

**The village, the island and the notaries: an archaeological,
ethnographic and archive-based analysis of the rural landscape,
18th-20th century Kythera, Greece**

Volume 1

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ABSTRACT

This study seeks to explore the dynamics of the rural landscape through the integration of archaeological, ethnographic and archive based analyses. The selected case study is the village of Mitata and its two associated 'hamlets', on the island of Kythera from the 18th to the 20th century. By integrating the three distinct data sets: the physical remains at the hamlets of clusters of field houses or spitakia, the notarial documents and census records from the 18th and 19th century alongside later ethnographic testimony, a picture is built of an ever changing landscape characterised by the flexible strategies designed to cater for the needs and obligations of the basic household economy. The ultimate aims of the household, as the basic economic and production unit within the system, is to achieve a measure of self sufficiency through effective management of its landholdings and to ensure the successful social reproduction through dowry practices that ideally are designed to create a neodomestic household, based upon the nuclear family. The pressures that such social practices and obligations exert upon the household are integral to the way that the landscape is ultimately conceived, used and managed. Various strategies are employed to mitigate the risk and the economic burden that property devolution creates, such as land exchanges and consolidation of holdings through acquisition. All of these strategies are ultimately linked and connected to the wider internal and external village networks as well as engaging with major socio-economic forces of the period. The landscape therefore is as much a social product as it is shaped and transformed by shifting economic trends and changing farming practices.

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Chapter 1 **Introducing the Village, the Island and the Notaries.**

My first encounter with the Kytheran landscape was as part of my undergraduate compulsory fieldwork requirement in the summer of 2001. My six week experience of the final field season of the Kythera Island Project included both field walking and as a member of one of the more extreme gridding teams. My description of the Kytheran landscape at this point would revolve around the idea of looking down. The landscape was sherd scatters, rocks that looked like sherds and made our lives difficult and the ubiquitous maquis. As I was promoted to 'flagger' on the field walking team, the landscape gradually morphed from sherds and maquis to lines of red flags dotting the hillside. Gridding and collecting material in the second half of the season introduced me to the Paleopolis valley and to Roman sites that seemed to never end, while the nearby sea taunted us. Despite having walked vast amounts of 'unseen' countryside and quite literally "off the beaten track", I wouldn't at this point say that I had particularly engaged with the Kytheran landscape, apart from the maquis of course. At one stage one of the roman sites required us to do some mini-tract walking, where walking was in fact a euphemism for crawling through maquis. As we crawled and collected the material, the landscape to me was still all about looking down.

During my Masters degree in 2004, I was offered the opportunity of finally "looking up" and as part of my dissertation completed the pilot study for this thesis, focusing on the microdynamics of rural structures (Smith 2004). This pilot study began the process of (as the Greek phrase goes) "learning" a new

landscape and provided an opportunity for me to use my own Greek background and experience of a rural landscape.

The story of this thesis begins with a series of ruined buildings, named by the locals as *spitakia*, located in the wider hinterland of the village of Mitata. Spitakia are not an uncommon feature of the landscape, however the two examples here at Kokkinochorafa and Makrea Skala, are unusual in that the buildings are clustered together. As with many of these types of evocative and eroded stone structures they have that somewhat timeless air to them. Walking around these sites and looking through the often and considerable maquis, there are threshing floors, wells, enclosure walls, stone cut troughs and overgrown pathways. These structures raise a myriad of questions from date to purpose and function, change and adaptation and wider spatial organisation of the landscape. All these questions ultimately lead us back to the village, Mitata.

Mitata itself is in many ways a typical 'rural' village on an island where the rural economy began dying as its population emigrated to the urban centres of Athens and Australia in the 20th century. Mitata is unusual on an island not exactly renowned for its water resources to be located overlooking a lush gorge and by fresh springs. The story of the fate of Mitata's rural economy is illustrated perfectly by the now abandoned terraces that surround the village. There are still features within the village itself that reflect its agrarian past such as threshing floors and even the remains of enclosed field systems. More importantly there are the people who remember this agrarian past.

Structures, like spitakia, can often create illusions about the landscape (Sutton 1999:73). They can seem timeless and unchanging; structures can be imagined and ascribed far greater age than is accurate because their 'traditional' look can be misleading. The older generations talk of this vague concept of 'the olden days', which somehow sounds primordial yet could in fact be less than 50 years ago. This is not an exercise in nostalgia, on the contrary the aim of thesis is to begin to place these structures into their specific historic context and explore how they operated within their landscape and in relation to 'their' village: Mitata.

The relationship between Mitata and its wider hinterland is a key question and theme of the thesis. There are three main facets to this relationship: the economic, spatial and social organisation of the landscape, which connect Mitata with Makrea Skala and Kokkinochorafa. However Mitata does not exist in a vacuum, it in turn is part of wider network of villages on the island. The degree of Mitata's integration within the island based network of settlements is itself significant, does it perhaps inform the way in which the village and the two hamlets relate to each other for example? This inevitably brings to the fore the question of boundaries and to what extent are they permeable within the wider landscape. How is the village territory defined? How do Makrea Skala and Kokkinochorafa fit within this definition? To what extent do boundaries reflect social networks?

It is these types of questions that this thesis attempts to answer by integrating three distinct data sets: the structural remains of the Kokkinochorafa and Makrea Skala, ethnographic and archival evidence. Each data set deals with a different aspect of the period in question; from the archival evidence, which

covers the 18th and the 19th century through to the ethnographic testimonies that deal with the recent past. Combining these data sets should allow a more in-depth exploration of the period and in particular the types of strategies, responses and decisions employed and the way that these are reflected in the rural landscape. The use of the notarial documents and census documents also crucially brings in the ability to trace individuals through these types of processes and look at personalised responses as well as how alliances and social networks are built up through the landscape.

Critically important is the historical background in order to set the economic and political scene while also considering events beyond the relatively narrow focus of Mitata and its hinterland, both on an island wide basis but also beyond that to regional and then even global events. The fact that Kythera is small and apparently marginal does not mean that it does not engage with truly global trends of the period or that it does not articulate with larger socio-economic networks, beyond its own borders. Also important is the need to understand the specific historic context as well as the agricultural economy of the period.

The theoretical background is from one perspective a little trickier, as combining the three data sets and choosing a relatively late period means that the thesis almost straddles anthropology, ethnography, historical archaeology, ethnoarchaeology to name but a few. Without getting drawn into the theoretical debates and semantics, there are a number of comparative studies that have been done from similar survey data within the wider Greek region that are particularly useful in creating a sound methodology and framework for analysis. This is also

helped by the pilot study that was carried out, which exclusively looked at the microdynamics of the rural structures themselves: here the scope has been widened to the rural landscape these structures operate and how it relates to both the village and the strategies employed.

The pilot study ultimately concluded from the way that these rural structures functioned within their landscape that they were part of a process of negotiation and adaptation in the key relationships between people, structures, landscapes and contemporary socio-economic conditions (Smith 2004:83). Dispersal of landholdings was considered against the types of adaptive strategies employed to overcome potential problems or in order to benefit from potential opportunities. Again the case studies analysed presented the now familiar image of 'a contingent countryside' (Sutton 2000a).

This thesis seeks to explore these contingent aspects further, moving away from the detailed analysis of the hamlets themselves to get an understanding of the wider village landscape and of the types of decision-making processes involved. The decision-making processes and management strategies are of course where the archival evidence contributes, through the analysis of transactions and the way that wills and dowry documents begin to show how strategies are constructed and how holdings and property are managed. Also a part of this process is the way that social dynamics inform and often dictate certain aspects or obligations. From the pilot study it was already evident that social ideals, rules and obligations may well be the driving force behind how the landscape is managed, especially in the way that such ideals and rules are expressed through how the land is exploited and why certain strategies are employed or even designed to counteract specific

circumstances or problems (Smith 2004). Of course the documents allow the exploration of individual strategies adding yet another facet to the understanding of the relationships between the various interconnected social and economic networks.

It is these types of relationships and networks and how they relate to the way that the rural landscape is transformed, managed and exploited that this study ultimately seeks to explore, through the integration of an ethnoarchaeological study of the physical remains at the hamlets and an archive based analysis of the documentary evidence from the 18th through to the 20th century. Integral to the study are the questions of changing land use, the components of the household economy and how the village and its hinterland engages with wider socio-economic structures and forces. Also important is how the inhabitants themselves define their relationship with their own landscape, how they perceive and experience it and how this ultimately feeds back into the way in which it is managed and transformed.

Chapter 2: Historical Background

Introduction

On initial inspection Kythera is a small island ¹, sparsely populated, endowed with few natural resources, often isolated and ultimately dwarfed by its larger neighbours. Yet in historical terms the island's experience moves well beyond the limited aspirations that such a description might suggest. It is in fact characterised instead by a rich and diverse history, witness to the major, emerging and declining, empires and powers; alongside their ensuing power struggles and the changing political map that dominated much of the period not only on a local but on a broader Mediterranean and European scale. This can be illustrated through the impressive series of successive regimes in the historical period, empires and systems of government the island has seen, ranging from Byzantine Rule; Venetian feudal lords; Saracen pirates, in the form of the infamous Barbarossa; Venetian Empire; a brief French period and an equally short Ottoman presence in the shape of a Russo-Turkish Alliance; through to the final imperial experience of British colonial government, under the guise of the Protectorate and the Septinsular Republic through to its final union with the newly founded Greek State (Leontsinis² 1987:19-21) (See figure 2.1 for a detailed historical timeline).

During the period of this study, the 18th through to the 20th century, Kythera has experienced directly, or felt the influence of all the major

¹ At 280 sq. km Kythera is in comparison to other islands larger than some of its Cycladic counterparts such as Melos and Thera. However within its own geographic mini region between the Peloponnese and Crete, it is distinctly small. Equally its disconnection from its Ionian grouping and the centre of Corfu within that island network seems to metaphorically shrink Kythera even further.

²Finding historical references for Kythera is extremely difficult, partly due to the fact that most Ionian histories tend to ignore it. A note on the use of Leontsinis, as one of the very limited selection of sources on Kythera, I am fully aware that his history has a particular ideological slant. I am mainly using him for facts and avoiding much of his class based analysis.

contemporary political powers, both in terms of the wider implications of the struggle between rival powers and the island's entanglement in the political machinations that resulted (Woodhouse 1998:124). In terms of local government it underwent two major regime changes moving from the Venetians to the British Protectorate and then from a colonial power to the newly founded Greek state. Equally, purely within the local dynamics of the emerging Greek nation state, Kythera, grouped as part of the Ionian Islands, was not only a member of the first autonomous region of Greece but also consequently joined the newly founded state at a relatively early stage in its political development and territorial definition (Clogg 2002:57).

This complex series of regime changes and political transformation means that the island's history can be analysed on many levels. Kytheran history of the period could be described as its island experience, comparable or contrasting in a region full of small islands, with similarly complex and parallel diverse histories of their own. For example the 19th century saw the rise and fall of a number of small island economies such as Castellorizo, Symi, Kalymnos and Syros³, which despite their relative isolation from the mainland and "very limited agricultural potential" developed into thriving commercial outposts (Doumanis and Pappas 1997:108). Indeed one has to look no further than to the island's inclusion in its Ionian administrative grouping to see divergent island development and experience under the same government and within the same island network. This

³ Sizes for comparison
Castellorizo 10 km²
Symi 38 km²
Syros 85 km²
Kalymnos 93 km²
(Cherry 1981:54-55)

can be extended to examining an island experience through the types of specific problems and challenges it presents in terms of both colonial and administrative concerns against the economic and political strategies ultimately employed.

More specifically in a micro-regional context, Kythera can be perceived as existing on the periphery of two major dominating centres: the Peloponnese and Crete. As a stepping stone between the two, Kytheran history can be understood through the changing relationship with its larger regional neighbours, both in terms of degrees of interaction and particularly the impact and influence on Kythera by external events taking place there (Maltezou 1991, Leontsinis 1987:33)⁴. External events such as the fall of Crete and the expansion of Ottoman power, can be seen to place Kythera within a sweeping, regional narrative related to economic and political processes, ideas and events beyond the Greek realm, even as part of a Mediterranean experience. This Mediterranean experience can be viewed through the influence of Venice and its maritime empire or alternatively Kythera's location in the eastern Mediterranean frontier between the Muslim and Christian powers that confronted each other within a changing political landscape as Venetian rule was replaced by the Ottoman Empire, whilst European rivals jostled for position (Greene 2000:4-5) (See Figure 2.1 for main dates).

In contrast to this Mediterranean experience Kytheran history could be viewed in part as belonging or even reflecting the wider Balkan journey of

⁴ The importance of the relationship between Kythera and its larger neighbours of Crete and the Peloponnese stretches right back into prehistory.

independence in particular its disconnection from its Imperial identity (Todorova 1994:461). This Balkan dimension can be seen not only in terms of purely political events but also the ideas and discourse on identity at the core of the struggle for independence and through the rise of nationalist philosophy and the ideology of the nation state (Mazower 2000:2-3). Indeed such experiences, could be seen to belong to a broader interpretation of imperial history of the period, the island having experienced a series of different colonial identities, which have all left their mark, both on the physical landscape, socio-economic processes, political institutions and more general development of Kythera.

Parallel to these colonial experiences is the island's post-colonial identity, constituting its 'modern' period of independence and Union with the first Kingdom of Greece through to its evolution into the Greek Nation State. This introduces another series of themes, including processes of redefinition and the problems associated with 'Union', particularly its inclusion in a newly founded state in transition, followed by its interaction with the fully developed institutions, economy and politics of the Modern Greek State. The question of definition and inclusion is important in judging the relative status of Kythera within the social, economic and political dynamics of the state, against the extent of their impact on the rural populations of the island. Included in this analysis are the major contemporary economic or political trends, movements or forces of the period and a key, recurring issue or theme is undoubtedly that of migration (Clogg 2004:59, Dertilis 2005:238). On one level migration can be seen as an internal phenomenon representing an adaptive strategy that enables an economic solution on a small scale, not only indicative of local conditions such as poor harvests for example,

but also of wider regional economic growth or demands, either in terms of labour shortage or the products of processes like urbanisation or industrialisation (Dertilis 2005:240-1). However, it can also be envisaged on a larger scale, an external phenomenon of a series of global economic pressures and responses through to the large waves of European emigration to the Americas and Australia that punctuated the twentieth century (Laliotou 2004:51-2).

The experiences outlined above form different approaches to the way that Kythera can be defined and studied from a historical perspective. These, often contrasting perspectives, begin to show the multifaceted nature of the island's experience and serve to highlight some of the key themes that have permeated its history as a whole. The period selected of the 18th through to the 20th century, is in many ways an exceptional introduction to the island's history as it is characterised from the outset by change of political definition and administration. The ability to trace the rise and fall of Kythera's almost unique combination of imperial governments is particularly important in reconstructing their relative impact on the island.

This process of rise and fall is highlighted most effectively by the case of the Venetian administration of the island, dating from the 14th century and the feudal rule of the Venier family, through to the start of the study period in the early 18th century when Venetian imperial power was in terminal decline (Leontsinis 1987:19-21). Yet what is interesting about this period is that although theoretically marking the end of a long regime, it serves as a snapshot of the essential character of the island throughout the period of Venetian rule, in particular the administrative frameworks and social structures established to

govern. The Venetian presence adds direct archival evidence, but also allows a comparative assessment to be made of successive political regimes and their administrative methods and aims and their ultimate impact on the island's daily life from the 18th century onwards. Parallel to the island's daily life is the importance of and degree to which the island articulates with or reflects, larger regional even global structures, events or processes and in turn how this can be understood within the specific context of the Kytheran rural landscape.

The apparent administrative complexities of Kythera during the 18th to the 20th century therefore, create the need for some detailed historical background and understanding. This need is one that operates as has been shown, on two distinct levels and scales: one confined to the island itself and its internal politics, the other on a larger scale to the wider historical picture, both in terms of regional forces and even global socio-economic trends. This relationship and interaction between the local and the global, is one that forms one of the key themes within the broader aims of this study. The availability and analysis of historical records of the period provide the most tangible link between core administrative aims and concerns of imperial rule and how they are transferred and implemented in the rural Kytheran context.

In apposition to this specific, rural Kytheran context is the broader regional, even global perspectives, conflicts, transformations and ideologies. One example that relates immediately to Kythera is the political struggle of the rival 'Great Powers' in the Mediterranean arena, seeking to advance and secure both their respective economic and strategic interests (Koukkou 2001:52-3). Other events of global impact include the emergence of new political ideologies and the

creation of new nation states, as well as wars and their subsequent socio-economic effects. The historical background is therefore essential in creating an understanding of the relationship between these wider issues and linking them to the specific historical context of Kythera.

The Ionian Misfit: Kythera's historical geography and identity.

One of the important issues, before exploring the historical details and conditions of the period, is the perception, position and identity of the island itself. Although there are aspects of Kythera's historical identity, which are difficult to ascertain⁵, perhaps one of the most important contributing factors has been the island's geographical position. This is not to say that the accident of geography necessarily defines the island, but it is perhaps one way of exploring how Kythera, a small, marginal island relegated to a backwater within the wider Greek world, became drawn into political and economic processes that would seem apparently beyond its size and aspirations. A good example of this can be seen in the beginning of the period and the island's "commanding geographical" position on the border of two rival empires, within the European and Mediterranean world (Leontsinis 1987:33). Equally by the end of the period, Kythera reflects many of the typical experiences of wider Mediterranean rural landscapes and islands,

⁵ The difficulty lies in a sense with the way that islands are themselves defined with the Greek region i.e in distinct groupings such as Ionian, Cyclades, North Aegean etc. When Kythera has been placed within such island groupings it has largely been for administrative purposes rather than Kythera sharing the overall identity of the grouping itself.

particularly in socio-economic terms that will be examined in detail later. The island's geographical position therefore begins to introduce the links and relationships between Kythera and its local realities and circumstances, with those wider regional experiences and events of the period.

Kythera's geographic position serves, in many ways, to contextualise just how small and marginal it is in comparison to its mainland neighbour and the island mass of Crete, not only in terms of physical size but more importantly in terms of resources and potential for economic development and self sufficiency. In many ways the proximity and position bridging the two centres has imbued Kythera with a strategic importance of its own, but defined and dependent ultimately on the relative status of its neighbours. During the height of Venetian power in the region, the island was governed from the administration on Crete as part of the Regna di Candia and became known as the 'Eye of Crete', evocatively describing both Kythera's position and the strategic relationship between the two (Detorakis 1994:147). With the subsequent Venetian decline and the rise of the Ottoman Empire, Kythera's geographic position is almost exaggerated in political terms, as it remains an isolated Venetian territory surrounded by Ottoman conquest (Leontsinis 1987:48). Most importantly perhaps in terms of the local history of the island, its exclusion from Ottoman rule, not only resulted in a very different historical experience than its neighbours but also perhaps one of the greatest anomalies: its inclusion among the Ionian Islands and a contrasting historical trajectory, through the Septinsular Republic and the British Protectorate; to one of the first additions to the Greek kingdom through accession rather than war or revolution (Gallant 2002:4).

The discussion of the geographic position highlights its status as a misfit among the Ionian Islands, and contrasts geography with the historical and political expediency behind its inclusion. A glance at the map of the region, shows how the Ionian Islands form, with the exception of Kythera, a coherent grouping off the western coast of Greece (Gallant 2002:1). Fairly basic points can be made about Kythera being an anomaly as an Aegean Island in an Ionian grouping, but the real answer and contrast is found in the broader perception and definition of the island. Within the context of the Greek island world, the terms 'Aegean' and 'Ionian' create a set of very different expectations. This is particularly relevant within this study, in the perceptions these terms create about the local landscape. The location of the main body of the Ionian Islands off the west coast, is such that it has a considerable impact on the microclimate of the area, as the islands receive more precipitation than most of Greece and have a landscape described as "lush and verdant" and renowned for its fertility (Gallant 2002:1). This contrasts heavily with that of the Aegean's much harsher, dry and even barren landscape, which is typical of much of southern Greece (Gallant 2002:1) and describes Kythera more accurately than its Ionian counterpart. However it is also true to say that Kythera is neither traditionally Aegean, though it bears superficial similarities the island's history substantively differentiates it from its island neighbours. Perhaps the most accurate definition of Kythera is to be found somewhere within its dual relationship with the Peloponnese and Crete, its position as a geographical stepping-stone being reflected in its very character and identity.

Most historians of the Ionian Islands therefore, tend to dismiss Kythera as an inclusion based on administrative expediency and practicality (Gallant 2002:1). As an island that had been administratively defined by its relationship to Crete, the fall of the latter in 1669, essentially left Kythera by the first part of the study as an isolated Venetian outpost surrounded by the Ottoman Empire; the practical solution to this administrative problem was to incorporate it with the last remaining Venetian territory and thus it became part of the Ionian islands (Gallant 2002:3). To what extent this had any impact on the lives of local Kytherans will be seen in the more detailed examination of socio-economic conditions of the period, but its inclusion into the political and to some extent cultural world of the Ionian Islands (Veremis and Dragoumis 1995:100), did have significant implications in the way that Kythera became involved and participated in the wider processes and events that defined the region as a whole during the first half of the period. Especially important was the perception created by these outlets of Western influence within the wider Greek world, particularly in their association with the process of the Greek Enlightenment which culminated in the growth of nationalist political ideologies and social tension which led to the creation of the Greek State (Gallant 2002:4, Gallant 2004).

Once again the difference lay not only in terms of events but also more widely through perceptions, identity and shared experiences. The history of the Ionian islands, defined largely by their long periods of Venetian and British colonial rule, as opposed to the perceived negative Ottoman experience of the rest of the Greek world (Gallant 2002:24), led to both the contemporary and wider view of greater cultural and political sophistication and socio-cultural development (Koliopoulos and Veremis 2004:52, Gallant 2002:4-5). This was also

seen as a fusion with the remnants of the period of the cultural renaissance of Crete which were brought to the Ionian Islands by refugees after the Ottoman conquest and further evolved within the Ionian context and with local variants and adaptations (Koukkou 2001:17-18). This sophistication was seen to derive both from the symbolism of belonging to the Septinsular Republic (Koliopoulos and Veremis 2004:52) and also in terms of the aristocratic and bourgeois political class and society that had been formed and developed under Venetian rule and continued under the British (Gallant 2002:4-6). These Ionian states were therefore seen to possess a distinctively European flavour as opposed to the oriental influence of their Ottoman equivalent (Herzfeld 1987:29). This was seen partly in terms of the West versus East dichotomy, where the Ionian Islands through their Venetian and British experiences were seen as an “important channel of western influence” within the Greek world (Veremis and Dragoumis 1995:100).

In many ways the different historical experience and the society that emerged led to this sense of a distinctive Ionian cultural and political identity. An important aspect in relation to this is the level of involvement and participation of Kythera within this sense of an Ionian insular identity⁶. In other words did Kythera engage with this identity or had it remained something essentially different, occupying a strange almost unique position. A position that found the island geographically isolated and removed from its administrative grouping, and the base of Venetian power on the periphery, but also marking the boundary surrounded by and connected to rival Ottoman regions, which prior to their conquest Kythera had been economically and politically dependent upon.

⁶ From conversations I've had with modern Eptanesians mainly Corfiots, there is a perception that Kythera is definitely NOT part of what would at least now be considered an Ionian island identity. In fact most point out that it does not even 'look' Ionian

The question of the Ottoman Empire itself, which dominates the regional historical geography of the period, is therefore presented on Kythera from a different angle. Direct Ottoman administration of the island was short and mostly under the guise of a Russo-Turkish alliance, placing it more firmly within the contemporary struggle for control and spheres of influence between the Great Powers, than with the more usual regional account of an Ottoman administration succeeding a Venetian one (e.g. Zarinebaf et al 2005). The historical relationship of Kythera with the Ottoman Empire is more indirect than that, lying mainly in the very fact that the two regions in some ways depends upon and looks to, belong within the Ottoman realm. Though this could be equally said of the relationship with other Ionian Islands and their proximity to the northern mainland, it is not the same type of connection, as Kythera does not also have the same degree of contact and relationship with the rest of the Ionian Islands. Its isolation in terms of communication and its geographic disconnection from the larger Ionian island network thus introduces a sense of necessity in its relationship with its Ottoman neighbours. This can be seen reversed in terms of Kythera's geographical proximity to two major Ottoman regions with its contrasting political status, which renders it as a refugee haven in times of crisis (Leontsinis 1987:191). The impact and influence of refugees will be assessed in the more detailed analysis of the demography of the island, but its exclusion from major regional events such as the fighting of the War of Independence, made it a politically rather than economically attractive place of refuge (Leontsinis 1987:191). From a Kytheran perspective, these larger more developed regions presented types of economic opportunities that were not available locally on the island and in the last decades of Venetian rule, migration of Kytherans to

neighbouring areas of the Ottoman Empire was documented where agricultural manpower was required as well as to the thriving commercial centres of the period though not to the other Ionian islands (Leontsinis 1987:202).

The island's tenuous Ionian identity and obvious Ottoman contact, brings to the fore once again the complexities of the political map of nineteenth century Europe with dominating International powers and weaker dominions and subordinate states, all entangled in fluctuating power relationships (Tzanelli 2002:169). The Ionian Islands under British rule is an obvious case in point. Although the geographical situation of the islands has been discussed, their perception and definition under the British was one that contrasted greatly to local, contemporary discourse of Ionian society. If the Ionians had largely escaped the "Ottoman yoke" and all the associated malignancy that that entailed in terms of political but also social, cultural and economic development, their Venetian past was not viewed as a credential by their British successors (Gallant 2002:24-5). Venetian rule was largely characterised as corrupt and despotic as was the brief French rule that followed, and though this could be seen within the sphere of wider rivalry between European colonial powers, it had a very specific effect on the way that the British classified their Ionian subjects (Gallant 2002:27). Drawn within the wider colonial discourse of the British Empire, the Ionians became compared to Ireland, displaying many of the same signs of unruliness, violence, irrationality and cultural inferiority that formed the base of the Irish stereotype (Gallant 2002:32-9). In other words the Ionians, became ethnically stereotyped as the 'Mediterranean Irish' (Gallant 2002) and as a number of rebellions broke out displaying the same reactionary attitude toward British rule (Gallant 2002:35).

Though the political and administrative details will be examined later, perhaps what is most interesting about the period of British rule is their overall assessment of the Ionian Islands, and in particular how this translated to policy on Kythera, which was far removed from the Ionian centre of power. Its relation to Corfu as the capital of the Septinsular republic was important to the relative position of Kythera within this Ionian hierarchy. The political benefits of hosting the administrative capital are obvious but in economic terms the advantages were visible on the ground through the concentration of public works including not only grand architectural projects but also basic infrastructure on Corfu, while on the other islands it remained at an “embryonic” stage (Progoulakis 2003:74). This also translated to economic advantages particularly related to Corfu as the commercial hub of the Ionians through the development of its port (Progoulakis 2003:205). Despite its enduring strategic importance in the contemporary political climate, economically Kythera could never hope to match the development of the larger Ionian Islands. For a start the funds the island generated were so low it was subsidised by rather than contributing to the Republic’s finances (Progoulakis 2003:68 Andreades 1914). However the distance that separated it from the wider Ionian network that developed centred on Corfu, may well have limited Kythera’s own economic and commercial advancement.

In terms of questions of historical geography it is significant that we return to the question of strategic importance as the way of calculating relative value. This assessment was placed against the backdrop of the Great Power politics which had led to the creation of the Septinsular Republic and inevitably

remained at the forefront of any discussion of the islands political status, which then became linked to its overall economic contribution (Knox 1984:510).

Perhaps what is most significant for Kythera, within this debate in Britain over the future of the Ionians, is that it is classified with the southern group of islands that were first seen to display signs of fervent nationalism and assessed to be of limited colonial value (Knox 1984:509). It is Corfu that is seen to possess the real strategic value within the wider control of the Adriatic (Knox 1984:504), contrasting with Kythera's former strategic position in relation to the Eastern Mediterranean, specifically Crete and the Ottoman Empire (Maltezou 1991:152). In other words the changing historical realities of the region and the shifting centres of focus and conflict amongst the competing European powers play an intrinsic part in the definition and position of Kythera within the wider region during the colonial phase of its history and in the eyes of successive administrations.

The post-colonial period forms the final major division in the period and once again changes the position of Kythera in parallel to the political transformations associated with the creation and establishment of the Modern Greek State. In the political arena of the European and Mediterranean world of the period, this change can be perhaps best envisaged through the contrast in relative power, from rule by a major Imperial power to incorporation within a weak state dependent on its dominant European guarantors for its initial survival (Tzanelli 2002:169). This can be seen especially throughout the political developments that led to the Ionian Islands' unification with Greece and within the early stages of the modern state's development. In terms of Kythera, there is once again a change in its position within its regional world. It is no longer of strategic importance, in the

sense that as the territorial consolidation of Greece progresses throughout the period, parallel to the collapse of the Ottoman and wider Imperial domains within the Mediterranean, the sense of conflict has been transformed and the boundaries have shifted. Kythera instead becomes incorporated into a different set of political realities, defined by shared rural and island experiences ⁷, particularly in terms of socio-economic development (Shannan Peckham 2001:56). Indeed the rural and island nature are crucial to the perception of the island and its social landscape, as the discourse surrounding the essence of Greekness and Greek society was seen most strongly in the survival of traditions associated with the timeless peasant tied to his land and most concentrated in island society (Shannan Peckham 2003:507-9). This trend was most strongly seen in the cultural consolidation of the Greek State during its formative years at the end of the nineteenth century, but was a view that persisted, colouring perceptions and definitions both of island societies and landscapes for much of the remaining period (Shannan Peckham 2001:56).

This serves as a brief outline to situate Kythera within its wider historical world, and yet also highlights the relative complexities of the period. Therefore for analytical ease and clarity it is necessary to break the period down into three themes within the main historical narrative. In terms of the aims of this study these themes are: the administrative and political regimes, the economy and finally social conditions. These themes will form the backbone of the more detailed discussion of the historical background. Also it is perhaps more useful in

⁷ This shared rural island experience leads Kythera along the road that eventually in more recent times leads it to be defined as an island of the *αγονή γραμμή*. Literally translated as the barren/non productive route, routes in commercial shipping that have to be subsidised by the government in order to ensure open communication and access due to lack of profitability and passengers. However the term has come to represent a general economic malaise associated with such islands; a cultural stereotype where the island becomes defined by its very isolation or degree of difficulty to access.

view of the number of changes and transformations within the period, to divide the period not in terms of strict chronology but in terms of a period of colonial rule and foreign dominance and Kythera within the modern nation state. Such an approach is also useful in interpretative terms as these are two major divisions mirrored throughout the political developments of Europe at the time and also highlight the different political and economic processes and networks associated with each. Equally the changing political landscape can be analysed in conjunction with parallel emerging ideologies, economic and social processes and strategies such as the effects of industrialisation on rural development; economic migration; depopulation and urban growth.

