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Academic Bilingualism: Combining textual and material data to understand the post-Medieval Mediterranean

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Introduction

Behind our rather grand sounding title lies a single case-study. We would like to explore a single site on the island of Kythera known in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries as Kyriakadika, now uninhabited and known as Kambianika, or, in ‘scientific’ parlance as ‘Site 174’ (Fig. 1). We feel that a ‘worked example’ based on this small site may allow us to raise and examine some of the issues that we have encountered in trying to write the histories of communities in post-Medieval Greece, chiefly the southern Peloponnese and the island of Kythera. Our general goal is to explore how archaeological data — chiefly the ceramics that formed the primary focus of this conference — and documentary data can be brought together to elucidate the history of a single, small community and how it engaged with, and was affected by, its local and broader social context. More specifically, we have three key aims:

1. To sketch the history of the site using the archaeological data collected by the Kythera Island Project (KIP) and other material on the site, notably its church of Ayios Dimitrios.
2. To present a parallel history through the documentary data — held in the Topiko Archeio Kythiron — about the people of this settlement.
3. Finally, to bring these two data sets together into a ‘combined’ history of the settlement in its local and broader context.

In a short concluding section, we suggest conclusions and further questions that might be investigated in relation to this particular site and some of the issues we raise.

KIP Site 174 and the Church of Ayios Dimitrios

The most prominent feature today on KIP Site 174 (Kyriakadika / Kambianika) is the church, which is widely visible from below the site. However, there are remains of other structures there, which are approached by a walled roadway (Fig. 2). The most recent study of the

church of which we are aware is by Hatzidakis and Bitha.¹ They date the various layers of painted decoration as follows:²

- The earliest paintings, chiefly in the apse, date to the mid-thirteenth century.
- A second layer, comprising much of the decoration on the dome and the south wall, belongs to the second half of thirteenth century.
- To the fourteenth century belong the circular fields on which the Apostles are depicted and a building inscription.
- A mounted Ayios Dimitrios on the north wall dates to the fifteenth century.
- Finally, the most recent decoration, strictly post-Byzantine, belongs to the seventeenth century, according to Hatzidakis and Bitha; this is on the north wall, as well as a second layer of decoration on the *templum*.³

The construction of the church structure itself may pre-date the earliest wall-paintings. Lazaridis points out similarities to the churches of Ayios Nikita at Kalamos, Ayios Nikon near Potamos, at Zaglanikianika, and Ayios Ioannis Theologos near Kalamitsi,⁴ not too far east of Kyriakadika, while Georgopoulou, on the other hand, sees parallels in this church with Ayios Dimitrios at Pourko, implying it was a twelfth-century construction, one of several built prior to the Venetian take-over.⁵ For the purposes of this paper, we simply accept Hatzidakis and Bitha's dating: that the church was in use at least from the mid-thirteenth century.

The length of use of the church, however, poses a challenge to interpreting the material remains elsewhere on the site, since its presence implies that, at a minimum, the site will have been *visited* periodically, if not inhabited year-round, throughout its life, as indeed it continues to be today. The existence of two groups of substantial stone-built structures, one

¹ Manolis Hatzidakis and Ioanna Bitha, *Ευρετήριο Βυζαντινών Τοιχογραφιών Κυθήρων* (Athens: Academy of Athens, 1997), pp. 144-53.

² Hatzidakis and Bitha, p. 153.

³ It is possible that the latest features date to the eighteenth rather than the seventeenth century, according to Pavlos Lazaridis, 'Τα μεσαιωνικά μνημεία των Κυθήρων', *Αρχαιολογικόν Δελτίον* 20, B1 (1965) 183-199 (p. 188).

⁴ Lazaridis, p. 185 (Nikita); Hatzidakis and Bitha, p. 258-65; Lazaridis, p. 198-99 (Nikon); *idem.*, p. 186 (Ioannis Theologos).

⁵ Lazaridis, p. 188; Myrto Méladini-Georgopoulou, 'Le décor apsidal des églises byzantines de Kythera (Cythères) (c. 1100-1275 a.C.)', in *Actes du XV^e Congrès International d'Études Byzantines, Athènes–septembre 1976*, Vol. IIB (Athens: Archaeological Society, 1981), pp. 449-68 (p. 455); cf. Judith Herrin, 'Byzantine Kythera', in *Kythera: Excavations and Studies Carried Out by the University of Pennsylvania Museum and the British School at Athens*, ed. by J. Nicholas Coldstream and George L. Huxley (London: Faber and Faber, 1972), 41-51 (p. 46).

to the north, the other to the northwest of the church, just west of the highest point of the hill, implies habitation at some periods in the past.⁶ This is further suggested by the presence of built-in stone cupboards and a bread oven in a *kamara*-style structure that lies about 30 meters northwest of the church (Fig. 2, above). Although such structures are notoriously difficult to date, the degree of preservation of the western group suggests to us that they were maintained into the twentieth century, particularly the rectangular structure closest to the church, where the windows and doors were surrounded by cut-stone lintels and one window has preserved iron bars. The original construction date of this, and the other structures, may have been earlier than the twentieth century, possibly by some margin. In order to explore the site's chronology, we focus therefore on the ceramics collected by KIP and analysed by its ceramics team.⁷ It is worth noting briefly the limitations of material collected on archaeological surface surveys, while stressing that, without the material recovered from this site, it would be very difficult to reconstruct its chronology and use in as much detail. Surface archaeological materials have no inherent *relative* dating, because, by definition, they are not stratified in archaeological deposits. Dating of such material depends on the identification of types (shape, decoration or fabric) dated independently, ideally material recovered from stratified archaeological contexts. Relative surface *densities* of material, however, clearly identify locations that have been the focus of human activity in the past, often settlement sites. Although there may be standing architecture at the same location, we cannot be sure which surface material is associated with any particular phase(s) of that architecture because there is no stratigraphic relationship. Nevertheless, we can assume that the material found here, on a hill-top location derives ultimately from human activity *at this site* and over quite a long period, as we demonstrate below.

Ceramic densities revealed in tract-walking over this area clearly allowed the identification of this hill-top as a 'site'. It was therefore subjected to site-collection procedures in August 2001, material being collected from squares on a twenty-meter grid that covered most of the hill-top (Fig. 2). Identification of chronologically and typologically diagnostic pieces among

⁶ The presence of remains in the vicinity of the church suggested to Hatzidakis and Bitha (p. 145) the possibility that it was originally the *katholiko* of a monastery. We think this is unlikely because the structures look more recent and their arrangement inconsistent with this hypothesis.

⁷ Evangelia Kiriatzi, Cyprian Broodbank, Alan Johnson and Joanita Vroom, to whom we express our thanks for their input for this contribution; they should not be held responsible, however, for any misuse to which we have put the information provided. We are also grateful to successive generations of KIP GIS staff for providing the GIS data on which our plots and maps are based: Denitsa Nenova (responsible for the current site data used in this paper), Varina Delrieu and Andrew Bevan.

the ceramics collected in tract-walking and site collection allows some dating of activity. There is a smattering of prehistoric material in the southeast quadrant, on the slopes below the church, and a small number of Classical to Hellenistic ceramics – tiles and pots – there and in the northwest quadrant, plus some Roman tiles and pots. The majority of the material (453 of 500 catalogued pieces, or 91 per cent) dates after Kythera's recolonisation, i.e. to the ceramic phases defined as Middle Byzantine (eleventh – twelfth centuries; henceforth MByz), Early Venetian (thirteenth – fourteenth centuries; henceforth EVen), Middle Venetian (fifteenth – sixteenth centuries; henceforth MVen), Late Venetian (seventeenth – eighteenth centuries; henceforth LVen) and Recent (nineteenth – early twentieth centuries).

