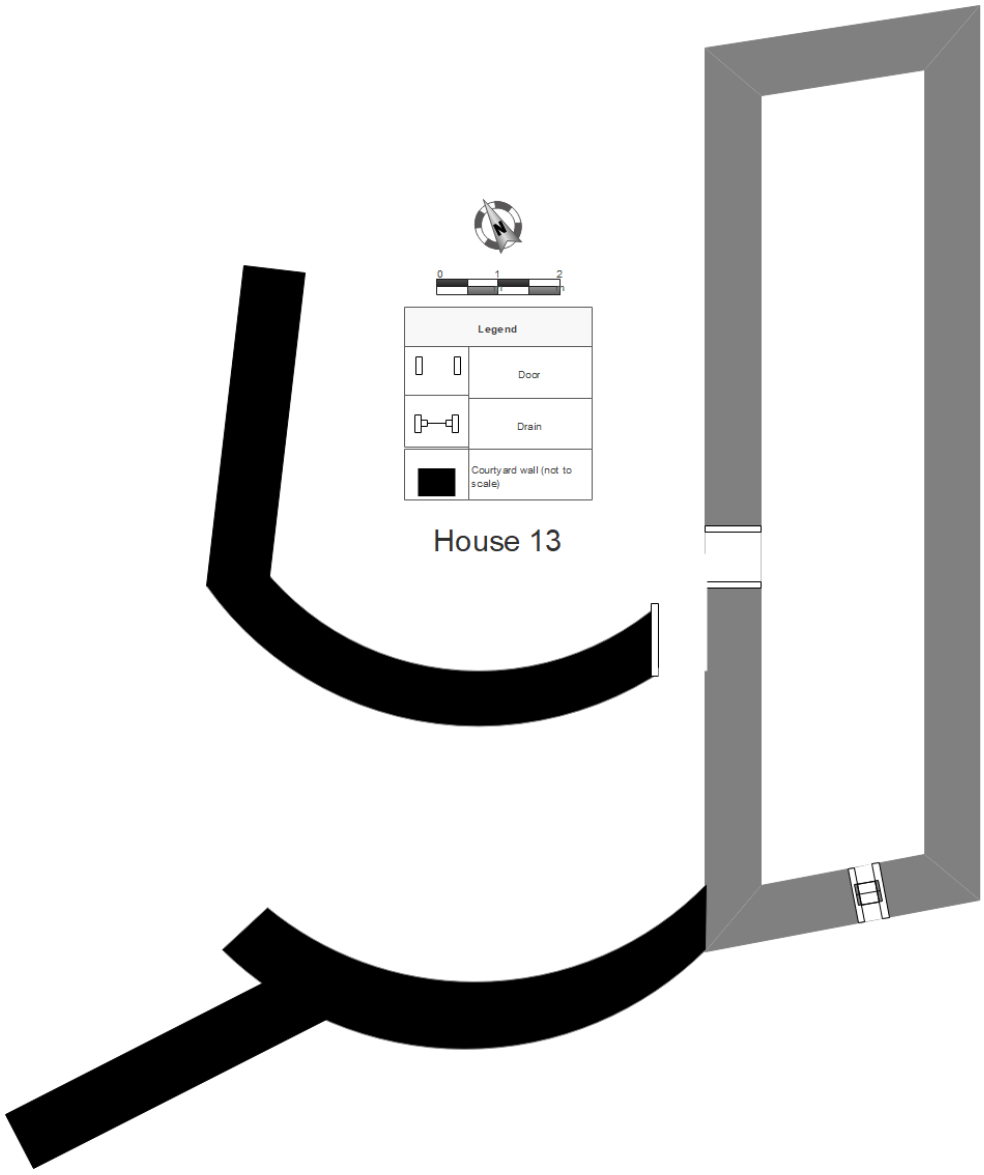
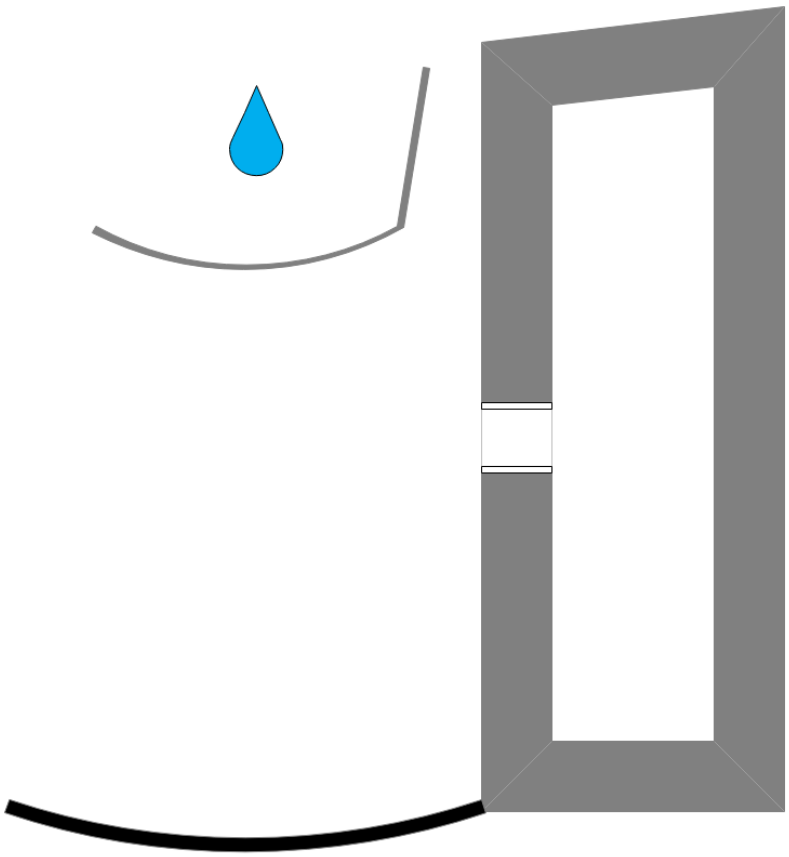
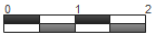

0
1
2
Legend
Door
Drain
Courtyard wall (not to scale)
House 13

Figure 167: House 13 from the east. (Photo: M. Pawlowski)

Figure 168: View of drain and south wall of House 13. (Photo: M. Pawlowski)



House 14



Legend	
	Door
	Cistern
	Courtyard Wall (not to scale)

Figure 169: View of House 14 from the east. (Photo: M. Pawlowski)

Figure 170: Cistern adjacent to House 14. (Photo: M. Pawlowski)

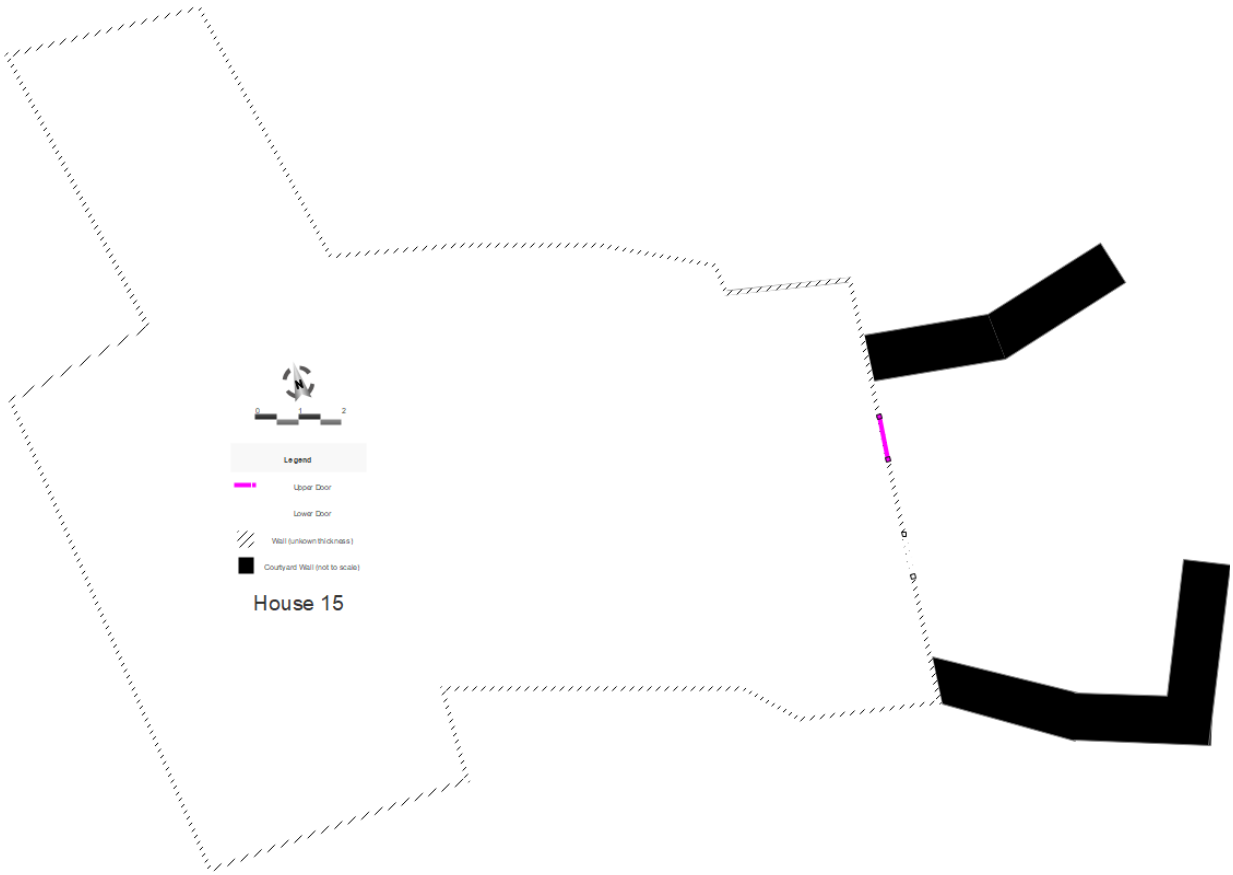

N
0
1
2
Legend
Upper Door
Lower Door
Wall (unknown thickness)
Courtyard Wall (not to scale)
House 15

Figure 171: Eastern doorways to House 15. (Photo: M. Pawlowski)

Figure 172: House 15 from the north. (Photo: M. Pawlowski)

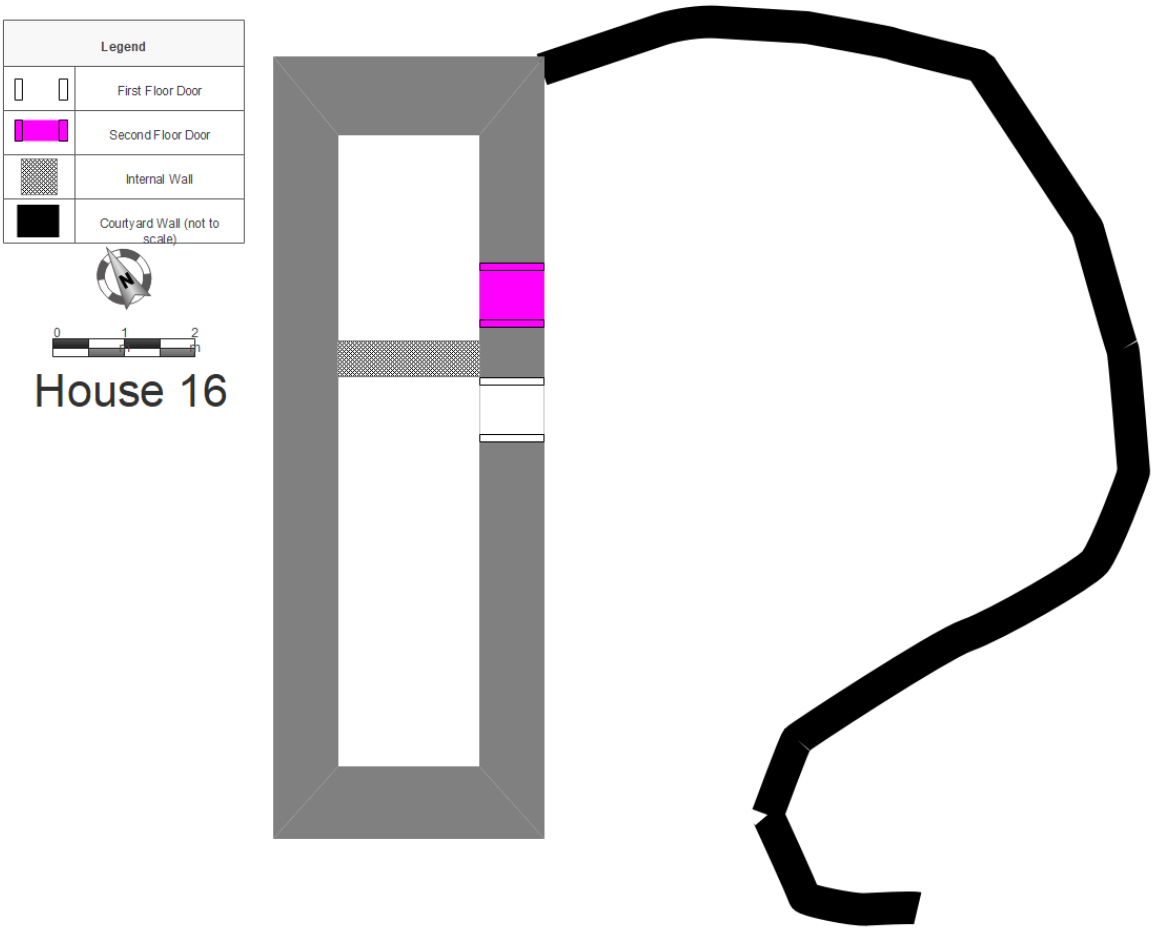

Legend
First Floor Door
Second Floor Door
Internal Wall
Courtyard Wall (not to scale)
0
1
2
House 16

Figure 173: View of House 16 from the northeast. (Photo: M. Pawlowski)

Figure 174: Curved courtyard wall and House 16 from the south. (Photo: M. Pawlowski)

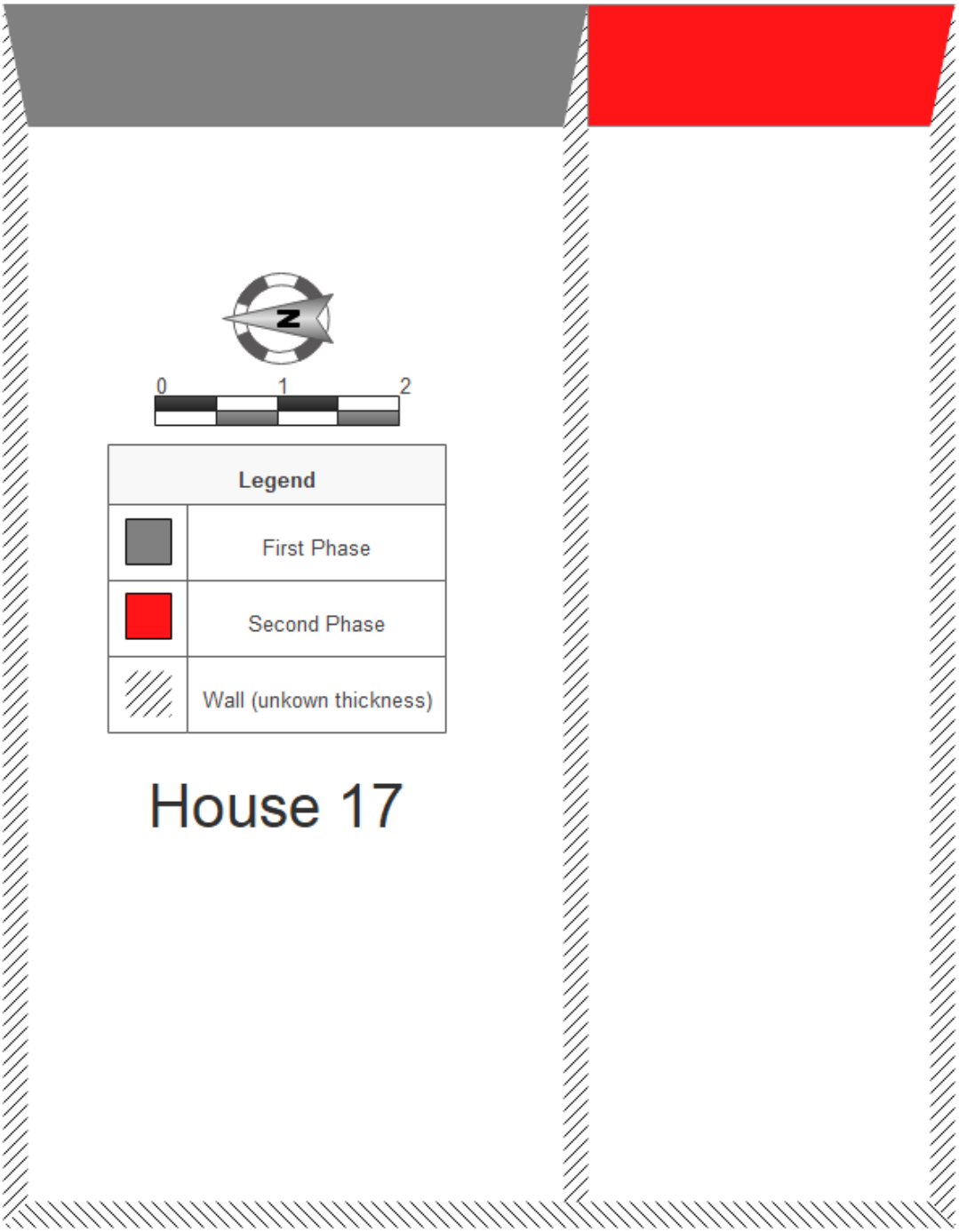

N
0
1
2
Legend
First Phase
Second Phase
Wall (unkown thickness)
House 17

Figure 175: View of House 17 from the east. (Photo: M. Pawlowski)

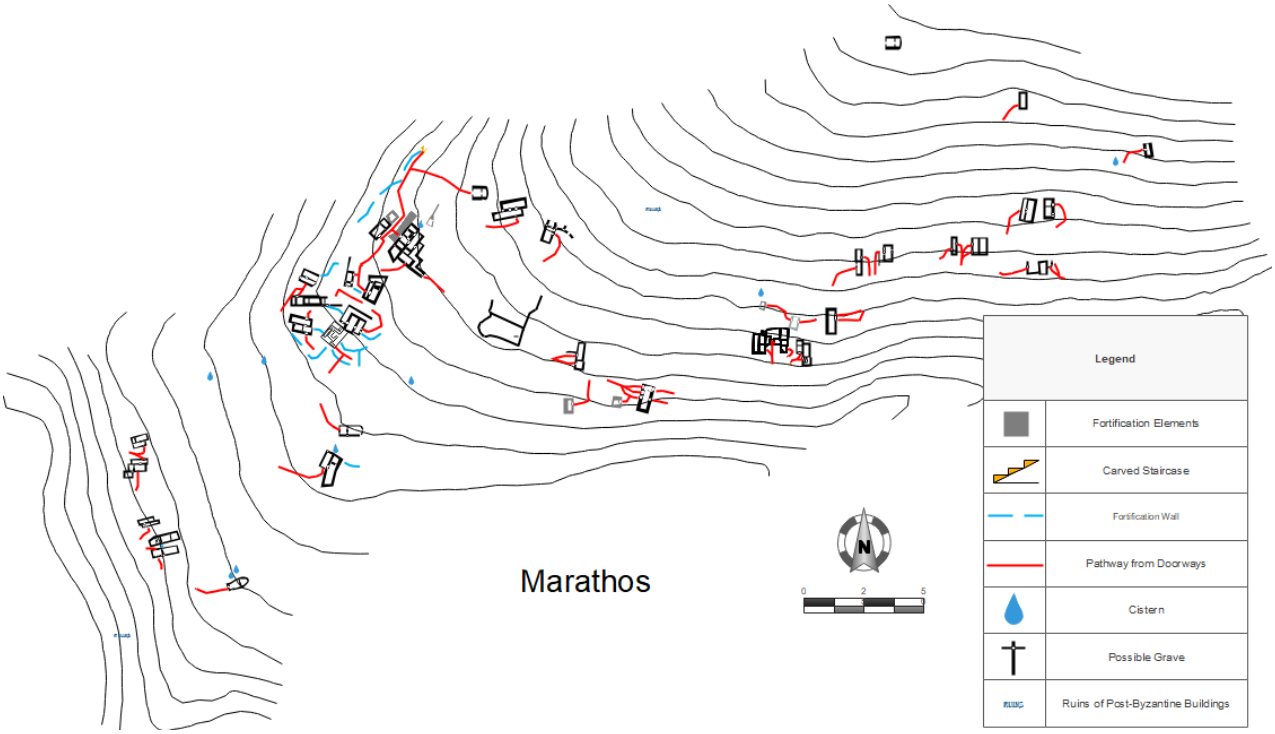
Figure 176: Detail of join of two phases of House 17. (Photo: M. Pawlowski)