Politics and Administration

The politics and administration of Kythera from the 18th century through to its union with Greece in the 19th, despite the succession of foreign governments, is one defined by a Venetian beginning and a British end. This does not however automatically exclude the impact or influence of political thought or emerging systems, from the brief passing of the French and even the Russians and Ottomans, nor does it mean that local politics remained unaffected by European developments and events. Within the limits of this chapter it is perhaps more useful to examine the question of politics and administration through an evaluation of administrative structures, systems of government and the relationship with its associated ruling elite, alongside an overall assessment of the impact and degree of interaction of government with the rural populations and landscapes at the heart of this study.

An appraisal of government during a period, which is generally defined by change, requires a more detailed examination of administrative aims and policies as well as the reasons behind them. For example, a crucial question is the way that recurring or chronic problems and issues are addressed and the circumstances in which policy changes or remains the same. This question can become a more specific analysis of the local conditions and problems and to what extent therefore were certain policies or administrative attitudes tailored to suit the particular circumstances of Kythera. Once again the question of perceptions of the island is significant, in looking at how governments reflect and highlight such attitudes and how they ultimately filter through into policies and administrative aims. Also what was the ethos that defined successive governments, particularly in the case of colonial regimes, whose interest in the island was ultimately linked to regional political landscapes and whose administration existed within a much larger imperial structure. Another particularly significant issue is the degree and level of interaction with the local populace particularly in terms of the levels of access to government institutions and structures and the direct effect and results of administrative decisions on the ground. Connected to this is the local perception and experience of different governments. In terms of the degree and level of interaction with the local populace, how and to what extent did these administrative decisions filter down and affect rural contexts in particular and what in turn was the local perception of each government and its relationship with the island. These questions highlight the need not only for a detailed grasp of the structures involved but more widely the quality and level of the relationship between political doctrine and policy exercised from the governmental centre and the specific rural populations, economic and social conditions on the ground.

Many of these types of questions require a degree of understanding of the types of problems that defined Kythera during the period and were presented to successive administrations. In brief, Kythera remained a marginal island, defined by a largely agrarian economy on land that was not particularly fertile and suffering from the long term effects of depopulation (Leontsinis 1987:84). Indeed throughout its history Kythera has continued to be plagued by these two major interconnected problems, depopulation and a low level of economic productivity and sustainability. Added to this has been the changing strategic position of the island. In turn these problems and the ways that successive governments approached them, can be seen as a yardstick against which these administrative efforts and policies can be assessed and particularly relevant as these are problems exemplified in the rural context.

Administrative structures and political organisation of the island

The period in question is undoubtedly in administrative terms, dominated by the Venetian government both in terms of longevity but also in terms of the extensive records and archives still in existence on the island. This archive of surviving records reveals many of the policies and defining principles of Venetian rule (Maltezou 1991) and once again enables the assessment of a series of complex and changing set of administrative structures, and wider organisation of the island. Before the Venetian administration, Kythera was largely characterised by political instability, due to its strategic position and relative insecurity in a region dominated by corsairs and adventurers alongside established states and empires (Leontsinis 1987:75, Detorakis 1994:201-3). The period of Venetian rule that followed had a profound effect particularly in shaping the socio-economic

development of the island as it had its other dominions (Gallant 2002:4). Though the long Venetian presence gave a sense of continuity there were also periods of change not only in terms of policies and political aims but also in the degree of stability provided (Leontsinis 1987:50).

The system of government established on Kythera by the Venetians, mirrored that of much of the rest of the Empire and that of Venice itself (Leontsinis 1987:66). However within this framework there was a considerable amount of flexibility particularly in the way that government reflected and adapted to local conditions and problems and especially in the somewhat problematic context of Kythera. As a whole therefore, the island even within its wider administrative groupings like the Ionian Islands during the period, displayed a number of differences in government and highlighted the relative autonomy granted to the rulers of the island (Leontsinis 1987:66).

This autonomy was partly due to the context and nature of Kythera itself. Kythera's strategic position but relative isolation from the rest of Venetian forces in the region and problematic communication links meant that security was of key concern both for the local rulers and populace. The raid of the notorious Barbarossa in 1537 (Leontsinis 1987:78), captured the Kytheran public's imagination in highlighting the potential vulnerability of the island and created a persistent sense of insecurity which perhaps even led to the overstatement of the level of perceived threat for centuries to come. Added to this the nature and productivity of the landscape led to particular administrative problems and concerns. These problems related to the settlement and population of the island and secondly the economic viability of the island and accordingly the type and

degree of revenue available to local government. These concerns shaped not only administrative policy, (as will be examined in further detail later in the chapter) but also in many ways were responsible for the contrast Kythera presents with its Ionian counterparts. The question of settlement and population was perhaps the most significant during the period particularly in giving Kythera its “somewhat distinctive social and cultural community” (Leontsinis 1987:51), linked to its Venetian rulers and a subsequent “faster pace of political and social-economic change”(Leontsinis 1987:50).

The Venetian system that was adapted to reflect these local problems and particularities was one based on a strict hierarchy and “administrative chain of command”, that had repercussions on how the political life and class system on the island developed (Leontsinis 1987:50). As the other Ionian islands, Kythera was appointed a Venetian colonial governor or Proveditore, as the highest representative of Venetian government on the island, and subordinate only to his Venetian superior the Proveditore Generale, based in Corfu (during the period in question) and governor of the entire Ionian administrative district (Leontsinis 1987:50). In practice however the autonomy afforded by the Venetian set up was such that governmental responsibility for the island, lay largely with the local Venetian appointments, with their regional superior there only to ensure the good conduct of such officials (Leontsinis 1987:54).

The presence of locally based Venetian officials in the highest position of power, underlined one of the basic tenets of Venetian colonial rule (Leontsinis 1987:96). The local involvement in government had serious implications on the

social stratification of Kytheran society, as the Venetian administration reflected and was based on the aristocratic constitution of Venice (Leontsinis 1987:96). In other words the local involvement in government was seen through the parallel development of an elite political class of the Kytheran nobility, which the system favoured with “ a number of privileges” including minor posts within the colonial administration (Leontsinis 1987:96) but also influence on the appointment of other local officials such as judges, through the Council of the Community of Nobles (Leontsinis 1987:67). The introduction of the Libro d’Oro and the Venetian class strategy that led to such privileges and an associated “measure of self-government’, consolidated the nobility that had existed before. It also created and increased the social “chasm” between the leading political noble class (*cittadini*), who mirrored their Venetian superiors and the peasants (*popolani*) that made up the majority of the population (Leontsinis 1987:68).

This social chasm can be seen in the wider political organisation of the island as the system, established while safeguarding Venetian military and commercial interests, favoured the nobility who dominated both politically and socially as power became increasingly centralised (Leontsinis 1987:65). The sharp divisions as a result of the political elevation of the nobility were seen in the centre of power established in Chora and its relative alienation from the rest of island society (Leontsinis 1987:96-7). Chora stood not only as the administrative capital of the island, but also as the true centre of political life, as those who did not live there were essentially excluded (Leontsinis 1987:96). The only ‘settlement’ or perhaps more accurately district that was connected to Chora was Livadi where the majority of the *cittadini* estates were located. The main source of engagement between the government concentrated in Chora and the rest of the

island's districts came largely in the form of administrative interactions related to taxation, military service and labour obligations to the state (Leontsinis 1987:99). The burden of these obligations fell entirely to the class labelled as 'popolani' i.e. townspeople and peasants, largely excluded from the political process and networking of Chora (Leontsinis 1987:99). Though these burdens were ostensibly alleviated with the relaxing of the feudal system which the Venetians had inherited, the peasant farmers who made up the majority of the 'popolani' were politically disadvantaged and economically oppressed through the system itself or its abuse by the nobility and the privileges they were granted (Leontsinis 1987:98-9).

This social and political inequality, in terms of the administration of the island overall, led the Venetian government to be characterised by growing levels of instability, as a result of the increasing burden being placed exclusively on one section of the population (Leontsinis 1987:102). In comparison to the rest of the Ionian Islands of the period living conditions for the peasant class were consistently worse and exacerbated by the high levels of public service required, in order to overcome the island's perennial problems of depopulation, government revenue tied to a largely unproductive land and the need for costly defences and security (Leontsinis 1987:101). This was made worse both by the corruption of local government but also in the failure of Venetian policy to remedy these problems (as shall be seen in the detailed examination of socio-economic conditions), which led to sporadic outbreaks of class conflict and revolt (Leontsinis 1987:106).

British inheritance of Kythera and the politics of the Septinsular Republic

The decline of the Venetian Empire was evident on Kythera through the regime's growing inability to govern and its subsequent reliance on the local nobility to control the lower classes (Leontsinis 1987:109). However this policy, through its promotion of 'class rivalry' in order to secure the Venetian interests, created a period of class conflict which filled the vacuum left after the final collapse of Venetian power (Leontsinis 1987:109-110). This led to a period of considerable political upheaval lasting from 1780 and the peasant revolt through to the final establishment of the British Protectorate in 1817 (Leontsinis 1987:109). Though the social effects and consequences of this period of revolt will be dealt with later, this period is also significant in the consideration of the effects of wider regional events and the influence of contemporary political ideologies.

On a regional scale this period best reflects the power struggle of the Great powers and the ongoing negotiation of their status quo, through their interests in the Ionian Islands. The level and degree of political wrangling and manoeuvring amongst the European powers is best illustrated through the number of changes not only in the island's status but also even in the constitutions and mandates used to govern it (Leontsinis 1987:19). Venice ceded the islands initially to France in 1797; however this period of French rule was thwarted by the Russo-Turkish alliance formed to check French power in the Mediterranean after the Napoleonic Wars (Leontsinis 1987:19 Koukkou 2001:52-3)). This jostling for position in the Mediterranean, eventually led to the creation of the constitution of

the Septinsular Republic in 1800, the first theoretically autonomous region of Greece in the modern period (Leontsinis 1987:19, Gallant 2001:13).

However the establishment of the Russo-Turkish alliance and their control of the Ionian Islands, led to Western action against the fear of further Russian encroachment and expansion into the Mediterranean (Leontsinis 1987:19). The defeat of Russian forces in Europe however returned the islands once again to the French in 1807, only for the final transition to British control under the guise of 'protection' granted by the Second Peace of Paris in 1815 (Leontsinis 1987:20). British control had essentially been established with the defeat of French forces, amidst local support and limited resistance, which subsequently ended with the resignation of Napoleon in 1814 and confirmed British domination of the islands (Leontsinis 1987:28-9). It was in fact the presence of troops on the islands that in the end resolved the issue of which of the Great Powers would take control (Leontsinis 1987:29).

Yet what was the legacy of this period of political upheaval and regime change, especially as the British Protectorate inherited it? Perhaps the most significant, was the influence of particularly French political ideas and their subsequent effect on the partial restructuring of the local system of government (Leontsinis 1987:118). In terms of Kythera violent class conflict against the stagnation imposed by the Venetian aristocratic regime, led initially to a distinct French revolutionary flavour, instigated by the brief French administration of the island. The constitution drawn up by the French as well as all documents and proclamations issued by the French authorities, made ample reference to "Liberty" and "Equality" (Leontsinis 1987:118). In reflection of French revolutionary values

such as these the nobility and thus the island's political class under the Venetians, was abolished while the old Chora centred regime was subsequently dismantled as the political structures of the island were reformed and local government extended to rural districts (Leontsinis 1987:119). Though French rule was brief, governmental reform continued to evolve under Russo-Turkish administration, which continued in its provision of greater self-government, in the face of further rebellion in favour of the destruction of the institutionalised aristocratic regime established by the Venetians (Leontsinis 1987:119).

In the face of the social and political mobilisation reflected in the series of peasant revolts, the incoming British administration was to a certain degree compelled to accept and continue the process of reform implemented by the French and allied regimes. Under the British protectorate therefore the 'United States of the Ionian islands' as they became known, saw a measure of the self-government and decentralisation of political power locally that had been achieved during the revolt, but under the broader reign of British Colonial rule and the restoration of the noble classes (Leontsinis 1987:178).

However to a certain degree the British administration proved to be a continuation of previous imperial rule, as many aspects of administrative policy had been dictated more by the nature of the island than by any higher political aims (Leontsinis 1987:99-101). Though these regime change had been frequent in the period after the collapse of Venetian rule, the degree of reform had been limited by the brevity of many of the administrations, leaving certain areas such as fiscal organisation untouched (Leontsinis 1987:119). Indeed the British set up established throughout the Ionian Islands in many ways mirrored its Venetian

predecessor. Each island was appointed a British Governor, under the auspices of the central government and the Lord High Commissioner based on Corfu; however in contrast to previous regimes, the islands were now theoretically part of a sovereign state with their own assembly (Gallant 2002:8). In practice however this was only a thin veneer of autonomy under what became quickly established as direct British colonial rule (Gallant 2002:8).

The drafting of the constitution, one of the first duties of Lord High Commissioner Maitland, in many ways reflects both the British imperial attitudes towards their Ionian acquisitions and the tone of the administration that was to follow. All the real power was invested, as with the Venetians before them, in British appointees and the Colonial office, while the position of Lord High Commissioner essentially undermined any sense of legislative freedom of the locally elected assembly through the number of vetoes and discretionary powers of approval it held (Gallant 2002:8-9) Though the political organisation of local government was continued, particularly in the abolition of the community of Nobles (Leontsinis 1987:269), officials in local administration were 'British protégées' subservient to "British social, economic and political policies' (Leontsinis 1987:290). However local government was no longer confined to Chora, with the strengthening of administrative districts or communes in rural areas as part of the wider Kytheran municipality and their constant communication and interaction of local officials (such as the proesti), with central government (Leontsinis 1987:269).

However though there was a continuation of administrative reform during the British period there was also a continuation of policies that did not necessarily

fit in with this wider process. One such inheritance that continued was the practice of forced labour on Kythera, a policy partly dictated by the demographic weakness of the island and the problem of the state mustering labour and the lack of funds for public works (Leontsinis 1987:351). It is interesting that like the Venetians before them, the British kept the practice and used it as a cornerstone in achieving many of their plans for the development of the island. Since the issue of forced labour had been one of the main sources of contention and agitation amongst the peasantry, due to its associations with the inequalities of the Venetian aristocratic regime (Leontsinis 1987:352), its continuation is perhaps indicative of the political implications and constraints of Kythera's economic deficit (Leontsinis 1987:351).

Forced labour was used to great effect not only for the construction of public monuments and the improvement of the infrastructure but also on Kythera became deeply involved with the 'civilising' influence the British administration sought to exert upon the island (Gallant 2002:11), for example through its development of a formal, structured education system (Kasimatis 1994:121).

Forced labour was not only utilised in the construction of the school buildings, but as a penalty to enforce attendance and thus make the system work amongst rural communities who had not had previous access to formal education (Kasimatis 1994:121). However though the British Protectorate aimed for enlightenment of the uneducated population, the political process added to the air of superiority conveyed by the British, which became associated with "the idea of working under duress" (Leontsinis 1987:352). This led to a continuing source of friction between British colonial rulers and the local population (Leontsinis 1987:352-3).

This friction in the relationship was further exacerbated by the political tensions caused by the Greek War of Independence, which caused particular problems for the British colonial administration of the Ionian Islands (Knox 1984:503). Old tensions regarding the supposed independence of the Ionians resurfaced amongst the local political classes as revolutionary fervour swept through mainland Greece, exposing the differences between the allegiances of the local population towards their fighting brethren and the British administration trying to maintain Ionian neutrality (Gallant 2002:10) and protect its own colonial interests (Knox 1984:503). Equally added to all these were the political expectations that the establishment of the theoretically autonomous Septinsular Republic had created (Gallant 2001:13) and the tension with their subsequent status under the British Protectorate (Koukkou 2001:222). The movement for union and ongoing political agitation, made the Protectorate increasingly problematic back in Britain with the Ionian Islands becoming an ongoing concern for the authorities (Knox 1984:525).

Kythera was in many ways uniquely placed amongst its Ionian counterparts in its reaction supporting the revolution. Isolated from the British centre on Corfu and closer to the Morea, which was at the forefront of the revolutionary struggle, it was placed at the vanguard of Ionian solidarity with the Independence movement on the mainland (Kasimatis 1994:123). Not only were there examples of active Kytheran support through provisions of supplies and munitions sent by prominent locals (Kasimatis 1994:123), but in 1823 this support was taken to the extreme with the massacre of Ottoman refugees that had arrived on the island from Crete (Kasimatis 1994:124 Leontsinis 1987:283). This

highlighted the contrast between the perceptions of the local population and the colonial authorities, which up to that time had operated an open policy towards refugees from both sides and had maintained Ionian neutrality (Gallant 2002:10).

In many ways this reaction was in part provoked by Kythera's status as a refugee haven and its close relationship with its mainland neighbours, who were now in open rebellion. It was the contact with refugees themselves that brought many of the revolutionary ideas to the local Kytheran population, so that although the island was isolated from the Ionian core, it was deeply involved, reflected and empathised with the struggle of its closest neighbours (Leontsinis 1987:313-4). This is recognised in deliberations over the future status of the islands as a result of the political events of the war, where Kythera is included in the rebellious southern group, seen to be more strongly linked with events and of less strategic value to British interests (Knox 1984:509). Ultimately the nationalism that the Ionian Islands displayed in the articulation of their unity with their mainland counterparts and a shared Greek identity, led to the process which brought about the dissolution of the Protectorate (Gallant 2002:10-4). The establishment of a nation state and the accession of the new King George I, essentially resolved the issue and the islands were ceded to Greece in March 1864 (Gallant 2002:14).

Economic conditions of the period.

The economic life of the island was one defined by its almost complete reliance on agricultural production. Even within a period of large-scale economic evolution through processes such as industrialisation throughout the region, Kythera's economy remained firmly rooted in its agrarian foundations (Leontsinis 1987:213). Indeed the problematic status of Kythera, in terms of the revenue it consistently did *not* generate for its colonial rulers, highlights the fundamental problems that plagued the economic development and further commercial evolution of the island. In terms of the local population however the agricultural nature of the Kytheran economy, meant that the island was defined in a sense not only by the practice of subsistence farming but more widely in the relationship between people and land.

Demography, land use and the Venetians.

The economic marginality of Kythera was largely one that developed under the restrictive Venetian fiscal policy and in particular an ongoing obsession with the production of wheat, which formed the basis of revenue from taxation (Leontsinis 1987:214-5) The Venetian set up, which included a system of state taxes on favoured crops such as wheat, essentially developed an economic stranglehold on the island, supplemented with a series of complex restrictions, regulations and state controlled monopolies (Leontsinis 1987:215) and reflecting the social hierarchy of the island through its uneven distribution of land (Leontsinis 1987:262). Essentially this combined with the demographic problems of the island, created a climate of economic stagnation, characterised by low

revenues and a generalised lack of agricultural surplus, which hampered the commercial development of the island while increasing the economic reliance on crops that were not necessarily appropriate to local soil conditions (Leontsinis 1987:213-5).

Inherent within this system was the glaring inequality of land distribution and fiscal burden placed upon the local populations. This was particularly significant in terms of levels of agricultural production, as the way that land had been distributed dictated the ways in which rural economies operated (Leontsinis 1987:262). On an island where fertile land is at a premium the Venetian subdivision of land led to the contrast between the large noble estates of fertile land and the peasant small holders, who were assigned the lower quality even barren areas (Leontsinis 1987:262). This once again entrenched and highlighted the political divide that was seen between the nobility in Chora and the rest of the island's predominantly rural population.

This contrast could be seen in the development of the rural economy and land use strategies employed both in order to achieve the maximum level of self sufficiency but also in some cases to resist the financial burden placed upon them by their colonial rulers (Leontsinis 1987:230). It is indicative that most small holders supplemented their mixed farming regimes with some degree of stockbreeding (Leontsinis 1987:230). This was not only due to the lack of other forms of supplemental incomes or economic opportunities, but was a practice that flourished under the Venetians due to the lower level of taxation, as the farmers exploited loopholes within the system for their own financial gain (Leontsinis 1987:229). This was repeated in reverse once the financial regulations where

changed by the end of the Venetian period and stockbreeding declined against a parallel increase in cultivation, reflecting the changes in focus of not only smallholders but Venetian fiscal policy itself (Leontsinis 1987:229).

By the late 18th century and the end of Venetian rule the growth of the population and gradual decline in the demands for state service, saw a series of key changes in terms of the development, change and expansion of agricultural incomes (Leontsinis 1987:213). Though these changes had arguably little overall effect on the financial status of the majority of the population, they began a process of expansion that would be continued under the British and in particular began to change the focus on the types of crops that formed the core of the economy.

The focus of the policies implemented on the population by the Venetian regime, was largely in terms of relaxing the stranglehold that had developed and deregulating many of the taxed crops (Leontsinis 1987:216). Also a more long-term solution was found in the move towards an agricultural economy that was based on crops suited to the local conditions such as olives for example rather than wheat (Leontsinis 1987:241). Added to this were the Venetian government's attempts to increase the overall percentage of land under cultivation; this was achieved primarily through the release of unproductive land under state control and through regulations over the forfeit of land left uncultivated for over 5 years (Leontsinis 1987:216). This policy had particular effect on viticulture on the island, which had previously been heavily restricted, in order to focus cultivation on wheat, partly to cover the Venetian Empire's increased need for cereals (Leontsinis 1987:241). This highlights Kythera's economic position within the

wider Venetian scheme for their colonial possessions as viticulture was already well established in other more productive areas of the Venetian realm (Leontsinis 1987:241).

Similarly the same type of attitude could be seen even within the change of land exploitation and the reassessment of taxation. Though incentives were provided for the increase in olive cultivation including the lowering of taxes, the basic rural economy changed very little and the Venetian authorities recognised that local conditions meant that the chance of the production of a surplus available for export were extremely limited (Leontsinis 1987:240). Thus already in the process of its final decline, the Venetian authorities chose to concentrate on areas where olive cultivation had a greater economic potential (Leontsinis 1987:239). As a result of this on Kythera, it was only the large noble estates which saw the adoption of increased olive cultivation, with rural smallholders still dependent on mixed cropping regimes in order to attain self sufficiency (Leontsinis 1987:239) and part time supplementary activities such as beekeeping or fishing (Leontsinis 1987:242-3).

Another important aspect in the release from many of the previous burdens of Venetian policy was a parallel focus on commercial development and expansion of trade including the development of ports such as Kapsali and their associated settlements (Leontsinis 1987:204). Kythera however, especially in relation to its Ionian counterparts and closest neighbours, had a striking lack of commercial activity. This was partly due to the Venetian control over maritime trade and shipping (Leontsinis 1987:254) but also due to the economic polarisation of the island, once again based on a hierarchy that favoured Chora.

Chora's geographical position meant that there was little land available for agriculture so apart from the nobles who relied on the income from their large estates in areas like Livadi, the majority of the island's trade and craftsmen were located there (Leontsinis 1987:258). This economic divide was seen in the rival development of the town of Potamos in the north, indicative of the growth and evolution of a middle commercial class during the eighteenth century and flourishing in the nineteenth century (Leontsinis 1987:258).

Economic development under the British Protectorate

This economic development was further extended under the British Protectorate. Perhaps the greatest contribution to the evolution of the local Kytheran economy was undoubtedly the removal of the restrictions of the Venetian system and the further implementation of policies aimed at growth and development. Under the British protectorate, the demography of the island ceased to be an economic factor as the population stabilised and increased (Leontsinis 1987:203). The decentralisation of local government contributed to the evolution of the rural landscape in particular with a faster rate of growth compared with that under the changes of late Venetian rule. This was partly seen in the growth of satellite villages around Chora as smallholders moved out to be closer to the land and increased the effectiveness of their farming (Leontsinis 1987:257-8).

Equally the lifting of Venetian restrictions and concerted attempts by the British administration, led to a diversification of the types of crops grown,

including fruit trees, broad beans, tomatoes and potatoes (Leontsinis 1987:236-7). In terms of land use, it was under the British that a real increase was seen in olive cultivation and the real beginning of its pre-eminence as a cash crop (Leontsinis 1987:240). In particular this was seen not only in the increased contribution of olives and oil to the local diet where use was far more widespread but also in terms of olive substitution of other less successful crops and sectors such as viticulture, which were covered by imports by the British authorities from Crete (Leontsinis 1987:241). In terms of its contribution to the wider economy of the island, olive production formed the greatest source of revenue for the administrative authorities as the main commodity for export (Leontsinis 1987:240). In quantitative terms however, Kythera's olive production was dwarfed by its Ionian neighbours and ultimately remained on a different scale to the real economic contributors such as Corfu. For example from the records and census data from 1830-1844 some 75% of the land was cultivated on Corfu and some two thirds of this cultivated land was covered in what were described as forests of olives (Progoulakis 2003:15). In general assessed against its shortcomings and realistic economic potential, Kythera under the British, began to attain a measure of economic self-sufficiency within the wider Ionian network. This self-sufficiency was also reflected in the economic development of the local farming population, and the production of a surplus as well as further economic and commercial opportunities beyond agriculture.

The British also built upon Venetian development of commerce and trade that had begun from the early eighteenth century. The release from Venetian control meant that trade could be expanded more effectively, and the British administration continued the development of ports such as Avlemonas and Kapsali

in order to facilitate the growth of the island's commercial traffic (Leontsinis 1987:203-4). However in spite of this, trade and manufacturing remained "underdeveloped" (Leontsinis 1987:245) with foreign merchants handling the exported surpluses (Leontsinis 1987:255). Subsequently no working class that relied solely on paid employment evolved on the island (Leontsinis 1987:245). This was partly due to the way that the local economy had developed on the island, closely linked to ownership and exploitation of land (Leontsinis 1987:245,253). Maritime shipping did evolve under the benefits of the Ionian flag, which offered British protection and renewed links with its neighbours increasing the capital available for commercial ventures (Leontsinis 1987:254). However Kytheran participation always remained on a much smaller scale than its Ionian counterparts as the trade evolved in the nineteenth century (Andreades 1914b: 136).

The economy within the Greek state through to the 20th century: mechanisation, industrialisation and migration

The end of the British Protectorate in March 1864 (Clogg 2002:270) placed the economic development and evolution of the island within the different political sphere of the Greek nation state. In many ways the island's inclusion with the Ionian Islands and its different political history had several economic benefits during the nineteenth century. Land remained a key issue within the wider Greek economy as well as the politics of the new state (McGrew 1985:xi), as capital and

labour were limited after the war of independence, and economic development critically depended on effective and efficient land use within the predominantly agrarian economy (McGrew 1985:19). However Kythera as with the other Ionian members, did not have to undergo the same process of transition from the Ottoman legacy of land tenure and ownership and was not involved in the complexities of subsequent policies of land division and distribution (McGrew 1985:xiii) Equally in terms of political representation, due to demography the agricultural class (and by extension rural populations) had extensive political might within the system and may even be considered as over represented as a whole within parliament, compared with their newly developing urban counterparts (Dertilis 2005:740).

In commercial terms economic benefits were seen particularly in the improvement of communications between the island and the rest of Greece which had implications not only in the degree of trade to and from Kythera, but provided labour opportunities off the island (Kasimatis 1994:182). Migration in particular proved one of the key socio-economic processes of the 20th century along with the state's drive to develop the national economy particularly in terms of the agricultural sector, through modernisation and wider industrialisation.

However despite the advantages of its Ionian past, Kythera's economic position within the wider politics of the Greek state was one very clearly on the margins. The island constituted a minor backwater, both as an island and as a problematic rural economy. It is particularly interesting considering the economic development of the late nineteenth century in the broader region. For example an

increase in commercial shipping traffic and to a certain extent the arrival of refugees with experience and capital (Hionidou 1990:405) had led to development of 'entrepot outposts' such as Castellorizo and Kalymnos in the Dodecanese (Doumanis and Pappas 1997:108) and rapid economic growth in Aegean counterparts like Syros (Hionidou 1990:405). These like Kythera, are small islands with limited agricultural potential, yet throughout the nineteenth century the high rate of their economic growth and expansion led to the creation of some of the most densely populated centres within the wider Greek world (Doumanis and Pappas 1997:108). Hermopoulis the capital of Syros and the district of the Cycladic islands (Hionidou 1990:404) is a good example of these island 'boom' towns that developed (Hionidou 1990:405) with a level of infrastructure and commercial facilities that emphasised the extreme contrast with islands like Kythera, whose economy remained small scale but also displayed a measure of stability within that.

Yet this contrast also highlights once again Kythera's fateful geographic position. Its incorporation into the Greek state, had perhaps marginalised the island even more in the sense that it was far removed from the busy trade routes and hubs of commercial activity, while it was overpowered by the economic potential and agricultural productivity of its larger neighbours on the mainland and thus to an extent lost despite its proximity. Kythera's involvement or reaction to this type of economic development seen in the nineteenth century came mainly in the form of manpower in the form of seamen etc but also in the beginnings of economic migration from the island, that will be discussed in detail later (Leontsinis 1987:201-2).

Throughout the late 19th and 20th century, the island continued to depend on its agrarian economy. In a sense therefore, Kythera's economic development during this period is in many ways a continuation of the slow and gradual evolution that had been seen from the late Venetian period through to the British Protectorate. Perhaps what is most significant is the reaction of the local Kytheran economy to larger market forces and more widespread global economic processes. As an agriculturally based economy, Kythera remained as problematic as other rural areas, which suffered the same types of conditions. State policy aimed at the ultimate increase in revenue through increased agricultural production of cash crops, essentially bypassed Kythera during the 19th century. Policy focussed on the new territorial acquisitions in Thessaly and Macedonia and in particular the development of fertile plains, which had a greater agricultural potential and thus ensured a higher economic yield for the state (Seferiadis 1999). The smallholding economy was largely developed from the 1870's through "increasing monetization and commercialisation" linked to the expansion of currant cultivation (Seferiadis 1999:283).

The success of Greek currant exports on the international market and as "the principal source of foreign exchange revenue" (Seferiades 1999:283) led to the beginning of the replacement of subsistence farming with cash cropping (Seferiadis 1999:284) and agricultural production governed by market forces (Mouzelis 1978:91). However the impact of this was once again debatable on the local Kytheran economy. Currant production was largely concentrated on the Peloponnese and even smallholders there were still subject to considerable degrees of poverty even before the collapse of the market in 1890 (Seferiades 1999:285). On Kythera the relatively small impact of the industry had been seen

previously in the general failure of viticulture due to the local conditions on the island. One wave of migration to the commercial hub of Smyrna had been seen in response to the failure of the vines, and local historians point to the general poverty on the island, where local incomes were not able to meet their economic obligations to the state resulting in widespread debt (Kasimatis 1994:187). The economy of the island essentially stagnated relying on local moneylenders for capital as the lack of a bank hampered further economic development (Kasimatis 1994:187). Local histories attribute this in part to the bad economic state of government finances, which meant that little could be done to target the development of rural areas like Kythera (Kasimatis 1994:187) but possibly once again this is perhaps indicative of the island's more general marginality.