The earliest dated wall-paintings in the church post-date the MByz period, although it is possible, as noted above, that the church's construction may belong in that period. In ceramic terms, wall-paintings continue throughout the EVen into early MVen, with a gap in the sixteenth century. There is then a final phase in LVen, possibly the seventeenth or eighteenth century. The ceramics therefore span the entire period of the church's existence, perhaps an entirely unremarkable point, but worth noting. However, if the ceramics were to date the church's first use, then its earliest phase of fresco decoration may post-date its construction by some margin. A gap in 'investment' in the church in the sixteenth century is not apparently matched in the ceramic data. Can further interrogation of the ceramic dataset reveal a more nuanced picture?

There is no material solely dated to MByz, but thirteen catalogued pieces are dated MByz-EVen (i.e. in theory eleventh-fourteenth centuries) (Fig. 3A). Eleven are 'constricted mouth jars', mostly amphoras (one type A2; eight type A5) or unidentifiable (n. = two) and two are unidentified abraded sherds. There is a broader distribution — in both time and space across the site — for open shapes in *sgraffito* decoration (n. = twenty-two); their dates range from MVen (the largest group: thirteen examples) to LVen or possibly LVen (n. = six). Five cluster in square SE1, immediately south of the church itself. These include two narrowly datable examples: one of late-fifteenth or beginning of sixteenth-century date; the other from the first half of the sixteenth century (Fig. 3B).

It may be significant that the earliest example of a cooking pot belongs to the MVen period (i.e. fifteenth - sixteenth c.), while the majority of the thirty-three pieces identified as such are either broadly dated (EVen - LVen: n. = one; MVen/MVen? - LVen: n. = eighteen) or are

LVen / LVen? (n = thirteen) (Fig. 3C). Clustering is visible in squares NE3 and NW1 (six examples each); the former is immediately east of the more ruined set of structures on top of the hill, the latter west of the church and south of the better preserved set of structures. The cooking pots are fairly broadly and consistently distributed in the northern part of the site, plausibly in association with the structures on the hill-top and the church.

Finally, the earliest attested large ceramic storage vessels (*pitharia*) are MVen / MVen? - LVen (i.e. 15th - eighteenth c.), only 2 examples. The majority of the twenty pre-Recent examples (sixteen) are LVen / LVen? - Recent, fairly evenly distributed across the site (only squares SE2, SE3 and NW4 have two examples each), but in two bands: above and around the church and the structures, and below the church on a saddle, north of a small structure identified as a field house (Fig. 3D). This distribution does not change much when the fifteen *pitharia* that are dated to the Recent period are added, although squares NW6, immediately west of the better preserved structures, and SW4, in the south, have three and two examples respectively.

Although we are going well beyond our own expertise and stretching a dataset with very small samples, we suggest the following observations are consistent with the patterns sketched above:

1. Material on-site mirrors pretty closely the dating of the church itself, perhaps adding some small confirmation that its construction might have pre-dated the earliest wall-paintings dated to the thirteenth century.
2. The categories of vessel present in the earliest phases — constricted mouth jars (amphoras) and small / large open *sgraffito* vessels — are consistent with the use of the church for worship, festivals, etc., but *perhaps* do not suggest permanent habitation.
3. The earliest cooking pots *may* be fifteenth-century (MVen), but the majority *could* be later, i.e. seventeenth- or eighteenth-century. A similar pattern is suggested by the *pitharia*.
4. The distribution of the latter two would tend to indicate permanent settlement in the area where the standing remains are on top of the hill, although they do not necessarily give a date for them as they appear today.
5. Finally, the ceramics cannot give us a date for the site's abandonment.

Having drawn this sketch on the basis of the material remains, we turn to documentary evidence to attempt to reconstruct the human history of the location known variously as Kyriakadika or Kambianika.

The People of Kyriakadika & their Histories

The richest documentary data come from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, much of it in the Local Archive of Kythera (Τοπικό Αρχείο Κυθήρων; henceforth TAK).⁸ Ottoman records (1715) and Venetian and British period censuses (1721-1833) contain information on individuals and the composition of households. Eight Venetian-period censuses have been published (dating to 1721, 1724, 1753, 1760, 1770, 1772, 1784 and 1788) and an unpublished 1733 census in the TAK has been transcribed to bridge the 20-year gap between 1724 and 1753.⁹ For the early British period (*Anglokratia*), four unpublished censuses exist in the TAK for the years 1814, 1822, 1825 and 1833.¹⁰ In addition, there is an unpublished ‘Births, Marriages and Deaths’ (BMD) register for the parish of Kyriakadika dating 1812 – 1857.¹¹ All the censuses are written in (Venetian) Italian; the unpublished BMD register is written in both Greek and Italian. Recently, the Ottoman *Tapu Tahrir* (tax register) and *Cizye* register prepared in 1715 were published.¹² The latter lists households (*hane*) and adult males liable to the *cizye*, or head tax; the former gives the only agricultural productivity figures by individual settlement that we have been able to trace. We have assimilated most of the information in the above sources in relation to Kyriakadika and, where relevant, its links to other communities.

⁸ We would like to express our thanks for their generous assistance to the staff of the TAK when data for this paper were gathered: Mrs Karolina Aslani, Mr Kostas Tsaltas and Ms Diana Semitekolou. Mrs Eleni Harou has also helped us with many related questions for many years now and we are most grateful for her assistance.

⁹ Published censuses: *Απογραφές πληθυσμού Κυθήρων (18^{ος} αι.)*, 3 vols., ed. Chryssa Maltezou (Athens: Society for Kytheran Studies, 1997); 1733 census = TAK 48, fols 20^r-82^v.

¹⁰ TAK Uncatalogued *Απογραφές* 1814, 1822, 1825, 1833.

¹¹ TAK 41..

¹² These data were first presented by Machiel Kiel, ‘The Smaller Aegean Islands in the 16th-18th Centuries According to Ottoman Administrative Documents’, in *Between Venice and Istanbul: Colonial Landscapes in Early Modern Greece*, ed. by Siriol Davies and Jack L. Davis (Princeton, NJ: American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 2007), pp. 35-54 (pp. 37-45). We would like to thank Dr Kiel for discussing this important material with us prior to this publication. Subsequently a publication with full transcription of both documents appeared: Evangelia Balta, *Η Οθωμανική Απογραφή των Κυθήρων 1715* (Athens: National Research Foundation, 2009); our discussion here is based on Balta’s edition.

In addition to these direct records of people's lives, there are extensive taxation records in the TAK, all unpublished. These cover three different types of tax: the *Affiti*, paid in cash on trees, vines, etc.; the *Terzarie*, paid in kind on grain crops (wheat, barley, *smigado*) and cotton; and the *Decatie*, paid on animals and on beehives. A complication in the case of Kythera is that, as a result of the peculiarities of its history, tax was paid to two different authorities: the Venetian state and the Venier family (known as the *compartecipi*). Land taxable by the Venier was referred to as *commessaria* or *Gabriliana*, land taxable by the Venetian state as *commun*, while taxes from a third category of land (known as *communanza*) was shared between the two authorities.¹³ All tax records, whatever authority was responsible, are organised under the name of the individual liable for the tax, with no direct indication of their place of residence. It is, however, usually possible to determine this by identifying their name and patronymic in the census records, where these are available. Crucially, the *Affiti* and *Terzarie* records also give the locations of the taxable items, as well as the adjacent property owner's name. It is therefore possible, given a sufficiently complete tax register, to identify where individuals from a settlement hold land on which they pay tax and who holds adjacent land. For the purposes of this contribution, we have only been able to assimilate a sample of the tax records, but suggest that they hold considerable potential to reveal more about local relations for this community, as well as others on the island.

The name Kyriakadika derives from the surname Kyriakis (Chiriachi, in Venetian Italian; Κυριάκης in Greek). On Kythera, use of the *-ánika / -ádika* suffix to name settlements after the predominant resident family, sometimes within a broader place-names, such as Mitata or Fratsia, is widespread.¹⁴ The family name is attested on the island from the sixteenth century, and before that in both Venice and Crete.¹⁵ Sixteenth-century notarial records document the family name at this period on Kythera, probably in the Borgo, with holdings listed in Livadi and Firoï.¹⁶ A dedicatory inscription on the church of Ayios Andreas in Livadi itself recognises its restoration by Papà Mihali Kyriakis in 1628 and there are other seventeenth-

¹³ Chryssa A. Maltezu, *Βενετική παρουσία στα Κύθηρα: αρχαιακές μαρτυρίες* (Athens: Ballidis, 1991), ch. IA; *eadem*, *Τα Κύθηρα τον καιρό που κυριάρχουσαν οι Βενετοί* (Venice: Greek Institute of Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Studies in Venice, 2008), pp. 17-33, on the history of the arrangement.