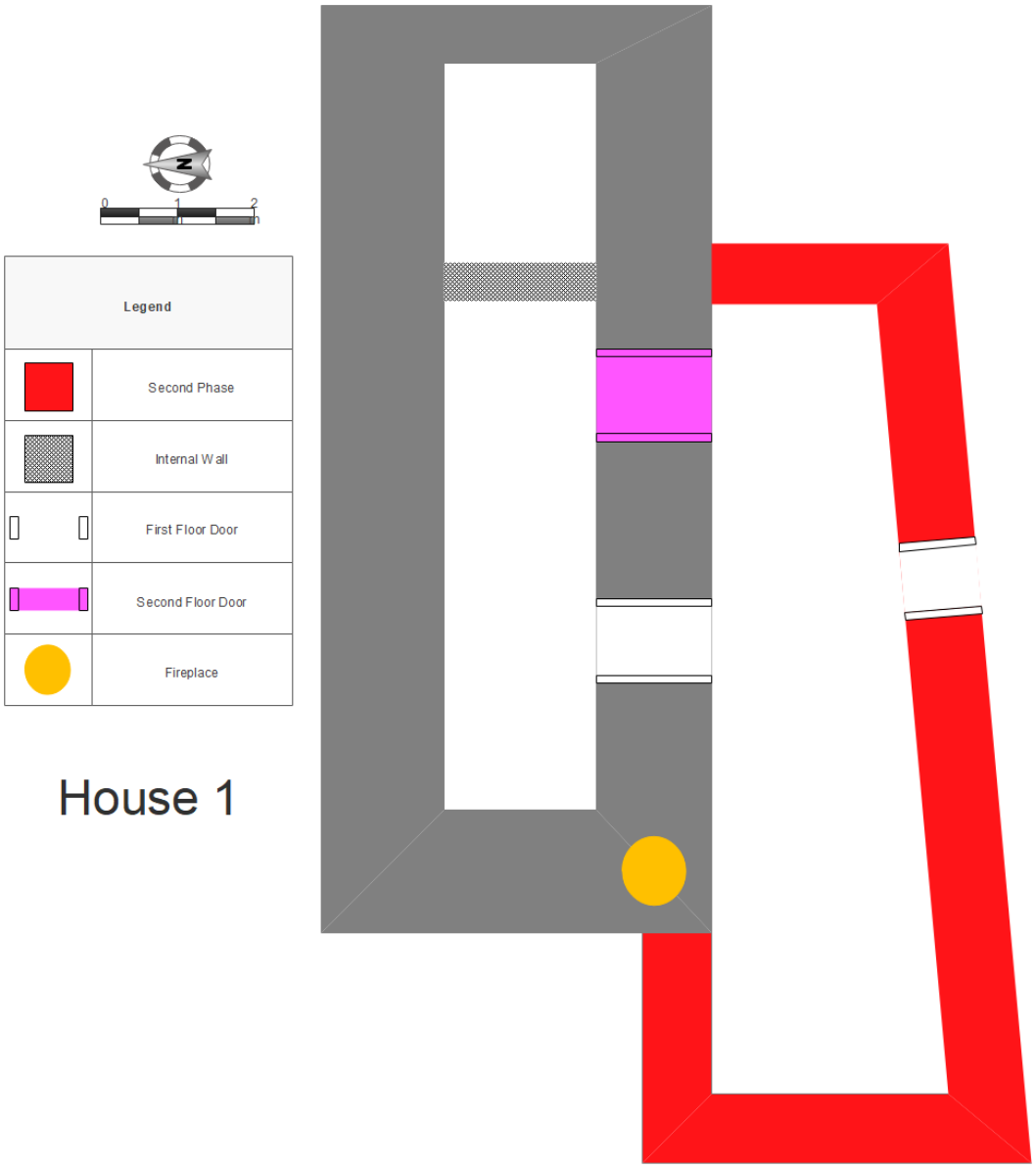
Table 2: Marathos Houses

House #	Location	Additions	Unique Features
1	North, Zone A	1, south wall	Fireplace in southwest corner of original house
2	North, Zone A	None	Outbuilding to southeast
3	Zone A	3, southeast and southwest walls	Halls attached to southeast, ground floor internally divided
4	Zone A	None	None
5	Zone A	None	Small court to north, window in east wall
6	Zone A	2, west and north walls	Northern addition parallel to slope
7	Zone A	1, south wall	None
8	South, Zone A	2, west wall	Additions only along short side, inaccessible from inside original house
9	South, Zone A	3, east, west, and south walls	Large network of halls attached to south
10	South, Zone A	1, south wall	Addition appears to be larger than original house
11	Between Zone A and B	1, west wall	Cistern attached to north wall
12	North, Zone B	1, south wall	None
13	North, Zone B	2, north and south walls	Small room on western end of original house
14	South, Zone B	1, south wall	Addition is markedly thinner than original house
15	South, Zone B	2, west wall	Additions on short side of original house, not accessible from inside original house
16	South, Zone B	none	Three *therida* in internal wall of lower floor

17	Between Zone A and C	1, south wall	Small addition to south, likely functioned as outbuilding 6 extant doorways
18	Between Zone A and C	none	
19	West, Zone C	2, east wall	Forms complex with House 20, possible cistern attached to north, house damaged by jet
20	West, Zone C	3, south and west walls	Forms complex with House 19, additions not accessible from original house
21	West, Zone C	2, south and west walls	Southern addition internally divided, likely functioned as outbuilding, door to main house on short side of addition
22	West, Zone C	none	Possible cistern or storeroom attached to north
23	Zone C	1, south wall	Addition on short wall, but longer than original house, significantly lower elevation than original house
24	Zone C	2, south and west walls	Additions are small and it is unclear if they represent distinct rooms, or if they served a special purpose
25	Zone C	none	Small, subterranean room in west wall, small internal room down slope
26	Zone C	1, west wall	Addition has upper and lower door, indicating it expanded both the first and second floor of original house
27	East, Zone C	2, east wall	Full extent of building is unclear. Megalithic portion poorly preserved, third

			addition retains ceiling, supporting almost two meters of debris
28	East, Zone C	1, west wall	Addition is quite narrow, window on east wall.
29	East, Zone C	none	*Therida* in corner of south wall, may have been fireplace at one time
30	North of Zone C	none	none


Marathos
N
0
2
5
Legend
Fortification Elements
Carved Staircase
Fortification Wall
Pathway from Doorways
Cistern
Possible Grave
Ruins of Post-Byzantine Buildings


N
0
1
2
Legend
Second Phase
Internal Wall
First Floor Door
Second Floor Door
Fireplace

House 1

Figure 177: Interior of House 1 from the west. (Photo: M. Pawlowski)

Figure 178: View of lower entrance from the north. (Photo: M. Pawlowski)

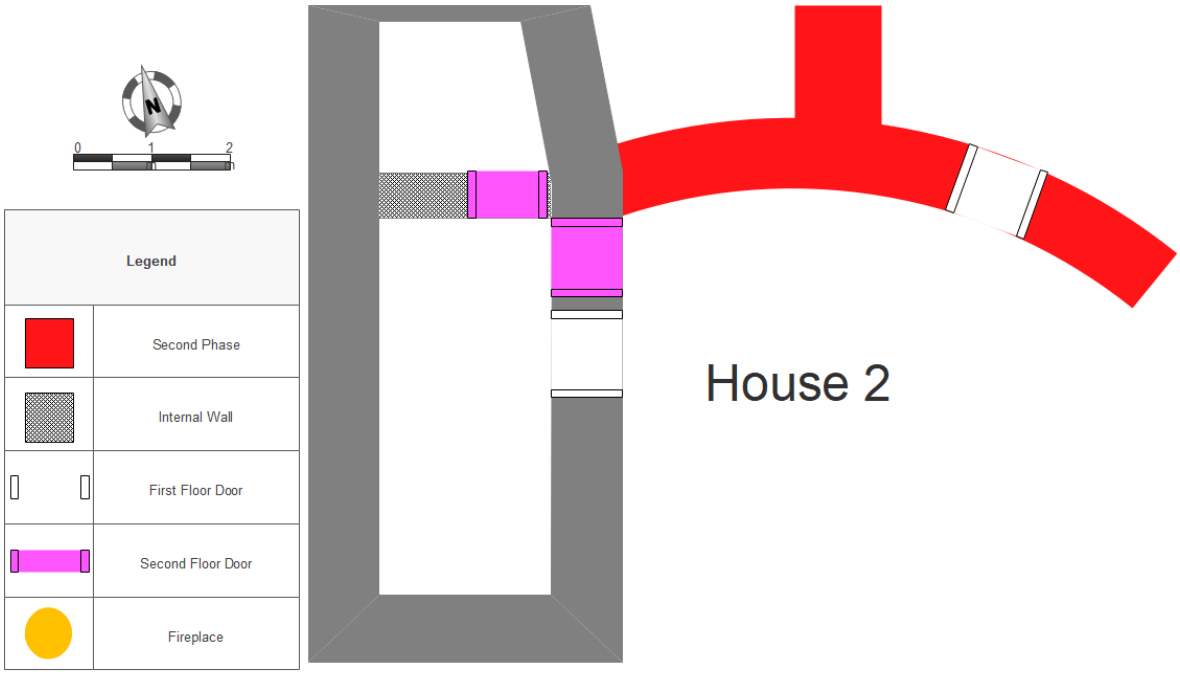
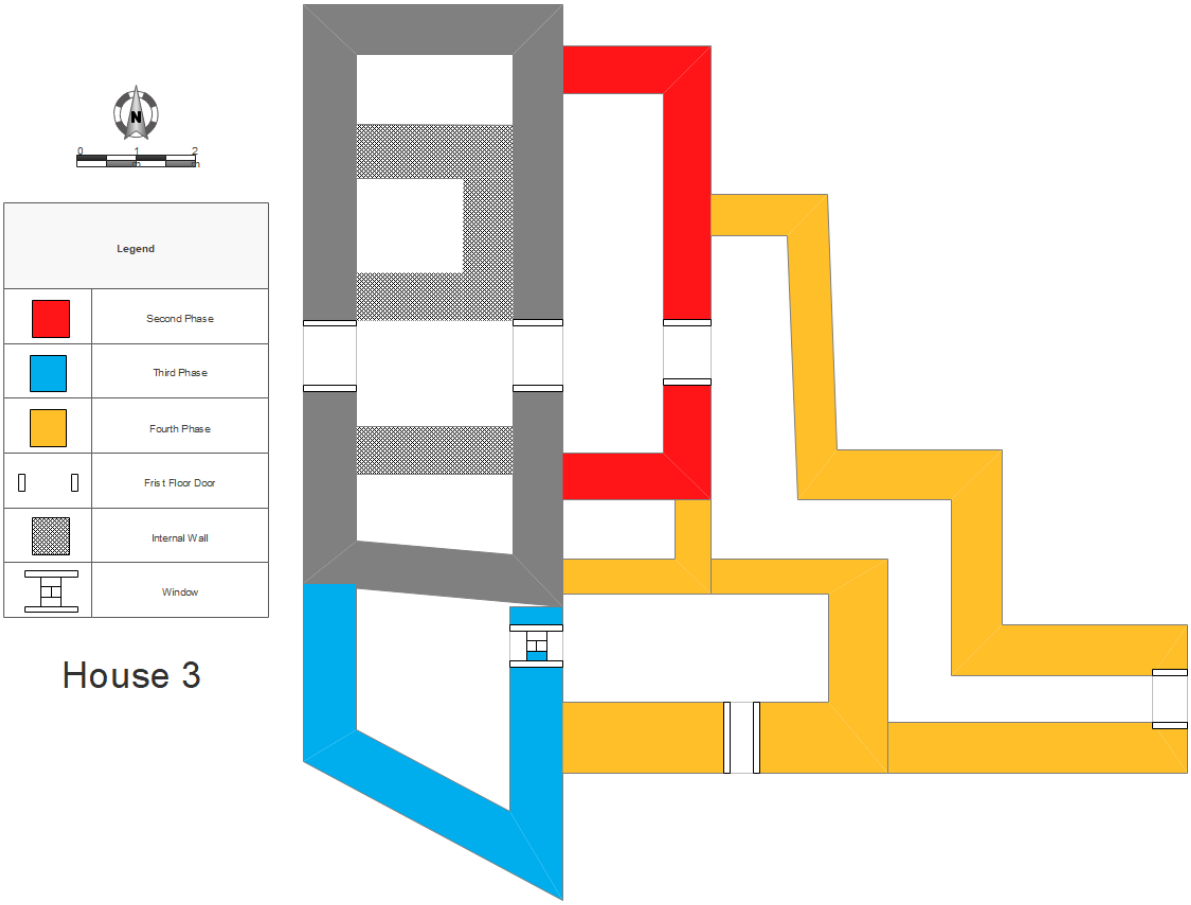

N
0
1
2
Legend
Second Phase
Internal Wall
First Floor Door
Second Floor Door
Fireplace
House 2

Figure 179: Interior of House 2 from the south. (Photo: M. Pawlowski)

Figure 180: Remnants of upper doorway to House 2. (Photo: M. Pawlowski)


N
0
1
2
m
Legend
Second Phase
Third Phase
Fourth Phase
Frist Floor Door
Internal Wall
Window

House 3

Figure 181: View of House 3 from the north. (Photo: M. Pawlowski)

Figure 182: View into House 3 from the westernmost door. (Photo: M. Pawlowski)

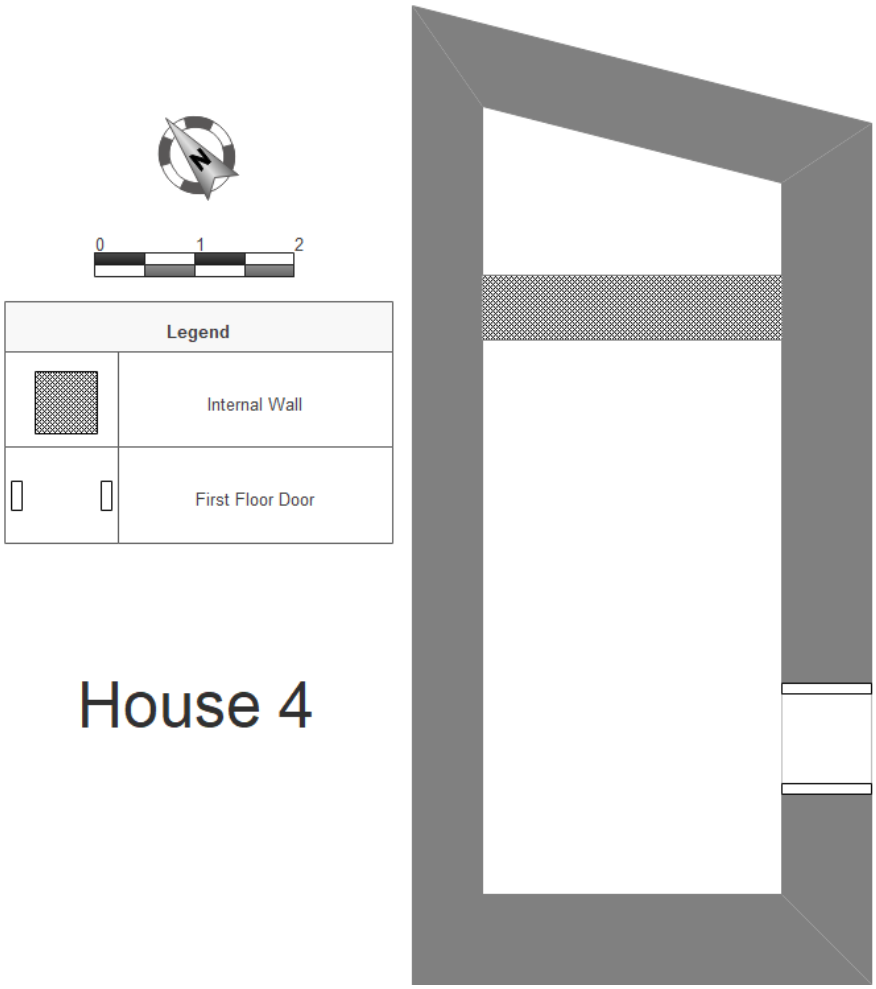

N
0
1
2
Legend
Internal Wall
First Floor Door
House 4

Figure 183: View of House 4 from the north. (Photo: M. Pawlowski)

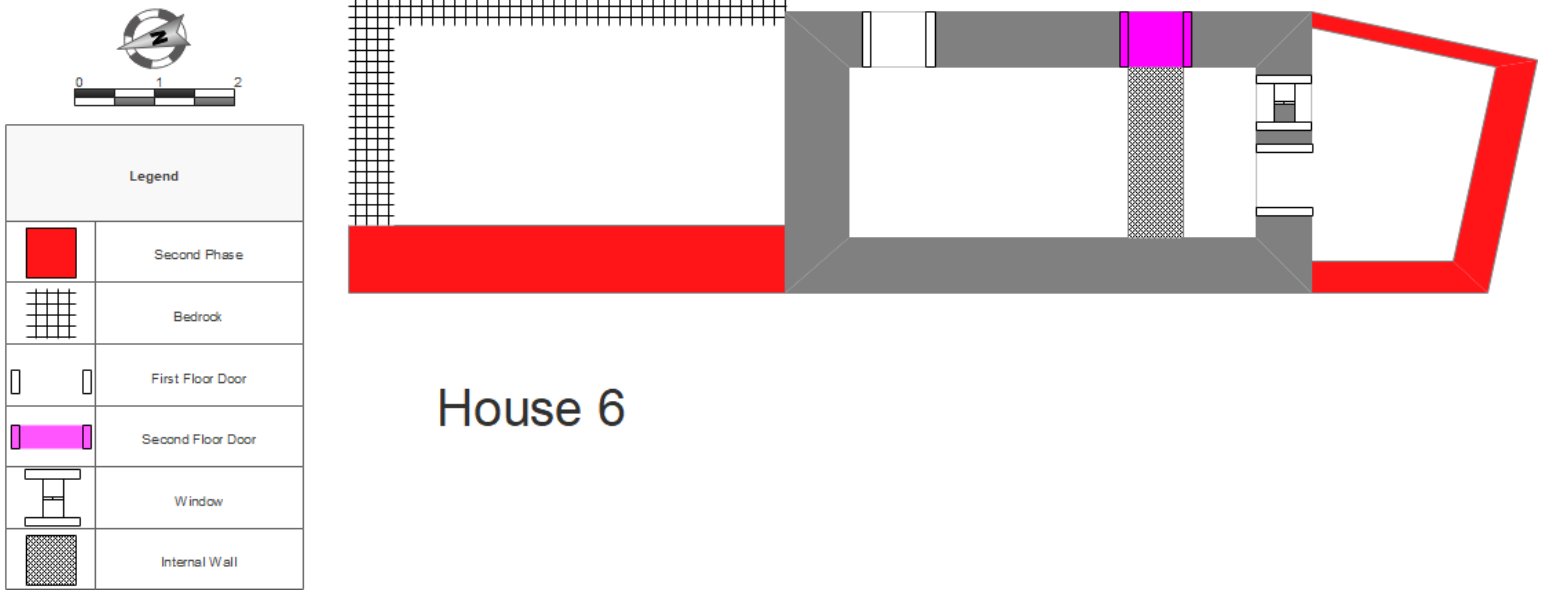
Figure 184: View of doorway with broken lintel. (Photo: M. Pawlowski)