Efforts were made by the state to cater to the demographically dominant agricultural classes throughout the 19th century mainly through reforming tax regimes. Tax evasion remained a major headache and economic problem for the struggling Greek government as a perceived oppressive tax system was fought with widespread non-payment (Dertilis 2005:729). The first phase of this tax reform occurred prior to the Ionian accession from 1843-1864, where some of the heaviest tax burdens on the agricultural classes were abolished in favour of a regime of almost no direct taxation (Dertilis 2005:729) The tax breaks that were introduced throughout the 19th century were designed to support the small holder and self sufficiency (Petmezas 2003:42). This included tax free allowances for households like one pig and the family poultry, plough and pack animals as well as their feed and the collection of firewood for household use (Petmezas 2003:42). Equally a proportion of cultivated land was also untaxed such as the produce from family orchards of one metric stremma or scattered fruit trees within olive groves

and vineyards (Petmezas 2003:42). Though some of these allowances were rescinded by the later reforms of Trikoupis in 1880 (Petmezas 2003:42) successive administrations did not only recognise the importance of these self-sufficient household units within the wider agricultural economy but also instigated reforms in an attempt to provide a form of financial support. However by the end of the 19th century these attempts were superseded by the changing economic role of the state itself, particularly in terms of its developing status and importance as a major employer alongside the growing middle class and urban centres (Dertilis 2005:75) The importance of the state as an employer was cemented in 1911 with the change of the constitution to reflect the now permanent status of state officials and civil servants (Dertilis 2005:75).

By the 1920's and the interwar period political events including the demographic implications of the large refugee population as a result of the Asia Minor campaign (Gallant 2001:145-8), led to considerable reform of the country's agrarian economy (Seferiadis 1999). Though approximately 50% of the Greek workforce was engaged in agriculture, the national economy had begun to realign itself towards "urban industrial capitalism" (Seferiades 1999:277 Mouzelis 1978:22-6). However the agricultural economy suffered from "backward methods of cultivation" well into the 1930's and in particular displayed an acute lack of mechanisation and low productivity and yields (Seferiades 1999:292). This is reflected particularly well by the example of Kythera, located on the periphery of larger agricultural areas.

Mechanisation on Kythera apart from being slow was somewhat haphazard based on individual enterprise and hampered by problems in

transportation. This was seen in the ultimate failure of the attempt to establish a Kytheran shipping company, in order to address the issue of transportation through the purchasing of a steamship to cover the routes to the island (Kasimatis 1994:199). In terms of the mechanisation of agricultural production, the start had been made in Livadi, with the establishment of a mechanised olive press and steam-powered mill in 1911 by G. Harou (Kasimatis 1994:191-2). The lack of infrastructure on the island continued to pose a problem to agricultural production particularly in terms of the movement of crops to be processed. This was addressed from the 1920's to 1930 by local fundraising which paid for the building of new tarmac roads and a major expansion of the existing network, in order to connect olive producing regions of the island with the olive presses (Kasimatis 1994:199). Therefore the process of mechanisation and the upgrading of the island's infrastructure was not dependent on state aid but rather on local entrepreneurs or communal initiative.

However the greatest economic effect on the island was felt in terms of the waves of migration of the early twentieth century. As has been seen previously, a certain amount of economic migration had always taken place especially to Kythera's mainland neighbours, at times when additional agricultural labour was needed (Leontsinis 1987:201). However the migrations of the twentieth century were on an unprecedented scale with a profound effect on both the economy and demography of the island. Economic migration began with the development of the 19th century commercial boomtowns of the wider Greek world and already in the late 19th century, Kytherans were migrating to Smyrna (Leontsinis 1987:202-3). Indeed a significant Diaspora community developed there, which sent endowments towards public works on the island (Kasimatis 1994:199).

However the first major wave of migration was that at the beginning of the twentieth century, to America. This was partly due to the economic depression that the island (along with other rural areas) was experiencing; in particular any forms of agricultural crises such as failing harvests could not be survived by small holders (Papathanassiou 2004a: 327) who were forced to look beyond the island for alternative sources of income. This wave of migration to the United States began on Kythera in 1900 and lasted for about ten years (Kasimatis 1994:187), as a short term solution or family strategy that was mirrored in rural communities around Greece with around half a million people (mostly male) leaving (Papathanassiou 2004a: 327).

It was also a much larger regional phenomenon seen in economic migration from the European South as a whole (Laliotou 2004:51-2). Areas like southern Italy where most of the Italian migrants to the USA originated from, had undergone similar problems related to economic underdevelopment following national unification (Laliotou 2004:52) This was in turn related to the pressures of globalised markets in the agricultural markets and in particular how cheap American grains, fruits and nuts began to undermine the economies of the Mediterranean, through the shift in global trade (Morilla Critz,Olmstead and Rhode 1999:316).

These migrants however had a significant impact back on their local economies; prominent commentators at the time pointed out that Greece at the height of emigration to the United States, made “more profit from the exportation

of labour” than from its economic goods (Laliotou 2004: 56). This was seen particularly in this first wave of international migration and particularly on the development of the economic infrastructure on Kythera itself.

This type of migration presented a short-term financial solution to contemporary economic problems, and most migrants returned (Laliotou 2004:53). The fact that it was usually male migration (legislation of the period placed restrictions on women (Laliotou 2004:57)), meant that it operated as a kind of family investment (McKeown 2004:178), where one member would go and send money back to the island. Both the savings of returning Kytherans and the money they were sending back led to a surge in the number of banks on the island and further development of the island’s local economy through the increase in available capital (Kasimatis 1994:187). This led to the discharge of the high level of debt within the local economy and for those who gained the advantage, the ability to purchase other people’s land and estates (Kasimatis 1994:187). It is indicative however that as migration and the money being sent back dwindled, so a number of the banks had to close due to a lack of commercial activity (Kasimatis 1994:187).

The second major wave of international migration however had a very different outcome and effect on the island. Though migration to Australia had begun early in the twentieth century, it began to gain momentum in the late 1940’s, after the economic devastation of the Second World War (Close 2002:62-3). Unlike emigration to America, this was not limited to just single members but the whole family often migrated (Kasimatis 1994:279). In fact legislation in Australia itself had severely limited the amount of currency that

could be exported and so many earlier migrants brought the rest of their family over and invited their relations and friends (Kasimatis 1994:279). This solved the economic problems of the families involved but devastated the island's economy, particularly as it was suffering from the effects of inflation caused by the Civil War (Kasimatis 1994:279). Essentially the island could not sustain the loss of population when its local economy was based on agricultural production and relied on capital sent home from Kytheran migrants (Kasimatis 1994:279); as a result of this the island began to suffer from the long term economic effects of depopulation.

The impact of this international migration also increased by the ongoing internal movement towards urban centres on the Greek mainland (Close 2002:62). As the national economy itself shifted away from agriculture and industrial and commercial centres began to emerge, there was a parallel wave of migration from rural areas, particularly small islands and mountainous regions (Close 2002:60), to such centres. Internal migration led to a large Kytheran diaspora community being founded in Athens and Piraeus in particular. Movement towards urban centres was founded largely in the wider socio-economic development of the period, with younger generations seeking different sorts of financial opportunities beyond those that the traditional agrarian economy had provided (Close 2002:62-3).

Conclusion: social conditions on the island.

The question, having explored the politics, administration and economics of the island, throughout the period, is what were the social conditions that these

created for the local and in this context, specifically rural populations? Rural society on the island has in many ways throughout the period remained on the surface 'traditional' based on the family unit and smallholding as a means of economic survival. However it has also undergone considerable change both in terms of its interaction and relationship to the state and government of the island but also in terms of changing economic forces and outside influences.

Politically and economically the rural peasant populations were disadvantaged, burdened and often abused by the system, but also evolved their own resistance to it, either through their tax evasion and legitimate manipulation of the amounts of taxable crops produced or through outright rebellion and conflict (Leontsinis 1987:263). However there was throughout colonial rule considerable social inequality in terms of the established noble class (Leontsinis 1987:265, who despite their political decline, still held ownership over large tracts of land and still did not have to bear the burden of service to the state in the form of forced labour for example (Leontsinis 1987:352). Though the incorporation into the Greek nation state abolished the notion of nobility, perhaps the most important in effect in terms of social inequality was the gradual dismantling of Chora's importance particularly in its association with one pre-eminent ruling class (Kasimatis 1994). However it would also be true to say that though the class system was officially dismantled it in many ways persisted evolving into different sets of social divisions which reflected the wider organisation and economic development of contemporary Greek society. For example with the growth of major urban centres and the development of industrial production, the 'popolani' of Venetian times, were relegated to a similar sort of status reflecting their relative low rank within the new economic life and drive towards industrialisation and

modernity. Therefore their status on the periphery was reflected in the way they were referred to as peasants, villagers even islanders.

This is not to say that the social divisions of the island meant that rural populations were always essentially isolated. Indeed Kythera's position as a type of refugee haven in periods of crisis or war in its neighbours meant that it was subject to a number of influences. Refugees and contacts with the mainland and Crete had an enormous cultural influence on the way that society developed in the north and south of the island respectively (Leontsinis 1987:201). Refugees and members of the Diaspora often brought with them new political ideas or commercial experience, while also informing about events in the 'outside world' (Leontsinis 1987:191). The development of political and social consciousness amongst the peasant classes and growth of 'bourgeois' market towns like Potamos is attributed by local historians to these types of influences.

However, ultimately it was the economic state and climate that really dictated the social conditions, as rural populations depended almost solely on exploitation of their land for survival. As has been seen conditions on the island as a whole improved throughout the period and though there was no miraculous economic growth or development, it for the most part remained stable, subject only to the risk associated with climate and other such unpredictable factors. Trade and commerce provided limited economic opportunities but did develop to a small degree. The same could be said of the general infrastructure of the island, which underwent a slow and gradual improvement, subject to extraordinary events such as war or earthquakes.

In terms of everyday life and routines, conditions did evolve and change according to contemporary circumstances and events. A good example of this is that of the broader question of education as a major component of social infrastructure on the island. Education was a major concern in contemporary assessments of the social problems created under Venetian rule. Capodistrias' 1815 memo⁸ railed against the Venetians not only for the endemic corruption and 'immorality' but also for what many saw as a purposeful policy to foster ignorance through lack of schools (Koukkou 2001:207). Indeed Capodistrias not only emphasised the urgent need for education but also that it was necessary in creating political maturity and thus by implication the way in which the population engaged and interacted with its administration and politics.

Under the British a formal system of education was introduced in the Ionian Islands from primary school level through to University (Leontsinis 1987:297). Education is an important feature and improvement in social conditions and in rural areas during the early twentieth century formed an "effective and prestigious means of urbanisation and social ascendancy" (Papathanassiou 2004a: 328). However on Kythera the system of compulsory education created tension with that of the needs of a life built around subsistence farming and self-sufficiency. The labour intensive nature of such farming and stockbreeding meant that in general all members of the family were involved including children (Papathanassiou 2004b: 48-9). As in most rural societies, children assumed tasks and responsibilities from an early age that formed an essential part of their learning and social integration (Papathanassiou 2004b: 48-9).

⁸ Capodistrias 10/22 November 1815 in Koukkou 2001:207

On Kythera the compulsory nature of the system increased parental hostility especially since the penalties were paid in terms of labour to the detriment of their holdings and the use of their pack animals (Leontsinis 1987:326). There was particular prejudice in the release of girls to go to school, both in terms of their role within household activities and routines but also in their traditional position and obligations towards their parents (Leontsinis 1987:325). Education therefore although improving the rates of literacy amongst the local population, remained somewhat uneven, its success dampened by the problem of recruiting girls and the class divide when it came to further stages of higher education (Leontsinis 1987:330-1).

Everyday life however in spite of developments in education and some measure of economic growth, remained tied to the land. The types of crops and production evolved and changed over time, alongside the growth of a limited market economy alongside self-sufficiency. As such however the often precarious economic conditions, led to social mechanisms such as systems of mutual obligations and help, hired labour and exchange (Kasimatis 1994:145), but in general the state of these reflected contemporary economic climates and events.

Even though the period was characterised by a gradual improvement in social conditions in terms of security, economics and growth, many specifically rural problems such as lack of infrastructure persisted, partly through administrative neglect (Leontsinis 1987 362-5). It was also a period punctuated by both local and international crises and catastrophic events such as war, which brought considerable economic and social turbulence. On Kythera this is

particularly true of the Second World War, not only in terms of the deprivation it caused during the occupation of the island, but more importantly in the conditions created in its aftermath, which led to the large-scale migration from the island. In terms of social conditions, migration was important both through the contribution of the Diaspora on the island's economic, social and cultural life and in the long term fundamental change of the island's population and society.

Chapter 3: Theoretical Background and Methodology

Introduction.

The underlying theme of this thesis is the relationship between landscape and people, focusing on a case study of the rural Kytheran landscape, from the eighteenth through to the twentieth century. As illustrated in the earlier chapter on the historical background, this period provides many opportunities to observe change, as the island moves through a series of successive governmental and administrative changes: from the long period of Venetian rule through a British

administrative period, to its final inclusion in the newly founded Greek state. Evidence of this can be seen from the records available from the period, particularly as they relate to the socio-economics of land use through the transactions recorded in the notarial documents. Such historical records add another facet to the understanding of the dynamics of landscape and people, but also serve to highlight the often complex nature of the relationship, that operates both on a larger regional and supra-regional administrative scale and also on a smaller scale through local decision making processes and strategies, parallel to social networks and village relationships. Such a relationship is, however, from the outset, dynamic and fluid characterised by change, development and evolution (Sutton 1999, 2000a 22-24, 2000b). Within this framework, it is more constructive to conceive of themes and processes integral to this relationship and its wider context and importance.

Themes and areas of focus begin with such fundamental points as the nature of the landscape itself but extend further to encompass issues of land use; exploitation and management of resources; long and short term economic strategies; and the routine of daily life, to name but a few. Daily routines and seasonal events such as harvests also highlight management of time, labour and material resources and the ways these are allocated and negotiated within the strategies employed (Halstead and Jones 1997). Parallel to these strategies are the processes of change over time, including governmental and administrative decisions and policies and their relative impact on local decision making, highlighting the contrast between the small scale household or village strategies against the backdrop of the wider regional, even global networks and socio-economic climate.

The nature of the landscape itself puts Kythera into a Mediterranean context, with specific types of crop and all the other stereotypes and perceptions that are raised by the association (Dunford and King 2001). However this description can be extended further to an island landscape or even a marginal one at its most extreme, taken within and in relation to, the wider context of the Greek economic landscape or even historically as a member of larger colonial structures under Venice or the British for example. The perception of the landscape beyond its mere composition, is one that is integral to its understanding, and placing it within its specific historical context; the landscape (and by extension land ownership and exploitation) was an integral component of rural life and survival (Leontsinis 1987:213). In general land ownership and its subsequent use and management lie at the foundation of the island's economy. It is therefore not surprising that the island's economic records relate to land ownership, use and taxation or show that successive administrations sought to improve, change or develop land use in order to increase their own revenue and productivity.

The ethnographic histories of rural families and villages are tied to pieces of land, as land ownership was always a critical issue both historically and politically (McGrew 1985). This was particularly true in rural areas like Kythera, where subsistence and self-sufficiency were key and other economic activities remained consistently under-developed (Leontsinis 1987:213). Ethnography also raises the question of the perception of the landscape itself; in terms of the identifications of regional, village and family boundaries as well as the way particular areas and their toponyms become associated and assigned to certain family or village groups. Indeed this extends to the way that people describe and

orient themselves within the landscape, particularly the way that the topography is mapped in reference to significant features or landmarks and in the manner in which directions are given, relying on an oral expression of such markers within the landscape rather than on the conventional points of the compass (Leontis 1995:3-4).

The association of land with subsistence and lack of technological innovation however, has often led to the image of a timeless landscape: olive groves, vineyards, barley fields, cultivated in ways and following strategies that had not changed for hundreds, even thousands, of years (Forbes and Foxhall 1978:37, Forbes 1997:87-101). This has been extended most notably to include most aspects of rural life, invoking the “traditional peasants” in an “age-old” lifestyle (Herzfeld 1987:61) in folkloric stereotypes that encompass everything from domestic architecture through to gender relations (Herzfeld 1987:59-62) and led to survivalist arguments and interpretations. Such perceptions have often masked considerable change and development under the terms ‘timeless’ or ‘traditional’, isolated from the wider historical or socio-economic context and removed from their possible influence (Sutton 2000a). Indeed integrated studies of rural communities in Greece, as part of larger archaeological surveys, have shown the fluid and changing nature of the landscape, characterised by demographic transitions (Sutton 2000b) reflecting contemporary socio-economic conditions or historical events: from war to economic migration towards urban centres, to changing strategies in the way that the landscape is developed, exploited and potentially transformed, ranging from intensification and cash-cropping to abandonment in favour of alternative economic activities and incomes. Another aspect of these integrated studies has been the identification of the landscape as a

product of localised or individual decision making and strategies yet still linked with the effects of major economic forces such as capitalism and localised market pressures (Lee 2001:49).

One of the core issues that forms the foundation from which to build on is that of land ownership and patterns of distribution (Forbes 2000b: 200). This includes the association of ownership, and ultimately control, with a number of interrelated human relations from kinship, to systems of co-operation and conflict (Just 1991) through to the contrast between the private and the communal (Koster 2000). Kinship relations express themselves ultimately on a basic level through inheritance patterns as land is distributed among family members, but can also be seen as part of the wider system of complex negotiations and reciprocal agreements seen in labour exchange and communal land use. In terms of kinship, inheritance and landscape, their effects can be seen clearly through the patterns of land fragmentation and often dispersed holdings (Forbes 2000b), but also in the view of the family as an “economic unit” from the late medieval period onwards (Wagstaff 1982), seeking to attain self sufficiency from the exploitation and management of its holdings. Equally the issue of the household/family as the main social and economic unit brings to the fore the effects of social networks and strategies, specifically in the way that land is disposed of within dowry settlements and the dynamics of the relationship between the economic strategies of the family and the reproduction of the household through marriage (Franghiadis 1998, Papataxiarchis and Petmezas 1998, Couroucli 1993).

Land distribution and use is another aspect that is illustrated by the documentary evidence available. An investigation of land use highlights how the landscape is divided and managed, but also the way that it is perceived or valued, an intrinsic component to the way that economic strategies are formulated. An important facet of this is the agricultural organisation of both the wider regional or local landscape and within individual family holdings. It is indicative that the division between communal and private holdings, for example, is ultimately a reflection of the priorities and values placed upon the landscape. Private landholdings tend to be the arable areas of the landscape and thus the most productive for cultivation, whilst communal areas are reserved largely for grazing or according to their terrain managed for woodland resources and peripheral or supplementary activities such as bee keeping (Forbes 1997:187). This division between the cultivated and the uncultivated landscape is one that has come with some ideological prejudice against the latter, often perceived and dismissed as 'wilderness' (Forbes 1997). This perception not only masks the important integration and management of both parts of the landscape but also its own specific economic contribution and related activities (Forbes 1997:187-9) interlocked within a complex system of negotiation and social relations, that relates to its practical management in terms of extent of use, boundaries or access (Koster 1997:141).

This wider interaction between cultivation, management and supplementary activities is part of the broader question of changing and developing economic strategies and the way that these should be explored and investigated. From the outset it is necessary to place these strategies within their wider contemporary climatic and socio-economic framework. These strategies

can be explored by investigating simple aspects such as the changing ratio or diversity of crops grown over the period, in order to move beyond the traditional, timeless cultivated landscape, placing it within its context by evaluating many administrative efforts, incentives and taxes that potentially influenced such changing strategies of land exploitation and crop selection. Equally important are the way that crops, trees and land were valued within the confines of a subsistence economy and the way that such resources were ultimately managed and distributed within family networks across generations and through marriage.

A good example of is the economic role of a crop particularly associated with the traditional Mediterranean landscape of the period: the olive. The economic role of olive cultivation is one that particularly highlights the changing, contingent and flexible aspects of agricultural production, within the context of parallel socio-economic changes, incentives and development (Forbes 2000:66). Indeed olive cultivation serves to highlight the problematic stereotypes attached to a perceived timeless and traditional landscape and associated way of life (Herzfeld 1987:61), and the way that modern perceptions and expectations have been imposed on the past. In the case of the Mediterranean the expansion of olive groves is a modern phenomenon, grounded in specific regional economic changes. In fact the olive, along with the vine, is a good marker for the way that the self sufficient orientation of the subsistence economy evolved to a greater concentration on cash crops such as olives and vines from their promotion in the late 17th century through their growth and pre-eminence from the 19th century. Ultimately it was emerging markets, access to goods and wider economic changes that led to the gradual dominance of the olive tree within a landscape that had previously been characterised by mixed farming and diversity rather than the

modern vision of an olive rich ‘traditional’ landscape. In brief it is interesting to consider the ubiquity of the image of the olive tree within the vision of the ‘traditional’ landscape against its historical role and contribution to both the local and household economy and its rising importance parallel to the decline of agricultural self-sufficiency (Forbes 2000a). This example provides a wider pattern than can be observed for other potential cash crops such as vines and currant production for example, within a process of evolution and orientation towards a market based economy rather than self sufficiency. This transformation was in part due to the changing social conditions and pressures of the period and in fact it is crucial to evaluate the extent to which apparent widespread self sufficiency masked different economic strategies and management of production .

Another key aspect of the analysis is that of settlement and spatial organisation of the landscape (Wagstaff 1982:21-3). Questions of settlement type, as well as secondary structures within the landscape such as field houses, storehouses or sheepfolds are all intimately related both to strategies of land use but also to the distribution and organisation of resources including manpower. The material remains of structures are another way of assessing the impact and development of strategies on the ground. Indeed the structures themselves can be seen as an important “artefact of landscape use” (Chang 2000:140) or even an embodiment of the application of wider strategies (Chang 2000:139). Related to settlement and wider spatial organisation (including dispersal of landholdings) are questions of mobility associated with seasonal or occupational habitation of such structures and equally the way in which dispersed holdings are managed within daily/seasonal routines. The influence of contemporary socio-economic conditions on such patterns of habitation, including demographic shifts or changing financial

obligations, are again intrinsic to the way the landscape is organised, utilised and developed (Wagstaff 1982:23-6).

Questions of settlement particularly in terms of definition and identification are also especially good at highlighting the diversity apparent in the exploitation and spatial organisation of different rural landscapes, as well as the difficulties with the terminology and classification (Wagstaff 1982:21-3). In many ways the difficulty in classifying certain structures, in terms of primary or secondary importance of habitation, illustrates flexible strategies and an inherent degree of change and evolution over time. Equally important are the variety of approaches to different landscapes or terrain, aimed at utilising the resources available to their greatest potential, a key feature of rural strategies while also acting as a mirror for wider economic developments and social networks (Wagstaff 1982 23-26). Indeed once again, the degree to which wider contemporary economic concerns and developments are evident in the way that strategies are employed and are applied to both organisation and exploitation is key to understanding the wider decision making processes and priorities within lived experience in its historical context.

In order to understand and seek to analyse the processes and issues outlined briefly here, it is necessary to provide a detailed review of approaches to the Greek rural landscape as a foundation for an integrated theoretical approach. The complexities of a changing and developing landscape, comprising a series of multifaceted relationships and interlinked strategies placed within their historical context, mean that it is of paramount importance to reflect such dynamism in the creation of an appropriate methodology and framework for analysis. In order to

fully exploit the evidence available, the analysis of these selected themes will combine ethnoarchaeological, ethnographic, and ethnohistorical approaches and requires a degree of theoretical awareness of each of the component parts and disciplines involved. It is necessary to make clear the difference between this type of ethnoarchaeological work which combines ethnohistorical and ethnographic aspects with those studies driven specifically by the creation of analogies (David and Kramer 2001:11). There is a need, therefore, for a review of the relevant literature, not only as it relates to the specific region, but also in terms of methodological implications to the extent that it is useful and relevant to this case study.

Defining Landscape: changing theoretical approaches

The definition of “landscape” is perhaps indicative of its slightly problematic, conceptual nature. The term itself is perhaps as fluid and changeable as the theories that accompany it. Historically landscape derives from the Dutch “landschap” which in its Dutch form related to specific common places “a collection of farms or fenced fields” (Tuan in Olwig 2001:94) but was then transliterated into English and assimilated as a technical art term related to perspective (Hirsch 1995:2). By the eighteenth century the use of the term was once again extended to a more general “picturesqueness” (Hirsch 1995:2) which when applied more generally to an actual physical place conjured the aesthetic experience between a painting and its viewer. As the term landscape moved further into the terminology and experience of art it became more of a scene or a stage and thus removed from the “real” physical world which “landschap” so specifically referred to (Olwig 2001:94).

Landscape, therefore, was defined by the visual rather than to the physical nature of the environment to which it referred. Geographers began to consider landscape too particularly in its relation to the natural environment. Here the dichotomy of course is between the natural and the humanly modified, by the 20th century Sauer was introducing the concept of a cultural landscape, where the natural environment was transformed by a cultural group (Forbes 2007a:10). This notion of a “cultural landscape” was taken further into anthropological and archaeological theory. Anthropologically, landscape can be “deployed as a framing convention” relating to a specific people or to refer more specifically to the “meaning imputed.... to their cultural and physical surroundings” (Hirsch 1995:1). Landscape therefore is defined essentially to the way that it relates and is related to social life (Hirsch 1995:3) or as Ingold argued that it emerges in fact as a cultural process itself (1994:734): a process of “constructing environments and making worlds” that are meaningful to those that inhabit them (Ingold 1995:59). Within this definition between cultural meaning and social relationships, one important facet of the understanding or defining landscape emerges which Cosgrove (1984:17) argued that there are aspects of this understanding of landscape that remain “beyond science” and therefore beyond the standard systemic classification or formal processes (Cosgrove 1984:17, Hirsch 1995:9).

A discussion of the theory of landscape however cannot summarily dismiss the importance of the physical structures and natural environment, particularly in the case of archaeological theory. Equally the search for “meaning” within

landscape can be accomplished through a number of different theoretical approaches and viewpoints. Landscape studies are particularly important within archaeology and have recently undergone a revival (Bene and Zvelebil 1999:73).

The early traditional or processual approach relied on an understanding of the physical components of landscape, where archaeology focused on standing remains, aerial photography and field systems (Bene and Zvelebil 1999:73). Landscape was traditionally viewed as an “artefact” that could be understood with the same positivist and functionalist analyses applied to, for example, pottery (Darvill 1999:105). These types of investigations were expanded with the development of field surveys which moved beyond the confines of an archaeological site and began to look at the landscape more holistically, often extended to cover multiple periods and covering regions rather than individual sites (Forbes 2007a:15-16, Dunnell 1992, Bene and Zvelebil 1999, Bintliff 2000b: 28). Regional field surveys were particularly critical within Mediterranean archaeology and even more so in Greece. The New Wave of survey from the 1980’s (Cherry 1983,1994, Bintliff 2000b: 28) produced a transformation in the analysis and understanding of the regions where surveys took place. Regional landscape histories were created where the analysis focused more on interpreting a changing landscape than an isolated site (Forbes 2007a:16) and landscapes began to be interpreted beyond a distribution of black dots on a map (Alcock and Rempel 2006:27). The emphasis on spatial distribution and analysis is one of the common criticisms leveled at more theoretically processual approaches to landscape (eg. Hodder and Orton 1976 in Johnson 2010:103), however the way that surveys have interpreted the data and landscape has undergone considerable

change and has been tempered, perhaps by the emergence of post-processual rhetoric against the mechanistic treatment of human behaviour (Forbes 2007a:18).

“Survey archaeology” and “regional settlement studies” have now become “landscape archaeology” (Alcock and Rempel 2006:36). Landscape as a term is now considered to describe more accurately the facets of human behaviour beyond the hyper economic rationality previously ascribed by more overtly processual approaches (Forbes 2007a:17) and move to trying to capture the complexities of the irrational from ritual and symbols through to the individual and experience and perception (Alcock and Rempel 2006:36). As such the application of these more irrational aspects can be uneven, yes the incorporation of ritual elements or the consideration of landscape beyond its economic functions can colour the understanding and interpretation of such settlement patterns etc (Alcock and Rempel 2006:36) but there can also be more focused interpretations on specific structural aspects related to the economic landscape (e.g terraces on Kea, Whitelaw 1991).

Part of the problem is the treatment of the landscape as natural environment (Hirsch 1995:6) that is thus explainable fully through science in terms of geography, geomorphology etc and not in terms of human behaviour. Landscape conceptualised as “environment” (Jameson et al 1994) is seen either as a method of constraint on human activities or as subject to modification by them (Darvill 1999:105). Others have still refined the concept of “environment” in archaeological terms insisting on the need for “taphonomic reconstruction”

alongside historical reconstruction to create a true archaeological interpretation but without envisaging the landscape as a “passive recipient” but as dynamic and interactive in its relationship to the way that past societies have evolved (Zvelebil and Bene 1999:74). Within this approach the context of the archaeological record remains key. Equally others have pointed to the need to not completely disregard the physical realities or limits that the landscape presents when discussing issues such as settlement patterns (Bintliff 2000a:148).

The changing interpretations of what defines a landscape continue with a rejection of the traditional modes of equating landscape with environment and moving towards a post-processual or post-modern critique of such theories. An interpretative approach is advocated (Tilley 1993), where spatially oriented analysis, is rejected in favour of considering the “way in which places are lived through” (Thomas 1993:74). Interpretative analysis was in fact “an active process of writing the past” (Shanks and Tilley 1987:19) whilst “reading” the evidence like a text, where people are placed back into the past and thus back into their landscapes (Thomas 1993:74). In this view space is not a “container of action” but rather socially produced and made meaningful precisely through its relationship with human agency and activity (Tilley 1994:10). Spaces therefore become humanized (Tilley 1994:10) and intimately related to both the experience and perspective of the ‘social actors’ who inhabit it (Tilley 1994:11). This phenomenological approach centers on “the relationship between Being and Being-in-the-World” (Tilley 1994:12). This emphasis on perspective and experience, brings to the fore the dynamics of the ‘irrational’ to an understanding of landscapes contrasting to the theoretical “purity” advocated by the more

spatially oriented comparative studies of the new geography and new archaeology (Tilley 1994:9).