¹⁴ For example, Maltezu, *Βενετική παρουσία*, ch. Θ, p. 160. The usage is equivalent to that of *-aná* (notably on Crete) and *-áika / -éika* (for example in the Peloponnese).

¹⁵ Emmanuel P. Kalliyeros, *Κυθηραϊκά Επώνυμα: Ιστορική, Γεωγραφική και Γλωσσική Προσέγγιση* (Athens: Society for Kytheran Studies, 2002), pp. 389-91.

¹⁶ Emmanuel G. Drakakis, *Εμμανουήλ Κασιμάτης νοτάριος Κυθήρων (1560 - 1582)* (Athens: Society for Kytheran Studies, 1999), see in 'Index of Names' for specific instances. Although Kalliyeros, p. 390, indicates holdings for the family in Livadi and Firoï, we were unable to find reference to these in Kasimatis' notarial acts; it is possible they are referred to in the acts of other notaries.

century mentions, notably the death of Dimitri Chiriachi in the 1690 plague that affected the Borgo (and prompted the creation of the remarkable double icon in the Estavromenos church depicting Ayios Theodoros and San Rocco).¹⁷ In the eighteenth century Kyriakis families are attested in the following parishes in addition to Kyriakadika: two in the nearby parishes of Santa Trinità and San Zorzi at Alexandrades; a Chiriachi Paterino family in the parish of the BV at Condoletou, also like Kyriakadika and Alexandrades in the Livadi district of the island; a Chiriachi Trulafti family in the parish of San Croce Episcopale in the Borgo, the main town; and finally, one family in the parish of San Demetrio at Mitata, in the Kastrissio district of the island.¹⁸

Kyriakadika is documented as a single parish, with its church of Ayios Dimitrios (San Demetrio), continuously from 1721 to 1825. Prior to that, it is listed as the village (*karye*) of Kiryakadika in the Ottoman tax (*tapu tahrir defteri*) and *cizye* registers of 1715.¹⁹ These documents demonstrate that the location was considered a place of residence for a family at least from the early eighteenth to the end of the first quarter of the nineteenth centuries, while the BMD register has a final entry, a death, dated to 1857.

However, Kyriakadika is always a small, even tiny, community. Data from the censuses show a precipitous decline in household numbers and population for Kyriakadika in the eighteenth century (Fig. 4). There were six households, belonging to five families, in the 1721 Venetian census: four Chiriachi and one, apparently unrelated, Stratigos. The same adult males were listed on the Ottoman documents, with one exception who has disappeared (presumably died) by 1721 (Ranuco [pote] Pavli).²⁰ For ease of reference in the following discussion, the families are numbered: Chiriachi (1), Chiriachi Margariti (2), Chiriachi Ranuzo Cambea (3),

¹⁷ Ayios Andreas dedication: Lazaridis, p. 187; Hatzidakis and Bitha, p. 72; 1690 plague death: Maria Patramani, ‘Λιμοί και λοιμοί στα Κύθηρα. Η στάση των βενετικών άρχων και του πληθυσμού (16ος-18ος αι.)’, in *Άνθη χαρίτων: μελετήματα εόρτια συγγραφέντα υπό των υποτρόφων του Ελληνικού Ινστιτούτου Βυζαντινών & Μεταβυζαντινών Σπουδών της Βενετίας επί τη πεντακοσιετηρίδι από της ιδρύσεως της Ελληνορθοδόξου Κοινότητος Βενετίας, έτι δε επί τη τεσσαρακονταετηρίδι από της ενάρξεως της λειτουργίας του Ινστιτούτου*, ed. by Nikolaos Panagiotakis (Venice: Greek Institute of Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Studies, 1998), pp. 569-619 (p. 610); on the icon, see E. Gkini-Tsoforoulou, ‘Σχόλια σε εικόνα από ναό του κάστρου της Χώρας Κυθήρων’, *Αρχαιολογικόν Δελτίον* 44-46 (1989-1991), pp. 179-190.

¹⁸ Maltezu, *Απογραφές* I, pp. 73 (1721, Santa Trinità Alexandrades), 154 (1724, San Zorzi Alexandrades), 152 (1724, BV Condoletou), 36 (1721, San Croce Episcopale Borgo) and 87, 89 (1721, San Demetrio Mitata).

¹⁹ Balta, *Οθωμανική Απογραφή*, pp. 89-90 (tax register or *defter*) and 193 (*cizye* register).

²⁰ He was the father of Nicola Ranuzzo, as the 1724 census makes clear: ‘Nicola Chiriachi quondam Ranuzzo’: Maltezu *Απογραφές*, I, p. 142.

Stratigos (4) and Filareto Chiriachi (5).²¹ These six households had become two by 1733, belonging to families 1 and 3. Four families ceased to be recorded after the 1724 census: numbers 1-2 and 4-5 (Fig. 5). By 1753 only family 3 remains, also known as Ranuz(z)o. This family continued to reside here through the remaining eighteenth-century Venetian census and into the British-period censuses of 1814, 1822 and 1825, by which time they appear to be known as the Ca(m)bea family (in 1814²²), giving the site its modern toponym, Kambianika.

It is unclear when this family ceased to exist, or to be resident at this location. The parish of San Dimitrio appears in the 1814 and 1825 censuses, while in 1822, a census that explicitly ignores parishes, the family is listed under ‘Portolamianica e Gudianica’. There is no mention of Kyriakadika as a settlement in the 1833 census, nor can the family be found. Indications suggest that, at this date, smaller settlements were combined administratively under larger headings, like that in the 1822 census. Two fragmentary documents from 1832 list Giorgio Ranuzo in the parish of Tutti i Santi Alexandrades (= Goudianica) and Chiriaco Ranuzo, his son, under a list of officials in the district of ‘Portalamianica c. Alexandrades’; it is clear that these are the same individuals, who are mentioned in the 1814 census under the parish of Chiriacadica with the surname Ca(m)bea. We have not been able to uncover later census data, but births to Kyriako Kyriakis (= Chiriaco Ranuzo/Cambea) and his wife Chrysoula are registered in the Ayios Dimitrios BMD register from 1836 to 1856, as are his mother Giannou’s and his wife Chrysoula’s deaths in 1852 and 1857 respectively. Interestingly, the officiating priest at the last two deaths is, we think, Kyriakos Kyriakis, i.e. the son and husband respectively of the deceased.²³ Throughout the BMD register, the residence of the parties concerned is stated as ‘*horio Kyriakadika*’, implying that the settlement still had its identity at least to 1857, even if it and the parish had officially been subsumed within a larger entity.

Tracing individuals and families in the censuses has demonstrated some movement within the island to and from Kyriakadika. Micali Chiriachi, with his wife and two young children, moves in to the parish between 1721, when they were resident at San Trinità, Alexandrades, and 1724; he joined his father, Nicola Ranuzo (family 3), resident in Kyriakadika in both the

²¹ It is not uncommon for families to acquire second names (παρωνύμια) as in this instance, although this phenomenon is often associated with large families: see Kalliyeros, pp. 20-27, in general. It is quite unusual for there to be three distinct ‘branches’ attested in the same parish, as here: the Kyriakis Margariti, Filareto and Ranuzo (later Kambeas) families.

²² TAK Uncatalogued *Απογραφή* 1814, p. 52; see Kalliyeros, p. 391 on the Kambeas name.

²³ TAK 41: fols 25^r-26^r.