N
0
1
2
Legend
Second Phase
Third Phase
Internal Wall
First Floor Door

House 5

Figure 185: View of House 5 from the north. (Photo: M. Pawlowski)

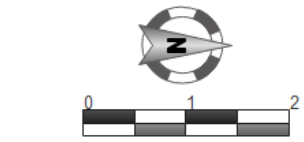
Figure 186: View of both phases of House 5 from the west. (Photo: M. Pawlowski)


N
0
1
2
Legend
Second Phase
Bedrock
First Floor Door
Second Floor Door
Window
Internal Wall

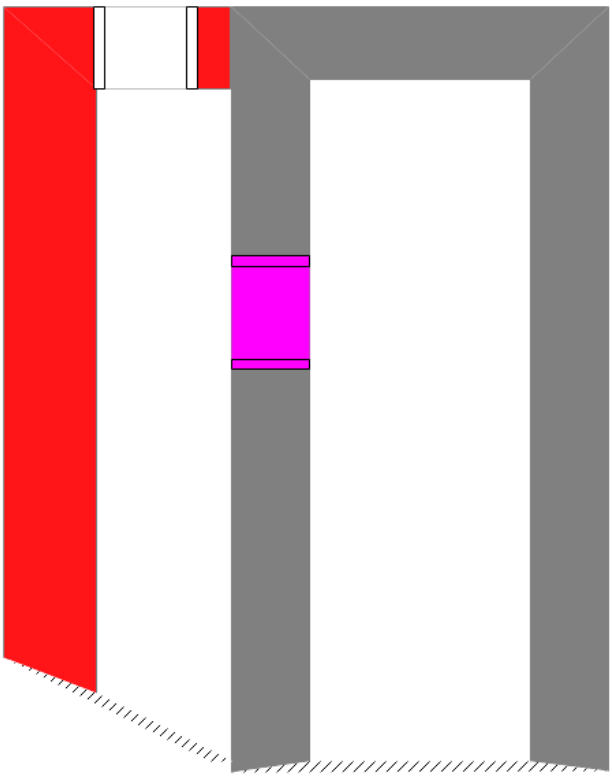
House 6

Figure 187: Interior of House 6 from the north. (Photo: M. Pawlowski)

Figure 188: Joist hangers along eastern wall of House 6. (Photo: M. Pawlowski)



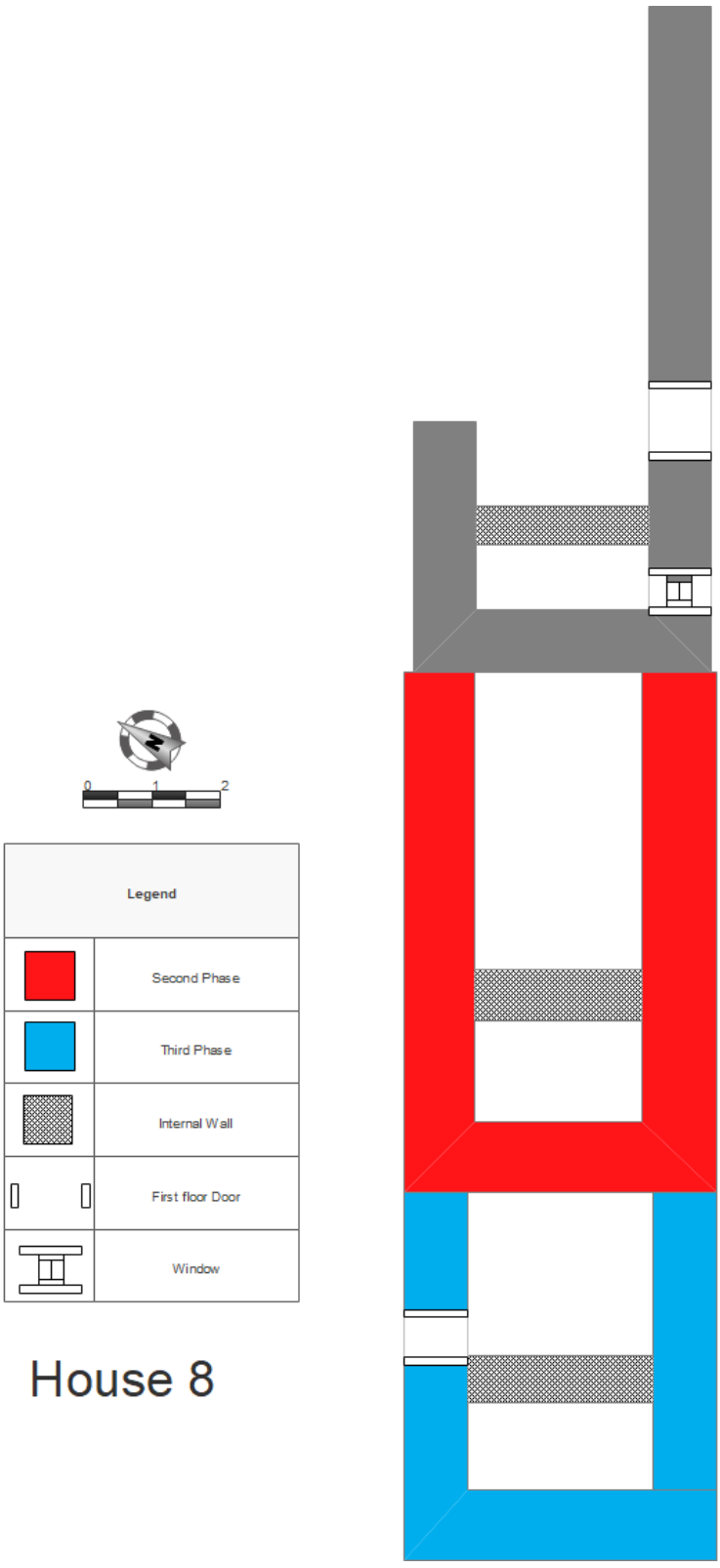
Legend	
	Second Phase
	Wall Engaged with Hill
	First Floor Door
	Second Floor Door



House 7

Figure 189: View of House 7 from the east. (Photo: M. Pawlowski)

Figure 190: Interior, lower doorway of House 7. (Photo: M. Pawlowski)


0
1
2
Legend
Second Phase
Third Phase
Internal Wall
First floor Door
Window

House 8

Figure 191: View of House 8 from the west. (Photo: M. Pawlowski)

Figure 192: Lower doorway on western wall of lowest phase of House 8. (Photo: M. Pawlowski)

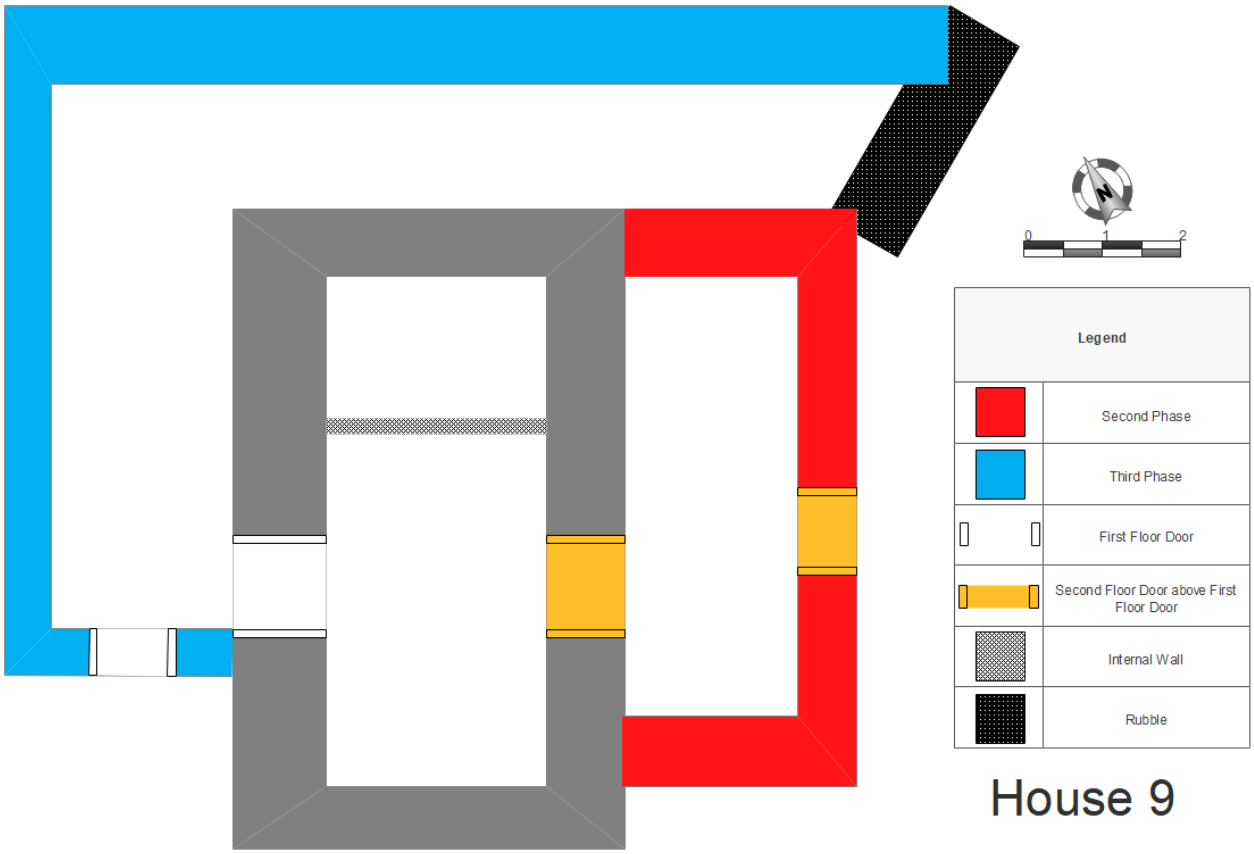
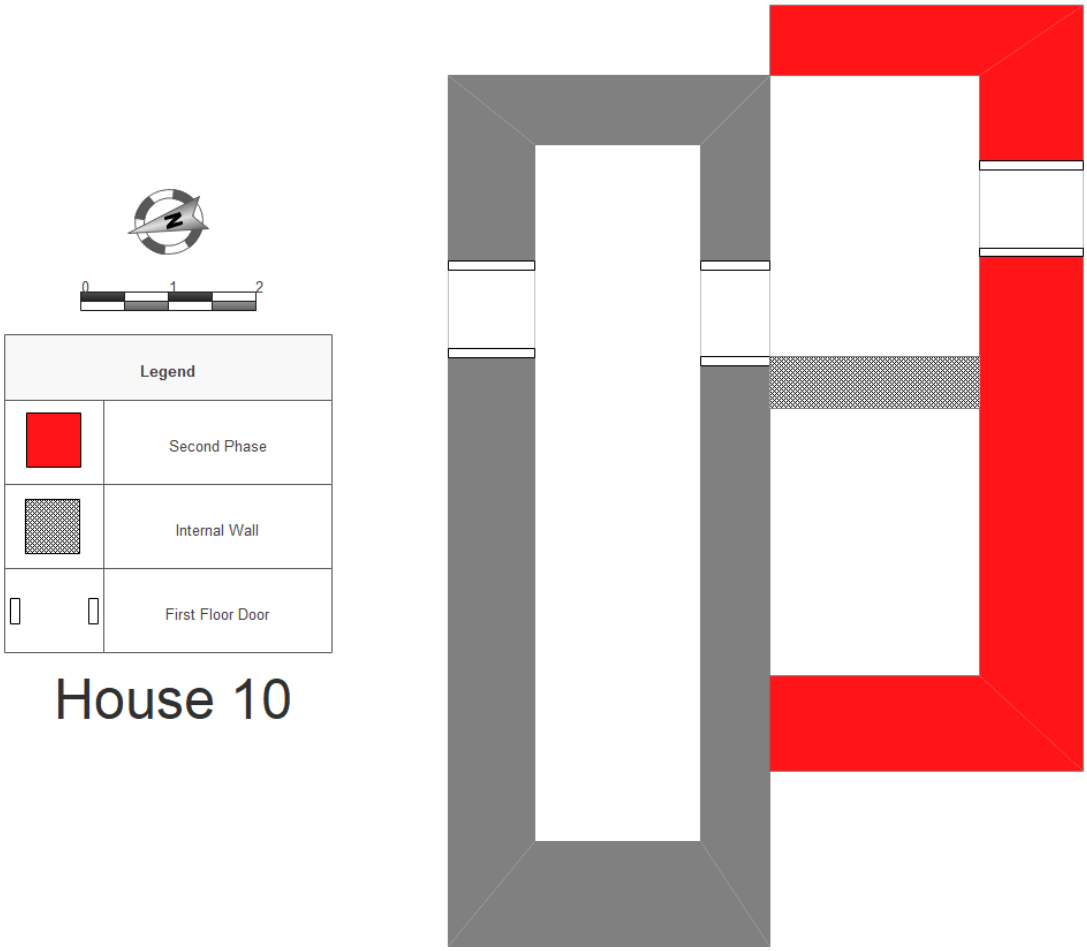

N
0
1
2
Legend
Second Phase
Third Phase
First Floor Door
Second Floor Door above First Floor Door
Internal Wall
Rubble
House 9

Figure 193: View of House 9 from southeast. (Photo: M. Pawlowski)

Figure 194: View of upper doorway from northwest. (Photo: M. Pawlowski)



House 10

Figure 195: View of House 10 from the west. (Photo: M. Pawlowski)

Figure 196: Construction of west wall with collapsed doorway in back. (Photo: M. Pawlowski)

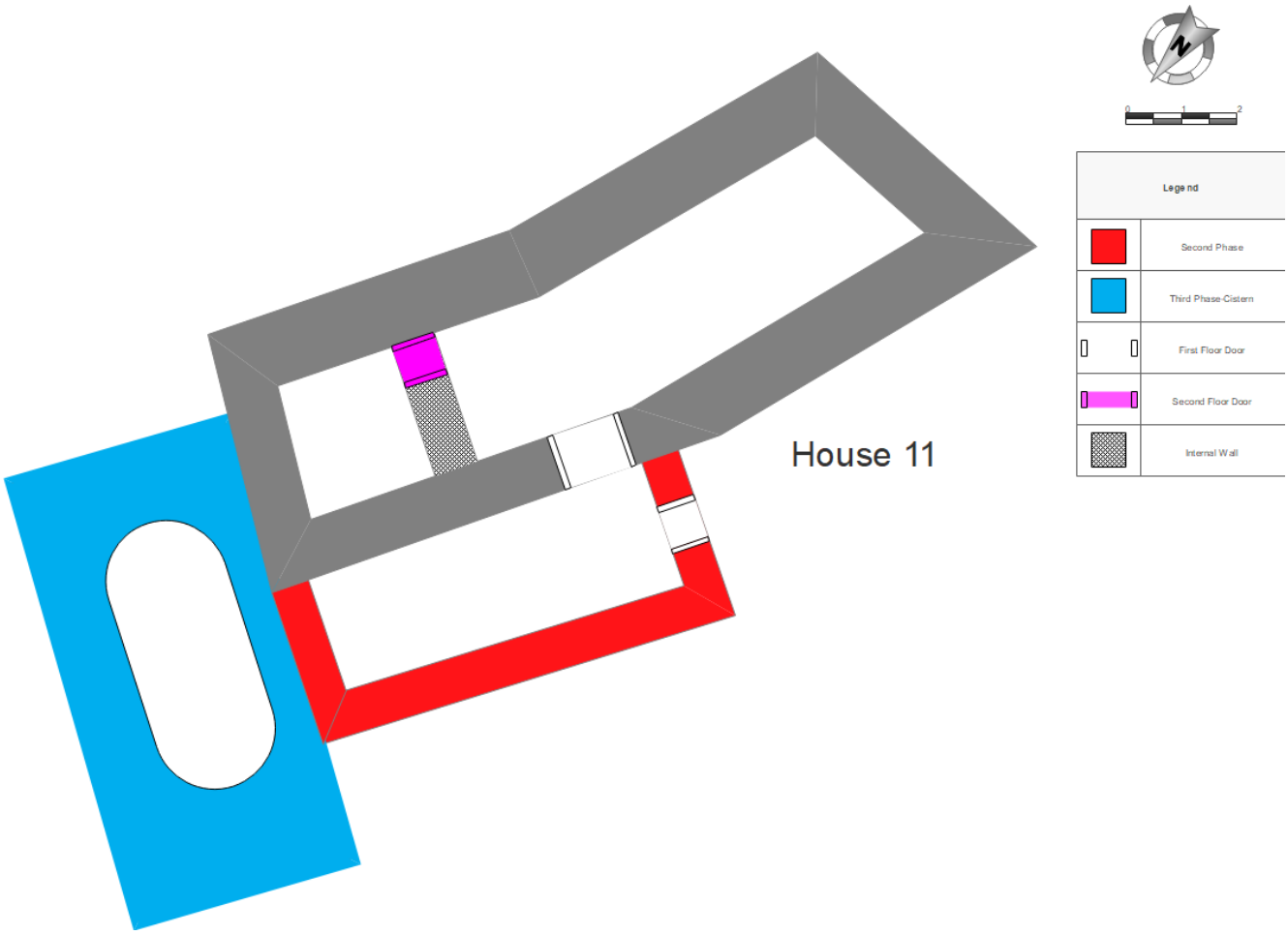
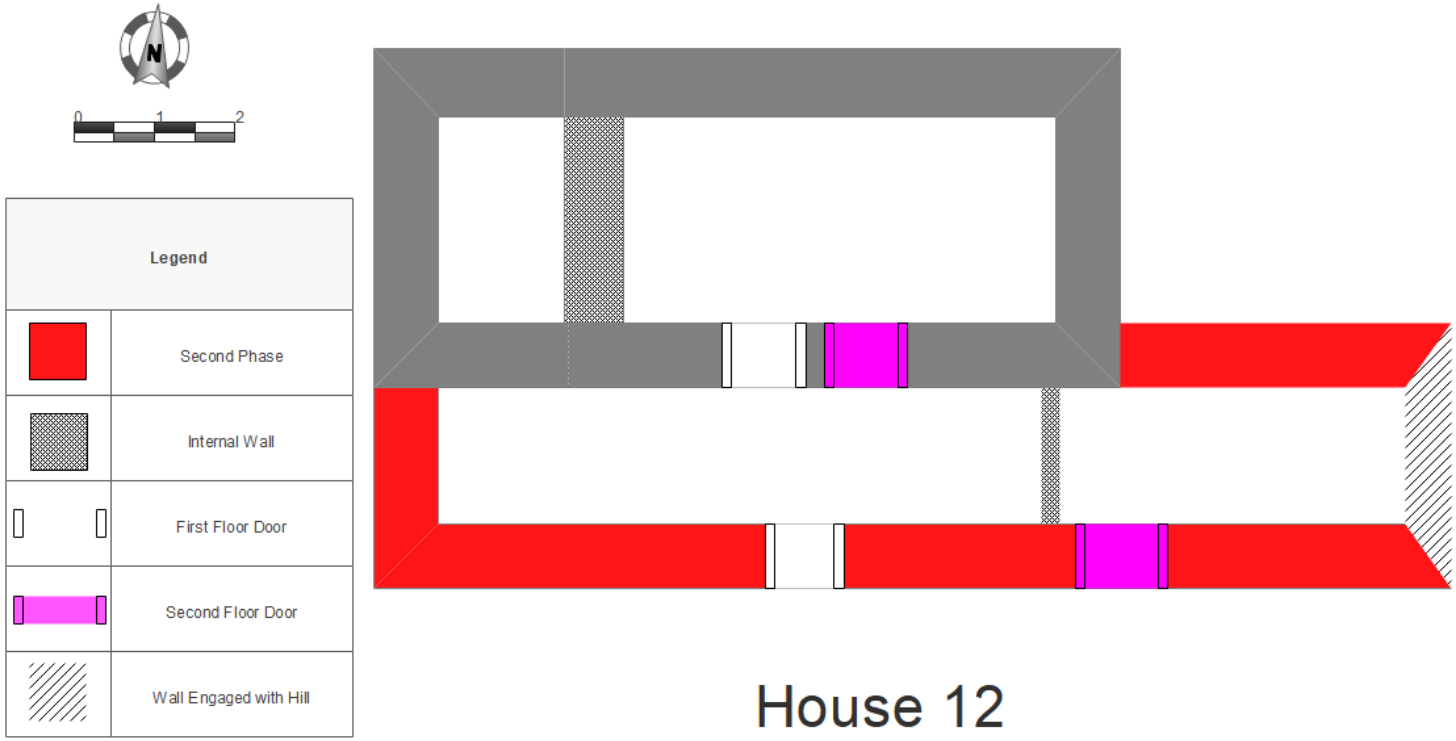