A phenomenology of landscape relies on this analysis of the way that these spaces and places are conceived, experienced and perceived. Landscape is a “fundamental part” of daily life (in non-industrial societies) where the “the rhythms of the land and the seasons correspond to and are worked into the rhythms of life” (Tilley 1994:26). The experience of landscape is embedded and related to all facets and dynamics of social life, from negotiations of power through to experiences of ritual and the symbolic. Landscapes therefore acquire social meaning (Darvill 1999:106). Bender (1999) contrasts the difference in perceptions between Western European view of landscapes and those of non-western societies. The perception is diametrically different: western perception is ‘an ego-centred landscape...of views and vistas’ (Bender 1999:31) and therefore encourages the appreciation of a “multiplicity of experience” that non-western views present (Bender 1993:17) so that the Western, industrialized view does not dominate. Not only are there multiple perspectives and experiences but it is also something that is constantly changing and contextualised: reflecting its time, place and historical conditions as landscapes are constructed, reconstructed, appropriated and contested (Bender 1993:2-3).

Another aspect is the engagement of the senses though mainly focusing on the visual aspect (despite an earlier critique of the ‘picturesque’ landscape). For example Tilley’s examination of Neolithic Sweden and megalithic space (1993) he focuses on the (visual) relationship between the topographical features of the

landscape alongside different forms of megalithic architecture. Bender (1993:10) sees this as yet more evidence of architecture acting as a “lens” through which landscape is perceived. The sensory experiences are expanded to include sound (Gell 1995) whereas Küchler (1993) identifies smell as having acquired heavy symbolic meaning within Melanesian belief systems. Searching for the sensory aspects within landscapes however, can lead to the extremes of practice evident in Bender et al. (1997) took a frame out onto Bodmin Moor to simulate the doorways used by the prehistoric inhabitants of the moor.

This tendency towards the extreme like the frame, begins to illustrate some of the fundamental weaknesses inherent in these phenomenological approaches. It is not that the approach itself is without merit, experience, perception as well as engagement of the senses are all valid points, the problem lies in the way that the archaeologists themselves engage with the landscapes they are analysing and the extremes to which the interpretation is often taken. One of the great ironies is that while the need for a humanised landscape is stressed the actors within the landscape along with the plurality of their experiences and interpretations are dismissed. Forbes (2007a:34) in his critique on the visual focus, points to the senses associated with the environment such as wind and sun for example. Smell is invoked through the Methanites use of basil plants (Forbes 2007a:34-5) and its relationship with religious practice proving that both sound and smell were integral to a landscape where churches were all important. I would take this further, invoking smells within churches beyond incense (which acts as a kind of ritual cue within services to perform certain actions i.e crossing oneself) can be seen through the use of fragrant flowers decorating icons and culminating in the decoration of the Epitaphios on Good Friday along with more traditional lemon/

orange blossom buds. These traditions common throughout Greece need to be taken within their specific context. Lemon and orange trees are not solely grown to provide decoration, nor is their smell automatically some sort of embodied religious experience as phenomenologists might suggest. It does however link the seasonal spring landscape and the experience of this season, with a religious liturgy that is renowned for its metaphors and images of spring⁹. There is a plurality in the way that the landscape is used and approached: for example the humble basil plant is commonly used in church rituals throughout Greece, it is also commonly placed by doorways as the smell (along with geraniums) is said to ward off mosquitoes in summer¹⁰. This does not mean that the basil is not enjoyed for the smell or the geraniums are not appreciated also for their flowers. It is these kinds of nuances of multiple functions and uses that are lost in more single-minded approaches that are often taken to extremes.

Another problem is the invocation of the “sense of place” which seems to be in part ascertained by the analyst/observer/phenomenologist, in part, through their own experience of the landscape in question. The problem remains in the juxtaposition between the prehistoric inhabitants of the landscapes in question and the existentialist philosophy so favoured by phenomenologists, which becomes a kind of “intellectual baggage” (Forbes 2007a:28). Cooney goes further in his critique of post-modern scholars as a whole, identifying them as a “largely urban intellectual community of post-modern nomads” (Cooney 2001:74). The operative point is the tension between the urban experiences of the archaeologists in

⁹ One of the most famous lines within the Virgin Mary's lament, which in many ways defines the entire service for many, is the appellation of Jesus as “oh my sweet springtime”

¹⁰ Interestingly enough, this is precisely the type of folk knowledge that was mocked extensively when I was a child, in favour of the scientifically proven chemical repellents. Now it is precisely this knowledge that is being exploited within the fashion for more natural solutions: basil is a key ingredient in more 'natural' or 'organic' insect repellents.

question and the unfamiliarity of these rural landscapes that are chosen for study. For example Bender's (1999) analysis of mapping relies exclusively on contrasting the perception of the "Western gaze" and indigenous mapping systems (which will be discussed later in the more detailed section on memory). The contrast set up between the two is stark: the overpowering, domination of cartesian mapping, an unforgiving geometric rationalisation imposed on the landscape, in a kind of de-facto colonisation while indigenous maps rely on the senses, memory and actual experiences of the landscapes (Bender 1999). It is not the examples themselves that are problematic but the set up itself. Do "western industrialised" people, beyond an actual physical copy of a map, express their landscape in these terms?

Interestingly enough there are examples, which seem to suggest not. Ryden (1993) investigates the mapping "of the invisible landscape", the one that exists beyond modern cartography and in the realm of imagination and experience, as he concludes, people at heart are "storytellers and story listeners, not cartographers" and maps do not tell us what we "*want to know*"(1993:52). Ryden's study (originally carried out in 1959) is based on traveling through the contemporary United States, a landscape he was already familiar with. Leontis (1995), consideration of 'topology' leads her to similar non-cartesian views of the urban landscape in modern Athens. I, myself collected a number of narrative maps, in a small ethnographic experiment in order to see how perception and memory affect 'narrative' maps. Whilst reading through the narratives, it soon became clear that whilst many of my informants were in occupations that were either the epitome of western industrialized, globalised world or educated in science, all seemed to disengage from 'work' forms of expressions and created a far more personalised

narrative of the urban landscapes they chose to describe or map. In the 10 written narratives I collected, not one described direction in cartesian terms, instead the preferred form was a mix of personal memory and experience based on activities or daily routes used. For example the informant G.C on York, describes the town itself through the iconic York Minster against the more banal shops and pubs.¹¹

Little personalised snapshots of memory are evident in all the descriptions.

Another example this time from a Greek island is N.P, who takes the route to her house as follows: “behind the town hall, through narrow paths & up very steep, hot, steps where once I found a dead rat near the top”. Others tend to mix history, memory and nostalgia, E.S’s narrative of the of Athens, ends up being a snapshot of the 60’s and 70’s, “the shop windows in Ermou St. with the posters of Twiggy and kinder more generous people”. Directions are expressed in simple terms, up, down, left or right or in a more descriptive fashion trying to evoke the atmosphere of movement through them. ¹² Equally markers significant to the narrator are selected to denote routes or movement into different areas or even historical periods of the urban landscape. ¹³

These few examples are of course once again, people who are familiar with these landscapes, who have a life history tied to them in some shape or form and this comes through in their narratives and in their perception of the landscape (in this case urban/modern). To try and create this type of understanding for an

¹¹ G.C on York: “My second area is the town itself – making me think of the incredibly crammed and individual street called the Shambles, the awesome Minster and the various shops and pubs... namely the quirky Maltings and the York Brewery pubs for their tasty ale”

¹² E.g E.W on Shrewsbury: “Turning up Butcher’s Row and snaking round to Wyle Cop”
P.H on Manchester: “Huge swarms of students getting on the buses to Fallowfield”

¹³ M.J.S on Shrewsbury: “One is greeted by Rowland Hill perched solidly on his impressive column. A sharp contrast to the adjacent local authority headquarters, marble clad blocks of concrete”

unfamiliar landscape and for a prehistoric time frame, is difficult to say the least and also highlights another issue with the observer versus the actor. While there is an acknowledgment that experience, movement through landscape is essential in the way that the inhabitants perceive and appropriate it. There is no such acceptance that the phenomenologists themselves are products of their own contexts and life experiences. I personally often find it hard to disengage my own experiences of Greek rural landscapes from that of Kythera, it is in many ways an unconscious reaction, something that was learnt while I was younger. When I see olive trees for example, I immediately judge them on the basis of the criteria set up by my grandfather and passed on through copious lectures to the rest of the family. The way I move through landscape is also a classic learnt behaviour from watching my mother and grandmother as a child¹⁴, here more an example of mimicry and unspoken knowledge unconsciously passed (Bloch 1998). Again this reflects back to Cooney (2001) and his urban class of scholars and their contemporary baggage. It is the contrast between an “inside” experience and those who study this experience from the outside looking in (Forbes 2007a:42)

The way that this “inside” experience is accessed is through gaining this idea of “a sense of place” which is often made once again to sound exotic or romanticised, as Bender (1998:1) is struck by “looking out of the window onto the shadowed slope of a deep Devon valley” or Tilley (1994:181) “walking down into the boggy depths of the valley provides a sensation of the entire world being removed”. As Hodder critiques this kind of rural nostalgia creates a kind of “folksy complacence” about sense of place as well as an over-familiarity with the past (Hodder and Hutson 2003:119). This familiarity, which often borders on

¹⁴ the idea of wearing hiking boots to walk through typical Mediterranean landscapes still to this day causes me much consternation.

empathy or other forms of emotional engagement are issues that have also been discussed in the way that ethnographers engage with their subject (Tonkin 2005). It is interesting that Tonkin notes that on balance, ethnographers who were not empathetic towards their subjects often obtained the most useful information out of them (Tonkin 2005). Of course issues of the past, identity and sense of place are best dealt with in a discussion of memory, but once again it is perhaps best to deconstruct and define the term first.

The use and abuse of 'memory'.

Theorizing memory has proliferated throughout the spectrum of the social sciences (Berliner 2005) this boom in studies, in part, underscores the fundamental nature of memory as a cognitive process as it is used extensively from psychology right through to the phenomenological approaches to landscape that have been previously described. The variety and scope of the uses of memory within a variety of academic disciplines, serves to highlight the complexity of the subject not only in terms of approach but also in interdisciplinary links and connections. Defining 'memory' itself is problematic as part of the consequence of its growing popularity and use. In 1978 the psychologist Ulric Neisser described 100 years of work as resulting in a 'thundering silence' (Cohen et al 1993:14), but this silence has now been transformed into a cacophony of research, particularly

since the 1980's, which has led to the growth of a 'memory industry' that has expanded beyond the confines of academia (Klein 2000:127).

Memory is still conceptualised largely through its connections with the past and its role as a cognitive process essential both in learning, perceiving, experiencing and as a tool that mediates in our understanding of these experiences (Teski and Climo 1995:1-2). The dynamics within the process are often masked by the term 'memory' itself, largely through both its indiscriminate use and abuse (Berliner 2005, Klein 2000) and its over-identification with concepts such as identity or culture (Fabian 1999:51 in Klein 2000). The same is true in the relationship between memory and history, where the degree of interconnection has once again become confused within a wider issue of defining the boundaries between the two (Miształ 2003:99).

The dynamic of the process of memory itself is perhaps best described as a journey within a 'labyrinth' (Teski and Climo 1995:1) full of conceptual twists and theoretical turns. One such turn is the dichotomy between the various aspects of memory where forgetting is just as important as the act of remembering or in the contrast between the individual and the collective or finally the process of extracting the past from the present (Connerton 1989:1-3). There is collective memory (Connerton 1989), social memory (Climo and Catell 2002), gendered memory (Leydesdorff et al 1996) contrasted against the more technical such as procedural memory, autobiographical memory, vicarious memory even long term semantic memory (Miształ 2003, Cohen et al 1993). Then there are the practical considerations involved with studying memory and collecting the data, particularly in this case, through ethnography (Bloch 1998:44-6). Considering the

more 'technical' definitions of memory is perhaps necessary in view of overuse and subsequent loss of meaning of the term itself.

The easiest way to consider memory is through the long term and short term aspects. Short term or everyday memory is something that really only impacts these kinds of studies through its effect on the production of information through ethnography or perhaps the consideration of cognition and in particular learning of specific tasks etc. The cognitive processes of learning are relevant especially in introducing the unconscious role in decision making or understanding. The dynamics of such processes are often masked by our focus on the results, for example the process of trying to reconstruct a past memory. While this is equally relevant in terms of an ethnographic approach, even where the actor is aware of the cognitive process it is not always 'necessarily apparent to an outside observer' (Cohen et al 1993:18-19). The ways that memories are reconstructed or processed are also important due to the divergence in the way that different experiences are remembered and in the quality and detail of what is recalled and what are forgotten.

Memory is intrinsic to cognitive processes and as part of the mechanics of actions such as 'perceiving'. Relating this back to theories of landscape, the question of perception and experience of such landscapes is key. As D'Andrade concludes, through his discussion of interlinking cognitive processes alongside reasoning, perceptions result from an 'inductive combination of sensory and memory information' (D'Andrade 1995:199). Perception and experience are seen anthropologically to be 'mediated' by both memory and 'culture' (Teski and

Climo 1995:1), with memory acting as the vehicle through which the past, in particular, is not only given meaning and understood but also as part of a continuing journey linking 'past, present and future lives' (Teski and Climo 1995:1). It is precisely within this process that the use of memory becomes confused with questions of 'meaning' or 'identity', especially in the almost complete identification of memory as culture (Teski and Climo 1995:1).

While it is true that memory is often conceptualised as belonging to the individual, there is also the question of collective or social memory. The idea of a collective memory based within a group, raises not only questions of identity but also more overt issues with social hierarchy and social order (Connerton 1989:3). The past is a long established tool in creating and sustaining legitimacy and a shared memory, within the group, is fundamental to this process (Connerton 1989:3). The existence of different generations often means that different narratives may well either interact with each other or remain 'insulated' (Connerton 1989:3). This is particularly true in the creation of foundation myths or within the new beginnings of the group, where within this new start the members of the group will still base 'experiences on a prior context in order to ensure that they are intelligible': in other words that there is a conceptual framework (based often on memory) that can help understand and ground this new order or start (Connerton 1989:6). Experience, perception and understanding are based within this context: a cognitive system 'with a framework of outlines, of typical shapes of experienced objects' where each perception, experience or action is placed within this system of understanding (Connerton 1989:6).

Within the collective, however, there is tension with the identity of the individual, particularly as memory itself has been increasingly seen to be understood more in terms of its form within a way of thinking and how narratives are created and less in terms of the narrators and their voice (Leydesdorff et al 1996:6). Oral historians, in particular, have picked up on the gendered nature of voices and thus a gendered memory (Leydesdorff et al 1996:6-14). In this case the individual experience is paramount especially as seen through the different trajectories and focus of men and women in their daily lives, this experience and understanding of this experience is shown through 'the different qualities of memory' (Leydesdorff et al 1996:1). The existence of a female voice contrasts with an ethnographic record which often relies on an exclusively male experience and perspective as representative of the whole, presenting what is essentially a partial truth (Clifford 1986:17-18). Therefore gendered memory is a fundamental component in evaluating how such experiences are constructed and understood.

While memory is an important component in both experience, perception, meaning and identity to name but a few, its multidimensional all pervasive effect is perhaps best explored through the way that it affects and informs ethnography. The importance of memory to ethnography (which is of course an essential component to an ethnoarchaeological analysis) is somewhat obvious, forming the cornerstone of histories and information when related by the narrator/informant to the observer. Yet the ethnographic method itself unmasks many of the complex webs of interlinking relationships and processes that constitute memory. These cognitive processes or networks begin to highlight the more problematic methodological implications particularly in the relationship between the narrator

and the observer and whereby the dynamics through which memory is used to create narratives and provide information and also the way that ethnographies themselves are constructed and presented (Tonkin 2005).

The role of memory in linking the past to the present within ethnography is well documented (Teski and Climo 1995, Climo and Catell 2002) from oral histories, foundation myths, expressions of self-identity through to, of course, the way that perceptions and experiences are created and understood. As such memory though recognised as a 'crucial component of cognition' (Tonkin 2005:63) often lacks systematic classification (Teski and Climo 1995), which leads it to be a somewhat amorphous term that can be identified with a number of different processes from culture to identity. Of course from the outset, the truth remains, though everyone attaches different meanings and perspectives to the past from the material in the present (Gazin-Schwartz and Holtorf 1999:3). However the different cognitive processes that constitute memory can be considered like 'strategies' designed to tackle specific problems, for example reconstructing the past through memory (Cohen et al 1993:19).

A familiarity with the different types and processes of memory is crucial here (though within the confines of the study will not extend beyond my own capabilities into the technicalities of neurobiology for example). A number of different types of memories have been proposed that impact, as it were, ethnography, the system proposed by Teski and Climo 1995 covers most bases (Misztal 2003): Remembering, forgetting, reconstructing, metamorphosis of memory and vicarious memory (Teski and Climo 1995:5-9). The key theme that

is attributed to the often-paradoxical nature of memory itself is that of distortion, either through the inherent problem of 'forgetting' and also through more overt manipulation and transformation.

The act of forgetting is just as significant, in many ways, as the act of recollecting itself. As a cognitive process there have been two main types of forgetting: memory loss associated with "repetitions of the same or similar occurrences" as over time the distinctiveness of the act/event is lost (Cohen et al 1993:53) and a total failure to recall certain (trivial events as documented by Linton's study (1982 in Cohen et al 1993:53-4). Linton further found in her study that unlike common sense, which would seemingly imply that we remember events, we personally rate as important this was not supported by the data (Cohen et al 1993:54). In fact there is a kind of ad hoc processing where events are remembered if their initial significance is retained later when one looks back (Cohen et al 1993: 54). Though this is a single case study, Bloch emphasizes the need to "understand the mental character of what people remember" and how this impacts the "form and content" of memory, an intrinsic component in seeking to understand how the "mental presence of the past" affects people and their actions (1998:82-3)

The act of "forgetting" and its wider relationship to how memory is theorized has also been tackled from a more clearly anthropological perspective. The role of objects in generating memory has been debated since the Renaissance, the key assumption being that objects can act as "analogues of human memory", enabling the memory to survive or be preserved beyond the human lifespan (Forty 1999:2). Connerton (1989) argued against this in terms of social memory,

presenting embodied acts, ritual and behavioural norms as more significant to the creation and maintenance of collective memories. However there are a number of ethnographic examples from non-western societies that present an entirely different approach, which is diametrically opposite: ephemeral monuments (Küchler 1999, Forty 1999). Küchler's (1999) study of the *malangann* in Melanesian society, not only shows the ephemeral nature of these memorials but also the act of purposefully seeking to forget. As in other instances in the Pacific, death is not commemorated through remembrance but rather through "the literal burying of memories" which marks the "finishing of the work for the dead" (Küchler 1999:58). In other words just because a memory exists does not necessarily mean that there is either a wish or a desire for it to be recalled.

Memory is seen as a critical component to the construction and experience of 'landscape', especially in establishing facets like identity and meaning, as well as a sense of place and belonging (Bender 1993, Connerton 1989, Tilley 1994). Küchler (1993) points to actual "landscapes of memory" in the Pacific, where memory structures social relationships and even the political economy (Küchler 1993:100-104). Once again this is achieved through visual landmarks within the landscape that 'capture memories' (Küchler 1993:103). Morphy (1995) connects landscape to an ancestral past through memory as he studies Aboriginal "ancestral mapping....sedimenting of history....and the way in which the individual acquires a conception" of the landscape (Morphy 1995:187).

In Morphy's study, landscape is an integral part to the cosmology and cultural structure of Aboriginal society due to its role in the reproduction of the Dreaming (Morphy 1995:187). This is more than a simple connection to memory

and the past, even though every aspect of landscape “has connotations of the ancestral beings” (Morphy 1995:188). This is, in fact, a transformation of the very meaning of ‘landscape’ because “place has precedence over time” and has become “the mnemonic” of the event forever (Morphy 1995:188). The mythology of the Ylongu is not only essentially frozen into features in the landscape; the ancestral beings themselves have turned into the place (Morphy 1995:188-9). In terms of experiencing the landscape, there is a constant juxtaposition between the ancestral past, which is the landscape, and the present, as people move and travel through it (Morphy 1995:188-9). Yet while it is a collective, social and cultural landscape, it is through individual lives that the past is remembered and recreated and also ultimately as the relationships between social groups change so does the “mythic screen” that appears so seemingly timeless (Morphy 1995:204-5).

Meaning is also found in places through its association with autobiographical memory (Catell and Climo 2002:21). This type of meaning can come from a multitude of different types of attachment to “memory places” or “memoryscapes” (Climo and Catell 2002:21). These attachments are personal and can range from family gardens, to more conventional places of memorial such as cemeteries (Crumley 2002). The sense of belonging within collective identities often invokes a particular place either ‘real or fictive’ (Lovell 2008:1). It is indicative that even in displacement, collective identity and the memory of that identity will “crystallise around the notion of a place” (Lovell 2008:4).

Ethnoarchaeological studies of landscape have had varied approaches both in their scope and subject matter. Essentially studies of landscape most relevant here can be broken up into component parts or themes, including spatial organisation, settlement systems and patterns, and finally exploitation of resources and land use. One approach has been to consider a point of focus such as a single village and to trace and analyse such questions relating to settlement, spatial organisation and land use. Here the traditional nucleated village settlement is reanalysed as a product reflecting ongoing contemporary socio-economic changes or problems (Athanasopoulos 1997:97-8) and external factors or pressures including market forces even capitalism, which may be obscured by “pre-industrial” methods and practices (Lee 2001:53). Indeed the façade of the ‘traditional’ in terms of more general farming practices and their material remains in the landscape, can be overturned by the analysis of the processes that govern their use and purpose, particularly in the ‘modern’ economic concerns that are evident in ‘traditional’ practices (Lee 2001:53).

Some ethnoarchaeological studies have viewed the landscape solely from the perspective of agricultural production such as the processes and types of crops but also extending further into the exploitation of resources within the landscape, in terms of both the practice and logistics but also the physical impact on the landscape from built features to areas of pasture. Analysis of agricultural production in terms of the practical processes of farming, from harvest through to processing and consumption, adds insight into the wider relationship between land and people in terms of the investment of labour and time. Animal exploitation and especially the use of natural resources of the uncultivated landscape can lead once

again to a more detailed understanding of wider land use strategies and once again highlight the contingent nature of these alongside the “complexity and flexibility...of day to day decision making” as well as the aspects of risk and seasonality (Halstead and Jones 1997:283).

There is a wide body of literature available both in terms of ethnoarchaeological and ethnographic studies that relate to the wider Greek region with a particular emphasis on rural ways of life. An area that deserves special mention and attention is that of ethnoarchaeological studies that were carried out as part of larger regional surveys in the Aegean. These not only provide parallel case studies from the region but also serve to provide methodological frameworks whilst highlighting the ways in which such approaches and similar data sources can be utilised. These studies looking at rural activities and features in the landscape through to spatial organisation and agricultural production come from a different perspective to many other analogy driven ethnoarchaeological studies. The literature produced by these surveys provides extensive ethnoarchaeological insight into the Aegean rural landscape. These include the work done on the Southern Argolid Project (Sutton 2000a/b) Project, and the North West Keos project (Davis et al. 1991), Methana (Forbes 2007a) to name but a few. Ethnoarchaeological work attached to surveys usually comprises the examination of the modern remains, features and processes, within a wider examination of the regional landscape and long term regional histories.

In brief, methodologically this involves the “meshing of ethnographic and archaeological approaches” (Sutton 2000a:22) but also the interdisciplinary “conjoining” of studies of the modern rural countryside resulting in the development of “comprehensive regional histories”, moving away from a primary focus of analogy (Sutton 2000a:23). This method relies on the incorporation of historical documentation and archival evidence where available, and projects the landscape back to the historic past, looking at changes in strategies and dynamics over the period. The incorporation and recognition of “local histories” transform understanding beyond survivalist arguments to the recognition and identification of wider contemporary socio-political and economic events and transformations in order to reflect the true dynamism of the relationship between landscape and people (Sutton 2000a:23). Ultimately it is this type of relationship that this study seeks to explore, in order to begin to understand the dynamics of the rural Kytheran landscape and the change, development and evolution of its use alongside the changing perceptions, priorities and vision of its local population and government.

The major difference in terms of scope and perspective with this study is focus is much narrower consisting of a smaller area and seeking to look more at the microdynamics and microhistory of the relationship between the material remains in the landscape and the village of Mitata. This will not produce the same kind of regional history or regional perspective, for a start the collection of spitakia in the hamlets is not commonly reproduced throughout the region and may well be unique. A much narrower focus also enables a more detailed approach, the ability to potentially integrate the data to provide snapshots of daily life and individual or family based strategies for example. This in general enables

a much finer resolution in approaching the potential interconnections and networks operating within the relationship between the main village and its hinterland. Equally as opposed to more ethnographically oriented approaches this is a study that begins from the material remains of the hamlet and an analysis of the microdynamics of the way that these structures operated within their wider landscape.

Another major theme of this study that is covered extensively within the literature is that of settlement and the spatial organisation of the landscape. Some studies have approached this issue from the consideration of settlement location particularly in reference to the main village in terms of assessing and evaluating the reasons behind changing settlement patterns and in particular factors that influence location such as questions of security (Forbes 2000a, Wagstaff 2001). This is explored further through the consideration of the importance of “other sites” within the wider evaluation of the spatial organisation of the landscape and settlement patterns (Forbes 2000a:204). Considering the landscape itself beyond just the main settlement or village brings in the analysis of the relative role of other subsidiary structures within the landscape related to its economic exploitation ranging from terraces, sheep folds, wine presses to fieldhouses (Whitelaw 1991). The role of these types of structures and the changes in their use are examined within the context of their wider relationship to the main settlement or village they are connected to. This is not so much an exercise in evaluating settlement hierarchy per se but rather an attempt to consider the broader issues connecting the spatial organisation of the landscape with changing land use strategies and the impact and influence of changing regional socio-economic

conditions and climates. Usually this involves a targeted analysis of the way the function of 'spitakia' or agricultural farm houses changes in some cases from seasonal occupation to their transformation into permanent homes on the islands of Kea and Tinos for example (Whitelaw 1991, Karali 2002). This is either achieved purely through a study of the structural characteristics of these buildings (Karali 2002) or through a more extensive analysis of the historical context and the changing local economic outlook. An alternative way of approaching this question is to document change in settlement patterns in terms of demographic changes set within their historical context, in particular the degree to which these are linked to wider regional or even global economic trends and developments (Sutton 1991). Another aspect of this demographic approach is to consider the impact and degree of pressure placed upon the landscape in terms of population increases and equally at the other extreme the consequences of depopulation (Sutton 2000b) These studies aim to achieve an understanding of the often complex settlement histories, ultimately as a "product" of the forces that shaped the contemporary history of the region (Sutton 2000b:85). Though the question of settlements within the Greek rural landscape is tied to the village as a central focus, it is within a system that demonstrates considerable "complexity and fluidity" (Sutton 2000b:105) and connected with a series of other rural structures and settlements within the wider landscape (Murray and Kardulias 1986, 2000). Other studies approached this question of settlement and population, by using the house and its changing forms over time as a unit of study in terms "membership, residence patterns and economic activities"(Clarke 2000:107). The house itself is considered in its relationship to settlement as within the kind of "adaptive strategies" employed to make a living from the landscape (Clarke 2000:109) Another important feature of the house is largely due to its identification with the

household as the key productive unit and its connection with socio-economic organisation (Clarke 1993:201).

This is of course intimately connected to the way that the landscape itself is managed and exploited. Changing strategies of land use are placed firmly within their historical context through exploring the connection of rural Greek populations and their economic strategies with external markets and even trends in the global economy (Sutton 2000b:104-5) A key approach in looking at the characteristics of individual settlements and placing them within the local historical context is by integrating archival evidence where it is available in order to in effect reconstruct the landscape (Bennet and Davis 2005) and consider the relationship between contemporary administrative regimes and how the landscape is exploited (Davis, Bennet and Zarinebaf 2005).

Added to this is a wide body of ethnographic work that has included questions of land use and subsistence within a wider examination of the social and economic life of the village or rural communities (e.g Friedl 1963, Karakasidou 1997, Aschenbrenner 1976, Allen 1976, du Boulay 1974). The village has been taken as a unit for analysis and then extended to include the limits of its wider territory or hinterland as part of a more generalised examination of the way that the landscape is exploited (Aurenche et al 1993) The study of the structural form of the village itself, revolves largely around the relationship between domestic and public spaces (James and Kalisperis 1999:205, Dubisch 1986:11). The dichotomy between the domestic and public sphere relates to wider social and kin networks, gender relations and divisions as well as to the importance of the house and the household (James and Kalisperis 1999, Du Boulay 1974:38, Sutton 1999, Clarke

2000) The examination of house forms can be related to issues of population change as well as evolving economic strategies and even social networks (Clarke 2000) and once placed firmly within the background of contemporary historical events become “markers for varying interpretations of the past” (Sutton 1999:73).

The centrality of the house within village life is always connected to the associated role of the household both in economic and social networks. The household represented as the basic organisational and productive unit within rural economies in particular is examined within the context of the family unit it represents (du Boulay 1974:14-17), both in terms of the series of interconnected social and economic obligations as well as its key role in studying models of gender and issues of kinship (Loizos and Papataxiarchis 1991). In terms of gender relations, the management and organisation of the household economy brings with it the division of gender roles with the identification of women with the domestic sphere and household activities and men, from their position as the head, are identified with economic activities outside of the house and with the public sphere of life in general (Loizos and Papataxiarchis 1991, Dubisch 1986:11). In terms of the household as the centre of family decision making processes and the types of economic strategies implemented, the man as the notional head has the “formal authority” (Friedl 1967:108) even though from studies around the Mediterranean it has become clear that women can and do possess “considerable power and influence” (Holloos and Leis 1985:341).

This is shown further through the consideration of marriage, dowries and inheritance, key issues within the analysis of the way that household or domestic units operate and the way that these social or kin networks are reflected in the way

that the landscape is used, managed and ultimately divided. Dowries and their related marital and social strategies cover a broad spectrum of issues from aspects of social mobility and display (Friedl 1963:52) through to the way that property is transmitted and the relationship with systems and methods of inheritance (Brettell 1991: 443-5). Dowry is also important in the way that the household itself is reproduced (Psychogios 1993:316) and in its ultimate creation of an “autonomous unit of production” (Sant Cassia 1982:650). Connected within this process are issues of residence, relocation and the division and control over property. In terms of the Greek world there is considerable variation in terms of systems of dowry provisions (Papataxiarchis and Petmezas 1998) and household formation ranging from urban models of the 19th century (Hionidou 1999:404, Sant Cassia and Bada 1992) as well as diverse regional practices and distinct forms of post-marital residence (Loizos and Papataxiarchis 1991:8).

Dowry as a form of inheritance or at least transmission of property is also important in assessments of the productive capacities of households but also in terms of family relations and how marriage strategies articulate with the wider local economic networks, specifically the way that the landscape is exploited and managed and the assessment of the financial impact of providing the dowry (Psychogios 1993). Similar negotiations and tensions can be applied to the broader question of inheritance patterns and in particular the link between “family organisation and different inheritance systems” (Brettell 1991:444). Ultimately what is important is that despite the diversity apparent and the changing natures of inheritance system, is the interdependent relationship and reflection of contemporary social and economic obligations.