Ottoman registers and the 1721 Venetian census.²⁴ In the opposite direction, Paulo Filareto, son of Papà Andrea Filareto (family 5), moves his wife and children to the parish of San Salvatore à Sfachiana in the Borgo, where they appear in the 1753 census.²⁵ The widow of Giorgi Chiriachi (son of Papà Andrea: family 1) with her son Andrea and the rest of her family are listed in the parish of San Croce Episcopale in the Borgo in the 1733 census and beyond.²⁶ It seems therefore that the branch of the family known also as Ranuzo or Kambea is strengthened by immigration (from Alexandrades), while others (the plain Kyriakis and Filaretos branches) move to different parishes in the Borgo, the island's political and 'urban' centre. Family 3 also introduces marriage partners from nearby villages, as is clear from the 19th-century BMD register. Giorgi Chiriachi Cambea marries a Gianù Tzane at some point between his appearance in the 1788 Venetian and the 1814 British census; her family origin is clear from the notice of her husband's and her own deaths in 1843 and 1852 the BMD register, while she appears in the 1788 census as a resident of Sant' Elia.²⁷ A generation later, Giorgi's son Chiriaco marries Chrysoula Calochernò in 1835 and the notice of her death in 1857 gives her father and mother as Petros and Maria Kalokairnós; Chrysoula can be traced, living with her brother Valerio and her widowed mother Maria in the parish of Santa Trinità in Alexandrades in 1825 and 1833.²⁸ Unfortunately it is not possible to document similar patterns in the 18th century, because the parish BMD register for that period has not survived.

Individuals also simply disappear from the records. We can assume, in the absence of a Venetian-period BMD register, that at least some died, such as the elderly Nicola Margariti who was last listed in a household of his own at age 73 in 1724, ending the presence of the Kyriakis Margariti branch (family 2) here.²⁹ Individual females are more difficult to trace, since the practice appears to have been to marry outside their communities and reside in their husbands' parish. However, we presume that if entire nuclear families disappear from the censuses, then they have probably left the island. The family of Giorgi Stratigo disappears entirely from the censuses after 1724, but his family comprised entirely female children, who

²⁴ Micali Chiriachi: Maltezu, *Απογραφές*, I, p. 73 (1721), p. 142 (1724); Nicola Ranuzo: Balta, *Οθωμανική Απογραφή*, p. 89 (tax register) and 193 (*cizye* register); Maltezu, *Απογραφές*, I, p. 53 (1721).

²⁵ Maltezu, *Απογραφές*, I, p. 235 (1753).

²⁶ TAK 48: fol. 29^f (1733); Maltezu, *Απογραφές*, I, p. 229 (1753 with a fragmentary reading but clear in the succeeding census of 1760, p. 347).

²⁷ Maltezu, *Απογραφές*, II, p. 483 (Giorgi Chiriachi), p. 468 (Gianù Zane); BMD: TAK 41, fols. 24^v and 25^f.

²⁸ BMD: TAK 41, fol. 13^f (marriage) and 25^v-26^f (death); TAK Uncatalogued *Απογραφές* 1825, fol. 62^v and 1833, fol. 91^v-92^f.

²⁹ It may be relevant that the only other mention of a Margariti is of Giani Vlandi Margariti, age 83, in the adjacent parish of Ayios Ilias in the 1724 census; he also appears simply as Jani Vlandi in 1721: Maltezu, *Απογραφές*, I, pp. 66 (1721) and 141 (1724).

would have moved at marriage. Similarly, after 1733, the family of Papa Jani Chiriachi (family 1), son of Papà Andrea, does not appear in any of the Venetian censuses for the island.

Additional evidence for movement off island might come from temporary disappearances from the census. The family of Paulo Chiriachi (family 5), who re-locates to the Borgo of Hora by the 1753 census, is absent from the 1733 census. Janni, son of Micali Chiriachi (Ranuzo) (family 3), is present in the 1753 census as a child until 1770. By 1770 Janni is married with children. He is then absent from the 1772 and 1784 censuses, and his wife, Elena, is listed as head of the one household at Ayios Dimitrios in those years. He reappears in the 1788 census, listed again as head of household. This is possibly an indication of seasonal movement off island – absent only at the time when the censuses were taken – rather than long-term absence.³⁰

More explicit evidence for movement off-island comes from the British-period censuses that record individuals who are off-island at the time they were compiled. In 1814 two individuals from the parish of Ayios Dimitrios, both female, are listed as off-island (*fuori dell' isola*), possibly the aunt and younger sister of Giorgi Chiriachi / Cambea.³¹ Neither appears in the parish for the following 1822 and 1825 censuses. There are no further explicit listings in the 1822 or 1825 census of individuals from Kyriakadika being off-island. In addition, there is ample documentary evidence dating to the British period that people sought work, particularly agricultural, off-island.³²

The Ayios Dimitrios parish priests also provide evidence of relationships between Kyriakadika and other nearby settlements. From the 1721 to 1733 censuses, the parish priests reside in Kyriakadika: Papà Jani Chiriachi (family 1) in 1721 and 1733; Papà Andrea Filareto Chiriachi (family 5) in 1724.³³ However, priests who reside in Kyriakadika appear as non-resident parish priests in the neighbouring parish of Tutti i Santi Fratsia (Papà Andrea, the

³⁰ Kalliyeros, p. 391 mentions the Kyriakis name, including the Kambeas branch, in Smyrna, although he gives no date; similarly Lucia Patrizio Gunning, *The British Consular Service in the Aegean and the Collection of Antiquities for the British Museum* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), p. 77 refers to Ionian islanders generally in Smyrna, citing UK Foreign Office documents.

³¹ TAK Uncatalogued *Απογραφή* 1814, p. 52.

³² George N. Leontsinis, *The Island of Kythera: A Social History (1700-1863)* (Athens: National and Capodistrian University of Athens, 2000), p. 247.

³³ Papà Jani Chiriachi: Maltezu, *Απογραφές*, I, p. 53 (1721), TAK 48, fol. 41^r (1733); Papà Andrea Filareto Chiriachi: Maltezu, *Απογραφές*, I, p. 141 (1724).

elderly father of Papà Jani Chiriachi) in 1721, and Papà Jani himself in 1724.³⁴ We note here Atanasi Chiriachi, parish priest of San Zorzi at Mitata in 1721, but cannot prove that he originally came from Kyriakadika, since he does not appear in any of the census records for the site; his family is recorded in the adjacent parish of San Demetrio Mitata.³⁵

By 1753, when there was only one household at Kyriakadika, a non-resident parish priest is listed under Kyriakadika: ‘paroco papà Leo Callochernò’, whose family seems to have resided in the nearby parish of Sant’ Eustathio in Carbonades.³⁶ In 1760, the non-resident parish priest is Giorgi Lendarachi, who is also listed with his family in the parish of San Zorzi in Fratsia.³⁷ For the remainder of the Venetian period censuses (1770-1788), the non-resident parish priest is Marco Brazzali who lives with his family in the nearby parish of Tutti i Santi in Alexandrades.³⁸ For the majority of the entries in the nineteenth-century BMD register, the priest is a Maneas Petrochilos, resident in the same parish of Alexandrades (Gudianica) in the 1833 census.³⁹

Finally, the tax records provide information about relations between the inhabitants of Kyriakadika and the surrounding region. These data are complex, so we focus on two well preserved *Affiti* registers dating to 1734, where we can correlate individuals with the unpublished 1733 census.⁴⁰ Entries in the *Affiti* register follow the format:

Personal Name + patronym [allowing identification in the census], **Location**, bounded by *Second Personal Name*: taxable items, mostly tree crops (olive; vine)
Location, bounded by *Personal Name*: taxable items
 [with further entries, as necessary]

³⁴ Maltezu, *Απογραφές*, I, p. 80 (1721), p. 211 (1724).

³⁵ Maltezu, *Απογραφές*, I, p. 89 (priest) and 87 (family) (1721). It is of interest that in the 1721 census, the two ‘absent’ priests are counted in their parishes, with a note linking them to their ‘home’ parish, while in 1724 Papa Jani appears in both parishes, with slightly different ages, effectively counted twice.