House 11
Legend
Second Phase
Third Phase-Cistern
First Floor Door
Second Floor Door
Internal Wall

Figure 197: View of House 11 from the north. (Photo: M. Pawlowski)

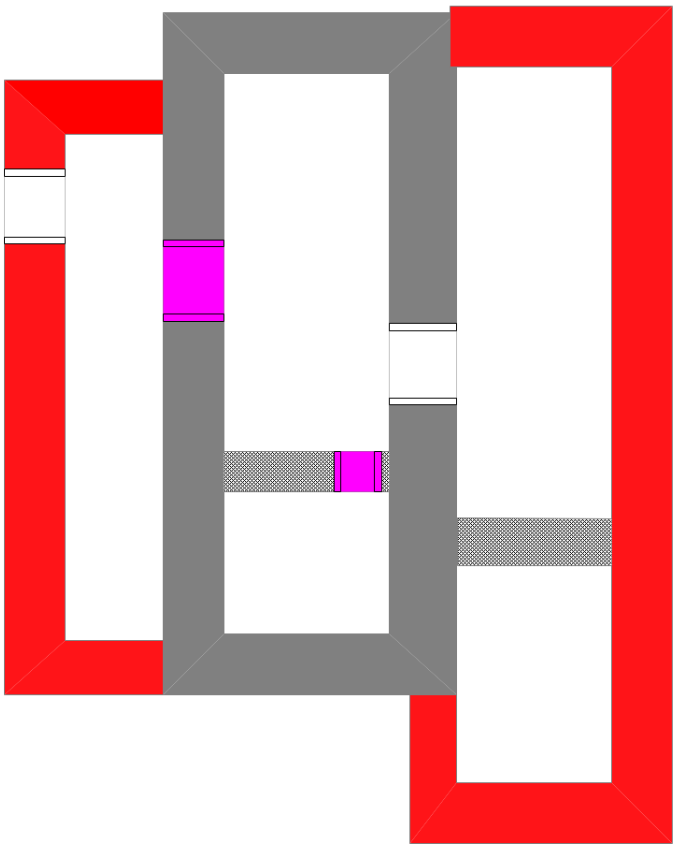
Figure 198: Upper doorway to House 11. (Photo: M. Pawlowski)

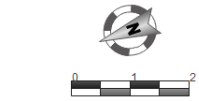

N
0
1
2
Legend
Second Phase
Internal Wall
First Floor Door
Second Floor Door
Wall Engaged with Hill

House 12

Figure 199: View of House 12 from the east. (Photo: M. Pawlowski)

Figure 200: View of addition to House 12 from the east. (Photo: M. Pawlowski)



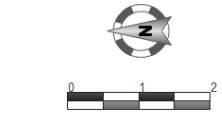


Legend	
	Second Phase
	Internal Wall
	First Floor Door
	Second Floor Door

House 13

Figure 201: View of House 13 from the east. (Photo: M. Pawlowski)

Figure 202: Interior, second floor doorway off House 13. (Photo: M. Pawlowski)



Legend	
	Second Phase
	Internal Wall
	First Floor Door
	Wall Engaged with Hill
	Therida

House 14

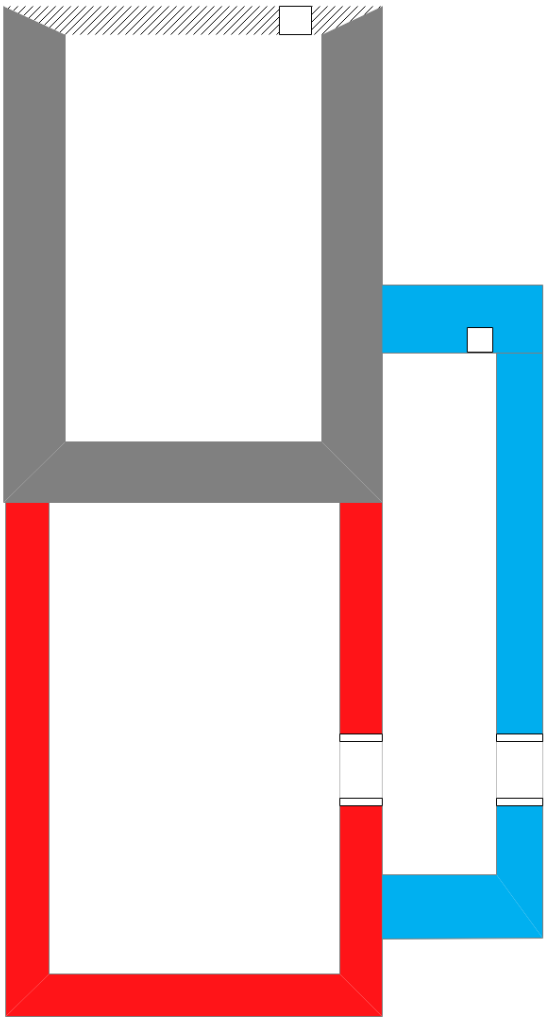
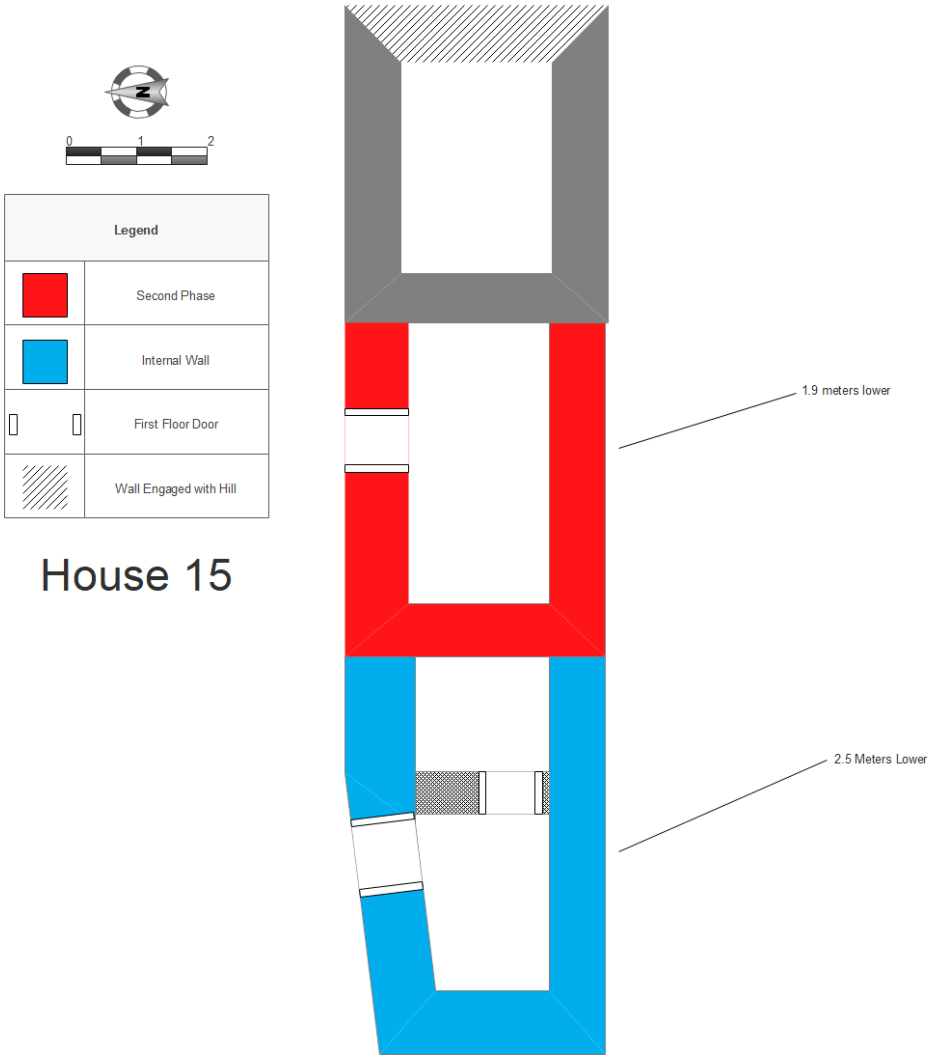


Figure 203: View of House 14 from the west. (Photo: M. Pawlowski)

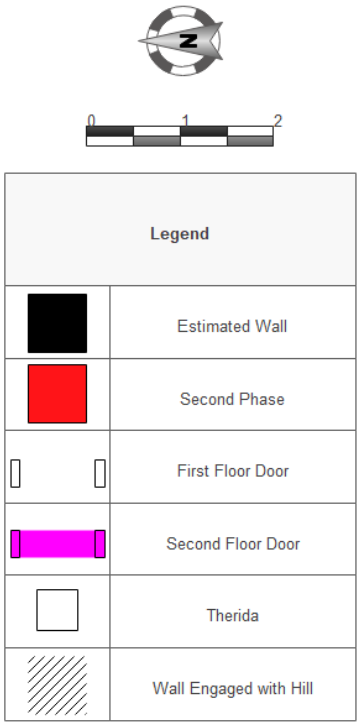
Figure 204: Therida in small addition to House 14. (Photo: M. Pawlowski)


N
0
1
2
Legend
Second Phase
Internal Wall
First Floor Door
Wall Engaged with Hill
1.9 meters lower
2.5 Meters Lower

House 15

Figure 205: View of House 15 from the west. (Photo: M. Pawlowski)

Figure 206: North doorway of House 15. (Photo: M. Pawlowski)


N
0
1
2
Legend
Estimated Wall
Second Phase
First Floor Door
Second Floor Door
Therida
Wall Engaged with Hill

House 16

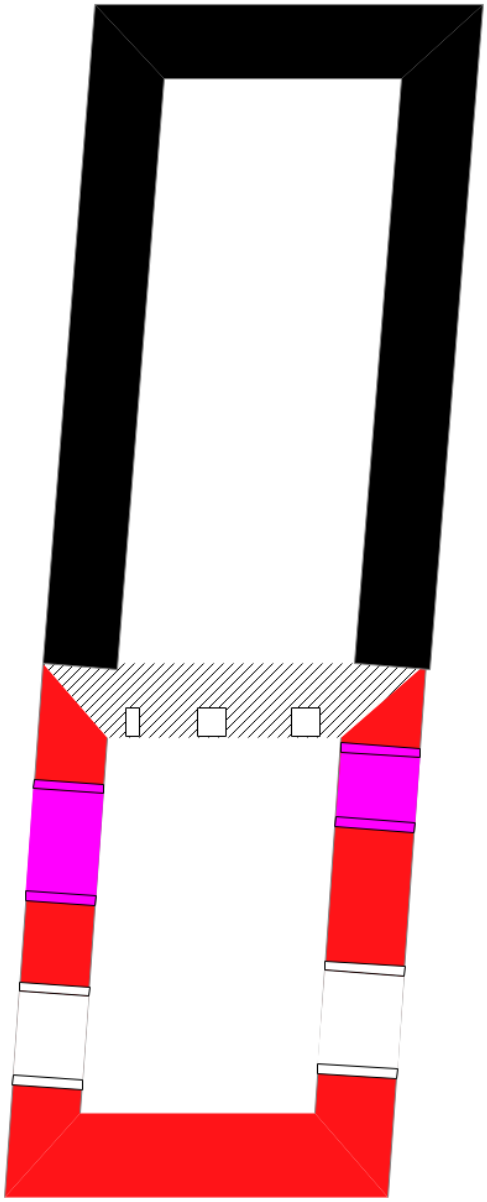


Figure 207: Interior of House 16 towards the south. (Photo: M. Pawlowski)

Figure 208: Therida in House 16. (Photo: M. Pawlowski)

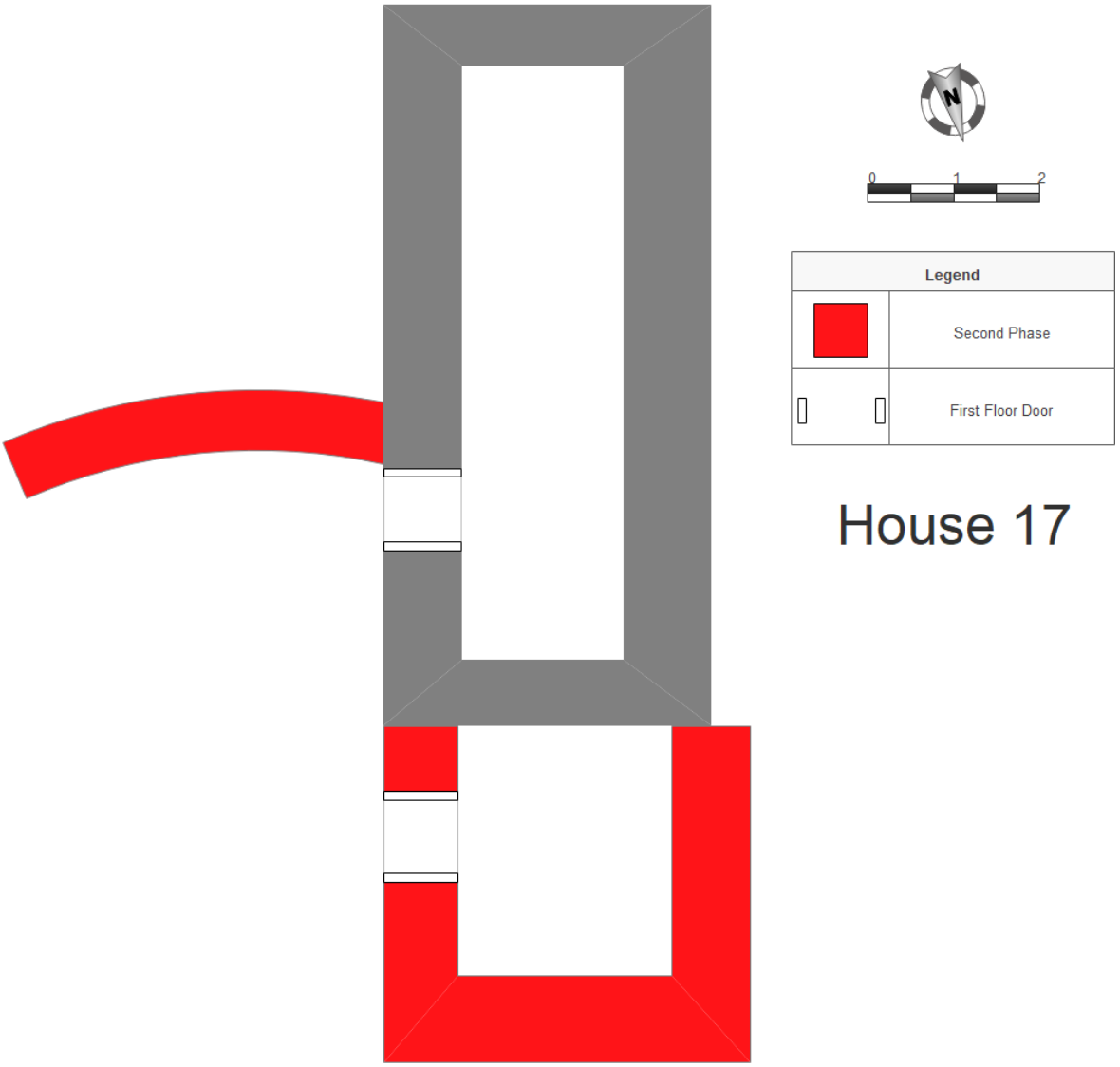
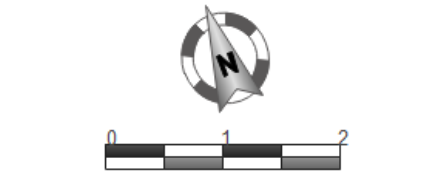

N
0
1
2
Legend
Second Phase
First Floor Door
House 17

Figure 209: View of House 17 from the north. (Photo: M. Palwowski)

Figure 210: View of addition towards the north. (Photo: M. Pawlowski)



Legend	
	Second Phase
	Unknown Thickness
	First Floor Door
	Second Floor Door

House 18

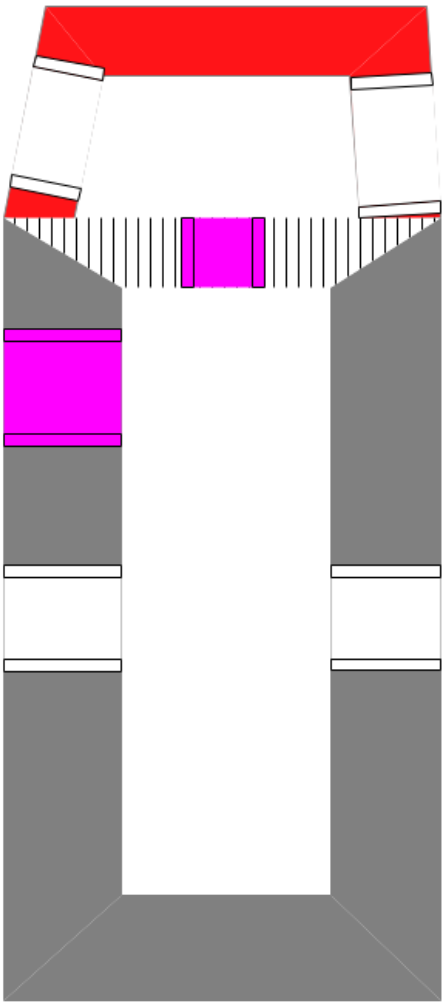


Figure 211: View of House 18 from the south. (Photo: M. Pawlowski)

Figure 212: Covered hall on north end of House 18. (Photo: M. Pawlowski)