Inheritance as a system that results in the division and fragmentation of holdings is also examined at length, though again there is considerable diversity in the way that the problem of how to divide property is resolved. Division of land in progressively smaller portions passed down the generations is not always the strategy employed. In fact there are examples of specific systems designed to deal with the problem of fragmentation. For example on Karpathos, property is kept separate in terms of ownership within a marriage and the mother and father then pass on their property undivided to the first son and daughter (Fillipidis 1984:72). On Pantelleria the question of fragmentation was dealt with by a concerted strategy to limit the size of families to two children, so that the system of inheritance in terms of the quantity of land and productivity remained sustainable (Galt 1979). Such methods are part of the changing socio-economic background, where what the dowry or inheritance actually consists of and how it is managed, reflects the way that settlement patterns (such as movement to urban centres (Sant Cassia and Bada 1992) or economic strategies evolve over time (Couroucli 1993).

Collecting the data

As this study seeks to integrate three distinct data sets: structural evidence, archival data and ethnographic narratives, each will be collected and treated appropriately reflecting the potential problems and individual characteristics of each. Since these data sets present a number of opportunities but also a series of challenges each will initially be treated separately before being integrated into the

analytical framework. Also the structural evidence was largely collected during the survey of structures in the two identified hamlets

Structural remains.

A survey and mapping of the two hamlets identified by the KIP field survey was carried out as part of fieldwork associated with the initial pilot study carried out in the summer of 2004 (Smith 2004 also appendices 3 and 4, see Table 4.1 for results). A subsequent inspection during a second period of field work on the island in 2005, found that at Kokkinochorafa there had been clearing of a part of the site which resulted in the destruction and collapse of the enclosure walls and sections of some of the more complex compound structures (Fig.3.1). Also there were signs of increased levels of collapse in some of the abandoned structures partly no doubt due to the collection of shaped lintel blocks etc to be recycled in new developments and renovation of traditional village houses that are booming on the island (Fig 3.2). Due to the level of rainfall that year the level of overgrowth in certain sections of the site had considerably increased, meaning that 'calderimia' and pathways that had been previously visible had become obscured (Fig. 3.3). As such a plan to complete a more detailed survey of the relatively dense collection of buildings and network of enclosures within the hub of the hamlet had to be abandoned, as this typically was the area that had been cleared and bulldozed. The mapping that had been completed in 2004 and the subsequent detailed structural analysis of the hamlets as part of the pilot study (see table 4.1), meant that there was sufficient material to be used, in order to complete a more in-depth exploration of the central themes of this study such as the spatial

organisation of the wider Mitata landscape, the relationship between village and its territory. The data collected was sufficient to allow the use of these structures to form the basis of an analysis of changing land use and management strategies in this case through the interpretation of the physical remains within the landscape.

Ethnography

Collecting the ethnographic data was perhaps one of the most difficult issues to resolve both in terms of determining the ways in which the information would be collected and ultimately used. Looking at other studies that had used more formal methods of collecting ethnographic information such as questionnaires (e.g Wagstaff 1976) and the associated problems, I decided to adopt an approach of informal 'interviews'. In fact in practice these 'interviews' turned to conversations with residents of the village. My own Greek background and my extensive Cretan family have meant that I personally have spent a significant portion of every year since childhood living with my family in a rural Cretan village. This allowed me to establish a certain level of common ground and understanding and many of the 'interviews' turned into a type of information exchange, where I would answer a question about the way things were done on Crete and then use this to direct the conversation toward matters of interest. In general I found that the fact that I was familiar with the types of lifestyle being described meant that I could direct questions to focus on getting further details and information beyond the standard outline of the initial answer. I found this to

be interesting in its display of gendered preoccupations, women would ask me questions about traditional recipes whereas one male informant, who had invested particularly in olive trees during his life, asked me about the preferred shape that olives are pruned to in my village for example.

One of my main concerns apart from ensuring that the conversation remained on course and covered the areas of interest, was that there was a degree of verification of some of the more absolute social rules expressed. This was achieved largely from approaching the same issue from a different angle i.e. when it came to asking about the gendered division of labour and the association of women exclusively with the domestic sphere, I found that the initial response tended to be the ideal social rule and from subsequent questions the practical realities would emerge. Also in terms of focusing on certain issues as the elderly informants were from the generation that had grown up and had heard about the period of the early 20th century from their parents and grandparents, I tried to focus on the degrees of change and transformation and what they perceived to be the forces behind it. Equally interesting was the way in which the informants constructed their narratives and expressed their experiences, an issue which will be dealt with in further detail in the analysis.

In terms of recording these conversations, I chose not to tape them instead I took brief notes, especially specific details such as numbers, place names and any good quotes or sayings. Then immediately after the interview I would write down a more detailed and complete version of the notes including my impressions and highlighting problematic issues or inconsistencies. One of the main problems that was apparent to me was that due to the age of informants and the logistics of

transport it was not possible to take them onsite to the hamlets involved. Also in one case the hamlet did not have particularly pleasant connotations and the informant declared her wish to never see the place again. In contrast the same informant who had lived in the village all her life, had never actually been to Makrea Skala herself. Equally the use of informants to identify toponyms and microtoponyms that were used in the historical documents was from the outset problematic. Firstly due to the sheer volume of different toponyms listed and already an attempt to identify toponyms as they had been transliterated in Venetian tax records during the pilot study had made it obvious that some of the microtoponyms were no longer in use. Also once again the highly personal way of expressing locations and directions within the landscape usually in reference to landmarks and features within the topography of the area as well as locating one area by listing the neighbouring toponyms, required a degree of knowledge of the landscape that I did not possess. Therefore within the confines of this study I chose not to pursue locating toponyms through the ethnography, especially since many of the other defining features such as 'public' roads mentioned in the historical documents have significantly changed.

The ethnographic data from Mitata itself was collected during my initial summer work on the pilot study, which lasted 3 weeks, though I had conversations with other informants during my subsequent visits to the island. One of the problems with Kythera as a whole is its depopulation through migration either to Athens or to Australia. For example on one of my trips back I was crowded by Australian members of the 'Psaltis' (Protopsaltis) family at the airport, though they were interested in my study, in practical terms I could provide them with more information on Mitata than they already knew.

As there is no way to effectively make the informants anonymous, as the information pertains to their family lands and experiences, which are then traced through the archive, the field notes can not ethically be published here. Moreover my field notes are not verbatim transcriptions of the conversations so there would be no scope for quotations in either case. Facts and figures where applicable are reported. Equally any attempts at taking informants out to the places in question were forestalled by their age and health.

Archival evidence

Material from the archive was collected during a fieldwork trip based in Chora and the Historical Archive of Kythera (IAK), which lasted for a month. In total 67 complete and 7 partial documents were collected from the Aronis archive and 91 complete and 13 partial documents were collected from the Charamountanis archive. Added to this were all available 19th century census or population data, most notably the 1844 census that was transcribed for the village of Mitata (see Appendix 2). Only the census and 19th century catalogue of households was transcribed onsite at the archive, the rest of the documents were processed over the course of a year, with an average time frame of 3 days needed to make a document legible and to transcribe it. This of course was completely dependent on the length of document and the general condition of the ink in particular.

There were a number of problems related to collecting the archival evidence, initially the issue was identifying what material was available that

related to Mitata and its residents over the period and to what extent it was usable due to its condition. In terms of published records, the census data for the 18th century has been published for the whole island and so I added to this by personally photographing and transcribing the census data that was available for the 19th century. Due to the time constraints, I focused on the Mitata data only and this is not a complete set that covers the whole century but rather represents the census records that could be found with the latest one dating to 1844 (Appendix 2). I suspect that the creation of the municipality at Potamos in the later period, which may have included Mitata, may contain relevant documents, but which unfortunately are only now being collected and filed and are currently not accessible. I decided to focus on the notarial documents after consultation with E.Harou one of the archive researchers, two notaries 111: Aronis and 114: Charamountanis were selected that between them covered most of the 19th century. Unfortunately in the case of Charamountanis though he is active until 1876, the books from the late 1860's onwards are missing (Maltezou 1979) (See figures 3.4 and 3. for document lists). Although Charamountanis is an unorthodox choice in that he is officially assigned to a different administrative district (Mylopotamos) to the one which Mitata belonged to (Kastriso), in practice he had considerable business in the Kastriso district as he was a resident there in the village of Kiperi (Frilingianika) (See Maps 3a and 3b). The way that the notaries conducted their business, which included travelling around to villages, meant that there could plausibly be entries of Mitatan residents in other notarial records. It just was simply not possible within the time involved to check every notarial book. Although transactions were recorded within an efficient system which included index books for each of the notarial registers, the condition of the index books and general legibility in some cases, meant that in practice though

transactions that involved Mitata were initially identified through the index books it was still necessary to search through the notarial books. Certain books were too fragile or too badly damaged to be handled and therefore there are often significant but unavoidable gaps within the material collected.

Dealing with historical documentation requires an awareness of the intrinsic problems associated with such archival evidence beyond the element of bias or the purpose of the document itself. One of the main issues is as has previously been mentioned the state of preservation and the general condition of the notarial books themselves. For a start there is the problem of determining which documents are associated with Mitata and the period in question. This initially is easily resolved by picking notaries that operated within the wider district that Mitata belonged in, theoretically this ensures that documents related to Mitata inhabitants will be found, but does not by any means guarantee that this will be a complete set. It is a simple problem of logistics, there is no certainty that Mitata inhabitants used these particular notaries for everything but also due to the problems with the conditions of the documents it is not feasible to search through every notarial index for the island.

Another is the manner in which Mitata inhabitants are identified. Luckily notaries were required to keep a detailed index book, and using the surnames most strongly associated with the village, inhabitants can be quickly identified through their name as they appear in the index. Although certain families have migrated out beyond the village, documents that relate to these family outposts in different

villages can still provide relevant information about the wider regional land issues, movement and intravillage relationships. However due to the problems related to the conditions of several of the notarial books this is not always a straightforward collection and identification.

In terms of overall condition, some books have been exposed to damp while others have been eaten away leaving holes or in some cases damaged to the extent that the pages themselves cannot be separated. Apart from the damage caused by unfavourable storage conditions during the past, there is the problem of inks that have faded to the extent that pages are either rendered completely unreadable or leaving gaps in certain documents. This is particularly problematic as it occurs in the index books, which are used to locate documents. This combined with the condition of certain books alongside those that have been lost means that not all the notarial documents related to Mitata can be collected for analysis. Without the complete list of documents it is difficult to estimate the percentage of the data collected. In this instance it is more useful to gather as many documents as possible and as many examples of each type of transaction recorded. At least, although these documents cannot be subjected to rigorous statistical analyses, they can still be used to identify trends and patterns in the way that land is distributed, sold and managed for example.

Another problem is the readability of the documents themselves. The 19th century notarial documents, clearly presented with index books are not a particular problem except for the odd appearance of sloppy handwriting, smudging or occasional damage. The 18th century examples however are far more problematic, both in terms of the archaic forms of language used but more

importantly in the shorthand abbreviations used and the general readability of the handwriting itself. Therefore a number of examples that were readable to the extent they could be worked on and essentially deciphered were picked from the folio, but no complete transcription was undertaken as was done for their 19th century counterparts. Census records used to provide the family information and population statistics that could be used to further investigate connections or simply provide a more detailed background to the transactions and relationships observed within notarial records, have been published for the 18th century and were transcribed for the rest of the period. The main problem within these records, are the number of mistakes made in the original records, usually involved with the consecutive numbering of inhabitants such as numbers being skipped by accident or corrections that are not clear. In terms of the reliability of the information, the main issue is the way that certain aspects such as ages are estimated and calculated. Often considerable differences can be identified over a period of 20-30 years; this can be due to misinterpretation of the original figure or due to the time of year the census was recorded in relation to the inhabitant's birth date. This can lead to a 4-5 year difference cumulating before the first record of the person through to their last appearance in the census. The main problem in this case is the lack of parish records, partly due to the fact that not all books from all parishes were available to study and partly due to the fact that from what could be found, the results suffered from a degree of illegibility. However once again usable examples were found and transcribed, but again this is more of a selective process that can inform certain specific cases (see Figure 3.6 and 3.7 for family trees reconstructed).

Another major problem related to the documents is that of deciphering the language used within them, not only is it peppered with legal slang and administrative jargon (usually of Venetian origin, subsequently transliterated into Greek) but also is using 19th century Greek and in this case a specifically Kytheran dialect. Though there are sources such as a dictionary of Kytheran idiom to aid in the decryption of the documents (see fig 3.4, 3.5 for copy of transcriptions), the problem lies largely in the dowry contracts where words for certain items of clothing and household goods, as well as descriptions of fabrics and materials have inevitably gone out of use along with the items in question and are not therefore listed in all cases. Therefore there are often a number of necessary gaps in the information, so though the general category of the item is known the specific details remain undeciphered. This does not necessarily affect the wider analysis of such transactions.

Articulation of the data sets

In order to consider the interlinked articulation of the different data sets, it is perhaps clearer to consider the worked case studies, particularly in how many of the inherent and some unexpected problems were resolved.

CASE STUDY 1: ASSESSMENT AND VERIFICATION OF ETHNOGRAPHIC EVIDENCE THROUGH THE USE OF HISTORICAL DOCUMENTATION

Ethnographic evidence has a number of well documented limitations: in this case the problem lies with the physical limits of human memory, particularly when pushing the data to the earliest part of the period in question and the way in which memories are constructed, reconstructed and ultimately even distorted (Cattell and Climo 2002:1). The main issue is when ethnographic testimony becomes oral history or a “vicarious memory” (Climo 2002:118) passed down through generations (Crumley 2002: 39) rather than directly experienced observations. However it would be wrong to simply dismiss the more overtly ‘historical memories’ within the ethnographic testimonies particularly since historical documentation can provide an avenue through which such claims and narratives can be assessed at least if not fully corroborated. Equally it is also important to establish that even apparent mistakes are a critical aspect in the way that memories are constructed and more importantly the appearance of “errors, foreshortenings and forgettings” does not necessarily invalidate the rest of the narrative (Tonkin 1992:114)

One aspect of this is the way the narrative is constructed in reference to the past usually beginning from “a point in special time” (Tonkin 1992:67) in this case the well documented problem of the past simply meaning “the old days”¹⁵ (Sutton 1998:3). More importantly, the processes through which an image of past times such as the use and experience of the landscape are connected and passed down through family narratives is part of a continual process through which the past is reshaped to fit ‘present needs and concerns’ (Cattell and Climo 2002:16)

¹⁵ Literal translation of the Greek, “τα παλαια τα χρονια”

specifically in this case the way that the conditions of past are presented and judged in view of modern expectations. In particular the generalisations of the conditions of village life in the early 20th that are judged based on modern preconceptions and standards rather than within their contemporary setting and also masking potential variation.

The initial stage is the verification and checking of factual information relayed within ethnographic testimony, using subjects that are ultimately traceable or likely to appear in records such as names of people, land plots etc. Following this assessment of the facts within the narrative, this can then be extended to begin to highlight wider structural processes relating to the nature and way in which the ethnographic narrative itself has been constructed and its implications. In parallel to this is a continuing development of a historical understanding of the relationship between landscape and people.

A good case study of the mechanics where documentation and ethnographic evidence supplement, complement and even contrast with each other, was the family history of one of the immigrant or late arrivals to the village. Mitata, one of the oldest villages on Kythera, has a well established family clan structure illustrated in the familial division of neighbourhoods (e.g. Sklavianika-Sklavos family) as shown in the assigned neighbourhood toponyms used both in records from the late Venetian period, through to modern day references. The Protopsaltis family in question though a significant presence in the village lacks this neighbourhood tie. Its family history, as related by senior members in the village, begins with its late arrival as immigrants from Constantinople.

Historically the name of the family bears all the typical hallmarks of Byzantine related names and bearing confirmation of the place of origin. The tension between ethnographic and historical evidence arises however over the issue of the date of their settlement in Mitata. The date of their settlement is important as their position as late arrivals within a village is linked to wider issues regarding their acquisition of land and in particular the spatial distribution of their holdings. The dominance of Protopsaltis family at the hamlet at Kokkinochorafa, the last outpost of the village's hinterland, and in particular their ownership of the majority of the structures still standing raises a number of issues ranging from dating the buildings through to the development and use of the area itself. Was their late arrival significant in the areas of land available for them to acquire and does this in some way provide evidence for the spatial organisation and dynamics of the Mitatan hinterland?

The senior members of the Protopsaltis family talked in relative terms of the date of their arrival on the island, usually in reference to the generation, who arrived, bought the land and constructed the buildings. Largely assigning this to the period of the 'olden days', (often a euphemism for a period well beyond living memory and beyond the memory of the oldest generation the informants had come in contact with), the generation assigned was their 'great-great grandfathers'. Using a selected excerpt from the Venetian tax records, which supply name of family as well as the identification of the land by toponym, it was relatively easy to find members of the Protopsaltis family. Equally apparent from the search was that at least in terms of their taxable production a large proportion was located within the Kokkinochorafa area, as shown in the listings, including microtoponym references to specific locations within the broader territory. The

family informant recognised the members listed in the records, demonstrated in an immediate recognition of the side of the family they belonged to and how they were linked to their present day descendants.

The problematic aspect related to the date of the records themselves. Their appearance within the tax registers of the mid eighteenth century and earlier in the census records, as a well-established family with a fair number of land holdings does not match the family narrative of the great great grandfathers arriving from Constantinople. Since the date of immigration from Constantinople to Kythera belongs firmly within the 18th century (and could potentially be checked within the historical archives in the cards of stay issued by the state to new arrivals to the island) and this ties in with the established family shown within the tax register, it is the ethnographic evidence that must be at fault in terms of date. It is not so much an error, as a compression of the generations involved, as part of the way that the historical narrative has been constructed and passed down through the family. The information and details relating to the first family members may well be correct, it is just that they have been compressed and perhaps even become amalgamated within generations of the family beyond the reach of memory and personal experience.

By using this system of cross checking and interlinking the different types of evidence, it not only allows a more judicious assessment of ethnographic information, but also can begin to highlight some of the underlying principles that govern the way that ethnographic narratives are themselves constructed. By doing this and identifying the flaws and problems within testimony, it is possible to use the ethnographic evidence in analysing the period beyond living memory in so far

that it identifies and connects family groups within the historical records or even more broadly in its addition of personal histories and experiences. Moreover the same step-by-step process can be used in reverse to contextualise information contained within the documentation through identification of locations and toponyms listed, through to the material remains themselves.

CASE STUDY TWO: INTEGRATING A STRUCTURAL REVIEW OF MATERIAL REMAINS

Material remains are the one form of evidence that in many ways stand-alone and can be perceived as distinct of the rest. This is partly due to the type of analysis they can be subjected to and the kinds of information they ultimately provide. Material remains form the direct evidence for the human presence within the landscape whilst answering questions related ultimately to their own use and the subsequent interconnected strategies of land use and development over time. The most important analytical aspect is the way that the structures themselves are assessed, recorded and interpreted. This is perhaps the most clearly archaeological aspect of the study and relies on a detailed structural review and in particular the identification of the function and spatial organisation of these often compound structures. Since the function of these structures is the most significant in terms of building up a more detailed understanding of land use strategies employed it is perhaps the most relevant case study.

The initial approach to material remains requires a detailed record of the structural remains both in terms of standing buildings but also more broadly enclosures; the system of field walls and calderimia; wells; and processing features like threshing floors. This is not just a quantitative exercise recording numbers and dimensions but also requires a more qualitative approach: assessing and interpreting the level of investment in construction, as well as noting additions, changes and reuse. Within a cluster of buildings this enables the comparison and contrast between different families and potentially even in terms of function and date.

A detailed structural review is the easiest way to establish function of rooms especially in larger compound buildings, where the dimensions of entrances alongside certain key features like fireplaces and ovens can begin to identify the use of the building. Building up these types of detailed understandings of the structures themselves is particularly important within a wider exploration of the relationship between the village and its agricultural hinterland. The extraction of as much structural detail as possible can overcome potential gaps in the other data sets while also raising more detailed questions and issues to be dealt with through the ethnographic evidence.

This was seen most clearly in the analysis of the hamlet of Makrea Skala where ethnographic information was limited. However the very state of the hamlet, alongside a detailed analysis of the remains, spoke volumes about the uses of the hamlet and its wider connections to the main village. The fact that a large area of the hamlet was not only on the verge of collapse but also completely overgrown and thus obscured on the older aerial photos illustrated the long-term

abandonment of the site in recent times. The location of the overgrown section was largely confined to an area closest to the large terrace that forms the main agricultural production of the hamlet. A half collapsed series of field walls leading away through the terrace formed a calderimi, which ethnographic evidence indicated may have been the old, more direct route to the village across the gorge floor.

Contrasting to those structures that have undergone modern renovation or more recent reuse are the ones located higher up the hill closer to the modern track. In this area away from the olive terraces reuse is confined to using the compounds with large associated animal enclosures. The large amount of structures, particularly adjoining animal enclosures present at this site indicate a strong animal component. This can be linked not only to modern use but can be integrated with the ethnographic evidence of a movement of grazing animals away from the village to protect the lucrative terraces fed by the local springs.

Equally such a structural review can be connected with details specifically mentioned within the archival evidence, particularly in terms of structures described in the notarial documents, such as processing facilities, roads or even the extent and number of enclosed fields. In turn this allows an attempt to be made at interpreting potential adaptation or abandonment over the period but also can link such structures to specific governmental policies, initiatives or trends in agricultural thinking and practices such as for example the encouragement of enclosed fields to prevent damage from grazing.

CASE STUDY THREE: MATERIAL REMAINS, SYSTEMS OF COOPERATION AND CONFLICT

As mentioned previously the record created of material remains, includes processing facilities, wells and enclosures, this enables the detailed structural analysis to be taken further to begin to explore on a much more detailed level, relationships and links beyond use and function. This includes the relationships within the community associated with the hamlet and their holdings, either through some form of residence or through the negotiation of rights; ownership of pooled resources; shared facilities and systems of reciprocal cooperation for example. This can be linked to the social networks and intervillage relations revealed by the archival and ethnographic evidence. Though this on the surface is perhaps more directly related to the ethnographic evidence, the material remains in a way parallel the historical records in providing a way of verifying or raising questions about the information given.

This is particularly relevant in the discussion of systems of cooperation and conflict where often there is a set of idealised social rules presented within the ethnographic testimony which however does not always reflect the practical every day realities. Another issue similar to that of the compression of generations within family historical narratives is the definition of the unit. The 'family' often used, is essentially a vague unit with blurred boundaries as to which generations and

members are included in the definition. This becomes a specific problem in discussions of allocations of land, rights of use and access to facilities such as wells and threshing floors, an important and necessary component within the economic purpose of these hamlets.

Material remains therefore became an important way of beginning to untangle structures, ownership and use particularly in the dense and often confusing concentration in places like Kokkinochorafa. Documentary and ethnographic evidence established a strong single extended family/clan presence while further questioning yielded a picture of every family unit equipped with their own facilities. However in trying to match building units with their corresponding processing facilities, the numbers revealed a definite problem with this scenario, in that there were far fewer processing facilities compared to the number of building units. This led to a different line of ethnographic questioning, which revealed a more complex, and sometimes-antagonistic system of shared access or reciprocal exchanges amongst the community. This practical reality contrasted with the original system, which was the idealised social rule that was aspired to, but through the complexities of inheritance was not always achieved.

CASE STUDY FOUR: CHANGING LAND USE PATTERNS

One of the key questions of the study, which relies on a particularly complex integration of the data, is that of changing land use patterns. Critical to this question is the ability to explore changes and development throughout the period and potentially to be able to link these with contemporary socio-economic trends,

concerns and events. Since the aim is to chart the pattern over the period in question, the combination and integration of the different data sets is used to build the picture of land use at different points of time.

For example the economic records though incomplete, provide the historical depth stretching the timeline back to the late Venetian period and the 18th century (and earlier when considering general trends under the Venetian administration). The ethnographic evidence provides the information from the more recent past and perhaps most explicitly can be tied to major economic events, climates and trends, particularly for example the abandonment of subsistence strategies. The material remains serve as a bridge between the historical and ethnographic evidence covering the gaps but also as a structural record of development either through abandonment or reuse. Though the evidence is often indirect, it becomes a clue that supports or adds detail to information from other sources. In an example of this, abandoned and eroded terraces amongst the olive groves of Kokkinochorafa confirm the tax registers which catalogue cereal production in the area and ethnographic evidence which speaks of diverse subsistence farming until the beginning of the twentieth century.

This wider process of abandonment revealed through both the material remains and ethnographic testimony, even within the limits of the village itself, is crucial in understanding and interpreting the widespread and often dramatic economic changes of the late 19th-20th century. Ethnographic evidence reveals the importance of such terraces in the critical production of arable crops, which formed the basis of the household economy. Equally special attention is paid to the terraces around Mitata as they represent the material evidence of the intensive

cultivation of the slopes and exploitation of the village's exceptionally rich water resources. The ability to grow fruit trees and irrigated crops at a short distance from the village was an economic advantage that Mitata's inhabitants exploited selling the produce and surplus at the market at Potamos.

The extent of abandonment speaks volumes as to the current state of the island and in particular reflects the long term impact that the waves of migration of the early 20th century had on the village. In this case the abandonment of the terraces shown in the documents to have been desirable pieces of land and an essential component of family strategies, vividly illustrates the rejection not only of self sufficiency but ultimately the agricultural economy itself.

Chapter 4

Revisiting Makrea Skala and Kokkinochorafa: a structural review

Introduction

During the KIP field survey of the island, two clusters of field houses or 'spitakia' were found in the wider Mitata area, one at Makrea Skala and another at Kokkinochorafa (See Map 1, Plan 1, Table 4.1 Smith 2004). Although such agricultural field houses can be found scattered throughout the island's rural landscape, these two were unusual in the number and density of buildings. These two 'hamlets' formed the basis of the pilot study for this thesis, which was completed as part of my Masters degree (Smith 2004). The focus of the pilot study was exploring the microdynamics of these rural structures and their wider

relationship with the landscape they operated within. This was done through a detailed structural review and analysis based on mapping and surveying the buildings and supplemented with ethnographic research.

Members of the KIP team have also completed work on the post-medieval landscape of the island, in particular GIS has led to considerable background to the wider spatial patterns of the Kytheran landscape (Bevan et al. 2003). Here four key elements were examined: field enclosures, terraces, track ways and buildings with the principal dataset coming from the 1960's aerial photographs of the Hellenic Military Geographic Service (Bevan et al. 2003: 217). However while these have been digitised (see appendix 4) for Makrea Skala and Kokkinochorafa, due to the problems of overgrowth and collapse large portions of these clusters were not visible and are missing from the digitised maps. According to the GIS analysis, the Kytheran landscape is fragmented into "countless, smaller units" and while some of these systems may well have had possible Classical or Byzantine roots, they mostly stand as a reflection of the "practices of the last three or four centuries" (Bevan et al. 2003:218). In terms of land management most of the flatter areas on Kythera (even where the soil cover was poor) were enclosed fields consisting of drystone walls (Bevan et al. 2003:219). Terraces seem to be concentrated on the 'steeper slopes of the island especially those close to villages' and usually reserved for fruit crops but also cereals (Bevan et al. 2003:220). In terms of location despite the fragmentation of land holdings it seems that most agricultural activity occurs within "ca. 1-1.5 km of a built shelter of some kind", where land is of better quality and there are more villages these distances can "more than halve" (Bevan et. al 2003:230).

Here the focus is different to this more general island wide approach to the spatial structure of the landscape. The structural analysis of the buildings is added to and complemented by both the archival and ethnographic evidence adding the component of true microhistorical detail to the previous microdynamics of the structures in the pilot study. The aim is to explore the relationship between the two hamlets and the main settlement of Mitata in terms of the way that the wider landscape is perceived and managed and assessing in greater detail questions of land use. Also important is an analysis of the physical remains and the practical realities of the way that these hamlets operated within their respective landscape, as well as processes of adaptation and change. Another key theme in this analysis are the interconnections between the structures within these clusters, in terms of evidence of negotiation of space and function in relation to each other. An extension of this is the consideration of the relationship or rather a comparison of the functional differences between Mitata and these hamlets and how this affects the way that the village and the hamlets interact within changing farming regimes and economic strategies.

The term hamlet and *spitaki* require some definition. In this case hamlet is being used without the associations of habitation or settlement hierarchy, instead it is being used to denote the size of the cluster in order to differentiate these rural structures from the isolated field houses that exist within the wider landscape. Spitaki is the common term used by locals to describe agricultural field houses which serve a variety of functions but which are usually defined by their location: in proximity to landholdings. There are a number of external features associated with spitakia such as processing facilities like threshing floors, wells and enclosures (see fig. 4.22a,b,c). There is a great deal of variety to these rural

structures both in terms of features, size and complexity that ultimately reflect the strategies and methods being used by the individual communities involved.

Equally as these strategies evolve over time so do the structures, which show a degree of adaptation and reuse.

In general spitakia or agricultural field houses are structurally different to the 'spiti' or main house in the village. This is largely down to function and in particular the question of occupation. The main house in the village (the 'spiti') is the focus as the household centre both in terms of social and economic relations. It is designed for permanent habitation and therefore has a number of key features needed within daily routines such as cooking facilities, washing facilities as well as its relationship to the wider amenities of the village. The relationship with the village is partly due to the importance of its public and communal spaces. The village square is the centre of community life and meeting place, which is intrinsic in the maintenance and creation of social networks. Other aspects of social life within the village like the centrality of the 'kafenion' within the male oriented world of social networking (Cowan 1991:188) added to this is the importance of the church and other public facilities such as schools, shops and public services. Also important are the intervillage relationships built between kin members and neighbourhoods, within systems where social and economic networks are interlinked through reciprocal exchanges of labour and mutual obligations. In other words the village is the central social and economic hub within its wider territory.

In terms of the two hamlets and their placement within their wider landscape there is a distinct difference between the two. Makrea Skala¹⁶ as the name suggests is a large two-tiered terrace perched on top of the gorge opposite the village (See Map 1, Fig. 4.1). In fact it keeps in visual contact with Mitata, which can be seen and identified from across the gorge. Kokkinochorafa is in a completely different area within the wider Paleopoli valley looking out to the coast. Further away from the village, it has no visual contact per se but rather the hamlet itself is located on a hill overlooking the land being farmed and down towards the bay (Fig 4.2). It may not be connected with the village but it does have a significant link with the monastery at Aghia Moni which will be explored later in detail. In terms of the relationship with the landscape, the location and distribution of the buildings within the area is important. Makrea Skala sees the buildings scattered along the length of the large terrace (see plan 1) whereas the structures at Kokkinochorafa are more densely packed together on the top of the hill (Fig. 4.2) with a smaller cluster located on another hill overlooking the terraces between the two. As the landscape appears today, Makrea Skala has a number of enclosed fields and a system of calderimia ¹⁷built within that. It is separated into two tiers by the escarpment that runs through with the lower terrace divided into fields with olives. These fields are largely enclosed forming distinct units and with the possible exception of the olive trees are no longer cultivated. Kokkinochorafa has a completely different feel, its location on top of a hill means that the cluster of buildings is quite dense made up of a series of compound structures, paths, enclosures and facilities. The cultivated area of the landscape stretches out in the plain in front of the hamlet, with fairly modern olive groves in

¹⁶ Literally translated as the long/large terrace

¹⁷ paths

certain areas and a series of disused, abandoned terraces adjacent to the main cluster of buildings.