³⁶ Maltezu, *Απογραφές*, I, p. 272 (1753).

³⁷ Maltezu, *Απογραφές*, I, p. 416 (1760).

³⁸ Maltezu, *Απογραφές*, II, p. 32 (1770), p. 173 (1772), p. 313 (1784), p. 463 (1788).

³⁹ TAK 41, *passim*; TAK Uncatalogued 1833 census, fols 87^r-88^v.

⁴⁰ TAK 252 covers *Affiti* payable to the Venier (*commessaria*) and the shared *comunanza*; TAK 250 covers *Affiti* payable to the Venetian state (*commun*) and the *comunanza*. Due to the complexities of identifying individuals in these large bound volumes and relating them to names recorded in the census we may not have successfully located all relevant entries; the data presented here should not therefore be regarded as definitive.

Thus, for example, the following entry appears for Papà Janni Chiriachi di Papà Andrea (family 1):⁴¹

P^a.Janni Chiriachi di P^a.Andrea, **Sant Elia** CVC e *Valerio Calocherno*: vigna d’oppere quattro e meza, due di seconda il resto di 3^a et olivo uno di terza.

Muliarocorafa C And^{ra}. Chiriachi: vigne d’oppere sei, due di seconda, quattro di terza et olivi quattro di terza.

Affrati C Dim^{iri} Bortalamio: olivi due di terza.

The locations for taxable items listed against residents recorded at Kyriakadika in the 1734 *Affiti* register are: Sant’ Elia, Mul(i)arocorafa, Affrati, Chiriacadica, Suchidhi, Caridachia, Firù, Condomicalianica, Vunù to Pigadi and Statianica. We can use this information to explore relations with other families nearby. Since, in the example above, names of individuals clearly *not* resident at Kyriakadika are listed adjacent to those from Kyriakadika, this implies that residents of other settlements are also using the same locations. If we examine all the entries in the 1734 registers, then the following family names appear as being responsible for tax at the same locations. Using the census data, their parishes of residence can be determined. These data are set out below in table form for ease of reference:

Name	TAK register, folio no.	Place-Name	Adjacent to	Parish Affiliation
P ^a Janni Chiriachi di P ^a Andrea Family 1	TAK 252, 63 ^r	Sant’ Elia	VC. e Valerio Calochernò	Santa Trinità Alexandrades
		Muliarocorafa	Andrea Chiriachi	San Demetrio Chiriacadica
		Affrati	Dimitri Bortalamio	San Micali Arcangelo Alexandrades
	TAK 250, 145 ^v	Chiriacadica	P ^a And ^a suo Padre (his father)	San Demetrio Chiriacadica
		Chiriacadica	Anastassi Lassioti	San Croce Episcopale, Borgo
Andrea Chiriachi di Giorgi di P ^a Andrea Vecchio Family 1	TAK 252, 6 ^r	Mularocorafa	within the boundaries (i.e. at that place)	
		Mularocorafa	Nicolò Calochernò	San Eustachio Carbonades
		Suchidhi	Zuanne Caluci	San Salvator Caluci, Borgo (?)
Micali Chiriachi q. Nicola Ranuzzo Family 3	TAK 252, 89 ^v	Sant’ Elia	P ^a Janni Chendroti dico Chiriachi	San Salvator Chendrotianica
		Caridachia	Paulo Chiriachi and Janni Condoleo di P ^a Arseni	San Demetrio Chiriacadica & Santa Trinità Alexandrades
		Firù	Paulo Calochernò	Santa Trinità

⁴¹ TAK 252 fol. 63^r.

				Alexandrades
	TAK 250, 214 ^v	Condomicalianica	Antonio Darmaro	San Croce Episcopale, Borgo
		Chiriacadica	S ^r Anattassi Lassioti	San Croce Episcopale, Borgo
		Vunù to Pigadi	C.V.C. e Matio Dandolo	Sant'Anna, Borgo
Paulo Chiriachi q. P ^a Andrea Filareto Family 5	TAK 250, 272 ^v	Statianica	Jani Arapi [Stati]	Sant'Elia
		Caridachia	Jani Candoleo di P ^a Arsseni	Santa Trinità Alexandrades
		Vunò to Pigadi Chiriacadica	Nichiforo Varda	San Salvatore à Sfaciana, Borgo

Most place-names are ‘shared’ with people resident in nearby parishes: Santa Trinità and San Micali Arcangelo Alexandrades, Sant’ Eustathio Carbonades and Sant’ Elia. There are, however, links with individuals resident in the Borgo, specifically in the parishes of San Croce Episcopale and San Salvatore à Sfaciana. These are the two parishes to which Kyriakis families move: the Filareto family (5) to San Salvatore (by 1753); the Kyriakis family (1) to San Croce (by 1733), although the Papà Janni listed here does not seem to have made that move. One wonders if this pattern suggests earlier ties, perhaps going back to the sixteenth century, when the Kyriakis family had a number of residents in the Borgo.⁴²

Although there is not sufficient space here to do so, it would be possible to expand the above analyses. We can examine tax registers of different types (the *Terzaria*, on grain and cotton, in particular) and in different years. A cursory examination of these brings in other shared place-names, such as *Mavri Limni*.⁴³ This name is interesting because it is documented in the sixteenth century, probably lies between Fratsia and Ayios Ilias, and appears as the location of taxable property against Fratsia residents, notably in 1754 against Panagioti Chiendrioti of the parish of San Salvatore, the southernmost of the Fratsia parishes, so closest to Ayios Ilias.⁴⁴ Although we do not need to know the exact location of the place-names, clearly Sant’ Elia refers to the area of the village of the same name, while Affrati has been identified to us as lying between the parishes of Tutti i Santi and San Michel Arcangelo on the western edge of the Alexandrades area.⁴⁵

⁴² There is a hint of links between the Kyriakis family and this region in the sixteenth century (1564) in a reference to fields at *Mavri Limni* ‘adjacent to’ Nikola Kyriakis (Drakakis 1999, p.268 [178]) and another to fields at *Milies* forming part of a *proika* (dowry) agreement between the Karamoundani and Kyriakis families (Drakakis 1999, p. 334 [238]). *Milies* appears as a location associated with residents of Ayios Ilias in the eighteenth-century *Affiti* documents: TAK 252, fol. 20^v (church of Sant’ Elia itself) and 46^r (Giorgi Zane).

⁴³ For example, TAK 12, fol. 154r, a *Terzaria* record for the *Compartecipi* dated 1730 lists Mavri Limni (Mavriglimni) as the location of barley taxable on P^a. Andrea Chiriachi [Filareto] of Family 5.

⁴⁴ 16th-century reference: Drakakis, pp. 268, 435 and 497 (map); P. Chiendrioti: TAK 261, fol. 121^v (1754).

⁴⁵ Pers. comm. from Y. Kalliheros to Vangelio Kiriatzi and John Bennet, July 2007.

We can represent all of the above relationships graphically (Fig. 6), effectively documenting those that constituted the village's 'social landscape'.

Earlier and Later Periods in Kyriakadika's History

Is there any way we can suggest a history for the site *before* 1715 and *after* the 1850s? Here we focus on the earlier period. Nothing resembling the name Kyriakadika appears in the earliest published census of Kythera, the 1583 Castrofilaca census.⁴⁶ This document seems to operate at quite a high, summary level, listing the Fortezza and Borgo, then villages in the area of the village (*casal*) of Ayios Dimitrios = Palaiohora (i.e. the northern part of Kythera), and then finally Milopotamo and its district. It is possible that the Castrofilaca census lists the nearby villages of Karvounades and Alexandrades (in garbled forms transcribed as Callamutades and Allicangri respectively), but this is far from certain.⁴⁷ In addition to the census, Chryssa Maltezu has published a document sent to the *Provveditore* of Kythera asking him to complete the census, giving a list of places requiring further attention: Chieramouto, Drimona, Calochierchnes, Furnus, Peratti sta Ladianica, Milapidhea, Alexandradhes, Santo Elia, Catogchori and Callamo.⁴⁸ Again this list omits Kyriakadika, although the neighbouring places Alexandrades and Sant' Elia are mentioned, and another place ending in -anica. Another source for sixteenth-century place-names is the collection of acts of the notary Emmanouil Kasimatis (active 1560-1582). Here again, although some nearby villages are mentioned (Alexandrades, Fratsia and Karvounades), Kyriakadika is absent.⁴⁹ Also striking in this source is the extreme rarity of the characteristic *-anika* / *-adika* settlement names: only one, Samiadika, is attested. It would be rash to assume that Kyriakadika simply did not exist in the sixteenth or seventeenth century, but, we suggest that, if it did, it is unlikely to have been referred to as a distinct village or hamlet called Kyriakadika.