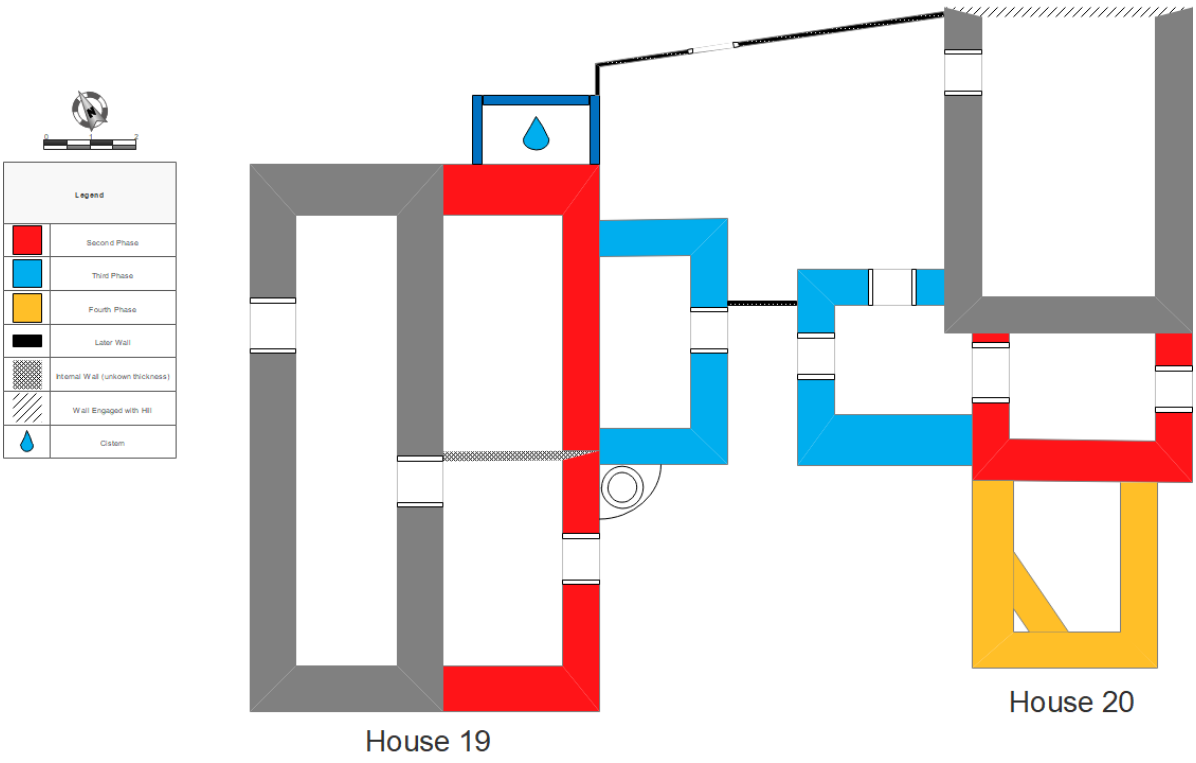
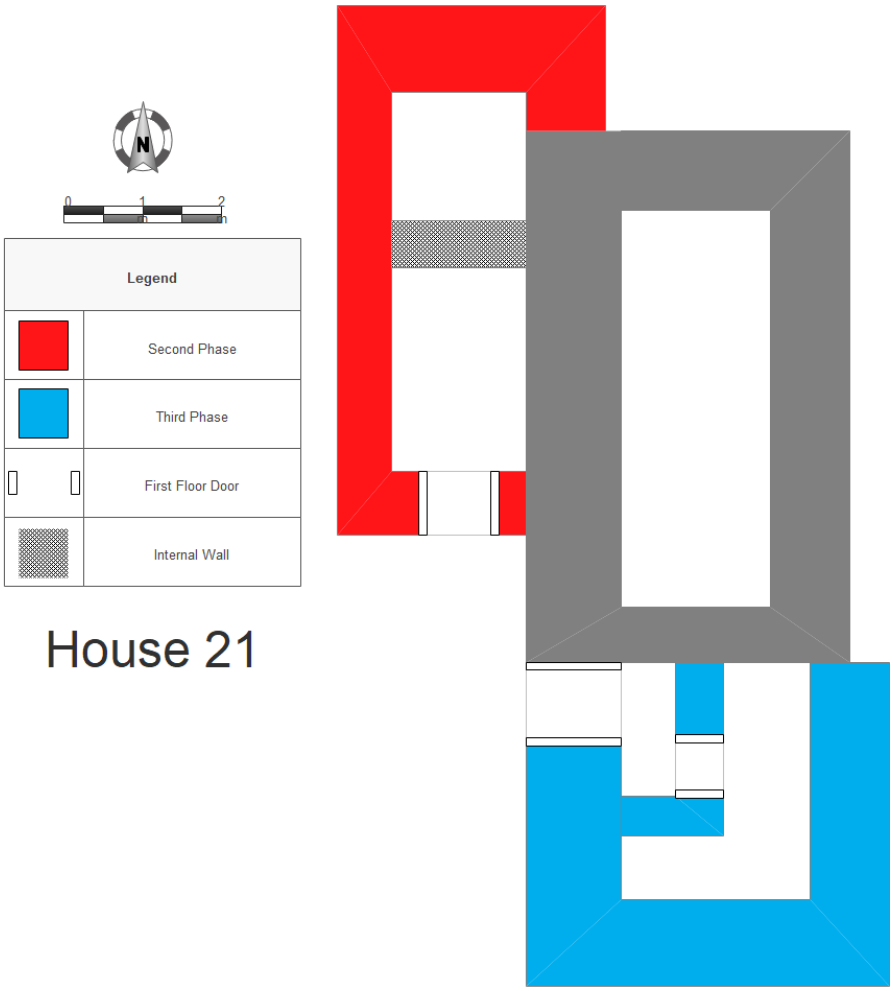

Legend
Second Phase
Third Phase
Fourth Phase
Later Wall
Internal Wall (unkown thickness)
Wall Engaged with Hill
Cistern
House 19
House 20

Figure 213: View of House 20 from the west. (Photo: M. Pawlowski)

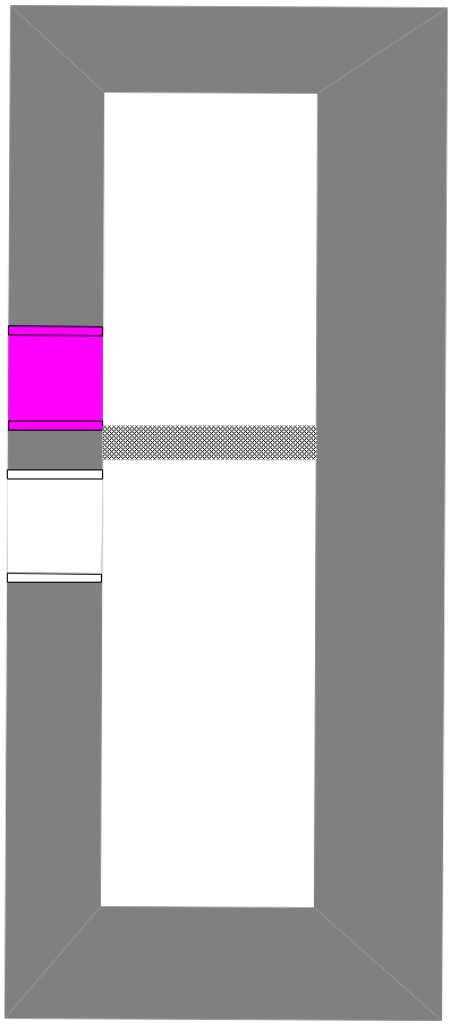
Figure 214: View of House 19 from the east. (Photo: M. Pawlowski)

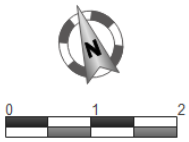

N
0
1
2
m
Legend
Second Phase
Third Phase
First Floor Door
Internal Wall

House 21

Figure 215: View of House 21 from the north. (Photo: M. Pawlowski)

Figure 216: Internal doorway in third phase of House 21. (Photo: M. Pawlowski)





Legend	
	First Floor Door
	Second Floor Door
	Internal Wall (unkown thickness)

House 22

Figure 217: View of House 22 from the north. (Photo: M. Pawlowski)

Figure 218: Upper and lower doorways of House 22. (Photo: M. Pawlowski)

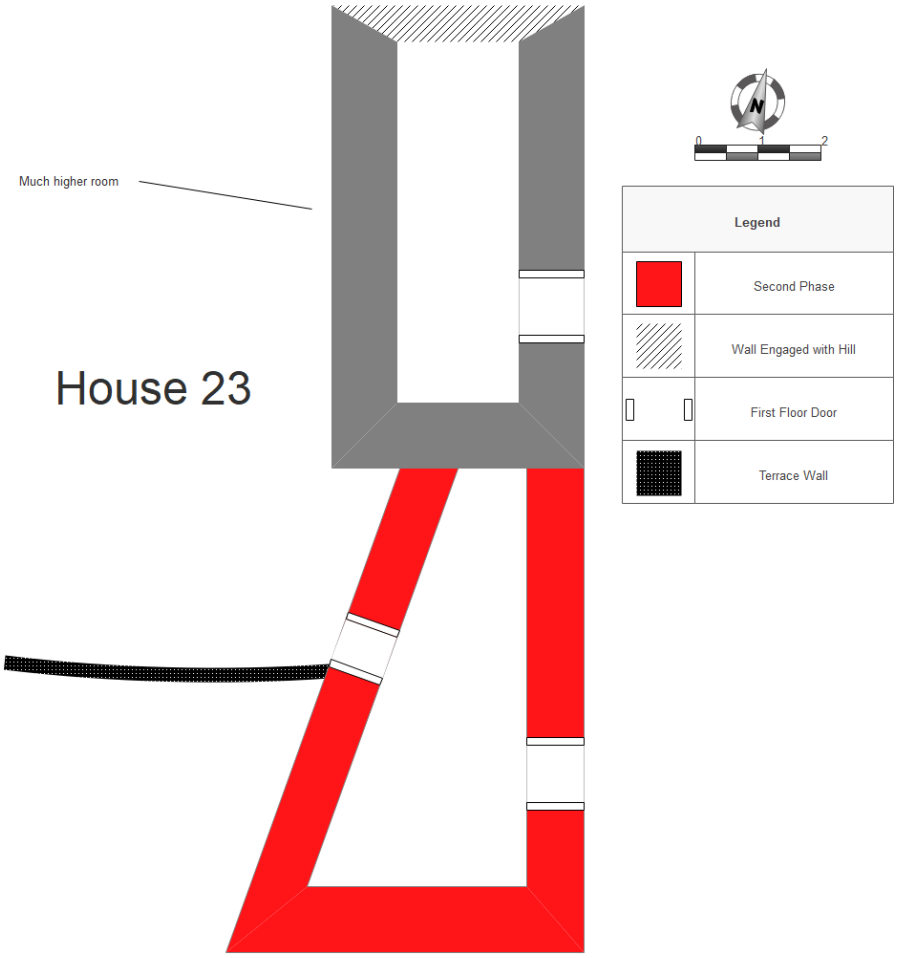
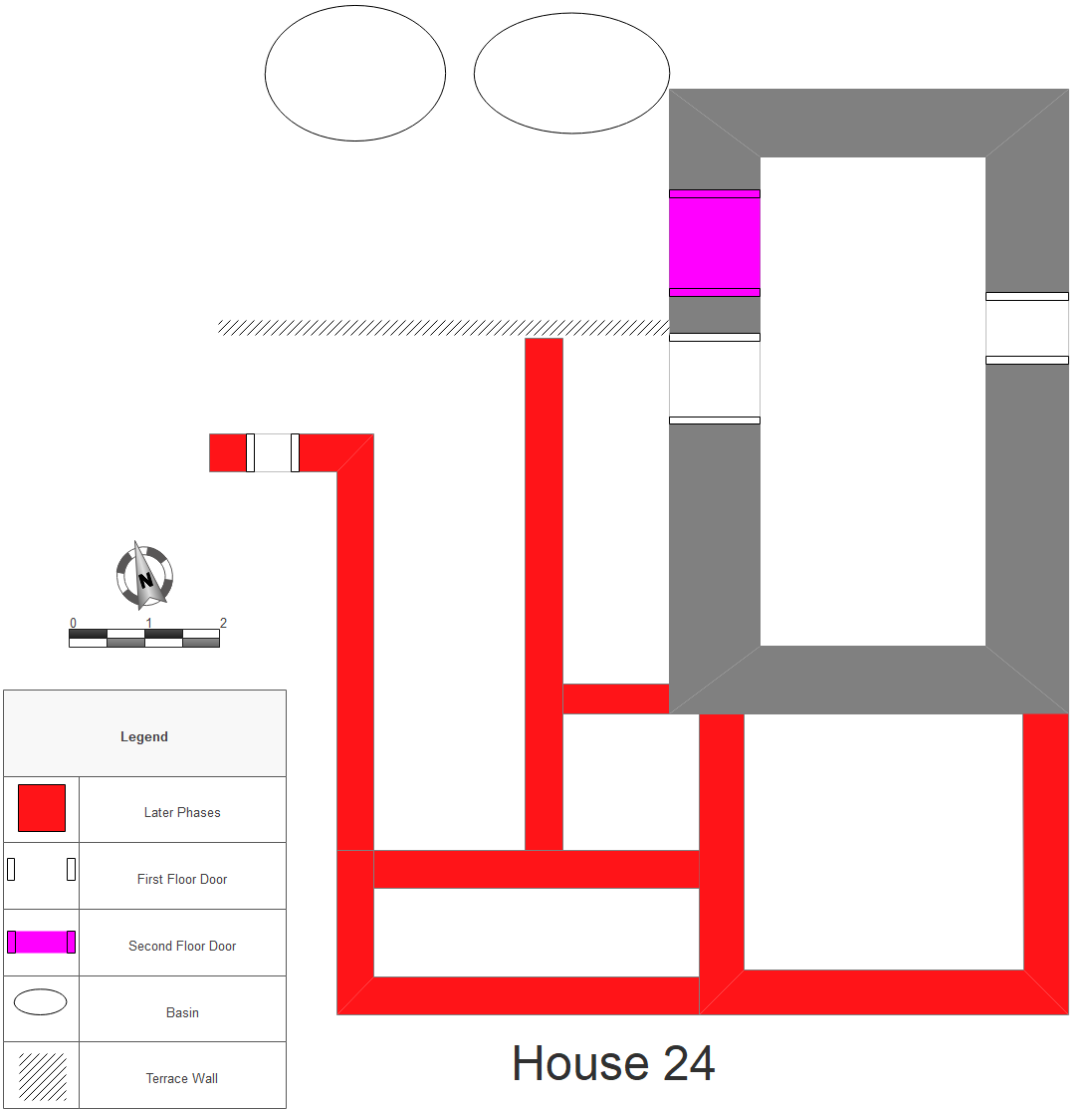

Much higher room
House 23
N
0
1
2
Legend
Second Phase
Wall Engaged with Hill
First Floor Door
Terrace Wall

Figure 219: First phase doorway of House 23. (Photo: M. Pawlowski)

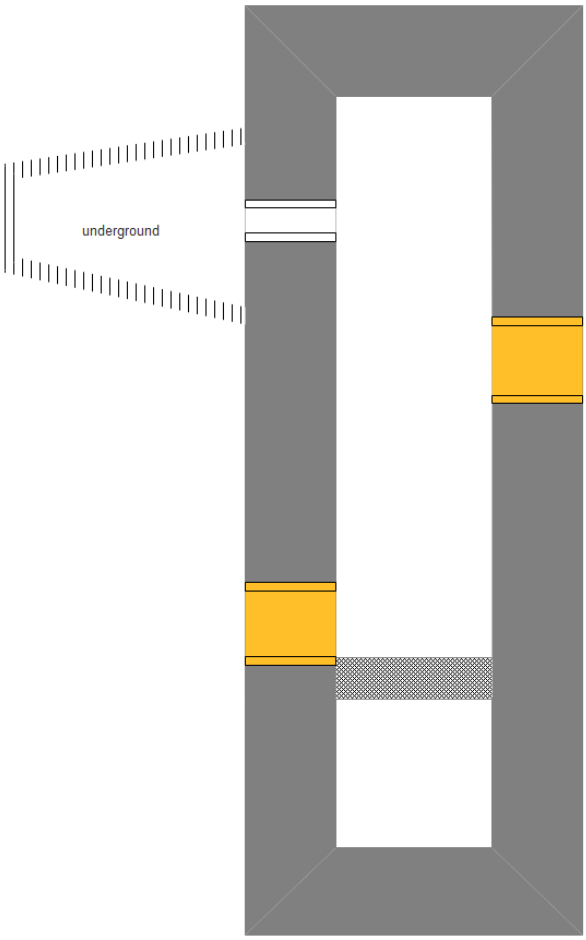
Figure 220: West door of second phase of House 23. (Photo: M. Pawlowski)


N
0
1
2
Legend
Later Phases
First Floor Door
Second Floor Door
Basin
Terrace Wall

House 24

Figure 221: Second floor doorway to House 24. (Photo: M. Pawlowski)

Figure 222: View of southern additions to House 24 from the west. (Photo: M. Pawlowski)

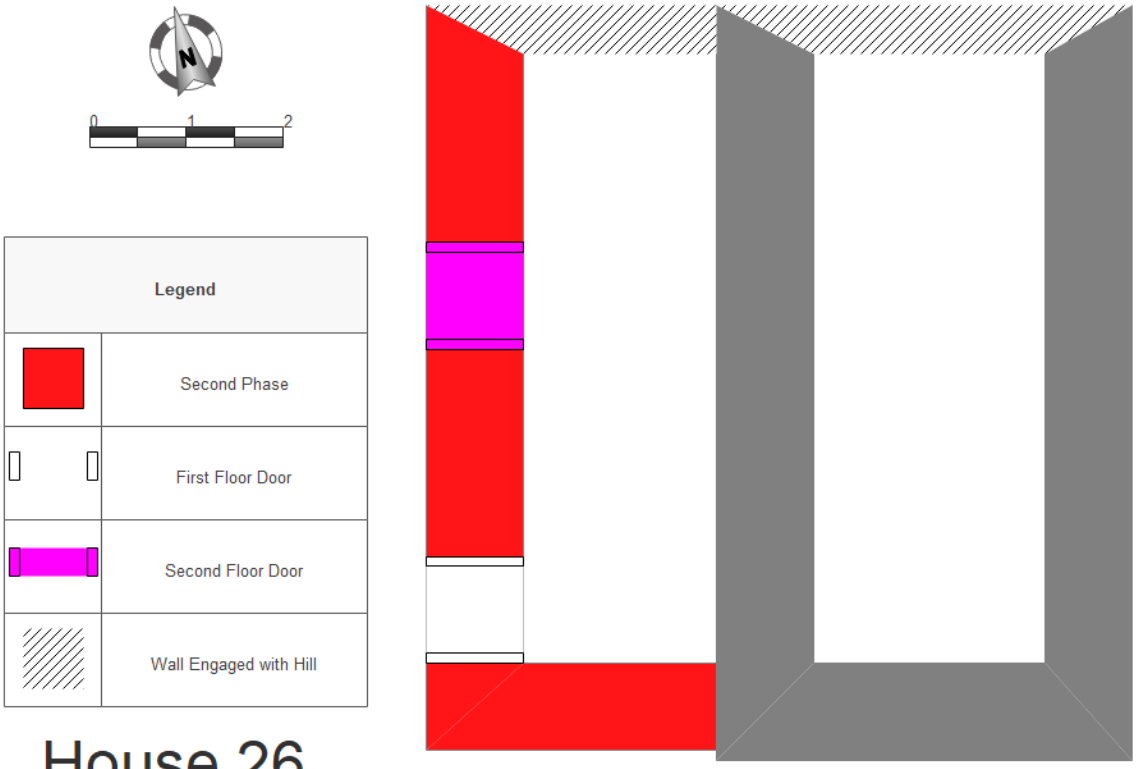


Legend	
	Later Phases
	Second Floor Door above First Floor Door
	First Floor Door
	Interior Wall
	Underground Room (extent unclear)

House 25

Figure 223: View of House 25 from the south. (Photo: M. Pawlowski)