From the outset, dating the structures remains a problem, largely because work on the traditional architecture of Kythera has mainly focused on the neoclassical buildings of Potamos and the architecture of Chora (Grigorakis et al 1983). What is known as folk or 'vernacular architecture', in particular relating to agricultural structures, has not been explored to the degree in which similar buildings have been studied on other islands such as Crete (Bozineki-Didonis 1985), Tinos (Karali 2002) and Corfu (Agoropoulou-Birbili 1982) to name a few. Identifying the relative style of these rural structures on Kythera is also a problem. In terms of considering the issue of a regional form the evidence of traditional architecture from the Ionian islands, which form a good parallel in terms of shared history, shows that the differences in climate have affected the development of the architecture, with a preference for a pitched tiled roof and an Italianate neoclassical style which diffused through to rural villages (Agoropoulou-Birbili 1982). Another problem inherent is the degree to which lintel blocks, traditional pottery and even millstones have been 'recycled' to be used in modern buildings and renovations. This has led to problems in identifying function of spaces in some cases and in others has led to collapse and destruction of features, which may have potentially helped to point to the date or style of the building such as doorways etc. The main structural issue with the buildings is in the method of construction and identification of styles, typologies and phasing which may help to ultimately date the structures but also explore adaptation and reuse.

Makrea Skala

Methods of construction and dating

Makrea Skala is characterised by a relative structural variety in its 16 mapped buildings (Smith 2004, appendix 3 and 4, Table 4.1). There are a number of distinct types of buildings and a degree of variety in the method of construction and the attention to detail. Two structures which are of the same typology (Smith 2004) and are visually reminiscent of the “single space broad fronted house’ found in Crete (Bozineki-Didonis 1985 51-2) are MS12 and MS6 (Figures 4.3, 4.4). The difference between them is largely one of decoration. MS6 is covered with a distinctive ochre plaster while its arched front doorway is coloured white. No such investment has been made at MS12, again perhaps illustrating an aspect of display or perhaps denoting that MS6 was used as more than a simple field house (as from the ethnography MS12 was used for seasonal occupation during harvest periods and therefore for storage as well). Unfortunately there is no additional information available for MS6 from the ethnographic research to establish if the levels of decoration were related in some way to its purpose or use. Structurally however it is of the same style and construction of MS 12. In terms of dating once again these are probably later constructions from the 19th to the early 20th century onwards. Also relatively late is MS13 (Fig. 4.5), which is the only structure to be identified from the ethnography as a house built for permanent occupation. Again the flat roof and the metal supports added to the ethnographic information suggest a later date, in many ways in terms of style it is similar to KCH4 (Fig. 4.17), which may also have been used for some form of permanent or semi-permanent habitation.

These buildings contrast with the rest of the spitakia in the hamlet, which are largely characterised by a rougher appearance and the use of less elaborate stone building techniques (Fig. 4.6). From the ethnography, the material used for construction was the local relatively soft stone called *poria* and in Makrea Skala there is evidence for mini on site quarries (Fig. 4.7). In some cases this is taken to the extreme such as in MS9 which is located in the lower tier of Makrea Skala and basically consists of 3 walls built up against the rock of the escarpment, a clear example of minimum effort and the soft rock being used to maximum advantage. Equally in the interior the rock has been carved out to provide niches for storage, another common feature in Greek traditional architecture, though usually built into the exterior and interior walls.

The problem with the majority of the more roughly hewn stone structures is that they are particularly difficult to date. A lot have suffered almost total collapse, in others the skeleton frame and the vaults remain and some have undergone extensive modification and reuse, often obscuring the original structure. In general this rougher variety that almost blends into its surrounding landscape (at least now that it is largely abandoned and overgrown) has many similarities to agricultural structures identified elsewhere in the Aegean such as on Crete and Tinos, made of roughly chiselled stone (Bozineki-Dodoni 1985:47). In this case there is a certain similarity in the almost makeshift appearance of the construction in this case due to the roughly chiselled stone and the stones and even pottery shards used to fill in the interspaces. In fact in Makrea Skala some of the material looks to have been retrieved from adjoining stone piles. It seems to

be that construction uses whatever materials were to hand onsite whether it was soft stone that was quarried or recycled stone from the stone piles.

One intriguing detail on MS8 and 16 are the incised crosses on the lintel blocks (Fig. 4.9). In some examples within the wider Aegean, the date of construction has been carved on (Whitelaw 1991:417) or there has been some aspect of decoration or the use of a particular stone such as marble (Karali 2002:197). The informants linked the incised crosses with the practice at Easter of using the candle lit at the service to mark the lintel with a cross, drawn from the smoke before entering the house as a sign of good luck. The idea being expressed by the informants was that this was the carved equivalent, I don't precisely know to what extent this is true although it would be plausible within a community with traditional religious values. Potentially it could be a marker of another sort but it is not mentioned in the folkloric studies of the island.

In terms of dating the structures, the evocative crumbling ruins and timeless quality associated with them, make it tempting to ascribe considerable age to them, however it is equally true that these structures could be relatively recent 20th century additions before the landscape was largely abandoned in favour of migration abroad. Perhaps although a specific date can not be assigned, either from the structure or the pottery, it could be suggested that these buildings and the way they interconnect with the series of access routes such as the calderimia that lead to the gorge and ultimately the village and enclosures, that these potentially date from the period where Makrea Skala was most intensively cultivated. Also there is discrete phasing in the structures themselves with the addition of enclosure walls and in the upper tier closest to the modern agricultural

road there is considerable reuse. In contrast to this is the cluster of buildings that includes MS7, MS8 and MS9 leading down to the escarpment and lower tier. These are connected to the calderimi remains that run through the fields to the gorge, are largely overgrown, collapsed and abandoned (Fig. 4.10). According to the ethnographic information Makrea Skala was mostly abandoned approximately 40 years ago, with the clearing of more agricultural roads by the authorities. The proximity to the village meant that the distance could easily be covered in cars and tractors, thus rendering the hamlet obsolete. Equally Makrea Skala's relative abandonment could be related to the effects of migration as the informants pointed out that most of the families who owned land out at the hamlet were those that had emigrated to Australia.

Division of space and function

The long scattered distribution of spitakia along the terrace that makes up Makrea Skala has led to a different layout and division of space than the more densely clustered example at Kokkinochorafa. Instead Makrea Skala seems to be dominated by a series of long connected field walls, enclosures and calderimia alongside smaller clusters of buildings in certain areas. In general one thing that is apparent in Makrea Skala is that there is more space and a greater number of relatively isolated structures. Some like MS12 are located within their own enclosed space. In this case, the long field wall that marks the upper boundary of the hamlet encloses one side and the other encloses a large yard or field area, which includes its own threshing floor as well as a smaller walled entrance area directly in front of the building. This creation of a discrete space is mirrored by

MS13 (Fig. 4.5) which is located on the lower almond terraces, but in this case has been identified as a permanent residence (Smith 2004) though it is interesting that in front of the courtyard area of the house is a dismantled threshing floor potentially predating the building as well as an underground animal enclosure which has been dug out of the rock, at a much earlier date and which has been accommodated into the design of the house. This could suggest a partial conversion of an older structure.

In terms of function a large proportion of the structures have features and spaces associated with animal keeping. A good example of this is MS4 (Fig. 4.13), which includes a living/storage area with a number of added rooms/enclosed spaces for animal use. The interesting thing here is the use of the field wall system that runs throughout the area and also the terrain where a kind of coral is created by the field wall to provide a semi enclosure that leads down and connects it to MS5, which is a semi enclosed space potentially identified for again animal use, including a drain built into the wall. Other aspects include the number of features like sunken gournes (troughs) in the areas around some of these structures. Also there is the relatively narrow and thin structure located at the edge of the olive groves MS15 (Fig. 4.14) which may well be a stabling complex potentially even for animals like the plough oxen. From the oral testimonies plough oxen the so-called *zeugari* or plough team were an incredibly important resource and even hired out by families. One informant remembers spending over a month ploughing other people's holdings, as part of a reciprocal system of exchanged labour or for payment before mechanisation. The plough oxen were also a symbol of the

relative wealth of the family. Informants pointed that as valuable animals these were considered to be relatively sensitive to the elements, and were therefore kept in stables rather than left outside.

Relationship with the village and landscape: connections, mobility and land use

Makrea Skala has a different relationship to Mitata and its landscape from that of Kokkinochorafa, as it maintains visual contact with the village across the gorge. Equally in this case the degree of access is far more important than in the case of Kokkinochorafa, as the modern road and track are completely different to the route through which it was approached in the past. In fact the informants claimed that it took a little over an hours walk to reach Makrea Skala and that the original route was far more direct, across the gorge floor and up to the hamlet (Plan 1, Fig. 4.12). This is tantalisingly suggested by the remains of the calderimi system that have been mapped which sees them leading down away from the structures towards the gorge. In fact the cluster at MS7, 8,9 may perhaps be constructed to connect with the calderimi as it goes up towards them and may be continued with a path through them, though this has been obscured by overgrowth and general abandonment and collapse. Also different with Makrea Skala are its boundaries. While Kokkinochorafa is one section within the wider Paleopoli area which stretches out to the coast, here the gorge provides a definite boundary and as can be seen from the plan the terrace stretches out divided into a series of walled fields, with calderimia providing access routes through them.

In terms of reuse its relative proximity to the village has meant that the higher levels with easy access to the modern track have been extensively fenced and reused to house sheep or goats. Also the vast areas of uncultivated land with the thyme rich vegetation have been used to house a large number of beehives within the wider Makrea Skala area. One set was housed directly outside MS12. The enclosed fields, which may be examples of the *sohoro* so often mentioned within the documents, lie largely abandoned on the upper level and with olive and almond groves towards the gorge (Fig. 4.22c). These are olive groves that consist of a visible mixture of trees ranging from old to more recent additions. This was confirmed by the ethnography and described as a result of infilling of groves by the passing generations as using the land for household production of the necessary sown crops such as cereals became gradually less important to the local and household economy.

In terms of connection with the village especially through the levels of occupation of these structures, once again a scenario of seasonal habitation usually in times of harvest was presented. One younger informant identified MS12 as belonging to his family¹⁸ and remembered spending at least 2 months there during winter at the time of the olive harvests. This would place the use of that building within the period of the 1950's and the time spent there either indicates a large ownership of trees or that the family stayed on as hired labour or to focus on other agricultural activities in the area. In the narratives relating to the use of Makrea Skala generally the connection is made with the housing of livestock. One of the male informants made the point that the lack of grazing within Mitata and

¹⁸ It was identified by the fact that it was where the beehives were located.

the wish to protect the widespread orchards and gardens, meant that animals in large numbers such as the sheep flocks and cattle were exiled to places like Makrea Skala. In this case the owners, specifically the men, followed the animals to Makrea Skala in order to look after them. It is noticeable that within Makrea Skala there is a relative emphasis on enclosures that can hold larger flocks of animals including animal folds within the wider landscape (Smith 2004). Here the household was split across the gorge with men staying to look after the livestock while the rest of the family remained in the house in Mitata.

Essentially once again the proximity of the hamlet to the village mitigated the sense of disconnection and men travelled backwards and forwards in order to tend their land in other locations including the village, but also to participate within village social life. Equally women walked out to the hamlet on a weekly basis to deliver supplies. As a whole the informants themselves, due to the short distances involved, do not consider this degree of mobility particularly significant. Other holdings could be as far as half a day's journey away so therefore the hour or so walk was not a major concern. Once again the structures are tied more to the relationship with the village in having to provide pasture for livestock away from the intensively cultivated land around Mitata than to the distances involved in terms of being created to be closer to landholdings. Indeed the uncultivated land was key at Makrea Skala, subject to regular burns according to the ethnographic information, in order to promote new growth and used both as a thyme/herb rich location for the beehives and also as grazing. In fact in terms of the relative boundaries of the wider village territory, the uncultivated land that stretches back from Makrea Skala was subject to a dispute over grazing rights with locals from Diakofti according to one informant.

Again Makrea Skala is essentially operating in a complementary role to Mitata and the way that the land is being intensively exploited. Its existence and function is largely dictated by the changes in economic strategies employed, in particular the increase in livestock. This of course is once again an example of a relatively late adaptation (20th century) partly as a result of a move away from self-sufficiency but also potentially due to the effects of depopulation brought about by mass migration. It is indicative that there were less informants and in general people in the village who owned land at Makrea Skala, as most of the owners had emigrated to Australia, hence the earlier abandonment of the majority of the site and potentially why it could be used to the extent it was for holding animals and providing grazing areas.

Kokkinochorafa

Methods of construction and dating

Kokkinochorafa¹⁹ is characterised by a degree of structural uniformity. Even from just walking around the site the similar appearance of the buildings is apparent, despite differences in size and use (Fig. 4.15). This is largely down to the method of construction and in particular the distinctive vaulted roof (Fig.4.16). Of course this homogenous appearance and to an extent the layout of the hamlet (which due to its density and negotiated entrances and paths), may lead to an ultimately false impression, that these are structures that were built contemporary to each other. Looking at the structures in more detail beyond this initial

¹⁹ See Figs 4.2, 4.15-22, appendix 3 for photographic overview of site

impression of uniformity, there are considerable differences in the quality and degree of investment in construction as well as reflecting the purpose and function of the space.

The roof, which is so distinct at Kokkinochorafa (Fig.4.16), is indicative of many of the wider construction philosophies behind such structures as well as issues of maintenance and reuse. Most of the structures have a roof supported by typical stone vaults, which was seen in the construction of traditional houses in the villages as well (Grigorakis et al 1983:25, Fig 4.18 for examples of vaults). This was then followed by typically a layer of wood (usually in this category of building branches rather than beams) and then followed by a layer of earth (Kasimatis 1994:139). Earth was another typical construction material and used in a variety of ways (Kasimatis 1994:139). Then as the informants explained a specific type of clay, in the form of clay cement, was used as an outer layer to waterproof the roof. This had to be redone and maintained on a yearly basis in order that the structure was habitable in the winter months. It was important therefore that this seasonal maintenance was done before the winter rains began, although the informants admitted that this was not always totally successful but that it waterproofed the structure 'to a certain extent'. Long-term absence or abandonment therefore, where this maintenance work has not been carried out, leads to roof collapse. This is probably why structures still in use have had the roof replaced either with concrete or with corrugated tiles, in order to prevent collapse and to have a more durable waterproof layer that does not require annual maintenance.

Breaking the uniformity is one structure, which clearly is of a completely different type and again it is the roof that illustrates this. This is the flat roof of KCH4 (Fig. 4.17) (Smith 2004) that is constructed in a different style and therefore stands out. The roof is not supported on vaults but rather is of the beam type, although in this case the 'beams' are on a smaller scale and consist of visible branches supporting the flat roof on top. There is in general a different 'look' to the building it is in a sense 'squarer' partly due to the greater attention paid to shaping and levelling the lintel blocks and corner stones as opposed to the more natural state of some of the other examples, where minimal attention has been paid to such construction and aesthetic details. Also usually the doorway to the room designed for habitation reflects and is aligned with the vaults inside and is therefore arched rather than square. The rougher square framed doorways are usually characteristic of areas used to keep animals or potentially storage, hence why there is perhaps less attention paid to shaping blocks used.

Equally the interior illustrates further differences. Apart from the branches the roof is clearly also supported by metal 'beams' and the walls have been whitewashed and plastered. Inside is an interior typical of most village houses i.e. a large fireplace/hearth and associated seating area, in this case rotting wooden benches on stone supports. This leads into an adjoining room through an arched doorway where the roof unfortunately has collapsed. The general character of this building is suggestive not only of a different approach in its use but its construction particularly with the metal supports may well indicate a later date. One of the informants from the village pointed to the 1903 earthquake, which caused considerable damage to Mitata, as the time when construction switched from arches and a vaulted roof to the flat one. This may point to a later date for

this building well within the first quarter of the 20th century and perhaps even later, potentially the 1930's or 1940's. Also important is the wooden window frame in the single window, historically in traditional architecture from the 19th century onwards, buildings did not have windows or glass but instead had narrow openings in the walls and small skylights in the roof usually made from the neck of an old pithari (Kasimatis 1994:139). Therefore the existence of a window could once again point to a later date. In this case there was a significant pottery find of glazed ware produced by the island's potter from the 1920's onwards (Kiriatis pers.comm. and Smith 2004) which potentially supports the later date of this style of building.

In the typical style of the compound structures that dominate the hamlet there is considerable variation in the investment and quality of the construction. All are constructed with the use of the locally available stone but the degree to which attention has been paid to the details varies significantly from structure to structure and also from room to room. A good example of this is the compound building KCH3 (Fig. 4.18 Table 4.1)), which has three rooms, with no communication or internal access and a series of enclosures and separate entrances. Unfortunately the structure has partially collapsed in some sections but function can still be identified and although there is no roof the vaults and walls are still standing. This compound structure is of the type consisting of one section with an associated enclosure identified for animal use, a central living space with fireplace and one final room largely empty with no special identifying features possibly used for storage. It is the central living space, which is the point of interest, as apart from a relatively large stone fireplace, the room is dominated by its series of six arches. The room next door is supported by just one arch though it

is of similar dimension so that the six arches next door are not a structural requirement for the roof.

There are a number of ways this can be interpreted. Though the arches are not particularly finely carved or even perfectly aligned in comparison to examples that can be seen in villages elsewhere on the island, in the context of the hamlet this is the finest level of construction detail seen. When the informants were questioned about the difference in quality and detail of the workmanship, they pointed to the classic answer that it depended on the family involved. More interesting was the question of mobilising labour to help in the construction of these buildings, as one of the informants explained certain people were able to call on favours from either kin or acquaintances who possessed greater masonry and construction skills than others who were forced to build it themselves. Arguably though the excessive number of arches could be seen in the context of social display even within the supposedly lower class structures of agricultural 'spitakia' in a similar way that is typically seen with houses and their decoration in villages.

These types of compound structures are ultimately harder to date. The ethnographic evidence which identified this larger cluster as belonging to the Protopsaltis family, argued that the buildings were constructed by their ancestors who came to the village and bought the land in the area. As the family history places their arrival much later than the documents which show that the Protopsaltis group were already well established in Mitata by the censuses beginning of the 18th century, there is a conflict in the suggestion of a possible date for these structures. The larger Protopsaltis group of buildings could have been built contemporary to each other largely because of the overall layout, which

will be discussed in the section of features and use. However they are unlikely to date from as early as the 18th century or the even earlier documented arrival of the Protopsaltis family on the island. It is more plausible that from the style and relative density of building that this was potentially connected with the intensification of farming of the Paleopoli area and therefore potentially date from the mid-late 19th to early 20th century.

Of course there is phasing within the buildings themselves, indicating that the entire hamlet was not built at the same time. This can be seen usually by the addition of enclosures or rooms such as in the case of KCH7, where the different alignment of the walls can be seen clearly (Fig. 4.19). The most interesting is the relationship between KCH9 (Fig. 4.20) and the calderimi that goes through that part of the hamlet leading to the olive terraces and potentially joining with the calderimi that led up to Aghia Moni (Fig. 4.21). From the back of the structure there is a strange curve in the exterior wall in order to accommodate the shape and route of the calderimi. This would seem to suggest that the calderimi was laid out and constructed before at least that section of the building that curves to accommodate it. There is also evidence of later adaptation and reuse; in some cases this is clear cut modern in the sense that materials like concrete or plastic are used (Fig. 4.19). However there are instances where the modifications have some age to them or at least have been done using the same stone construction methods. KCH7 has undergone considerable modification. Essentially one space has been split with a misaligned doorway being added with the interior vaults visible and it is also obvious where the vaults of a previous room have been dismantled and blocked up to divide the space. This series of modifications was obviously

designed to either break up the rooms of a larger compound structure or perhaps even as a repair to a potential collapse enabling the building to be used.

Division of space and function

Function of spaces has been identified through the structural survey that took place as part of the pilot study (Smith 2004) but in view of the archival evidence available and questions of inheritance, the focus here will be the division and management of space. In terms of enclosed space or rooms within these buildings, the degree of communication and access points are particularly significant in the way that the documents show that property is inherited and managed. The key issue is the degree to which compound structures can be broken up into individual units as has been shown in what exactly the word 'house' in the documents actually consists of. As will be examined in detail in the following analysis chapter, the basic point is that houses in the village are compound structures of a number of rooms and in some cases more than one storey, which are essentially flexible and to an extent multifunctional, in that they can be adapted into smaller units and inherited by multiple family members. This is attested to in the ethnographic information as well, where informants discussed within the wider Protopsaltis family how the same person owned more than one structure or how others owned parts of these compound buildings such as a single stable or storage section.

This is supported by the way in which these larger compound structures are constructed with separate access points between different spaces/rooms and no internal communication between them. Therefore there is a degree of flexibility and larger compound structures could well be broken up as part of wider inheritance strategies. The only problem is that the rooms are not always flexible in terms of function. Storage spaces are largely empty now lacking any built in features though in the past they contained large storage containers and other tools, which have been largely removed in the current revival for all things traditional. Living spaces are largely defined by the presence of a fireplace in the corner, which considering the olive harvest takes place in winter is perhaps an essential feature to the use of the room for harvest-oriented, seasonal occupation. Equally rooms associated with stabling animals are largely identified from particular structural features and dimensions, such as the low small doorways and often an entrance, which spills out into an enclosure such as in KCH3 (Figure 4.18b) which has a double entrance leading out into a walled enclosure. This apparent lack of adaptability does not preclude that larger compound structures are broken up, particularly in the way that such buildings or single sections were inherited within families. Equally the way that single roomed buildings were used as outlined by the ethnographic testimonies, show that there is a degree of adaptability and flexibility on behalf of the people who used them. In one case the single roomed structure that was identified by one informant as belonging to her family, although structurally did not have any accommodation for animals of any sort, the family in fact kept chickens and goats etc by utilising the exterior space in terms of the front yard almost of the spitaki. No modifications were made, the informant emphasised that the chickens roosted in the almond trees outside and were often lost to predators such as martens. Another example was of a structure

now completely collapsed, which despite its small size and lack of features, was identified by one informant as a building that had been occupied for extended periods by the owners.

Another aspect to the division of space and function is the overall layout of the hamlet and the use of the external spaces and enclosures, in view of the relatively high density of buildings in close proximity to each other. Talking about layout is a little problematic as it is unknown and rather unlikely as to whether there was an overall plan to the hamlet. Instead the question is whether in the organic way that buildings were added and constructed there was a sense of a negotiation between individual needs and having to deal with the neighbours. This is particularly seen in the way that the exterior spaces, entrances and enclosures are constructed. The best example is the main path that passes by KCH3 and that gives the hamlet its village neighbourhood atmosphere. For a start a relatively wide path has been left leading through and joining with the calderimi that marks the edge of the densest part of the cluster. It is indicative that the animal entrances of KCH3 are placed facing away from this path, as is the attached enclosure. Equally the empty areas, which are not part of wider building complexes including yard spaces, are enclosed. In fact it is immediately striking that even the smallest plots of land are enclosed; in some cases you can see the carved out rock that could serve as a an animal enclosure of sorts, but even processing facilities like threshing floors are placed within enclosed fields (Fig. 4.22a).

Historically there was a push by the British administration to decrease the loss of crops through grazing by increasing the number of walled and enclosed fields. This is illustrated in certain instances by the walled fields created to form a

larger enclosure or fold to house animals. However the ethnographic testimonies present a slightly different perspective, explaining that everyone enclosed even the smallest of plots partly due to the grazing factor but more to do with denoting ownership and clearly marking boundaries. This creates a sense of competition or rather a degree of friction created by the close proximity and clustering of buildings. Partly this is due to the wider use of the land with a clear effort being made to locate all necessary facilities and buildings on this part of the hill in order to maximise the cultivation of the surrounding land. In the number of isolated buildings located to the area of the hamlet, which leads onto a number of olive terraces, again these are placed away to the side in order to not interfere with production. This is a typical tactic employed as the landscape is exploited to the fullest extent and where such buildings are generally located (Karali 2002:304)

Relationship with the village and landscape: connections, mobility and land use

The relationship of the hamlet with its surrounding landscape has been briefly mentioned already, notably in the location of the buildings in relation to land suitable for cultivation. The position of Kokkinochorafa itself in the wider Paleopoli area is also significant especially in assessing the relationship between the village and hamlet. It is clear that the village is a primary settlement but by labelling Kokkinochorafa within this hierarchical framework, masks the adaptation and evolving uses of the hamlet itself as it is integrated within changing land use strategies during the period. Labelling the hamlet as a secondary settlement within the wider Mitata hinterland makes assumptions about

both the settlement patterns and levels of occupation as well as the degree of mobility and thus the connection between Mitata and Kokkinochorafa.

In terms of distance it is certainly true that Kokkinochorafa is further away from Mitata than its counterpart in Makrea Skala and that its outlook is towards the wider Paleopoli valley rather than to the village. However it does not operate as a secondary settlement where people have moved to out to be closer to landholdings or to overcome the distance involved. This is a different process to the kind that has been documented in other studies within the Aegean such as on Kea where 'stavloi' were converted to cater for permanent occupation (Sutton 1991:394) or on several Cycladic islands where there was a degree of dispersion as people moved out to be closer to newly acquired land (Kolodny 1983:154 cited in Sutton 1991). The issue and perception of distance is illustrated through the ethnographic information where the time it took to make the journey from Kokkinochorafa back to Mitata was estimated at two and a half hours by donkey on the old road, which to an extent follows the modern asphalt road. In fact the distance was not really an issue for those who had property; this was emphasised by the daily routine outlined during harvest times. Although the spitakia were used for overnight stays, as is one of the main seasonal functions of these structures, carrying the crop back to the village to be processed meant that on average up to two even three round trips a day could be made. This is particularly important for crops like grapes and olives, which once harvested need to be pressed quickly before they spoil and therefore ultimately affect the quality of the end product. This daily travelling routine is a common sense strategy in many ways designed to protect the harvest. It does raise one of the main connections

between Mitata as the main village hub and the agricultural hamlets in terms of processing of the crop.

Processing facilities on site are limited to threshing floors. Other examples of agricultural field houses often include wine presses and even distilling apparatus for the making of raki (Karali 2002:184-6). At Kokkinochorafa the basic facilities are included such as the threshing floors and wells. However the lack of more specialised facilities could be an indication of the relative proximity of Kokkinochorafa to Mitata where the larger processing services such as the oil and wine presses and the mills were situated. The lack of such facilities means that the main issue at times of harvest revolves around the ability to transport the crop back to Mitata. The presence of threshing floors of which there are a number that have been mapped (Smith 2004) are once again related to the issue of transport. The threshing floor is designed as attested to ethnographically in order to complete the initial processing of the cereals etc so that they are not burdened with unnecessary weight to carry back to Mitata. Again the quality, size and relative location of the threshing floors within the hamlet is largely variable reflecting the differences in the buildings themselves. It is indicative that within the areas of the hamlet with large exposed areas of rock, this has been used to form the floor and a series of stones placed to outline the shape. In contrast to this shallow example, there is a large, deep and well-constructed example within an enclosed field, leading towards the area of the abandoned terraces. Rather than a secondary settlement all this points to the typical seasonal usage of the spitakia for accommodation in order to limit travelling and maximise the time available for harvesting the crop.

In terms of the relative density of buildings at Kokkinochorafa it is indicative that each spitaki does not necessarily have its own threshing floor (Smith 2004). From the distribution it is not always possible to identify where the threshing floor belongs to, but according to the ethnographic testimony about Kokkinochorafa, the informant insisted that these threshing floors belonged to individuals rather than family groups and that “everyone had their own”. Of course this creates a problem and on further investigation it could be possible as was admitted by the informants that there was a degree of communal sharing but that this was done grudgingly and was not the ideal. This can be also interpreted in terms of defining what ‘everyone’ actually refers to which could well be an individual family group rather than the individual per se. The same applies to other resources such as wells showing that in many ways the questions of access to resources and facilities was controlled by the same social networks, alliances and tensions that governed village life.

Although seasonal occupation is the norm for this broader category of rural structures, the narrative presented by one of the informants who owned land there illustrated a completely different level of use. In this case as a member of the Protopsaltis family, the informant described her childhood where she stated that she lived almost permanently at the hamlet until roughly the age of 12. She described other residents who had lived and died out at Kokkinochorafa. The reason why permanent occupation is so surprising is that considering the spitakia as residences is problematic because they lack many of the features associated with the house/spiti and the household daily routine. For a start even where there is identifiable living accommodation the space is limited and the facilities are extremely basic. In terms of space, at times of high levels of occupation such as

harvest as many as 6 or 7 people would be forced to sleep in one room, a situation evocatively described by the informant as being “like sardines, the only thing that was missing was the salt”. More important for permanent occupation was the lack of basic baking facilities such as an oven since although the fireplace allowed for cooking; one of the most important weekly roles for women was the baking of bread and paximadia as one of the key dietary staples. Even the informant agreed that the facilities were limited and therefore required a degree of mobility and adaptability in order to continue with the established daily routines. For example the problem of a lack of washing facilities was solved through the use of the stone cut gournes²⁰ sunk into the ground. Clothes were then spread onto walls and dried. Although certain problems could be dealt with through ingenuity and flexibility, others required a visit to the main house in the village in order to use the facilities there. Going back to the village usually involved a need to use the bread ovens there but the fact that the (household) animals were left behind at the hamlet imposed a limit on how long they were able to stay in Mitata, ranging from a few hours to a maximum of two days. This was done on a weekly basis and was largely dictated by the family’s needs.

It is not that this degree of mobility or that this type of almost permanent occupation is unreasonable but what is perhaps more difficult to understand is that once the decision to move out to the hamlet was taken why no improvements were made to the field house. The conversion of such buildings into permanent residences is not uncommon in the region but in this case however no improvements were made to the basic living quarters nor was larger equipment transported, instead the deficiencies were combated through visits back to the

²⁰ Animal troughs

main household in the village. Certainly there are details about this particular family which are on the surface atypical but which may begin to illustrate the changing nature of the village economy. The reason why this family moved out to the hamlet was largely as a result of the fact that the father had left the island as an economic migrant and gone to America. As a result the social dynamic of the family was essentially overturned and the mother was left as the head of the household and as the main provider in the 'split household' typically caused by migration (Glytsos 2006). This is a common effect of migration in that it completely transforms the family dynamic and in particular the previously well-defined roles of men and women. In this case the mother was forced to work as hired labour during the harvests until the first remittances began to arrive. As a young child the informant remembers that the wages were paid in kind, usually olive oil.