⁴⁶ See John Bennet, 'Fragmentary "Geo-metry": Early Modern Landscapes of the Morea and Cerigo in Text, Image, and archaeology', in *Between Venice and Istanbul: Colonial Landscapes in Early Modern Greece*, ed. by Sirlol Davies and Jack L. Davis. (Princeton, NJ: American School of Classical Studies in Athens, 2007), pp. 199-217 (pp. 211-12); also Sevasti Lazari, 'Η συγκρότηση του Επτανησιακού πληθυσμού: η απογραφή του Πέτρου Καστροφύλακα (1583) και του Fr. Grimani (1760)', *Πρακτικά του Ζ' Πανιονίου Συνεδρίου, Λευκάδα, 26-30 Μαΐου 2002*, Vol. 2 (Athens: Etaireia Lefkadikon Meleton, 2004), pp. 301-47 (p. 305-09); Maltezu 2008, p. 106 for an illustration.

⁴⁷ Cf. Bennet, 'Fragmentary "Geo-metry"', p. 212 and Table 10.1.

⁴⁸ Maltezu, *Βενετική παρουσία*, ch. I, pp. 276-78. Lazari, p. 307 points out that these places, where identifiable, are all in the Livadi district and so might have been omitted from the original census as a block. Although the issue is too complex to debate here, we prefer to consider the top-level information of the census as complete and that the additional work was to add detail in the instances quoted.

⁴⁹ Drakakis 1999, pp. 433-36; cf. Bennet 'Fragmentary "Geo-metry"', p. 212, Table 10.2.

At a more general level, the absence of *-ánika* / *-ádika* names in the sixteenth century contrasts sharply with the eighteenth-century census data. Lazari points out that the names ending in *-ádes* are likely to be an earlier pattern of naming places on the basis of family names, drawing on a parallel situation on Corfu / Kerkyra, where this type may belong to the Angevin period of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.⁵⁰ This would certainly be consistent with the presence of Karvounades and Alexandrades in sixteenth-century sources. Indeed, in the eighteenth century, it is often the case that an ‘old’ village name is used to refer to a cluster of settlements, each with its own ‘family-based’ identity expressed in an *-ánika* / *-ádika* name. Fratsia, attested as a village name in the sixteenth century, is a good example: in the 1721 Venetian census it has five separate parishes, three known by the dedication of the parish church (Madona, Tutti Santi and San Pantaleo), two by family-based names (San Zorzi Lendarachianica and San Salvator à Chendrotianica Frazza).⁵¹ This is borne out also by the 1715 Ottoman documents, which not only have the same five-part division, but also distinguish a village (*karye*) of Fratsia (Fraça), followed by four ‘neighbourhoods’ (*mahalle*): Ayo Pantes, Lendarakanika, [K]endrotyanika and Rayişyanika (= Venetian San Pantaleo).⁵² Villages with *-ánika* / *-ádika* names are attested on their own, not under the ‘umbrella’ of a larger place-name and Kyriakadika appears to be one of these. Although we cannot document their progress in the seventeenth century, place-names of this type increase in the censuses from about 42% in 1721 to 50% in 1784, while the Ottoman documents, not surprisingly often ignoring parishes named after Christian churches, show an even higher percentage (59%). Between districts, too, there are differences: the Livadi and Milipotamo districts tend to have the lowest percentage of *-ánika* / *-ádika* names; Castrisianica tends to be slightly higher (c. 50-60%) and the Potamo district consistently has the highest percentage (c. 60-80%).⁵³ The implication is that at some point between the later sixteenth and early eighteenth centuries, new settlements were created, their distinct identities marked by a family-based name and a focus on a church.

⁵⁰ Lazari, p. 306, with citations.

⁵¹ Maltezoú, *Απογραφές*, I, pp. 67-71, 76-77 and 79-80.

⁵² Balta, *Οθωμανική Απογραφή*, pp. 117-24, 209-13. Strictly the term Raΐsianika refers to the parish of the Panagia Manolitissa or Mertidiotissa, only attested from the 1760 Venetian census and consistent with the plaque above the church door that gives a date of 1755 for its establishment. The parish of San Pantaleone is normally referred to as Raftakianika, after the Raftakis family, which is clearly referred to in the Ottoman *defter*.

⁵³ Data compiled from Maltezoú, *Απογραφές*, I and II; Balta, *Οθωμανική Απογραφή*.

The possibility sketched in the preceding paragraph makes the absence of systematic census data for the seventeenth-century regrettable. Gross population figures suggest that settlement size and distribution on the island changed considerably between the late sixteenth and the early eighteenth century (Fig. 7). The total population given in the Castrofilaca census is 3187,⁵⁴ while the earliest Venetian census (1721) gives a total population of 4803, a 52% increase. Moreover, the percentage of population resident specifically in the Fortezza and Borgo drops from 54% in 1583 to 21% by 1715, again suggesting expansion into the countryside. One probable source of the overall increase is an influx of Venetian subjects immigrating from the island of Crete during and immediately after the War of Crete (1645-1669) and there is documentary evidence for this.⁵⁵ More significantly, the number of distinct settlements documented (through their parish churches, the unit of organisation of all the Venetian censuses) appears to have expanded considerably, many of these styled *-ánika / -ádika*. It is difficult to quantify the change, because of the uncertainty surrounding the Castrofilaca census, but if we take the figure for the places listed there (14) and compare it with the number listed in the 1715 Ottoman *defter*, since it often amalgamates parishes that belong to the same settlement, thus not over-inflating settlement numbers (72), the increase is over 400%.⁵⁶

Unfortunately, we cannot be certain that this gap in the records is real, but we assume that, if census records had existed for this period, they would have been published or noted in the TAK catalogue. It may be possible to plug the ‘gap’ in documentation through examination of untapped sources in the documentary collections maintained by the island’s *provveditori*, for example, one of which (dated 1671-1673) contains the boundaries (in the form of a list of place-names) for the holdings of the Venier family on the island, the so-called region of ‘Gavriliana’.⁵⁷ Another potential source of information is the extensive series of notarial books housed in the TAK that span the late sixteenth to the late nineteenth centuries and must hold rich information on villages and place-names on the basis of the example already published.⁵⁸

⁵⁴ Lazari, p. 326, Table 2 (a figure corrected from that listed in the document: 3,162).

⁵⁵ See, for example, Maltezoú, *Βενετική παρουσία*, ch. E; Maria Patramani, ‘Κρητικοί πρόσφυγες στα Κύθηρα 1645-1797’ (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Crete, 2005); also Kalliyeros, pp. 42-50.

⁵⁶ Lazari, p. 326, Table 2; Balta, *Οθωμανική Απογραφή, passim*. Even if we include the ten places possibly omitted from the Castrofilaca census (see above, p. 000; cf. Lazari, p. 307), the difference is still threefold.

⁵⁷ Illustrated in Maltezoú 2008, pp. 26-28. The 1733 census turned up in a similar context, in the *catastico* of Prov. Antonio Marin (TAK 48).

⁵⁸ Drakakis 1999; cf. Maltezoú, *Βενετική παρουσία*, ch. Γ, on the series of notarial books.