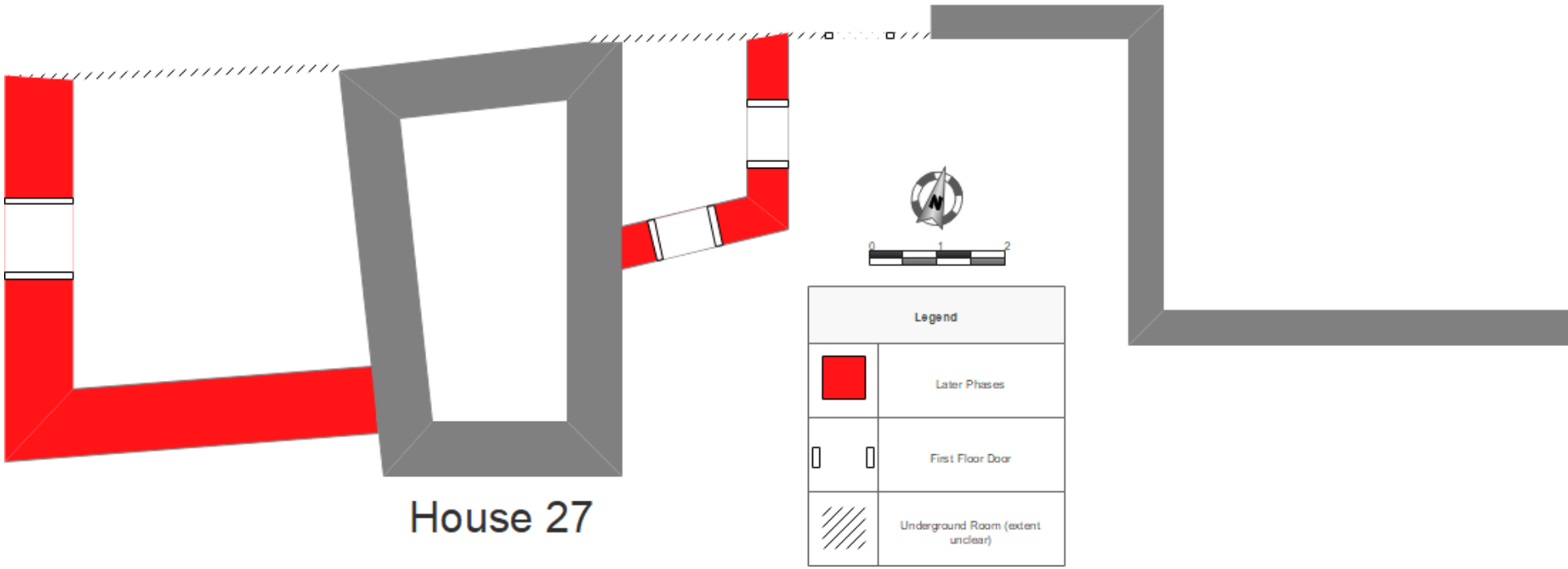
Figure 224: Second floor doorway in eastern wall of House 25. (Photo: M. Pawlowski)


N
0
1
2
Legend
Second Phase
First Floor Door
Second Floor Door
Wall Engaged with Hill

House 26

Figure 225: South wall of first phase of House 26. (Photo: M. Pawlowski)

Figure 226: Preserved ceiling to addition of House 26 from the south. (Photo: M. Pawlowski)


0
1
2
Legend
Later Phases
First Floor Door
Underground Room (extent unclear)

House 27

Figure 227: Western doorway to House 27. (Photo: M. Pawlowski)

Figure 228: Preserved room of House 27. (Photo: M. Pawlowski)

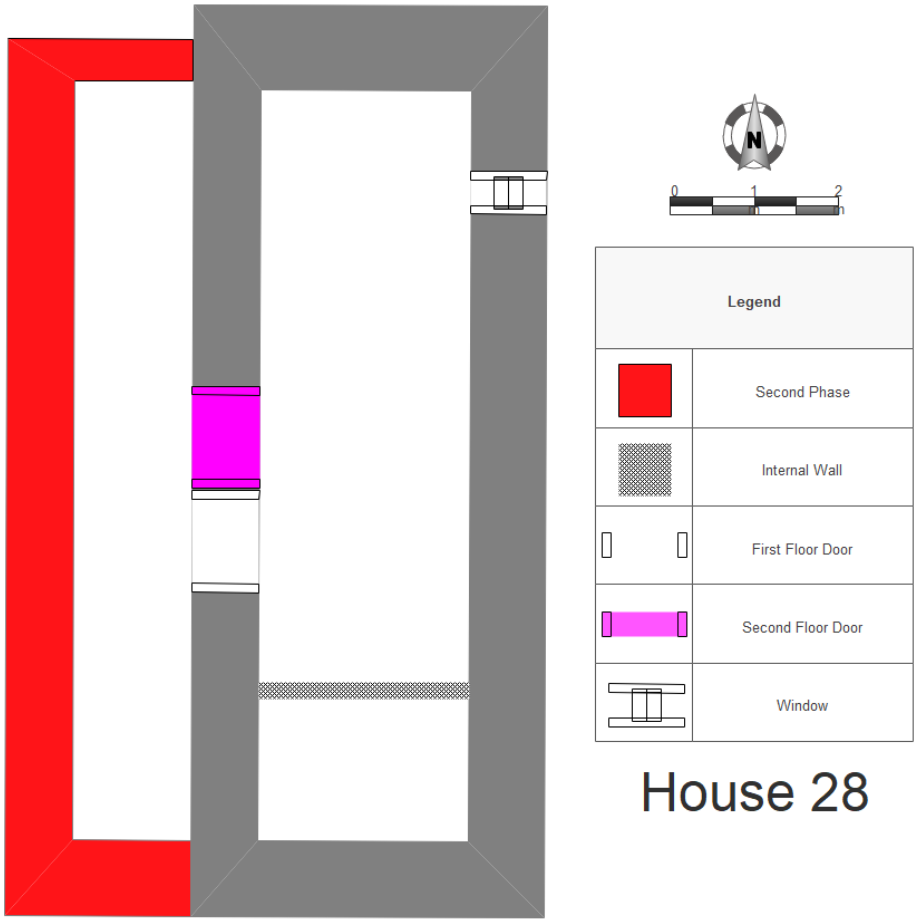
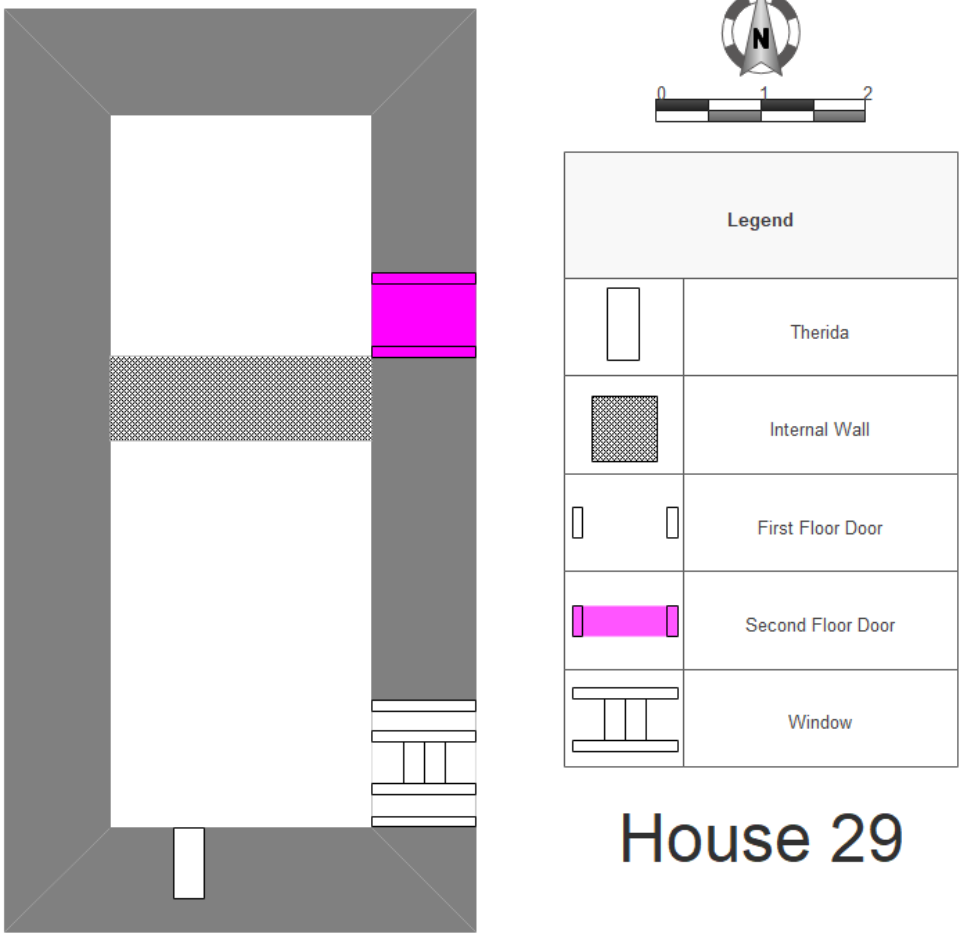

N
0
1
2
Legend
Second Phase
Internal Wall
First Floor Door
Second Floor Door
Window
House 28

Figure 229: View of House 28 from the west. (Photo: M. Pawlowski)

Figure 230: View of House 28 from the north. (Photo: M. Pawlowski)


N
0
1
2
Legend
Therida
Internal Wall
First Floor Door
Second Floor Door
Window

House 29

Figure 231: View of House 29 from the north. (Photo: M. Pawlowski)

Figure 232: Lower doorway of House 29. (Photo: M. Pawlowski)

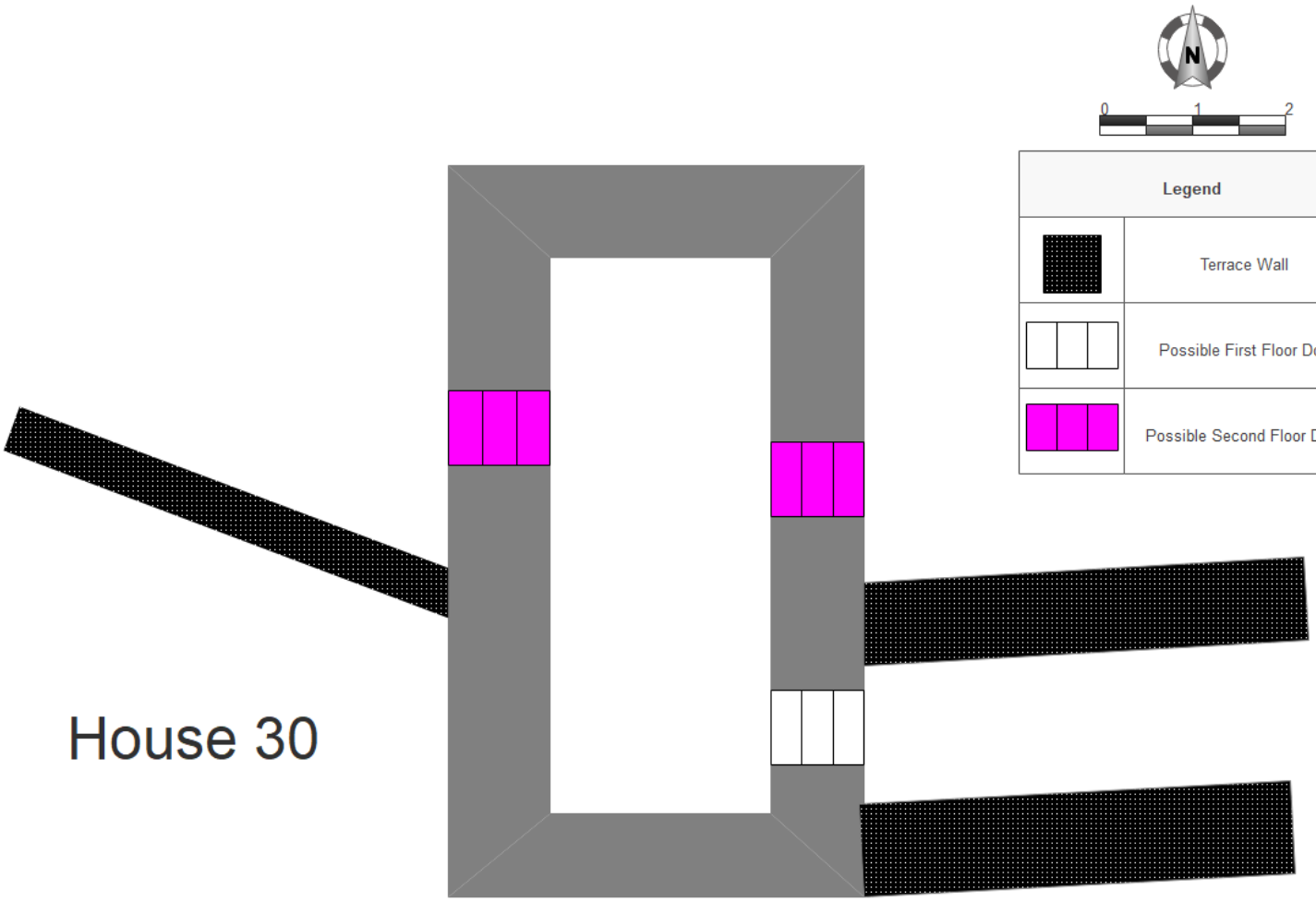
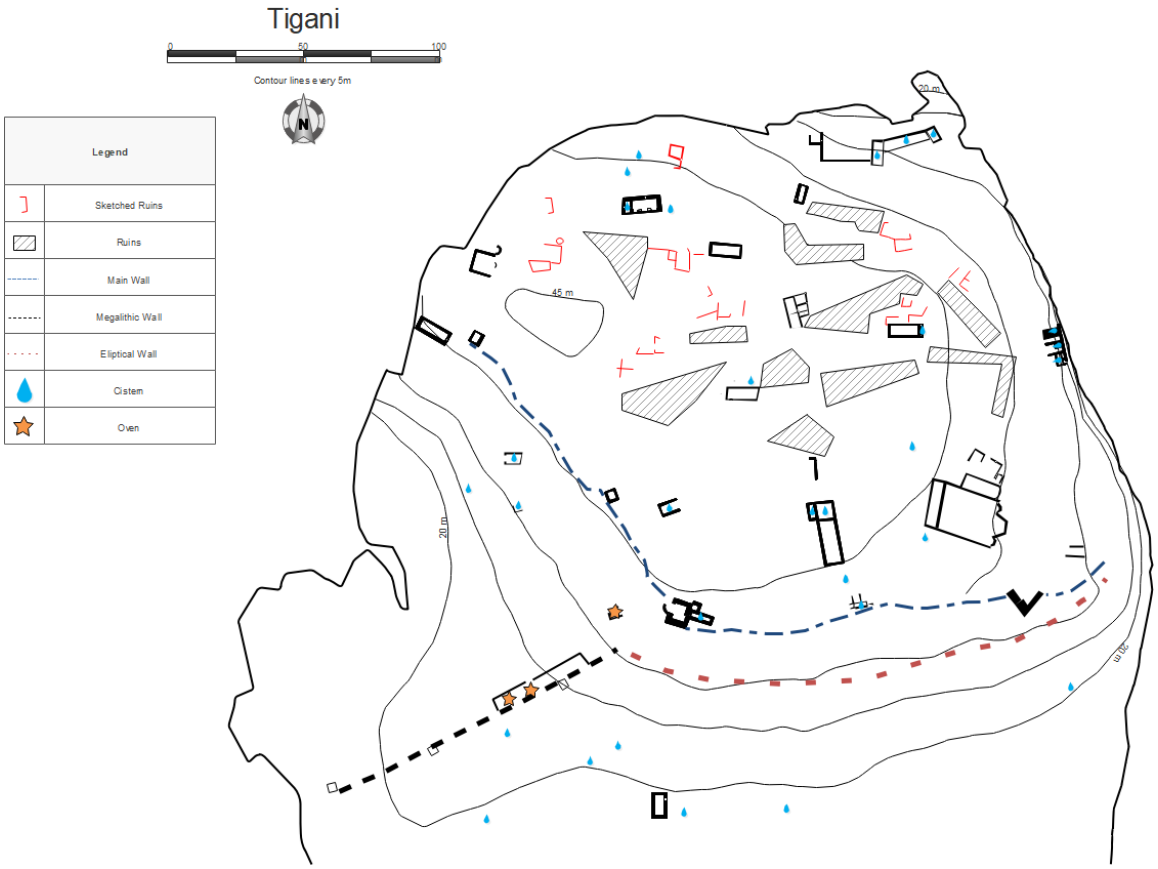

N
0
1
2
Legend
Terrace Wall
Possible First Floor Doo
Possible Second Floor Do
House 30

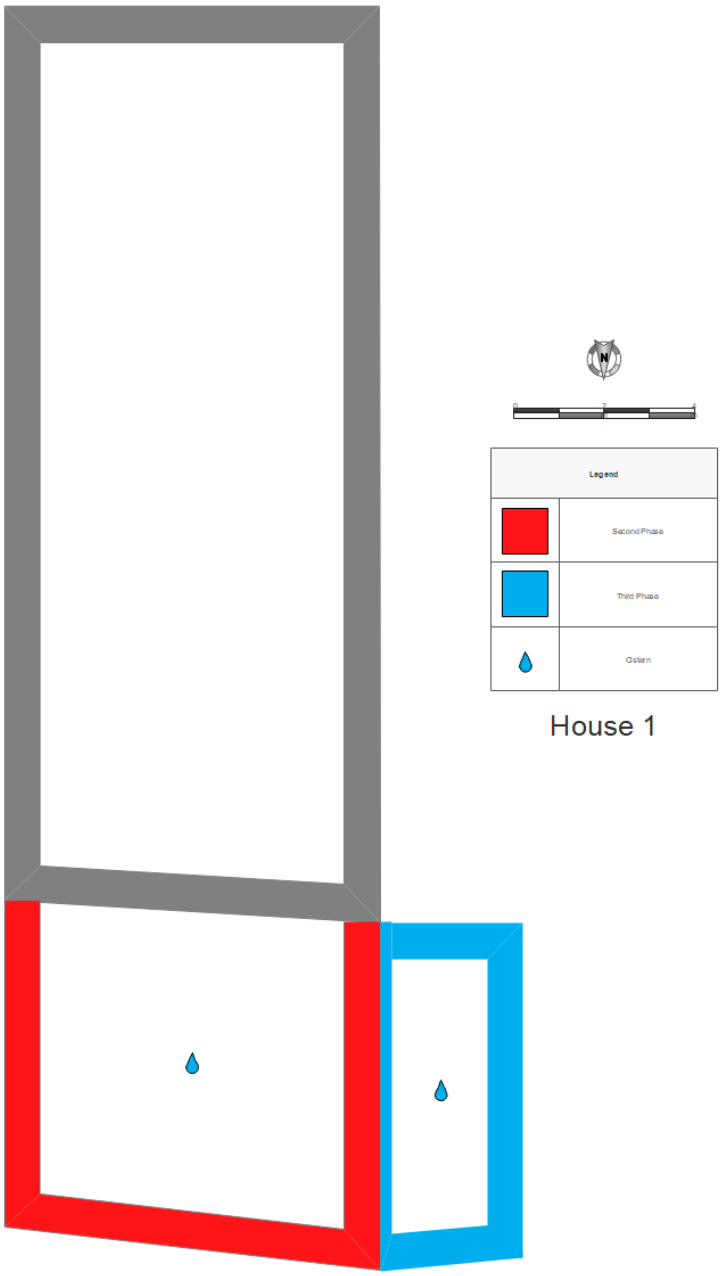
Figure 233: View of House 30 from the north. (Photo: M. Pawlowski)

Figure 234: Makronia in situ on House 30. (Photo: M. Pawlowski)