This unusual family dynamic, created as a result of male migration, may only be part of the reason behind the decision to be based out at Kokkinochorafa. One of the comments made by the informant in relation to the relatively basic conditions were that back at the village things were actually probably worse. However during the conversation the distinction between *spitaki* and *spiti* with all the implied associations was kept despite this rather blurred boundary between the two in terms of occupation. Although they may have lived out at Kokkinochorafa for a time, the household albeit in an ideological sense always remained in the main house in the village. Not living there did not alter its status or description as the *spiti*. Therefore the village retained its position as the centre as did the house located there: it was just people who moved backwards and forwards between the two.

Although this may be down to in this case individual family circumstances, the description was that there were other people and families living out there, some seasonally others on a similar almost permanent basis. The role of the hamlet Kokkinochorafa underwent a subtle change, from seasonal occupation at times when it was more convenient to be located nearer to the fields through to forms of permanent habitation, but in terms of its relationship with the village it acts less as a secondary, smaller settlement and more as a complementary outpost providing accommodation but none of the other important features associated with village life such as the public and social spaces. In saying that the calderimi which winds round the edge of the main cluster was created according to one informant in order to provide access to Aghia Moni, so that in a sense they did add to the basic nature of hamlet by connecting themselves with the church and therefore enabling them to perform their religious duties. Of course this may not necessarily have been created only to cater for the religious needs for those staying out at the hamlet but may well have been an access route to a fairly major church on the island in a relatively isolated location.

In terms of land use its position in the Paleopoli area, which historically belonged to those areas deemed unsafe because of the supposed threat of piracy is interesting. It is tempting to connect the Protopsaltis family with the oral history of buying the land in this area because they were outsiders and that this was one of the large tracts available for purchase and to argue that the hamlet at Kokkinochorafa is part of the movement down from the higher ground where Mitata is located to cultivating the coastal areas. Kokkinochorafa could even potentially represent the intensification of the farming of this area, which required

the building of the field houses in the first place. The problem with this theory is that historically it does not stand, the family history as shown by the documents is ultimately flawed as is the idea that there wasn't a level of mixed ownership and that the Protopsaltis family were able to buy large tracts because it was an empty part of the Mitatan hinterland near to the coast. If anything from the documents it is clear that the wider Paleopoli area is on the border and shared between the territories of the villages around the gorge, which stretch down to the coast. Informants talked of the problems in defining the borders with Friligianika in the 20th century when the village based 'koinotita' was created. Equally there are a number of microtoponyms within Paleopoli identified in the documents that are not associated with Mitata at all and furthermore the archival evidence for the area predates the arrival as it is outlined within the traditional family history.

Also exploring land use through the structural features of the buildings themselves it is obvious that there is considerable provision made for animals, though on a different level to that seen at Makrea Skala. The ethnographic evidence supports this, as the comment made was that basically animals followed the movements of their owners. It is not just about the cultivation of the land but also the parallel keeping of small flocks of sheep and goat which can be seen in the numbers of animal enclosures scattered throughout the hamlet. One male informant took this further, mentioning that Kokkinochorafa was used extensively for specifically housing larger animals especially the valuable plough oxen. As mechanisation came relatively late to Kythera and the intensive use of the land within and around the village meant that grazing animals were essentially exiled, while plough oxen were located down in the areas where they were used. It is indicative that, as has been previously mentioned, ploughing was not limited to

the landholdings of the owner as work was done as part of the wider network of mutual obligations, co-operation and labour exchange. Equally in terms of cultivation the system was that fields and terraces in areas like Kokkinochorafa were sown in alternate years with cereals/flax and animal fodder namely 'vikos' (vetch) to cater for the livestock.

Physical boundaries and the dynamics of space: a more detailed archaeological perspective

The archaeological evidence further contributes to this emerging picture of the dynamics between the village and the hamlets. The evidence on the ground is largely in the form of physical remains of the structures themselves. Although there is pottery, as has been previously mentioned, this is relatively rare and not, particularly diagnostic, of either purpose or date. In fact from the ethnographic statements, apart from more modern 'looting' or salvage of larger pithos jars, there is little indication that the types of artefacts kept in these buildings would have been diagnostic of anything beyond storage. The question of dating is further complicated by the relative difficulty of differentiating the fairly standardized production of coarse wares over a significant period of time.

Therefore the evidence lies in the survey of the structures themselves and the understanding of the interconnected series of walls, structures, entrances, pathways and processing facilities. The structural survey, is again from the outset,

fraught with certain difficulties. Abandonment of the buildings has both benefits and advantages. The benefits of course lie in the degree in which these buildings are seemingly untouched as opposed to the village where most buildings have either been demolished or significantly remodelled. However abandonment, of course, comes with decay and although there are at least some identifiable remains amongst the ruins, this has also unfortunately allowed the rampant overgrowth which in some cases has completely overtaken or obscured the structures, to the point where no real structural assessment can take place. There is a similar problem with the extensive network of fieldwalls, enclosures and inbuilt calderimia. This system is simply too large to survey adequately on foot and while aerial photographs are available, both collapse and overgrowth has meant that no real overview of the network in its entirety could be gained. On a smaller scale the relationships between individual enclosures, walls and buildings in more localised clusters, can however be attempted to be understood, especially as this ties into the broader dynamics showcased by the documentary evidence.

The question of boundaries is a theme that has been shown throughout the discussion of both the archival evidence and ethnographic testimony. The documents show individuals attempting to negotiate, maintain or even adapt the physical spaces and uses within the landscape. The ethnographic testimony is in many ways similar to this, with anecdotes formed around the stories of family members when negotiating space, ownership and individual family needs. This is particularly true of Kokkinochorafa, with the more densely clustered buildings and ethnographic evidence of semi-permanent occupation. Informants talk of the

sense or lack of community or about the need to negotiate the access to processing facilities on-site. Are the facilities shared or communal? The answer invariably was in fact no but with the begrudging acceptance that extended family was allowed access. These are common issues that arise within the documents, particularly as they relate to the more complex boundaries within the village itself. Here access to wells, ovens etc is specified and boundaries as houses are divided up are often described in excruciating detail, including the percentage of even wall ownership. The issue within the village is that larger compound structures are broken down, divided and adapted to cater for the housing demands of the next generation and the next household created.

The same issues can be seen within the material remains. Here the process of abandonment has meant the adaptation, division and re-use of structures is often more clearly apparent. Equally these are not structures created to conform to the same rules as the house within the village. Again this comes down to the fundamental difference between the spiti and the spitaki. Although there are architectural commonalities such as the vaulted construction and earthen roof, there is also a greater adaptation to the materials at hand and any opportunities that the environment provides. A good example of this is MS9 where the escarpment is used, to essentially, provide the back wall and half a side of the structure. There are also different levels in craftsmanship employed, ranging from ochre plaster at MS6 to the impressive series of vaults in the fireplace room of KCH3. This again ties in with the ethnographic evidence which spoke of a system of shared obligations, trading work and other such family relationships in being able to get masons or builders to work on these structures but also individual levels of skill. The level of investment is also related to the use of the structure in

question. Compound buildings particularly those that cater for a number of functions and residents ranging from people to animals, tend to favour the more basic construction for the areas reserved for animal occupation as is shown by KCH3 or others like MS4 where a single spitaki has had an animal enclosure/ stable added to the original structure. While there is evidence of small stone quarries on site and of shaped stone blocks being used, there is also the use of loose rubble found in stone piles (Smith 2004). And yet to add to this series of dichotomies is the ethnographic testimony which frequently demonstrates that such differences can be misleading.

The differences between the spiti and the spitaki were always referenced by the informants. The ethnography clearly showed that at least ideologically the house within the village remains at the top of the hierarchy. Although the informants freely admitted that the conditions within the village were often bad and were actually potentially better within the hamlets, there are a number of functional aspects that are never replicated even when some sort of semi-permanent occupation of spitakia is indicated by informants. While moveable goods can not be assessed, structures like built ovens and public features like the village square or kafenion are never seen in the hamlets. This remains the biggest structural contrast and why these hamlets are largely seen as unusual clusters of fieldhouses rather than having any of the social attributes of the village. This is particularly interesting in view of the extensive evidence of modifications and additions to the buildings at both sites. Basic fieldhouse units at Kokkinochorafa often have the addition of animal enclosures equally at Makrea Skala there are a number of instances of blocked up doorways, new entrances or of demolition or

reconstruction. This again ties into the ethnographic testimonies and documents which indicate that the way that property is dispersed through inheritance, as buildings are split into individual spaces and rooms, means that there is a certain inevitability to structural modifications and adaptations. However in view of this adaptable set up it highlights the dichotomy of not performing such adaptations in upgrading spitakia to the level of a spiti, with features like ovens etc even when semi-permanent occupation is indicated by the ethnography. The answer to the problems created by the lack of facilities seems to have been, according to the ethnography, the adaptation of features at hand e.g stone gournes used for washing clothes as opposed to their actual purpose as animal troughs (Smith 2004). It is only outsiders like the Samios family of MS13 who have built their primary residence outside of the village that possess these features. Once again highlighting that a hamlet does not provide the social and communal functions that are so intrinsic within the identity of the village and ultimately being Mitatan.

Another key issue is the negotiation of space and the creation of physical boundaries to divide and manage the wider landscape. From the material remains on both sites (see original plans appendix 4) there is an often intricate network of field enclosure walls, enclosed features such as threshing floors or even outer walls enclosing buildings and associated animal pens. From Makrea Skala, the relative phasing of the construction of field walls in particular shows a larger management plan with the incorporation of the calderimi which runs through the site. Although there is no secure evidence to show that this construction was undertaken simultaneously or was part of a larger co-operative building plan, it does at least demonstrate that communal access points like the calderimi were incorporated and protected. Equally this is backed up by the ethnographic

information regarding the now overgrown calderimi at Kokkinochorafa (see Fig. 3.3 and 4.21) where construction was conceived of as a communal project to provide access to the mountain top monastery of Ag. Moni. Indeed the negotiation of space in terms of access and use, in particular, is a common theme throughout the remains of both hamlets.

The denser clustering of buildings at Kokkinochorafa is perhaps more indicative of the competing claims to the space and the need for negotiation and compromise. It is interesting that even while walking through the central path through the hamlet there is a “village” feeling. This is partly created by this system of compound buildings that face onto the main access route and the number of compromises made such as for example KCH9 (plan 4, pg.185) with its odd curve built in order to not impact on the calderimi behind it. The same can be seen in the way that entrances are negotiated in KCH3 (plan 2, pg.184), where living and storage areas open out onto the main path and face their neighbours opposite, whilst the animal enclosure and yard opens out onto the back away from both other structures and the path. The same kind of practical arrangement, is potentially, also seen at the cluster at Makrea Skala, involving here the calderimi which possibly crosses the large terrace and formed the route that was described ethnographically as going down and across the gorge floor up to Mitata itself (see general plan 1, pg.44 and plan 1, appendix 4, pg 183). From the remains on the ground and the spacing left between MS8 and MS7, it appears that the calderimi continues up from the escarpment, but utilizes the exposed rock as its floor instead of built walls. Unfortunately this is difficult to absolutely confirm or photograph as this is a particularly overgrown part of the site. But once again there is some form of negotiation and management of space and access, which is of course

clearly seen in the documents with the clearly defined system of entrance points, paths and access routes that parties are compelled to abide by.

This division of the landscape through physical boundaries like walls is interesting in view of the evidence from the documents. On the ground the enclosed fields are fairly large units in view of the number of people often listed in wills etc as inheriting or as owning adjacent units. The two do not necessarily match up, especially at Makrea Skala, where the area is naturally defined by being on one large terrace. The fact there are more people to field units, is not particularly surprising, when the documents themselves show the way in which holdings are divided and adapted, usually by ignoring the actual physical boundaries. The system is inherently flexible and adaptable, otherwise the landscape can not be managed effectively in view of the competing number of claims and economic pressures put upon it. The need to maintain some measure of self-sufficiency and for this to be replicated into any new households formed through marriage by dowering them with appropriate holdings, means that the landscape has to be managed and divided beyond the original physical boundaries.

A good example of this is as previously mentioned processing facility of threshing floors which are ultimately shared even if this is not the ideal aspired to. In essence the physical boundaries that remain give an almost false impression of the size of holdings and the way in which they are practically perceived and managed. From the documents and ethnography, property can be divided into its component productive parts such as trees, crops and land or create new internal boundaries which are not then shown through the construction of walls but by a simple tree count. Multiple-ownership is also another issue which is not shown by

the often clearly delineated fieldwalls and enclosures nor does it necessarily suggest the potential for a fundamental change of use. For example at Makrea Skala, as the farming of the land is beginning to decrease due to the effects of emigration on the village, the quantities of animals kept out there increases as described by two informants who had land in that area. Equally you have the process of intensifying the cultivation of certain crops like olives with a gradual infilling of fields with new olive trees as the need to use the land to cultivate sown crops decreases in the twentieth century. Although not strictly archaeological, this process is clear from the disparate spacing and ages of the olive trees in the remaining groves.

In conclusion from the review of Makrea Skala and Kokkinochorafa, it is clear that these hamlets are a part of wider flexible and adaptive land use strategies. The ethnographic information about the buildings adds the dimension of mobility, seasonal occupation and more importantly the negotiation between the village as the focus and the hamlets in their supplementary and complementary roles within the spatial organisation of the landscape and management of landholdings. The contribution of these hamlets to the household economy can be measured mainly through the ways they fulfil and are adapted in line with changing household/individual strategies of land exploitation. Finally these structures are part of an intricate and changing social and economic network based on the relationships and interaction between people, these structures and the wider landscape and the way it is managed and exploited. It is these types of networks and relationships that can be explored more fully through the analysis of the archival evidence.

Chapter 5: Archive based analysis

Introduction: The Village

“Today Mitata is a village of agricultural toil, of stamina of work and the production of fruit. The deep gorge with its open tall wooded slopes, watered by the two opposite springs of Mitata and Viaradika with its lush green vegetation provides the magical view”

(Kasimatis 1994:319)

Mitata has long been defined by the topography of the landscape it occupies. The gorge which dominates the landscape around the village and the nearby springs, have become features that have defined both the way that the village itself has developed over time and the relationship of its inhabitants with the land. As Kasimatis described above in his ethnographic study carried out in the 1950's the lush, green fertile slopes of the gorge and the position of Mitata, perched on its hill overlooking this provide a clue to the way that the relationship between landscape and village was developed and maintained. The gorge is intrinsic to understanding the approach of local economic strategies towards exploiting the resources and opportunities that the local landscape presented. Especially important is water, in the way that it defines the way that the village itself functions within the exploitation of the wider landscape. It is a precious commodity especially within the Mediterranean (Halstead 1987:81) and the water rich environment of Mitata is often highlighted by observers and is noted on a number of occasions in the 19th century natural history of the island (Mikelis in

Andritsaki-Fotiadi and Petrocheilos 1982:158). The extent to which Mitata, the landscape and water are connected even in the perception of the village on the island, can be seen in the way that Mitatans were traditionally given the nicknames “Vorthakolooi”²¹ as they were seen to always be in water in their daily routines like frogs (Kasimatis 1994:335).

Water as a whole is also an important aspect in the way that the landscape immediately belonging to the village is valued, divided and ultimately used. The intensive terracing of the slopes below the village, largely abandoned today but still visible, shows one of the ways that the water available was effectively exploited. The economic value and desirability of these plots and terraces in view of their agricultural potential and production in many ways defined the way that property within the village was approached. These plots not only formed the foundation for one of the major strategies employed but also an approach mirrored in the distribution of landholdings and organisation of the wider landscape. It also begins to highlight the role and position of the village within its wider hinterland. However before examining the role of the village within a wider landscape, it is perhaps more useful to consider in detail what Mitata as a village actually consists of. In order to achieve this it is necessary to examine the internal structure of Mitata itself, particularly its social networks, divisions and the way these are displayed in the physical organisation and layout of the village.

In considering the basic features that are necessary within a village, the most important are communal and public spaces and of these undoubtedly the

²¹ Vorthakos is in dialect the word for frog. Vorthakolooi is therefore making the allusion to people that are frog like in their relationship with water. In other words that the village has so much water they are constantly in it. A quirky ascribed identity based on the features and perceptions of the Mitatan landscape.

most important, especially during the period, are churches (Gallant 2001:89). Churches have a fundamental social role to play within the village, and in terms of parishes have an equally important organisational aspect. During the period in question, at least until the 20th century, Mitata is divided into 3 distinct parishes: Ag. Giorgios, Ag. Dimitrios and Ag. Triada²². However what is particularly intriguing about the manner in which these parishes operated was the way that they in effect cemented the neighbourhood divisions and family based distinctions due to the organisational role of parishes within the wider administrative structure of the island. Such neighbourhood division is especially easy to see due to the associations with specific family groups/clans, and surnames remain the easiest and perhaps most important factor of identifying someone as originally from the village of Mitata.

Parishes are particularly important in mapping family territories within the village. Their significance lies mainly in the strong pattern of family associations that parish membership presents and the way in which churches are constructed and administered. Most churches on the island were built either privately or by family groups (Gregory 2003:221) who then formed the church council, which appointed the priest and sorted out matters concerning the maintenance and fabric of the building²³. This is connected to the way that parishes operated during the period. Of the three parishes identified, Ag. Giorgios is by far the most homogenous with members exclusively from the Prineas family (as can be seen from successive years in the census data e.g. Drakakis et al 1997). The church

²² Neither the churches nor the parishes have survived in this form to the present day. Mass migration and successive earthquakes have effectively redrawn the parish maps. These parishes essentially exist within the confines of the historical documents only.

²³ By chance an example of the church council hiring for repairs was discovered in Charamountanis 3/454/1851

itself is located in Priniadika, the neighbourhood of the Prineas family within Mitata and the contract Ch 454/1851 lists council members once again from the Prineas family.

In terms of the other two parishes, Ag. Triada consists of members of the Sklavos, Keromitis and Firos family groups²⁴ whilst Ag. Demetrios, is associated with the Protopsaltis, Kastritsos, Chaniotis, Kantres and Pisanos families²⁵. Looking at these divisions according to family group is particularly significant in the way that it highlights the wider relationship or history of individual families within the village. The easiest way to explore this is through a brief consideration of the family groupings themselves and how this parish division is mirrored in the partition of the village into specific family oriented neighbourhoods.

Ag. Giorgios is perhaps the parish with the most information that can be extracted from the census and notarial documents. It is also despite its homogenous make up, one of the more intriguing examples, partly because the Prineas family is considered traditionally and according to recent genealogical research to be immigrants, having originated from the village of Prines in Rethymnon (Kalligeros 2002:582). The name Prineas is therefore a derivative of their true place of origin. The homogeneity therefore apparent in the parish, which is located in the district of Priniadika within Mitata, begins to raise questions perhaps as to the level of integration of this group with the rest of the village. From another perspective it raises a wider issue of the break-up of the village into such neighbourhoods particularly in this case, and whether this is in fact an

²⁴ Keromitis and Firos are branches of the wider Sklavos group, therefore it is still one extended family grouping as will be discussed in detail later in the chapter see also fig.5.1

²⁵ Kastritsos also appears as Kastrisos or Kastrios, it is still the same family, just variations in spelling. This also applies to Kantres which sees a variety of different spellings in the census records.

outsider group developing its own hamlet rather than fully encompassed within the limits of Mitata.

The opposite is true of Ag. Triada, which displays the result of a large family group that reaches a point where it begins to break off into smaller groups, but maintaining its parish unity (See fig. 5.1). The Sklavos family is perhaps in terms of history pre-eminent in Mitata, partly due to its 'foundation myth' which ties it eloquently with the most infamous event of the island's history, in what is undoubtedly a good story but which is perhaps inevitably difficult to confirm or assess in terms of accuracy. The tradition is that the Sklavos family were originally a group of Mitatan residents who were captured by pirates and sold into slavery in Tunis, where they were bought and freed by a rich Kytheran Megalokonomos and on their return to Mitata were given the name Sklavos²⁶ after their former status as slaves. Their primordial, as it were, links to Mitata are confirmed within the village with their neighbourhood of Sklavianika. However both the Firos and Keromitis families listed under the parish are also associated with the Sklavos family (see fig 5.1, table 5.4).

The Firos family as an offshoot is first seen in the census of 1770 with the listing of Nicolo Sclavo q.Panagiotti Firo, showing how the nickname used to distinguish a branch within the Sklavos family ultimately became an independent surname (Kalligeros 2002:711). The same can be said of the Keromitis family appearing slightly earlier in the census of 1724 where a Manoli Sclavo quondam Giorgi Cheromiti is listed. It is indicative that there is a somewhat variable use of

²⁶ Sklavos in Greek is the word for slave

these nicknames as surnames as by the census of 1770 there are entries for a Giorgi Sclavo q. Dimitri Chieromiti but also Chieromiti used as the surname for four households listed. Looking at the names themselves, these are probably cases where a nickname became the official name of the specific branch of the family, no doubt connected to the problems of the large amount of Sklavos family members many with the same names and the relative confusion this causes in identifying specific people or families within the wider clan set up. The main difference between Firos and Keromitis however is largely the relative impact of the family on the village itself. Though in terms of members the Firos group far outstrips its counterpart, it is the Keromitis family that actually has an associated neighbourhood of Keromitianika²⁷. This can perhaps be partly explained due to the later adoption of the Firos surname, bearing in mind significant changes that the village underwent through the late 19th to early 20th century when there was considerable migration and various natural disasters like the 1903 earthquake.

In almost complete contrast to the both of these parishes stands Ag Dimitrios. In terms of membership it is largely left with a group of what could be considered as outsiders either because that is how they themselves choose to define their family or in terms of families that are more usually associated with other, often neighbouring villages. The Kastrisos family as the name suggests, hails more usually from Kastrisianika although traditionally is associated with Paleochora, before it was destroyed (Kalligeros 2002:299), whilst Kantres and Pisanos seem to be outsiders that have come into the village and become

²⁷ It is indicative that when I was consulting with the archive staff over how to identify Mitatans in the index books, they immediately listed the neighbourhoods of the village to get the main family groups-Keromitianika was one of the neighbourhoods listed.

established over time. According to certain traditions on the island the Pisanos family have been associated with a number of villages (including the founding of Pitsinades) although by the 18th century census this is largely limited to Mitata, Potamos and Karavas (Kalligeros 2002:578). Chaniotis is the easiest case to pinpoint as the name suggests an origin in Chania on Crete²⁸ is associated largely with Mitata and Mylopotamos first appearing in documents of 1564-5 (Kalligeros 2002:719). The most interesting in terms of providing a counterpoint to the self-definition of the Sklavos family is that of the Protopsaltis family.

The name in this case evokes a particular type of family history, related to the Byzantine Empire, where literally the name translates as the “first singer/chanter” and is within the group of a number of classic names associated with positions within the Byzantine court. The history, as told by family members, is one where the Protopsaltis family came to Kythera as refugees or migrants from Constantinople in the late 18th century. However research on the island’s names has come up with a similar story in terms of Byzantine links but with a very different origin and with a much longer presence on the island (Kalligeros 2002:588). Kalligeros argues that the family has been present on the island for 600 years and by the 16th century are firmly established in Mitata (Kalligeros 2002:588-9). The Byzantine link is not with Constantinople direct but rather through Mystras as a family that arrived from the Peloponnese as refugees when it fell to the Ottoman Empire (Kalligeros 2002:588). The difference in the details is not actually as significant as it may appear, apart from the impact the different time frames might have in determining the validity of the ethnographic evidence as the archival evidence supports the earlier arrival. Equally both Mystras and

²⁸ Literally translated Chaniotis is the Chaniot, or man from Chania.

Constantinople are major Byzantine centres, Mystras overall is perhaps a more logical choice in regards to Kythera, partly due to its pre-eminence on the neighbouring mainland before the Ottoman conquest and its relationship to the island in terms of location.

In terms of assessing the Protopsaltis family within the village layout, what is important and stays the same, is the way that they resolutely stress their Byzantine origins, which leads to the identification of the family consistently as outsiders²⁹, or at least creating some distance between themselves and the village, in contrast to the Sklavos story which emphasises their position as original inhabitants, of what is one of the oldest villages on the island. Therefore it is perhaps not surprising that with this mix of families within the parish, the largest of them, the Protopsaltis group has not named a neighbourhood. However the collection of these families under a single parish shows that no doubt they were living within a distinct area of the village but that simply that they did not go as far as naming it and putting their mark on the layout of Mitata in the same manner other families chose to.

However there is evidence to contradict this that is related to the Pisanos family and the emergence of a toponym within the village from certain notarial documents. The documents dealing with houses within the village that are all connected with the Pisanos family, mention an area called Benetianika (Aronis/W/ 2300/1843 v2pg95) while a census that records 'paronyms'³⁰ shows that Beneto was a nickname for a branch of the wider Pisanos group (see Table 5.3). The name

²⁹ This is not to say that they do not consider themselves as Mitatan at the end of the day just that they like to stress their different origins compared to other families in the village.

³⁰ Paronyms – essentially nicknames or other names by which the family can be identified see Table 5.2

ending in “-anika” strongly suggests a neighbourhood of the Pisanos family, similar to other “family-based settlements or networks” seen around the island (Gregory 2003:223). Though the evidence is not secure it makes the fact that the Protopsaltis family do not have a neighbourhood as one of the major family groups seem even more deliberate. Equally, by using the census data to look at relative family numbers and collating this with the evidence from the notarial documents this can be understood from a completely contrasting perspective. Equally the boundaries of these family based neighbourhoods are I think going to be largely conceptual and down to the perception of individuals. The number of intermarriages and interconnections between the different families within the village, parallel to inheritance patterns, means that it is highly likely, that every neighbourhood will contain a mix of families.³¹

From the documents it is obvious that there are a number of nested toponyms within the village itself, sometimes even up to three to identify a single location e.g Mitata, Sklavianika, Charambo. Benetianika could well be placed within this process of more complicated ownership and greater division of land needing more specific toponyms to accurately pinpoint locations or that it is a reflection of the description of the piece of land or land use that came to be used as a toponym³². The argument for this is that the Benetos offshoot of the Pisanos family is very small in terms of members and therefore could perhaps make more sense as an example of a specific location rather than the same type of major neighbourhood grouping that Sklavianika represents.

³¹ This was something that I discovered when trying to see if there were particular family links with specific toponyms outside the village itself. The data was too limited to be able to conclusively consider the real statistical implications of the largely mixed groupings and ownership, and so was therefore abandoned.

³² Examples include Mitata, perivolaki literally translated as Mitata the small orchard or Paleopoli and Paleokastro, toponyms which describe the locations of archaeological remains. For further examples see table 5.1

Equally it could be plausible that these were names given to neighbourhoods for reasons of convenience, after all through marriage strategies that will be discussed later in detail, these areas will not be exclusively inhabited by members of the family involved although there may well be connections to a wider kinship network. For example the Kastrisos family in Mitata that belongs to the same parish as Pisanos and have a similar status as outsiders; do not have an associated neighbourhood named. In this case the existence of the village of Kastrisianika may have resulted in confusion or equally resulted in the complete identification of the family with the village, despite the fact that there was a branch settled in Mitata.

In other words if the example convention set by other families had been followed by the Mitatan branch of the Kastrisos family then their neighbourhood would have been called 'Kastrisianika' leading to considerable ambiguity in regards to the toponym and the pre-existing settlement. Furthermore I suspect that as this naming mechanism was a way of creating convenient toponyms or reference points within the internal village geography, using Kastrisianika would have negated this convenience.

The strong family divisions within the village as shown above, however, do begin to present a question on the nature of Mitata itself. In an intriguing comment Kasimatis describes Mitata as "the group of villages on a hill overlooking the gorge" (Kasimatis 1994:319) and considering the level of division, is in fact Mitata more accurately defined as a group of villages rather than a single entity? Examining the internal structure of the village itself, the

existence of Priniadika for example with its own parish church and its homogenous Prineas family group with Cretan origins, seems plausibly to suggest a settlement established perhaps independently of the rest. Could these neighbourhoods or parishes therefore be seen as separate, in other words instead of simply being family divisions within a village, are these in fact separate communities grouped together under a single name? Another example of this is Fratsia, where the name itself seems to act as a general toponym, as the village is made up of even more –adika, –anika neighbourhoods than Mitata (Bennet 2007:213) or even Potamos where most churches are identified in the records in terms of their association to “family based settlements” such as Fardoulianika or Panaretianika (Gregory 2003 :223).

The best way to assess this is perhaps to answer the question: what actually defines a village in terms of physical structures. In this case it is difficult to assess as the village has undergone considerable change due to earthquakes and modern planning and building in what today at least is considered as a single village entity including its former administrative function as the ‘koinotita’³³ and a single parish. In fact this is a question that can be asked for many of the settlements of the island and the way that they ultimately developed. The easiest one to point out is that of Livadi, where scattered large estates owned by the elite in Chora gradually joined to become a single community under what had been the name for the general area rather than a specific settlement. However in the case of Mitata and Fratsia, these are listed as some of the oldest place names always

³³ Koinotita- loosely translated as commune. Recently the organisation of administrative districts in Greece has been overhauled by the infamous Kapodistrias act which merged smaller groupings like the koinotita into larger municipal groups. The island is currently covered by a single municipality Δήμος Κυθέρων attached administratively to the region of Attica.

associated with settlements³⁴. Another example is the ever elusive Kiperi which first appears as Apano and Kato Kiperi in the Kastrofylaka census in 1583 and is then plausibly identified as being Kastrisianika and Frilingianika respectively (Bennet 2007:Table 10.1). On the modern civil map (see Map 2) Kiperi is assigned to Frilingianika as it is on the older Leonhard map (which includes toponyms see Map 4). By chance the notary Charamountanis resides in Kiperi as do some of his clients and most of his witnesses. However despite Charamountanis' detailed description of location often down to specific microtoponyms of fields, he does not describe Kiperi as Kiperi-Frilingianika³⁵. The notary Aronis however in A/15/2300/1543 describes a garden at Kiperi in Frilingianika. Is this difference in the recording of the place name to do with familiarity in Charamountanis' case of the specific details of the neighbourhoods/toponyms of the village he resides in? This is a possibility but it does not tie in with the overall ethos of the way notaries record information. This is just one of the nuances or difficulties apparent in what precisely these toponyms and neighbourhood names refer to. In fact the best way to consider this wider problem is to move beyond the physical structure and neighbourhood divisions of Mitata itself and analyse the way it defines itself in relation to the other villages. How is its wider territory defined in terms of its boundaries and the regional networks both on a village scale and in terms of individual family alliances and social networks within the confines of Mitata?