It is possible, therefore, that Kyriakadika represents a settlement established at some point within the seventeenth century by a branch of the Kyriakis family, part of a wider process of settlement expansion and the establishment of new parish churches to act as their focal point. Only occasionally can we document this. For example, we know the construction dates of the two churches in the small village of Pitsinades, in the district of Kastrisianika: the church of Ayios Athanasios was built in 1659; that of the Panayia in 1656.⁵⁹ In the case of Kyriakadika, however, a new parish church was unnecessary because the old church of Ayios Dimitrios already existed. Indeed, we wonder if there might have been some prestige attached to settling in the vicinity of a religious structure with such a long history. It is possible that the last documented stage of renewal of wall-paintings in the church, dated by Hatzidakis and Bitha to the seventeenth century, reflects its establishment as a parish church for the social unit known as Kyriakadika. Parish records (Births, Marriages and Deaths registers) exist in the TAK for many settlements, often beginning in the later seventeenth century. Unfortunately the only preserved register for Ayios Dimitrios at Kyriakadika spans the years 1812 to 1857; the fact that no earlier book survives might further suggest the settlement's interrupted human history in the later nineteenth century.

A 'Combined' History of Kyriakadika

To conclude, we offer a 'combined' history as a summary of our thoughts. Archaeological material collected on-site documents the history of the site known as Kyriakadika more or less from the island's re-colonisation (eleventh century, MByz) to the present. This picture is consistent with the history of the church on the site which was constructed at the latest by the mid-thirteenth century, was modified in the later thirteenth, the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, then again, apparently after a gap, in the seventeenth, possibly eighteenth century. The nearby structures suggest habitation in addition to religious observance, although it is difficult to date them precisely. However, the addition of iron bars to some windows suggests relatively recent (twentieth-century?) maintenance, even if not habitation, rather like structures at the locations of Kokkinohorafo and Makrea Skala used as seasonal settlements by inhabitants of Mitata, perhaps as early as the eighteenth and certainly into the twentieth century.⁶⁰

⁵⁹ Lazaridis, p. 195.

⁶⁰ Elizabeth Smith, 'The Microdynamics of Rural Structures: An Ethnoarchaeological Study of Landscape. Two Case-Studies from Kythera, Greece' (unpublished MA thesis, University College London, 2004); *eadem*, 'The

There is a possible correlation between the material culture attested at Kyriakadika and the seventeenth-century expansion of settlement within [the](#) island. Documentary data may appear to contradict this picture, since Kyriakadika does not appear in known documents prior to the eighteenth century, but such data do in general suggest that the seventeenth century might be a significant period in island-wide settlement expansion. Again, it is possible that the seventeenth-century phase of elaboration of the church at Kyriakadika reflects the establishment of a new parish there. The fact that there are at least three different branches of the Kyriakis family resident by 1721 suggests a family history that probably extends back at least one to two generations, again taking us into the seventeenth century. Another possibility is that the site was ‘colonised’ by Kyriakis families documented in the Borgo in the sixteenth century, and as suggested by the continued links noted above to Borgo parishes in the eighteenth. Finally, the expansion in the use of cooking pots and the presence of *pitharia*, both essentially Late Venetian phenomena (seventeenth – eighteenth centuries) might further support a change in the seventeenth century, even if they cannot be made to confirm its first use as a permanent habitation. At the other end of its history, it is possible that Kyriakadika ceased to be occupied permanently by the later nineteenth century, although the name of the last family we have identified in documents as resident in the parish (based on the BMD register) up to 1857 lives on in the modern place-name Kambianika.

A more fundamental question relates to the nature of Kyriakadika as a single, discrete social entity. We have defined it as such — archaeologically, and as an object of study (i.e. as a ‘site’) — and it was so defined administratively at times in the past, especially in the eighteenth century (i.e. as a ‘parish’ or ‘village’). However, given its minuscule size as a settlement, we wonder if we might better think of it instead as a *node* within a broader ‘social landscape’ of communities that shared land, marriage partners, even parish priests over an area extending to the modern villages of Ayios Ilias and Stathianika to the west, Alexandrades to the southeast and, possibly, Fratsia, to the north? Documentary data show a fragile demographic: only one family (our family 3, the Kyriakis-Ranuzo-Kambeas) stays the course of our documentation from the early eighteenth to the mid-nineteenth century. The only potential productivity figures we have come from the Ottoman *defter*, in which Kyriakadika compares poorly with neighbouring settlements. Its overall ‘yield’ (i.e.

Village, the Island and the Notaries: An Archaeological, Ethnographic and Archive-Based Analysis of the Rural Landscape, 18th-20th Century Kythera, Greece’ (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Sheffield, 2011).

productive potential) in cash (*akçe*), when averaged by the number of male heads of household (*nefer*), was lower than that of the Alexandrades parishes and Ayios Ilias; only Stathianika was lower.⁶¹

The links documented above with nearby communities must have been necessary to sustain the tiny settlement, as the introduction of marriage partners in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries confirms. The idea of Kyriakadika as embedded in a local network of settlements is perhaps reflected in the organisation of censuses from 1833 onwards, which seem to gather settlement in the area under the larger village names Portalamianika and /or Alexandrades, i.e. non-parish based. But we also wonder if this was in effect returning to the situation in the sixteenth century, when only the villages of Fratsia, Alexandrades and Karvounades, the latter two reflecting an older pattern of village naming, are explicitly mentioned in notarial acts. Moreover, near all these locations there is a church, whose construction almost certainly pre-dates the sixteenth century: a church of Ayia Triada at Karvounades, the church of Ayioi Pantes at Fratsia, built in 1533, and Ayios Dimitrios itself, perhaps acting as a religious focal point for the inhabitants of the Alexandrades communities.⁶² The sixteenth-century landscape might have comprised communities dispersed across the landscape and focused on a smaller number of churches than the eighteenth-century landscape with its proliferation of smaller communities, each with its parish church (Fig. 8).⁶³

Conclusion

The picture sketched above suggests that Kyriakadika became a location of settlement, as opposed to religious observance, in the seventeenth century, at which point it took on a distinction in administrative documents, as reflected in first the Ottoman, then the Venetian documentary record of the eighteenth century, extending into the early nineteenth century in British documentation. Prior to the seventeenth century, the church of Ayios Dimitrios was the focal point for religious observance, perhaps by inhabitants of nearby settlements (as attested in sixteenth-century documents), such as Ayios Ilias, Fratsia and Alexandrades.

⁶¹ Balta, *Οθωμανική Απογραφή*, pp. 85-91, 92-93.

⁶² Lazaridis 1965: 187 (Ayia Triada Karvounades); 188 (Ayioi Pantes Fratsia).

⁶³ In this, the southern region of Livadi would differ from that of Kastrissianika and the *castello* of Mylopotamos, where more closely packed settlements of a defensive nature appear to have been constructed in the wake of Barbarossa's raids and the destruction of Ayios Dimitrios (Palaiohora) in 1537, according to Gillian Ince and Andrew Ballantyne, *Paliochora on Kythera: Survey and Interpretation. Studies in Medieval and Post-Medieval Settlements* (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2007), pp. 33-36.

Subsequently, we imagine the site continued to be used for religious observance, but also for agriculture, its structures maintained for storage and/or possible seasonal occupancy. In 1721 22 people were counted there in the census, the youngest age two, the eldest 80; by 1825, our last attested glimpse, the population was five, comprising a couple and their three children. Although distinct for some administrative purposes, Kyriakadika was never isolated and the links it had with other places on the island and, perhaps, with places off the island reflect human movements into and out of the settlement. We imagine these were also matched by material movements, perhaps reflected in the ceramic assemblage by non-local, but Kytheran, and also by ‘exotic’ vessels arriving from off the island.