Table 3: Tigani Houses

House #	Location	Additions	Unique Features
1	South	Small cistern	Brick and ceramic used in masonry
2	Middle		
3	East	Small cistern	Surrounded by ruins
4	North	Small cistern and internal cistern	Piers, later internal cistern, three windows
5	Northeast	1, Large building attached to east	Arrow slit and potential sea access
6	North	None	Internal cistern
7	Southeast	2, southeast and west	Collection of small rooms


Tigani
0
50
100
Contour lines every 5m
N
Legend
Sketched Ruins
Ruins
Main Wall
Megalithic Wall
Elliptical Wall
Cistern
Oven
45 m
20 m



House 1

Figure 235: View of House 1 from the northeast. (Photo: M. Pawlowski)

Figure 236: Cistern attached to north wall of House 1. (Photo: M. Pawlowski)

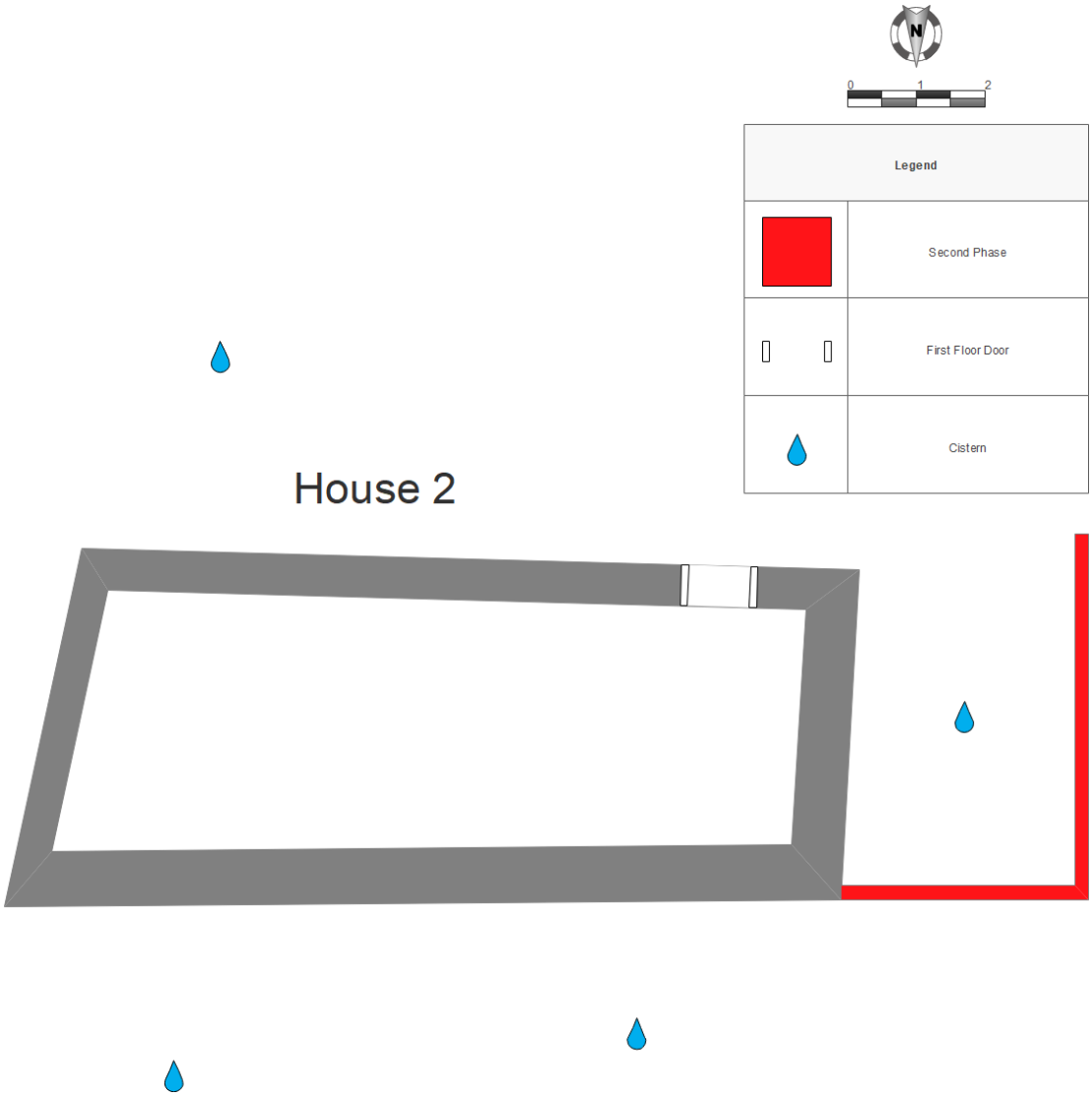

N
0
1
2
Legend
Second Phase
First Floor Door
Cistern
House 2

Figure 237: View of House 2 from the east. (Photo: M. Pawlowski)

Figure 238: Detail of masonry from House 2. (Photo: M. Pawlowski)

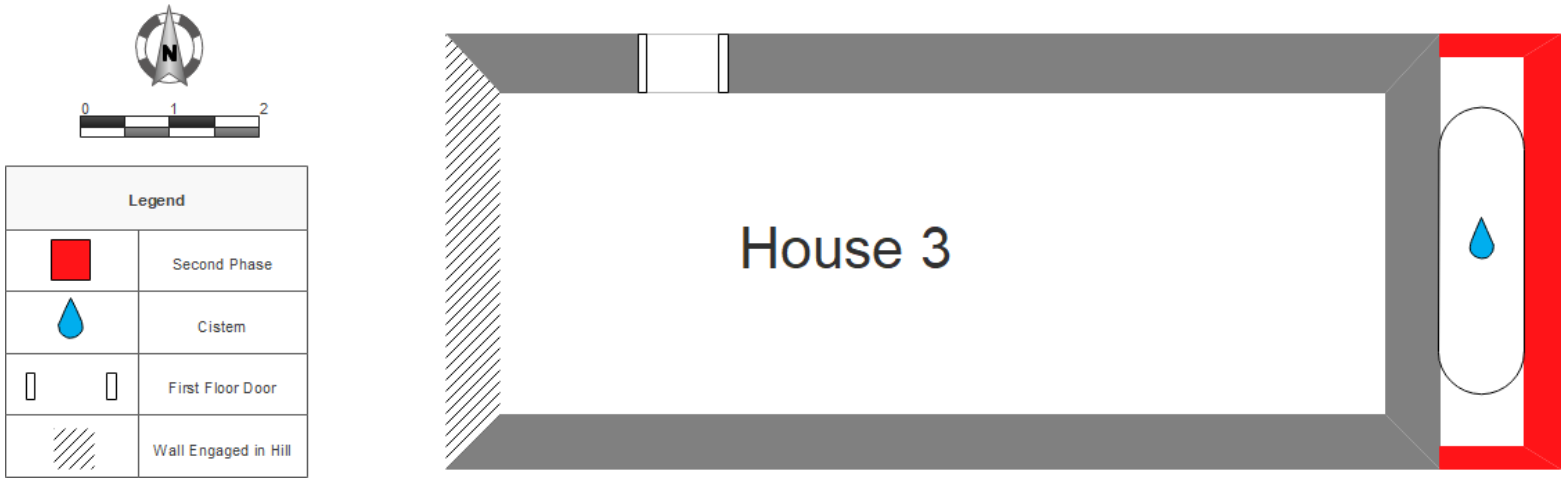

N
0
1
2
Legend
Second Phase
Cistem
First Floor Door
Wall Engaged in Hill
House 3

Figure 239: View of interior of House 3 from the west. (Photo: M. Pawlowski)

Figure 240: View of cistern from south. (Photo: M. Pawlowski)

House 4

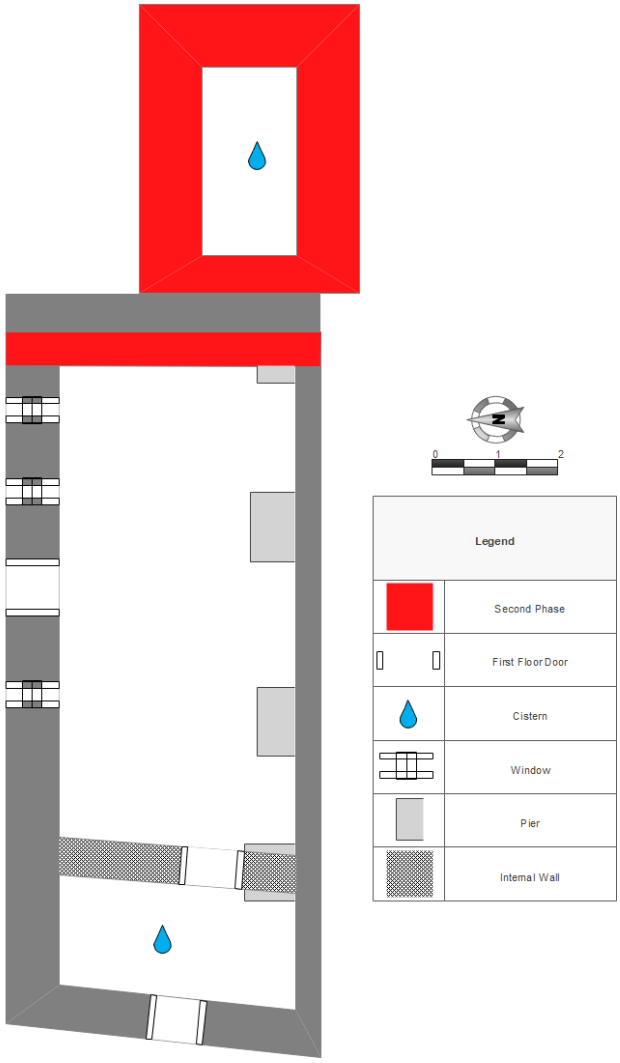

N
0
1
2
Legend
Second Phase
First Floor Door
Cistern
Window
Pier
Internal Wall

Figure 241: View of interior of House 4 from the west. (Photo: M. Pawlowski)

Figure 242: Cistern attached to House 4. (Photo: M. Pawlowski)

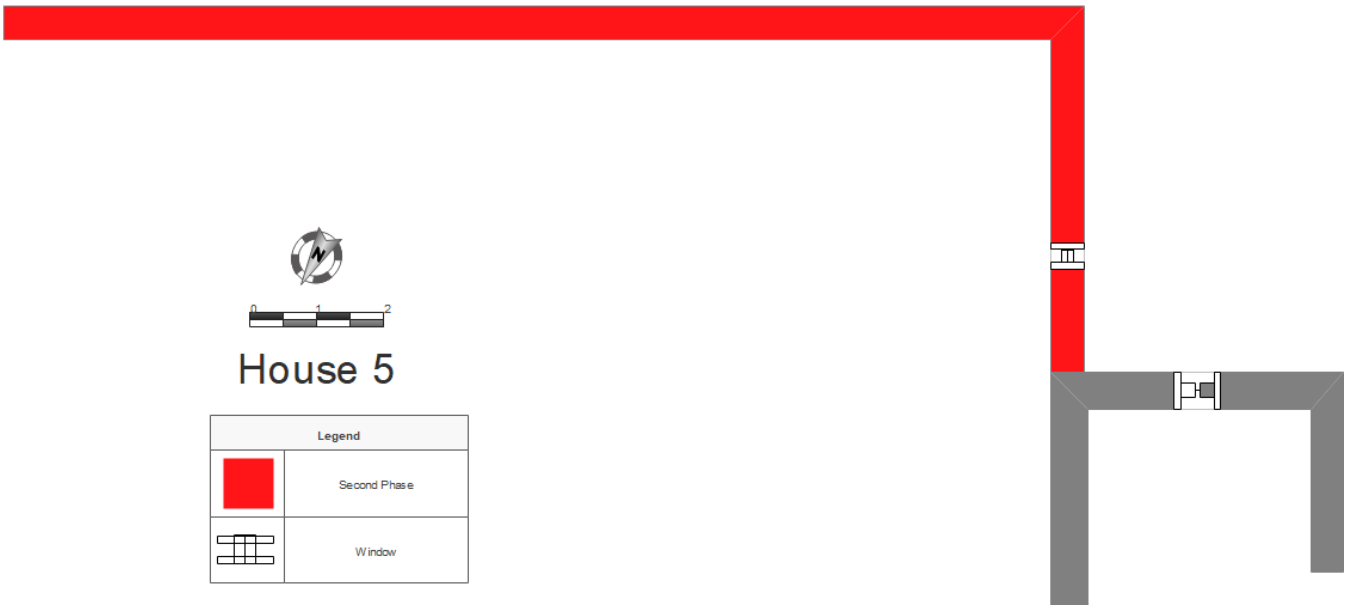
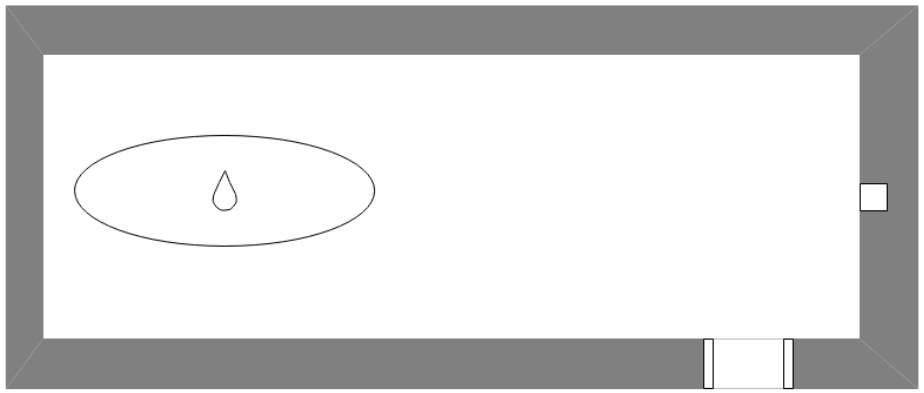
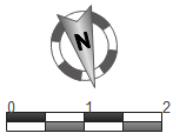

0
1
2
House 5
Legend
Second Phase
Window

Figure 243: View of first phase of House 5 from the north. (Photo: M. Pawlowski)

Figure 244: View of second phase of House 5 from the northwest. (Photo: M. Pawlowski)



House 6



Legend	
	Potential Cistern or Storage
	First Floor Door
	Therida

Figure 245: Interior of House 6 from the north. (Photo: M. Pawlowski)

Figure 246: View of House 6 from the east. (Photo: M. Pawlowski)

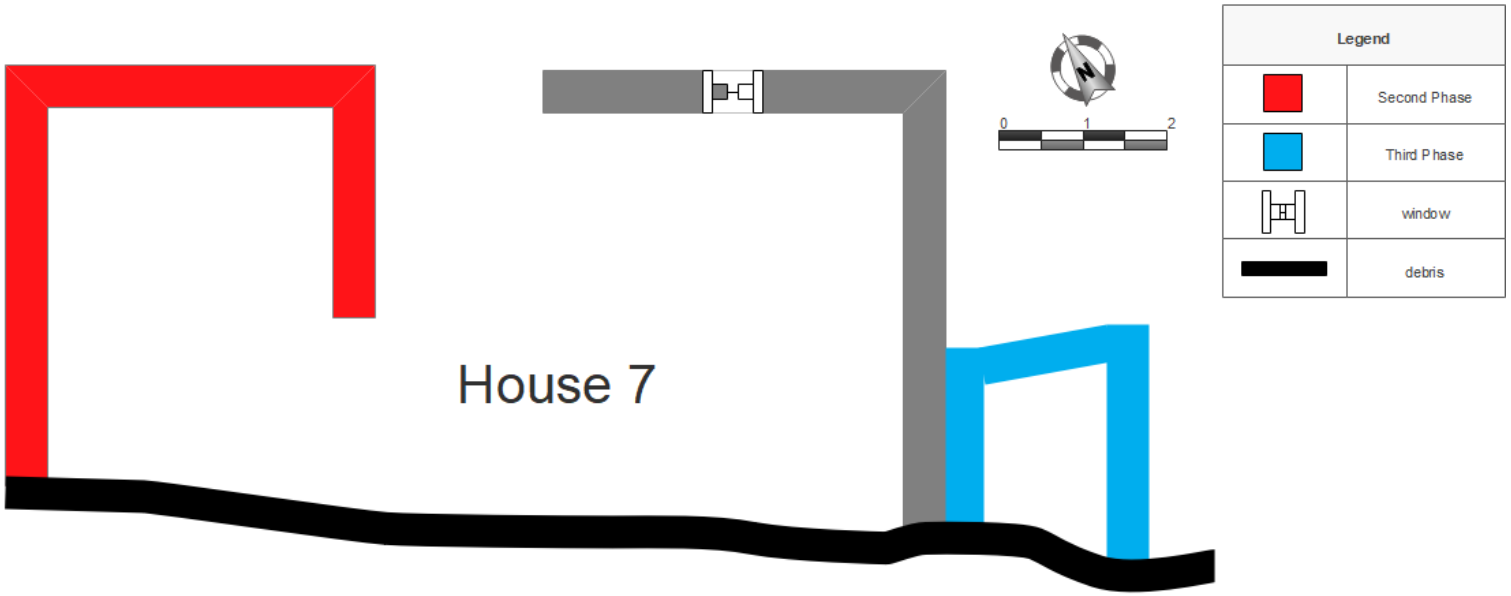

House 7
N
0
1
2
Legend
Second Phase
Third Phase
window
debris

Figure 247: View of House 7 from the south. (Photo: M. Pawlowski)

Figure 248: Walls of different phases and window. (Photo: M. Pawlowski)

Appendix B

Table 1: Sarania first phase house size

House	Area m^2 Ground	Area m^2 Second	Total Area
1	20*	20.02	40.02
2	22*	24.29	46.29
3	11.21	16.91	28.12
4	unknown	23.24	
5	12.1	32.85*	44.95
6	32*	35.03	67.03
7		29.76	
8	unknown	14	
9	27.6	31.45	59.12
10	unknown	unknown	
11	10.56		
12	16.9*	36.62	53.52
13		34.56	
14		21.2	
15	unknown	unknown	
16	unknown	unknown	
17	8.61	unknown	
18	unknown	unknown	
Average	14.016	26.09818182	48.435714

Table 2: Marathos first phase house size

House	Area m^2 Ground	Area m^2 Second	Total Area
1	14	19.4	33.4
2	10.67*	14.47	25.14
3	22.53*	23.38	45.91
4	11.62*	15.07	26.69
5	13.68	14.4	28.08
6	15.75	17.9	33.65
7	?	14.19*	
8	14.08*	15.95*	30.03
9	12.6*	17.64	30.24
10	15.2	17.6	32.8
11	21.57	27.07	48.64
12	13.11	15.87	28.98
13	13.72	20.34	34.06
14	omitted		
15	omitted		
16	omitted		
17	13.11		
18	9.72	12.48	22.22
19	?	21.56	
20		23.18	
21	?	9.5	
22	?	28.35	
23	8.5		
24	?	19.5	
25	12.92	16.34	29.26
26	?	15.12	
27			
28	?	22.5	
29	9.25	15	24.25
30	10.44		
Average	12.98133333	18.41285714	31.55667

Table 3: Tigani house size

House	Area m^2 Ground	Area m^2 Second	Total Area
1	100*	122.61	222.61
2	37.8*	37.8	75.6
3	35.64	35.64	71.28
4	36.84	39.71	76.55
5	86.35	?	
6	29.44	unknown	
7	unknown	unknown	
Average	47.0675	58.94	111.51

Table 4: Averages of the three settlements in this dissertation and other examples.

Settlement	Ground Floor	Second Floor	Total	
Marathos	12.98	18.41	31.56	
Sarania	14.02	26.1	48.43	
Tigani	47.07	58.94	111.51	74.48 without 1
Panakton House I*	18.9	19.8	38.7	
Panakton House II	10.64	18.81	29.45	
Panakton House III	8.8			
Panakton House IV	11.82**	15.04	26.86	
Average	12.54	17.8833	31.67	
Big House Ano Poula	15.6	20.13	35.73	
Santomeri House	8.96	16.5	25.46	
Geraki House 2	19.75	19.75	39.5	
Geraki House 16	12.28	15.43	27.71	
Geraki House 13	22.47	22.47	44.94	
Geraki House 8	15.45	17.7	33.15	
Average	17.4875	18.8375	36.325	
Laskaris House, Mystras Phase A	39.61	39.61	79.22	

*: The houses at Panakton are a single floor. The first floor measurement for these houses reflects storage areas that were confirmed during excavation.
**: This measurement is the total of both small storage rooms in the house, which may have originally been a single room.

Table 5: Integration measurements for Sarania

Space	MD	RA
Outside	2.75	0.233
1	2.875	0.25
2	2.125	0.15
3	2.938	0.258
4	2.313	0.175
5	3.25	0.3
6	1.875	0.117
7	1.813	0.108
8	2.25	0.167
9	3.438	0.325
10	2.313	0.175
11	3	0.267
12	2.125	0.15
13	2.438	0.192
14	2.5	0.2
15	3.438	0.325
16	3.438	0.325
Avg	2.639941	0.218647
RRA		0.898

Table 6: Integration measurements for old layout of Sarania

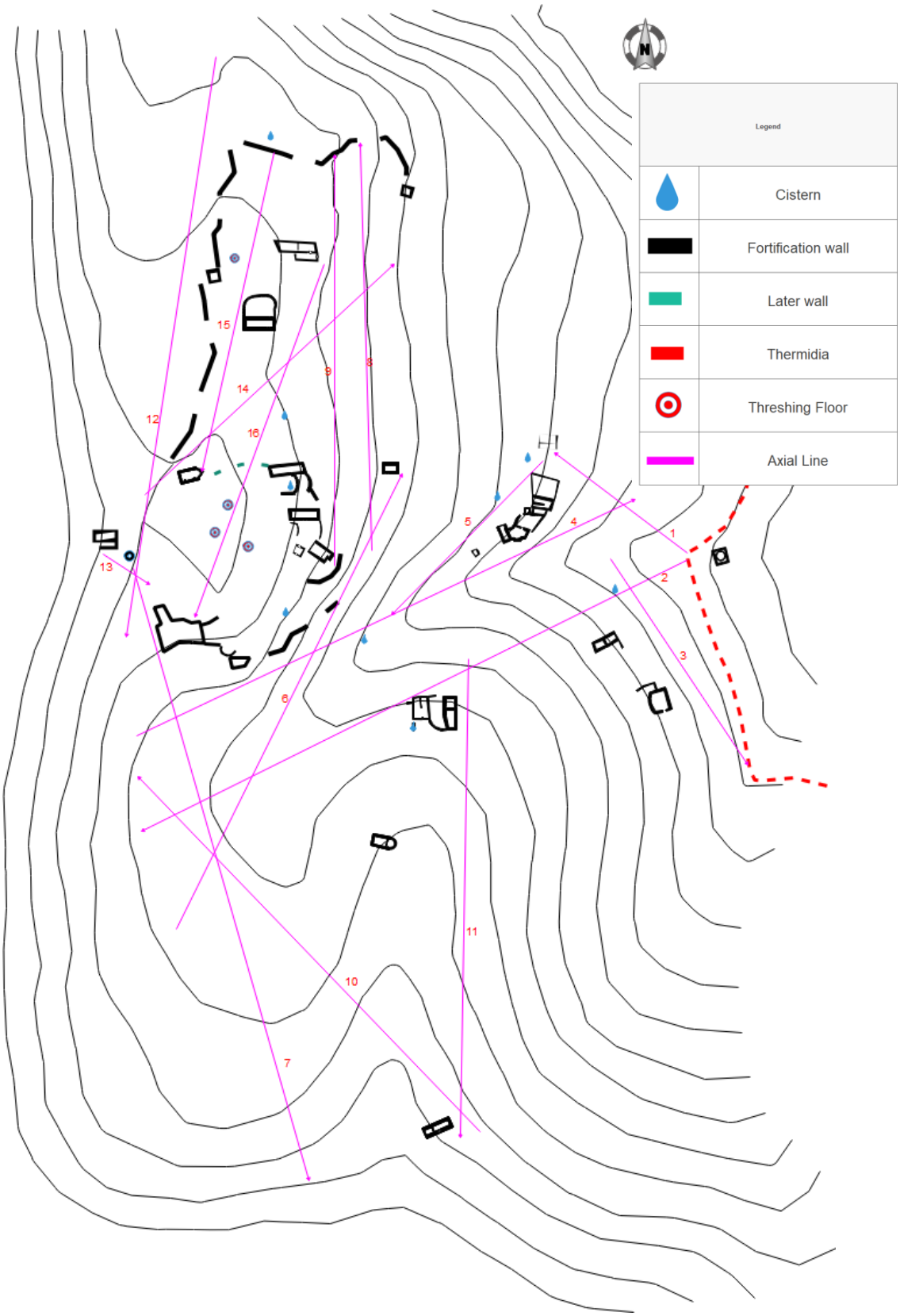
Space		MD	RA
Outside		3.615	0.209
	1	3.5	0.2
	2	3.231	0.178
	3	3.038	0.163
	4	2.962	0.157
	5	3.192	0.233
	6	3.269	0.182
	7	3.615	0.209
	8	4.115	0.249
	9	3.038	0.163
	10	3.923	0.234
	11	2.885	0.151
	12	2.923	0.154
	13	3.423	0.194
	14	3.577	0.206
	15	3.615	0.209
	16	4.077	0.246
	17	4.192	0.255
	18	3.615	0.209
	19	4.577	0.286
	20	4.269	0.262
	21	5.615	0.369
	22	3.155	0.169
	23	4.038	0.243
	24	3.731	0.218
	25	3.231	0.178
	26	4.885	0.311
AVG		3.678	0.216185
RRA			1.125

Table 7: Integrations measurments for current layout of Marathos.

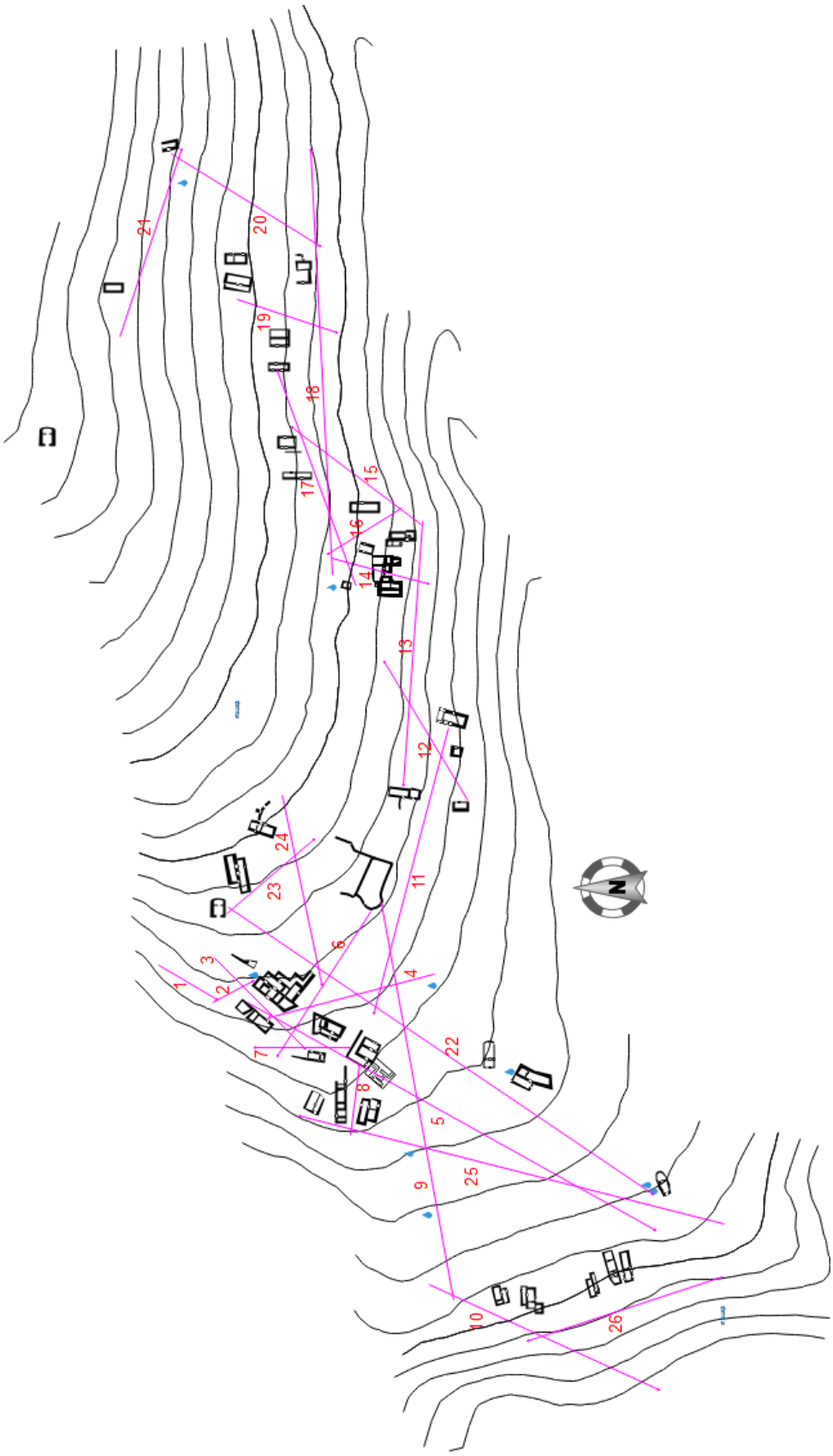
Space		MD	RA
Outside		3.696	0.245
	1	3.522	0.229
	2	3.348	0.213
	3	3.174	0.198
	4	3	0.182
	5	3.435	0.221
	6	3.261	0.206
	7	3.783	0.253
	8	4.174	0.289
	9	3.217	0.202
	10	2.826	0.166
	11	4.174	0.289
	12	4.087	0.281
	13	5.043	0.368
	14	3.217	0.202
	15	3	0.182
	16	3.174	0.198
	17	3.348	0.213
	18	3.913	0.265
	19	3.913	0.265
	20	3.565	0.233
	21	4.522	0.32
	22	4.435	0.312
	23	5.391	0.399
Avg		3.717417	0.247125
RRA			1.205

Table 8: Integrations measurments for Tigani

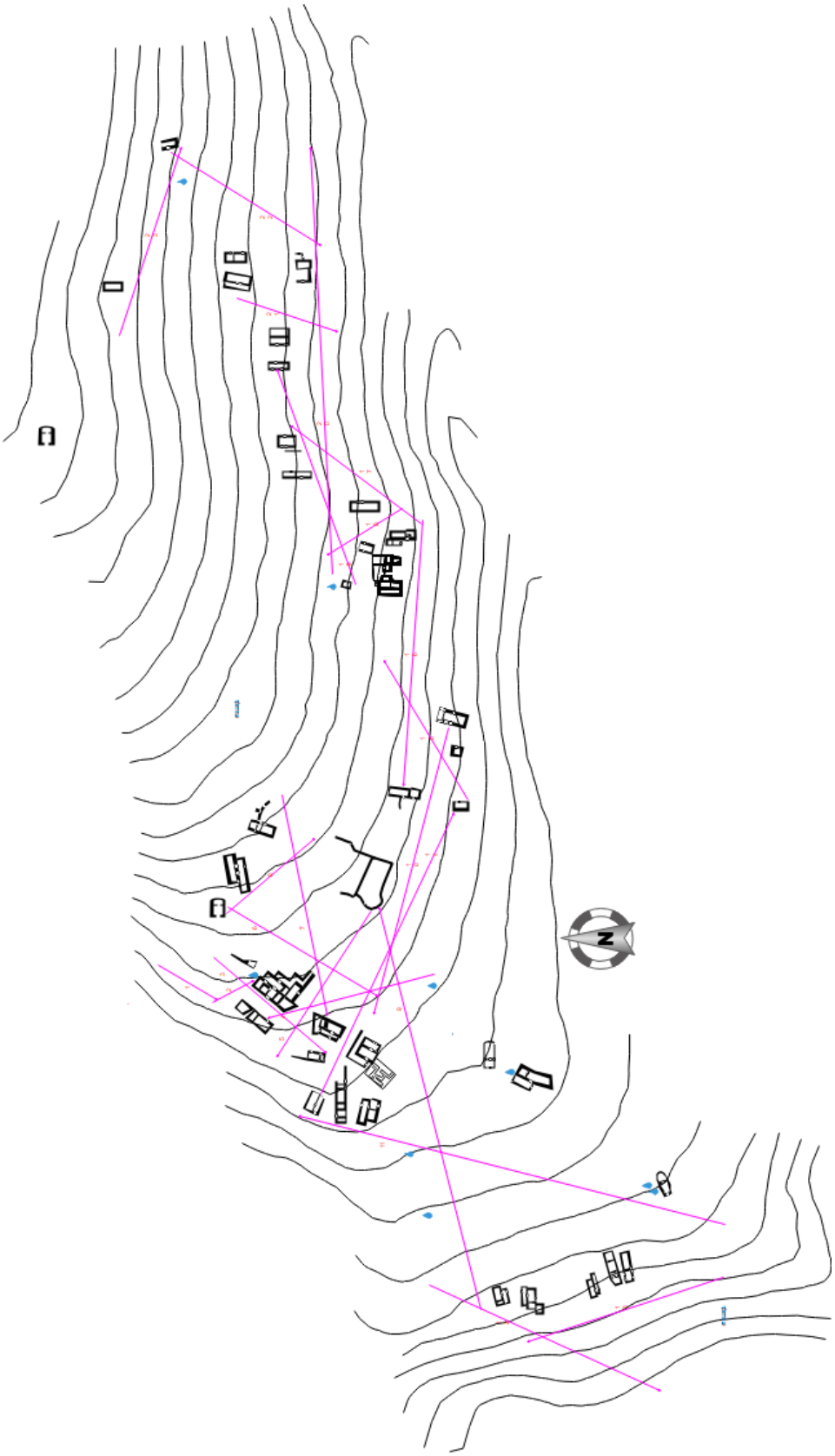
Space		MD	RA
Outside		3.333	0.274
	1	2.889	0.222
	2	2.222	0.144
	3	2.056	0.124
	4	2.555	0.183
	5	2.056	0.124
	6	2.611	0.19
	7	2.11	0.131
	8	3	0.235
	9	2.333	0.157
	10	2.5	0.176
	11	2.833	0.216
	12	2.222	0.144
	13	3.833	0.333
	14	2.889	0.222
	15	2.611	0.19
	16	2.722	0.203
	17	1.944	0.111
	18	2.389	0.163
Avg		2.584632	0.186421
RRA			0.805



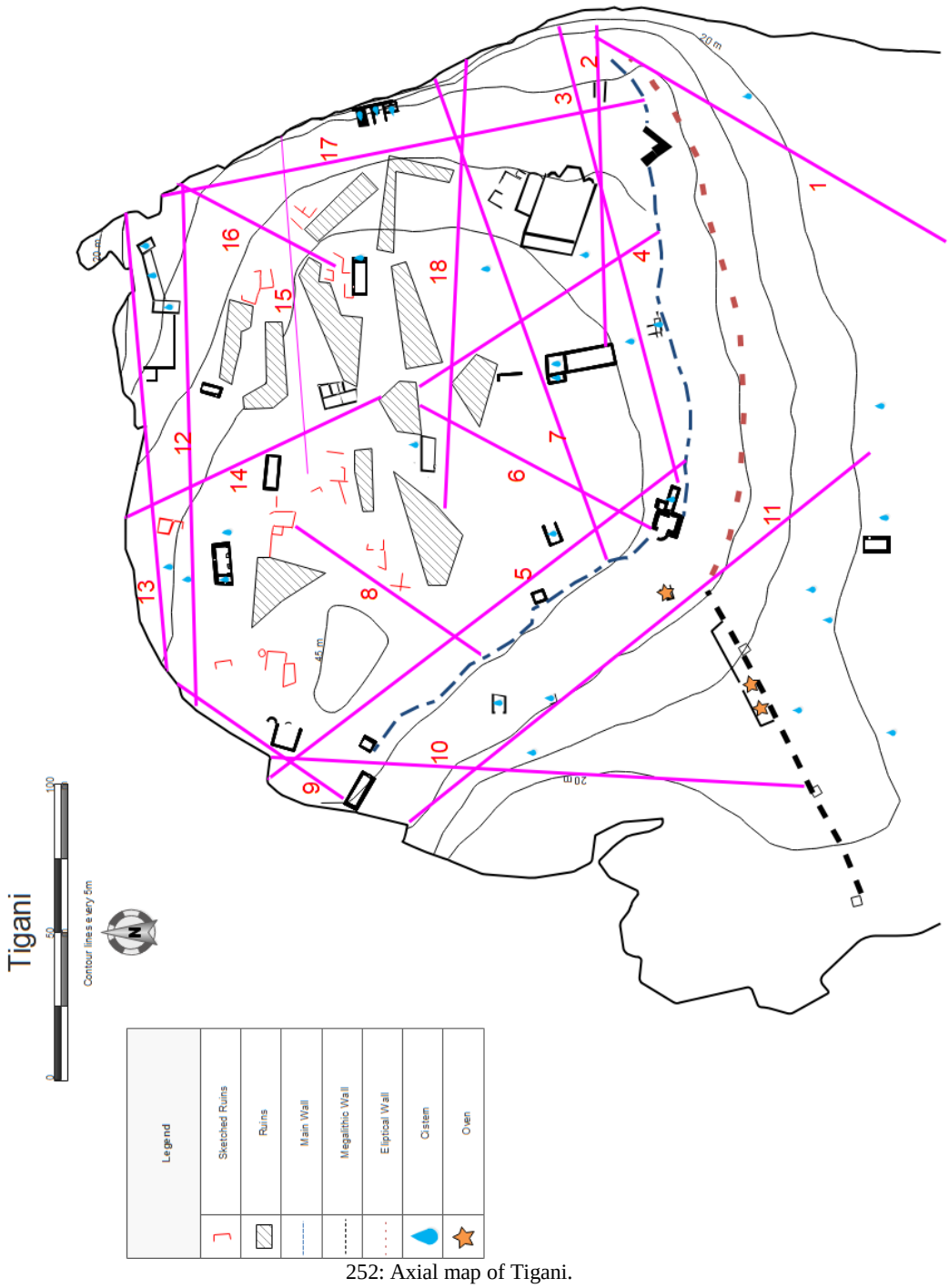
249: Axial map of Sarania.



250: Axial map of Marathos old layout



251: Axial Map of Marathos current layout.



252: Axial map of Tigani.

Abbreviations

AM	*Athenische Mitteilungen*
Αρχ.Δελτ.	*Ἀρχαιολογικὸν δελτίον*
BCH	*Bulletin de correspondence hellénique*
BSA	*Annual of the British School at Athens*
BZ	*Byzantinische Zeitschrift*
DOP	*Dumbarton Oaks Papers*
ΔΧΑΕ	*Δελτίον τῆς Χριστιανικῆς ἀρχαιολογικῆς ἑταιρείας*
ΕΕΒΣ	*Ἐπετηρῖς ἑταιρείας βυζαντινῶν σπουδῶν*
IJHA	*International Journal of Historical Archaeology*
JAS	*Journal of Archaeological Science*
JHS	*The Journal of Hellenic Studies*
JMA	*Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology*
JÖB	*Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik*
ΛακΣπ	*Λακωνικαὶ σπουδαί*
ΠΑΕ	*Πρακτικὰ τῆς ἐν Ἀθήναις Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας*
TM	*Travaux et mémoires*
ZRVI	*Zbornik radova Vizantoloskog Instituta*

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