Some directions for further study that seem warranted by the present study might be the following. First, investigation of the structures that remain on the hill would shed greater light on their history of construction, occupation and function. They somewhat resemble the abandoned ‘villages’ of Kokkinohorafo and Makrea Skala associated with the village of Mitata and used as seasonal settlements into the twentieth century.⁶⁴ Both of these are much more dispersed collections of structures than those at Kyriakadika, perhaps reflecting their seasonal habitation, and neither possesses a church. Second, comparison, through on-site and tract material, of the material histories of other sites and regions in the KIP survey with the material documented at Kyriakadika has the potential to document the degree to which they might each have moved with different rhythms. Comparison along these lines would be facilitated by a more developed understanding of the typical domestic, or ecclesiastical, ceramic assemblages on Kythera in the Venetian period and the nineteenth century. In addition to material remains recovered from archaeological sites, knowledge of such assemblages might be enhanced through documentation in wills and marriage agreements preserved in notarial records, a rich source for the social history of material culture on Kythera, as elsewhere.

At the very least, we hope with this contribution to have demonstrated some of the potential inherent in an academically ‘bilingual’ approach that seeks to bring the ceramics that lie at the centre of this conference into dialogue with other forms of historical documentation to elucidate the lives of communities in the past.

⁶⁴ Smith 2004; 2011.

Bennet - Harlan: Figure Captions

Fig. 1: Map of Kythera showing location of Kyriakadika and other key sites mentioned in text. Churches mentioned are shown in italic.

Fig. 2: Sketch plan of KIP Site 174 to show major features and location of site-collection grid. (Digitised from original site sketch by Denitsa Nenova)

Fig. 3: Simplified plan of KIP Site 174 showing presence in grid squares of various material types; darker squares have multiple examples. A: Middle Byzantine - Early Venetian ceramics. B: large and small open Sgraffito-ware ceramics, also indicating square SE1. C: cooking pots (MVen-LVen). D: Middle - Late Venetian *pitharia* (shaded squares) and Recent *pitharia* (hatched squares).

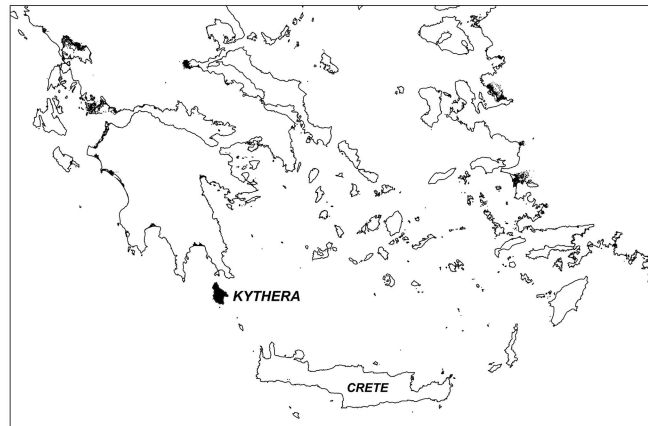
Fig. 4: Diagram showing number of households and population figures for Kyriakadika (parish of San Demitrio) from 1715 to 1825. (Deborah Harlan)

Fig. 5: Diagram showing the presence /absence of individual families at the site of Kyriakadika (parish of San Demitrio) from 1715 to 1825. (Deborah Harlan)

Fig. 6: Map of Kyriakadika and its region showing links with neighbouring settlements. Circles indicate parishes where residents share tax boundaries; solid black arrows indicate parish priests; open black arrow indicate in- / out-migration; grey open arrows indicate marriage partners. (John Bennet)

Fig. 7: Diagram showing the population of the island of Kythera from 1583 to 1825 and percentage of population resident in the Fortezza and Borgo in that period, where known. Sources: Maltezos, *Βενετική παρουσία*, ch. Θ, p. 157, Table 1; Maltezos, *Απογραφές*, I and II; Leontsinis 2000, pp. 193-94, Table 1. (Deborah Harlan)

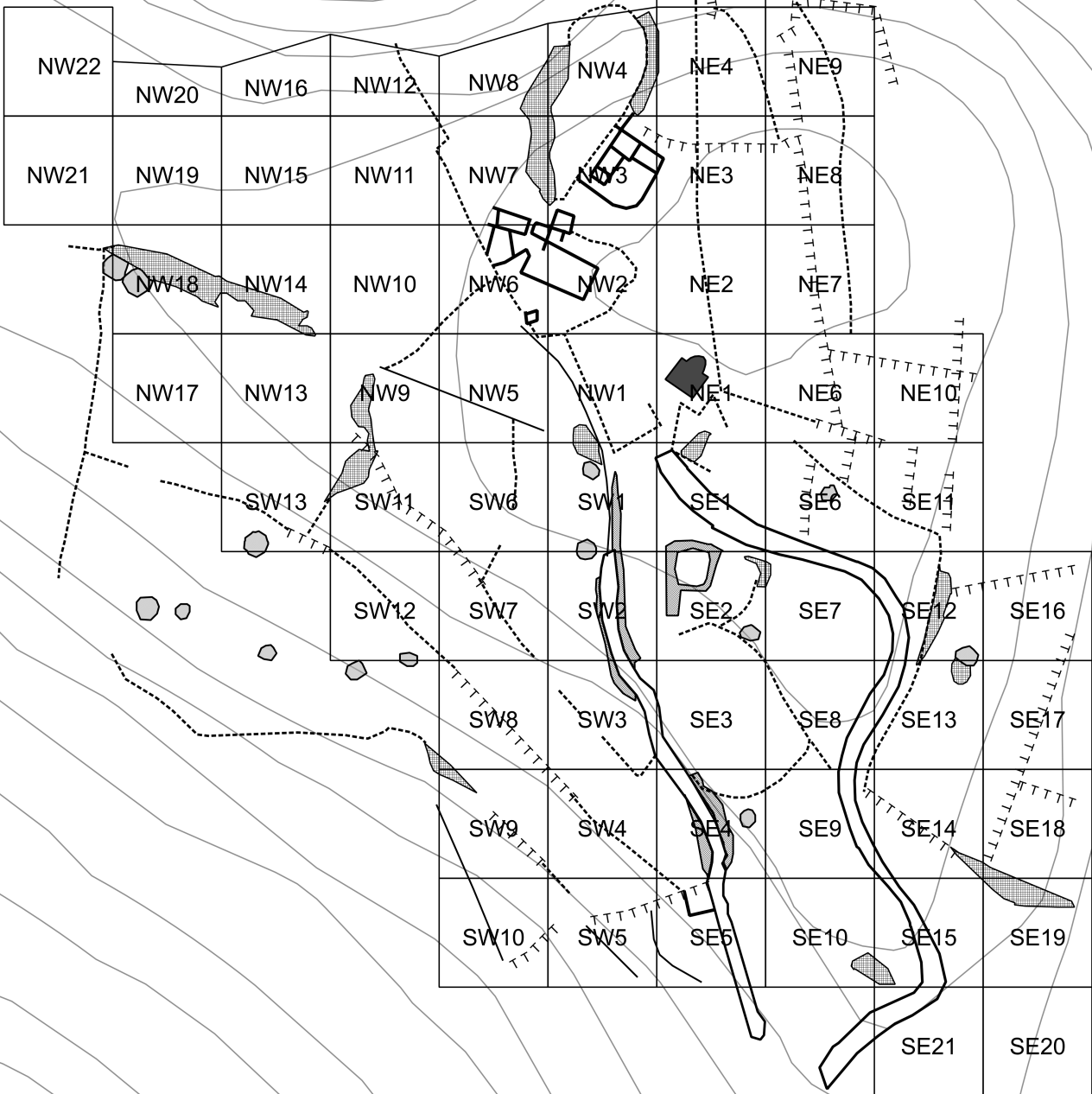
Fig. 8: Map of Kyriakadika and its region to suggest the sixteenth-, eighteenth- and nineteenth-century landscape organisation. Named points are eighteenth-century parishes; grey ellipses enclose nineteenth-century units; black ellipses possible sixteenth-century units. (John Bennet)



0 1 2 3 4 5 km



KIP Site 174
Kyriakadika - Kambianika



Legend

- Ruined Structures
- Walled Path
- Field Walls
- Terrace Walls
- Walls
- Rock Piles
- Ledges
- Modern Track
- Trees
- 4mcont