Social networks invariably involve the church in some way due to its role in daily life and in part perhaps due to the family associations with specific

³⁴ Both Mitata and Fratsia appear in the Kastrofylaka census of 1583 (Maltezou 1991).

³⁵ See Ch/2/387/1851 for an example including clients who are residents of Kiperi (summary available in the appendix).

churches. Death is perhaps the biggest event in terms of the church and also as a social occasion shown clearly within the notarial records and with wills in particular. Death as a social event cannot be overemphasised. In fact the notarial records on Kythera show an intense preoccupation with the rites of death including memorial services, charity work and donations in the name of the deceased and for the benefit of their soul. A preoccupation with rites such as the memorial services prescribed by the Orthodox church for the first year as well as the yearly memorials after that are often extended further through the commission of a series of what are known as 40 service cycles that are held in memory of the dead (Kasimatis 1983). The role and importance of memory within the Orthodox Church is such that rituals and services commemorating the dead are fundamental to religious practice and an important family obligation (Hirschon 1989:16). Death within the Orthodox Church, in many ways surpasses other rites of passage such as marriage or christenings, precisely because of the longevity of the rituals that surround it. As a venue for memory the cemetery and the explicit emphasis on regular, long term rituals to commemorate the dead are part of a theology where the “separation between the dead and the living” is transcended (Francis et al 2002:97). The number of extra rituals/services commissioned in the documents, demonstrates that such memorials and associated social and religious displays are of paramount importance to many of the residents.

Other wills of the period from islands such as Syros and Mykonos ³⁶ do not show the same preoccupation with such Orthodox practices and extra commemorations, instead there is a marked decline in these islands from the 1830s onwards, including any mention of religious rites at all (Loukos 2000:189)

³⁶ Though Syros and Mykonos are under a different administration in the Cyclades, they still share the Greek Orthodox faith and thus all the same ritual obligations regarding death as their brethren on Kythera.

which mirrored a relative decline of religious influence on island society as a whole (Loukos 2000:190-1). This process was reflected on other Cycladic islands such as Andros and Sifnos where there was a similar decline in the use of religious language and references within wills (Loukos 2000:254-5) In fact by the mid 19th century death was very much a 'social event' on Syros, depending on the relative social position of the deceased which could lead to the entire town attending, obituaries and eulogies printed in the local press and the construction of elaborate tombs (Loukos 2000:196-7) It would be easy to attribute this to the contrast of Kythera being a rural backwater overcome by superstition and religion and not under the same ideological influences and developments of urban classes of the Greek state (Loukos 2000:250-4). There is however the view that agricultural communities were in general more conservative and even on Syros with its urban and commercial development it is precisely examples from the agricultural community who do not display this declining preoccupation with religious rites at death (Loukos 2000:252). In terms of Kythera, more likely considering the high level of family and private churches on the island, was that this was of a small community using the church in a form of social display (Gregory 2003: 220). While on Syros the display element is seen largely mainly through lavish and expensive funeral arrangements reflecting the superior economic state of the island, on Kythera this can be seen in the commissioning of "sarantalitourga" or "sarantaria"³⁷ in a number of different churches within the village.

³⁷ Literally translated as "forty services". A cycle of 40 continuous Church services where individual priests were commissioned to honour the deceased (Kasimatis 1983). This is separate from the prescribed cycle of memorials of the Orthodox church and is therefore seen as an extra dedication. Half cycles can also be commissioned.

This is a form of social display in that money is left for these services by the deceased and while preference is shown to the parish church, it is indicative that others are spread around the other parishes or notable churches within the Mitata area. In a small community where everyone undoubtedly knows each other, there is an element of making everyone aware by spreading memorial services around sometimes all the parish churches, but indicatively sometimes only half a cycle is commissioned to cut down cost but to achieve the desired awareness and element of display. A good example of this is the will of Papa Dimitris Sklavos (A/W/180 v2pg82), a parish priest who not only commissions memorial services but also specifically orders his son to fund two festivals a year at Ag Giorgios at Mavri Spilia. An example perhaps of social display on death being combined with the need to provide an example for the local community as a parish priest and of a heightened awareness of spiritual matters, though this is perhaps a slightly cynical analysis and may well be a result of the social expectation and pressure placed upon him as a member of the church rather than a desire for personal display. Such aspects of social display however are key features in the ways that different groups within the community relate to each other and in particular the tensions that may arise from groups jostling for position within these village networks. These internal village connections, neighbourhoods and wider social networks, bring to the fore the question of boundaries within the internal structure of Mitata. A way to further explore this issue is to look at the way that Mitata operates and relates to its territory both beyond and within the confines of the village. This understanding is perhaps best achieved through an analysis of the way that land and property within the village is disposed of as a potential reflection of the social networks and relationships within Mitata.

Land and property within Mitata: blurring internal boundaries.

The idea of boundaries is integral in examining the relationship of Mitata and its hinterland as well as the way in which social networks and family associations are also potentially translated to the land beyond the village. Moving away from mapping family neighbourhoods within the village, a critical aspect is the way that land and property within the village operates within the economic strategies of the period. For obvious reasons property especially land within the village is at a premium. This is partly to do with the way that cultivating regimes were instigated to take advantage of Mitata's water resources but also the dominant goal of attaining self-sufficiency.

Land in the village and in the slopes below that was easily accessible and well watered was highly desirable both in providing produce for daily use but also for allowing the production of valuable irrigated crops and trees. These kitchen gardens and orchards³⁸ were an integral component within the economic strategies adopted by the inhabitants and their added value in terms of proximity, meant that they feature prominently in sales contracts dowries and inheritance. Although the basic requirements of the dowry and inheritance will be discussed in detail later, the most valuable property within the village are the houses themselves. Of course

³⁸ Described in the documents as κηπος and περιβολη

first of all is the problem of definition that arises over the term 'house'³⁹. From the documents it is obvious that the term 'house' is not as straightforward as it might seem. An analysis of the way that houses are subdivided strongly indicates that these are multi-functional spaces and compound structures as has been seen in other regional and ethnographic examples (e.g Hirschon 1993:70) The complications of the divisions, particularly in marking out the boundaries between different owners also potentially begins to highlight the nature of the spaces within the houses but also the risk of conflict or tension.

According to one will, one family member owns at least 6 houses; these are then divided in the bequests into upper, lower, back portion, front portion (A/W/1354/1839 v2pg89). The question is to what extent were these communicating rooms or equally what function did these spaces serve? Is it simply a matter of the term "house" denoting separate adjoining spaces, that do not necessarily communicate meaning that larger compound structures⁴⁰ could easily be broken up and divided when needed? This is the kind of division that is seen at the hamlets, however in this case these are not simply 'spitakia' and outhouses but belong to a different category having to cater for permanent occupation. Also important are the associated amenities such as processing and water facilities or ovens, access from private paths and often adjoining small gardens. Apart from the apparent necessity of facilities such as ovens within the daily home life there is also the aspect once again of negotiation, cooperation and the wider relationship

³⁹ the 'spiti'

⁴⁰ Unfortunately work on the traditional architecture of such structures on Kythera is limited. However I suspect that they may indeed be certain similarities with the way in which compound structures are constructed at Makrea Skala and Kokkinochorafa.

between family members and outsiders who may have bought land and boundaries. To a certain extent an established right to communal family facilities such as cisterns, ovens or threshing floors overcomes boundaries. These are in part a practical solution to the problem caused by the division of holdings and bring balance by accommodating the need for resources and important facilities against the pressures brought about by multiple ownership and inheritance practices. There are other historical and ethnographic examples of these types of family negotiations over the physical fabric of the household and its associated facilities. As Goody points out nuclear families historically were 'never totally independent or isolated' (2000:58). Even when new households are created there is still a degree of overlap partly due to the proximity of family members, which leads to strategies of cooperation but all the while maintaining a physical boundary between the households, by for example having a separate hearth (Goody 2000:58). In terms of the dealing with the house, the structure itself, the need for a new household can lead to both division and modification, thus turning what might have been a simple house into a far more complicated compound structure, that by necessity emphasises the multifunctional nature of rooms (Hirschon 1993).

The manner in which houses are subdivided and the way that boundaries are created within these structures are an excellent way of exploring the importance of social networks and the negotiation of competing needs in the often constricted environment of the village. It is indicative that the creation of new boundaries as a structure is divided in an inheritance or through a sale or dowry, is often accompanied by a complex series of convoluted instructions or directions outlining the limits and boundaries or access rather than the size.

A good case study for both the way in which boundaries are delineated and the way houses are dealt with can be found in the will of Michalis Protopsaltis (A/W/1354/1839). This illustrates particularly well the definition of a house as a compound structure easily in this case broken up. For a start the will lists at least 3 'houses' in his possession, which are then broken up into fraction shares for his sons with additional provision made for his daughter to have occupation rights until her death in the house she currently lives in. The 'large house' is divided, where one son gets a third of it but his third is specifically appointed at the 'back' of the house, and his brother receives the front part of the house, while they both split the courtyard into two equal shares. It is obvious from the directions where houses are adjacent to each other and the manner in which the building is split up that this is a larger compound structure that has been divided according to need. A house is essentially a living space assigned to or inherited by a member of the family; its size is ultimately dependent on the extent of the property owned by the family and ranges from the whole structure to discrete spaces carved out from larger compound structures.

Equally important are the associated facilities, and the same will gives considerable insight into the way that such features were managed. The cistern that belongs to the house belongs to his sons but once again his daughter who lives there too has the right to "govern"⁴¹ over it too alongside her brothers until her death. In other words her habitation right is reflected in her access to the facilities associated with the building. Another interesting feature that is specifically dealt with is the question of the outside oven. Giorgios (who receives

⁴¹ literal translation of the expression used by the notary in the document.

the front of the house) gains the building's oven, which is located there but is obliged by the clause in his father's will to help his brother in constructing a new one on his half of the now divided courtyard. This is interesting not only in the way that access to facilities and equality in inheritance is balanced through the terms of the will but also such obligations begin to show how daily life can work within the confines of the neighbourhoods and specifically the extended family networks contained within these clusters of divided compound structures and close quarter living. This micromanagement of resources, access and competing claims begins to show the impact of family networks and social pressures on the way that property and land is dealt with.

This management of competing pressures and claims can be explored further by looking at the implications of such complicated boundaries and their practicality within daily life. A good assessment of the ultimate problem caused by the complexity are the cases where members of extended family groups resort to going to the notary and recording their boundaries in order to prevent future disputes and provide some form of clarification. The best example is in a document between members of the extended Sklavos clan: Giorgios Sklavos and Athanasios Firos (Aronis No.3874/1850), who share a house or perhaps more correctly adjoining buildings in Sklavianika, Mitata. However it is indicative of the problems of subdivision and multiple ownership that the clarification document is itself extremely complicated, recording in meticulous detail the boundaries from physical points on the building such as the roof, shared walls and windows after the more conventional division where Athanasios owns the east side and Giorgios the west. The most complex directions regard the extent to

which they can change or 'touch' features such as the shared access path and the limits to which their walls can be built up to.

This begins to highlight the extent to which a peaceful co-existence requires an intimate and detailed knowledge and understanding of the rights and boundaries associated with property. Knowledge is crucial and this itself requires a degree of social cooperation as family networks are replicated through the divisions of buildings and land. Buildings and land within the village, perhaps due to the greater concentration in a confined space, emphatically show the limits and problems associated with the complex internal neighbourhood and family boundaries. In this case the resolution came through a notarial document, designed to pre-empt any future problems once the potential for conflict had been recognised⁴². However it also shows an aspect of cooperation on both sides with the implied agreement to keep to the boundaries recorded in the document and more importantly in their engagement in the process of going to the notary and paying for his services in the first place. It is these kinds of relationships with the potential for conflict and ultimately resolution that defines the internal boundaries of the village and the way in which it is organised, managed and exploited.

In essence the issue of internal boundaries is one that is intimately connected to the social and economic pressures placed upon the ownership and subsequent provision of housing facilities. The importance of the household as the basic economic and social unit is reflected in the associated need to provide a house for the next generation to create or carve out new and distinct household

⁴² This recognition of the potential for *future* conflict is key in the successful management of competing claims and pressures as property moves down through the generations and situations become further complicated by the now greater number of people involved. Creating a legal document leaving detailed instructions is also highly important. I have personally seen similar documents dating from the late 19th century being used in the court to solve present day property disputes involving boundaries and access routes.

units. Although the dynamics of this process will be considered more fully in the consideration of the inheritance and dowry contracts, it places an increased pressure leading to the subdivision of buildings. This is not an uncommon process and once again speaks volumes as to the multi functional nature of the physical structure of the buildings themselves. In essence function of spaces is not determined necessarily by the features present within them but is instead governed by the contemporary need and use of the space. Therefore a large compound structure with many rooms can be divided if necessary into a number of houses to service the current needs of the family in question.

Having explored the internal dynamics of the village it is interesting to begin to consider the external boundaries of the wider village hinterland and its relationship with the other neighbouring settlements. The question of limits and reach of the village boundaries in relation to its wider landscape is particularly important when considering the relationship between the settlement and its territory and equally the way in which village identity is itself defined. Mapping social networks is one way of seeking to establish the links between the village and ownership of land within its wider territory, but also in particular family alliances are an important way of tracing the potential and extent of links with other areas and villages. These relationships are easy to spot by considering the associations of certain family names and toponyms, for example, and relating these to social networks and marriage alliances. This analysis is based on more than simply processing social networks but also understanding the manner in which boundaries are ultimately created and defined as well as even blurred within the regional landscape beyond Mitata's limits.

The easiest way to map social networks is to consider the toponyms or land mentioned which are unusual and beyond the boundaries of Mitata itself (see table 5.2). However there is a cautionary tale to consider before beginning this type of analysis, in particular the traditional story of the Samios family and their original connection with Mitata, or rather to complicate matters more with an area of land within the village territory. The story is of the Samios family (as outsiders possibly refugees from Samos as their name would suggest), settled in an area called Aloï near to what today is called Gonia close to the village of Mitata. The story goes that part of this land subsided into the gorge with just a piece left which was renamed Gonia while this family moved to form Aloizianika. Whether this is in fact true as opposed to traditional myth, the Samios family serve as a cautionary reminder, as a family moving around various villages in the area and making their appearances at times even in the Mitata census yet not traditionally associated or identified as Mitatan but with a history connecting them with areas within the village's territory. A further example of this is of course the house said to belong to a Samios who lived out at Makrea Skala in the more recent past (MS13 see fig. 4.5).

In terms of established marriage alliances, there are a number of associations that can be found simply by tracing holdings located outside of the Mitata area, including land in Christoforianika, Katsoulïanika and Potamos as the more extreme cases and more commonly with the neighbouring villages such as Aroniadika, Kastrisianika and Viaradika. The notion of village boundaries is particularly seen through the relationship with its neighbours such as Aroniadika,

Kastrisianika, Viaradika and Kiperi/Friligianika which it shares its borders with. According to the oral testimony from one informant, in the early 20th century when village administrative districts had their territories officially defined, there was considerable debate and argument as to what these should be. The problem lay in areas beyond the gorge towards the sea and the Paleopolis area in particular, which was moved into relatively late partly because of restrictions placed on the land and partly due to the historical preoccupation with the safety of coastal areas and the perceived pirate threat. The fact that the territory of Mitata was defined as a long strip that went down to the coast and included Paleopolis is significant in considering its relationship with its neighbour Friligianika, which shares its borders in Paleopolis which were described by informants as largely being defined by the river as a boundary line.

In terms of identifying both the relationships and boundaries between these villages an easy direct way is to look at the census information. For example the census data for Mitata, lists members of the Kastritsios family and as the name suggests this is a family whose origins are firmly placed in the village of Kastrisianika. These types of 'incursions' into the village are perhaps to be expected considering the proximity of the two and from the documents, particularly dowry contracts and agreements, there are a number of family alliances being created linking these neighbouring villages together. The exchange of property in the dowry agreements also makes the settlement of such 'outside' families within the village more likely and as a direct result of such marriage alliances between families. The Kastritsios⁴³ family, as listed in the 1844 census,

⁴³ Spelling as it appears in the 1844 census

is one that is firmly established in the village of Mitata where their paronym⁴⁴ of Miliotis has since become their accepted name and today many members of the diaspora community use the name Miliotis⁴⁵ and identify themselves as Mitatan (Table 5.3).

The interesting question in relation to boundaries and wider village connections is the way that property is brought into such alliances. This is especially significant in the case of the distribution of the property both in terms of the implications of dispersed landholdings but also in identifying the ways that village boundaries are blurred and become more permeable through growing social networks, connections and alliances. Defining the 'identity' of the area in terms of the village territory it belongs to can be done by looking at the neighbours listed. By specifically looking at the brides that come from outside Mitata and their dowries a number of toponyms non-local to the village stand out as do names of neighbours that are not common or known in the area of Mitata. These include pieces of land as far away as Milopotamos (Charamountanis 528/1852 v2pg69) or Lianianika (Aronis 5151/1863 v2pg80) (see Map 2, see fig 5.2).

Although Paleopoli is a largely mixed area in terms of ownership from the documents there is a hint that some subdivisions are more strongly associated with certain families and therefore specific villages. For example Paleopoli-Perinas

⁴⁴ I am using the term 'paronym' as a direct translation as it is stated in the category heading in the 1844 census. As a translation from Babiniotis name given separate from the person's given name in order to differentiate from other people with the same name or as a nickname.

⁴⁵ In Australia Miliotis has been further adapted and anglicised to Miller as in George Miller, the director whose Kytheran and specifically Mitatan roots were widely reported in the Greek press after he won an academy award in 2006.

(Charamountanis dowry 387/1851 v2pg67) is listed with land belonging to Charalambos Kasimatis, Konstantis Andronikos and Fratzeskos Kasimatis, suggesting that this particular microtoponym is associated with families outside of Mitata and in the case of Kasimatis, identified with the village of Fratsia (Kasimatis 1994:314). A second example from another resident of Kiperi (Frigilianika) is a field in Archistratigon in Paleopoli with neighbours including a Notaras and a Keromitis indicating in this case a level of mixed ownership. However there are areas that are strongly associated with Mitata such as Paleopoli Kokkinochorafa, for example, as well as Asprogia/Asproga and other areas such as Vokolia, Gonia and Tigani in the wider region.

In the absence of exhaustive data on all the inhabitants of the district, it is difficult to map with certainty the limits of village boundaries, but what is certain is that the distribution of land is a wider reflection of the social and to an extent economic network built between the villages in the region. These interconnections and links may serve to blur the boundaries and make them more permeable due to the movement of people and property. However this movement does not erase the sense of identity. This can be seen through the way that the toponyms themselves are presented within the documents, usually identified within their wider village area in a series of nested toponyms⁴⁶(see table 5.1), which are presented to specifically pinpoint the piece of land in question. This is particularly true in the

⁴⁶ Usually presented in the format, a field in(wider area toponym e.g Paleopolis) located at ... (more specific toponym e.g Kokkinochorafa) and then in some cases a third really specific microtoponym sometimes down to the level of identifying the individual field. Sometimes just a string of toponyms, e.g Lekoudia, Christoforianika.

case of less common ones and these in turn tend to be the ones beyond the village such as Lekoudia- Christoforianika and Kalamoutades- Kastrisianika, and Malea in Viaradika (See Table 5.2.).

The question then returns to the status of the owners and at what point do settled outsiders that have married into the village become identified as Mitatan. This has less to do with the village and more to do with your neighbours and the land you own and therefore who you have to deal with in order to know boundaries, borders, access rights and other related business. In other words the identity of the wider Mitatan territory is largely defined by the social networks and village interconnections that are expressed in the way that land is divided and managed and the often complex network of boundaries created in specific areas where land is owned and associated with extended family groups. This is not to say that there is necessarily tension between family identity and that of the village but rather it is a more accurate reflection of the intricate web of social and family networks and village interconnections. It is these social networks that ultimately dictate the way in which the wider landscape is divided and managed without affecting its relationship or identification with a village.

Notaries: between state and village

The role of the notary within village life can be seen through the way that it serves as a wider illustration of the level of contact and access with the state as a whole. Notaries positioned around the island within rural districts served as the most accessible organisation related to the government and the law of the island. Essentially they built bridges between the rural communities they serviced and the administrative bodies and political elite that had enclosed itself within Chora.

Their role and function are crucial in determining both the level of impact of the wider administration of the island on rural communities but more importantly their records act as a reflection of the degree and type of engagement of individuals with the state in terms of law and legal process, independent economic strategies and decisions rather than just paying taxes. Equally this relationship can be seen from the alternative perspective namely the extent of the connection between the state and the rural populations of the island.

The crucial issue with notaries is one of access. In 1819 a law was passed by the Eparch of the island to regulate the number of notaries for the island and their distribution according to the administrative/financial districts (Maltezou 1979:35). Of course the greatest concentration was reserved for the capital Chora (3) and its rival market town of Potamos (2), 1 each was delegated to the remaining districts of Livadi, Milopotamos and Kastrisianika. The position of Mitata within this system seems initially fairly clear classified within the district of Kastrisianika/Castriso, that should theoretically mean that there was one notary servicing the needs of the local population. However an important aspect in regulating the level of access to a notary was in fact not so much where he was appointed but where he actually lived. Mitata during the 17th-18th centuries, before notarial districts were determined, had a number of local resident notaries, including Papa⁴⁷ Michalis Sclavos d.Vrettos active over the period of 1676-1699 and Papa Demetrios Sclavos active from 1719-1756 as well as the potential connection due to the surname of Emmanouil Prineas active from 1660-1721. However in the series of legislation that was used to regulate and define the notarial profession, priests (who were also the most likely to be literate in a

⁴⁷ Papa – title indicating priest

largely uneducated population) were banned from becoming notaries, due to the identification of a conflict of interest between the impartiality needed from a notary and their position as a priest which was seen to morally blackmail people into leaving property to the church or to carry out good works (Maltezou 1979:20). This change in the law seems to have ended the tradition of notaries from Mitata and in particular from the Sklavos family.

However Mitata in the 19th century was exceptionally well served by notaries, as the official Kastriso notary Giorgios Aronis was resident in the nearby village of Aroniadika, but more importantly Charamountanis, the notary for Mylopotamos, also resided in the next village of Kiperi (See Map 3b) Although there was a law which banned notaries from operating in other districts, Charamountanis over the period which he was active had a large amount of business from Mitata, regularly travelled to the village and managed to have an impact on the business of Aronis whose number of books (an indication of the frequency of his use) decline in the period in which their businesses overlap. Although movement of notaries will be discussed in detail elsewhere, the disregard for the law concerning notarial districts, either shows it was not enforced or that the boundaries of districts were more permeable than the strict administrative division of the island would suggest and that there was perhaps a relative degree of freedom. Although Mitata can be seen to be technically on the border of two districts lying on the south boundary of Kastriso overlooking Mylopotamos, (See Map 3a) it is plain from the notarial records themselves that as with any business, notaries were particularly active in cultivating their business and this included a high level of mobility and availability, travelling to the villages

at regular intervals and working every day of the week. They even on occasion travel further afield to places like Potamos to cater to the needs of their clients.

Charamountanis conducts business with different clients in Potamos usually at the workshop of Venetsianos Panaretos, though he himself is never listed as one of the clients involved. While in 1865 he ventures as far as the house of Dr Emmanouil Mormori in Manitochori (Ch/3850 v2pg121), who is however a well known figure within the records making his appearance many times either as a witness or in connection with charitable donations and thus this visit is no doubt probably connected with his profession as one of the few doctors on the island. Aronis also ventures to Potamos on occasion. However what is interesting about the contracts and transactions that take place in both cases are that none of the parties involved are actually from the town itself but rather from villages within the wider district of Potamos, such as Katsoulanika. Therefore Potamos is either seen as a convenient central location or the notary was conducting business there that day which is possible considering Potamos was the major market centre for the north part of the island. In any case it serves to illustrate the highly mobile nature of the local notaries. Their willingness to travel around was no doubt an excellent way to expand their business and their own economic fortunes. In terms of the analysis of Mitata it meant that there was a high level of access to them. Furthermore this may have contributed to a greater awareness and use of the notary in general, documenting transactions, wills, agreements and disputes which otherwise may have been dealt with within the community.

It is difficult statistically to come to the conclusion however that everyone went to a notary⁴⁸; this is particularly true of wills, which are far too few to cover every death in the village. From the 30 year period covered by the available documents for Charamountanis and Aronis, 32 Mitatan residents were identified in the book of wills, though this is not the complete number due to the problems with the conditions of certain books and documents. Although this is not the total number for the period, within this number are also included wills that were updated by certain individuals, involving at least two different entries, therefore it is highly unlikely that everyone recorded their will with a notary. This is perhaps particularly true of underrepresented family groups like the Sklavos group, which will be discussed later. Under-representation can not be satisfactorily explained by either the existence of alternative notaries used (it is plausible that the decision on which notary was used was based on family allegiance or preference, bearing in mind the complicated social networks at work within the villages) or by alternative methods available to document agreements, as privately drawn up documents do sometimes turn up within the notarial books but in general were limited by the poor levels of literacy in the village.

Therefore there must exist, parallel to the work of the notaries, a large number of oral agreements, whether this was down to less complex situations will be considered in greater detail in the analysis of land division and inheritance. However the law itself is an important factor, especially in the detailed provisions that were made regarding inheritance rights, particularly in terms of situations where no wills or instructions were left by the deceased, as well as the way that

⁴⁸ This is also in part related to their socio-economic class as peasants as well. Notaries were an added cost and there seems to be a regional under-representation of rural, agricultural classes in the documents e.g Kasdagli 1998, 2007 for Naxos.

provisions could be overturned if they conflicted with the legal requirements and rights (the Ionian code outlined in Kasimatis 1983:48)

The legal situation is especially important considering the number of changing governments over the period in question. On the whole however from the analysis of the documents it is clear that the basic provisions and rights afforded by the law did not change significantly in the 19th century and from the limited evidence not in the 18th century either. A comparison with article 68 passed by the Governor of the state of Greece in 1830 governing the way that wills were to be drawn up (as found in Loukos 2000 Appendix A) for example, shows the same basic rules and regulations that are evident also in the wills taken from the two Kytheran notaries, despite the fact they are working under a different administration. Also evident in the language of the documents themselves are a number of set phrases that change throughout the period and are no doubt the results of instruction sent from the local administration (as outlined in Maltezou 1979). Included within this process is the change in the title of the notaries, which starts off, from the beginning of the period that Aronis is active (1830's) as the 'Public Mnimon' to the 'Public Notarios' and by the 1860's both Aronis and Charamountanis are signing as the 'Public Symvolaiografos'. This is a subtle example of the changing nature of the local governmental organisation from the Chancellery of the Venetian period through to the Eparchion of the Greek state. However in practice the change was an internal institutional matter and did not significantly impact either the relationship of the notary with his rural clients or the law, which they were aware of and accustomed to in organising their economic affairs. In reading through the documents the only real clue that the

administration has changed is largely from the stamp at the top of the page and the decreasing number of Italianate phrases used.

LAND, INHERITANCE AND VILLAGE NETWORKS.

Introduction: Dividing the landscape

Most analyses of the organisation of the landscape (and also by extension the household) during this historical period in the region tend to focus on one particular aspect, that of land division and fragmentation (e.g Papataxiarchis and Petmezas 1998, Franghiadis 1998, Caftantzoglou 1998, Karouzou 1998, Karali 2002:43-5, Couroucli 1993). The basic picture that has emerged for Kythera from the historical background is of an agrarian economy focused on self-sufficiency in the almost complete absence of industry and large scale commerce (Andreades 1914b:247). The rural economy in particular is consistently criticised for its low yield and productivity both in terms of the financial problems it causes its colonial governors and later as yet another example of struggling rural island economies within the wider backdrop of the Greek State. Fragmented agricultural landscapes and land division are largely attributed as a result of inheritance patterns, where holdings are divided and then subdivided into ever diminishing plots across generations.

However an analysis of inheritance patterns and a more detailed examination of the way that land is perceived, valued and subsequently divided and managed from the archival evidence reveals a far more complex negotiation

of a number of factors. These include balancing legal, social and economic obligations against the intricate interlocking village social networks and family alliances and the aims of family or household economic strategies. Also, perhaps somewhat paradoxically, the division of landscape by inheritance had at its core the acquisition of land either in terms of purchases or in terms of strategies of consolidation or land exchange. In other words these factors served to mitigate or even minimise the process of land fragmentation (in certain cases)⁴⁹ as an available 'mechanism of adjustment' in order to ensure that family land could provide a sufficient living (Franghiadis 1998:188). However added to this was the problem of meeting the legal obligation for equal partible inheritance, another factor that had to be balanced within strategies and mechanisms for managing the land. In the light of this it would be too simplistic to attribute the fragmented landscape as a result of division and subdivision caused by inheritance patterns but rather that there seem to be factors pulling in opposite directions i.e. both consolidation and fragmentation, dictating a need to find a strategic balance within a series of competing needs, claims and processes.

It is important before delving into the often-intricate mechanics of inheritance patterns to consider the relative significance of land both in economic and social terms and the way that it is perceived and ultimately valued. Land in a self-sufficient rural economy is paramount; it is the fundamental unit on which all economic strategies are based. Census after census confirms Mitata as a village of farmers: no professional occupations as such are listed that are not in some way connected to the wider agricultural sphere. Even priests, who received no salary

⁴⁹ As a contrast state policy often itself dictated land fragmentation or rather the break up of larger estates e.g Ottoman estates in the 19th century (McGrew 1985) and providing land for refugees in the 1920's (Papataxiarchis and Petmezas 1998:235).

from the church but were instead paid in kind according to the rites they performed (Kasimatis 1994), relied on farming to survive, even though these were technically the most educated members of the community. Landownership was also an important aspect in determining the social status of a family within the wider village and the way that individual economic strategies were devised and implemented.

The way that the landscape is perceived is particularly interesting in considering the question of division and fragmentation. From the outset the landscape is conceptually broken down into its component productive parts, for example the arable land itself, the trees, the amenities or processing facilities, any built structures from spitakia to enclosures, rights of way and private access points (*embasia*) and in some case even the income (*intrada*) or crop. Therefore the concept of division itself is far more complex than plots simply becoming smaller as they are passed down to the next generation. At the point of inheritance all these different elements and features that constitute both the landscape and the economy are liable to be split so that for example as was previously mentioned, houses can be divided into shares, trees can be separated from the land or even taking this a step further the income rather than the physical property can be divided.

This more complex conceptual framework of division also of course raises the issue of multiple ownership, which in turn brings to the forefront the nature of family networks, alliances and wider social interconnections of the village. In practical terms managing a piece of land where everything belongs to a single owner requires a completely different strategy from that required for a landscape

where the land may potentially be divided between 2 or 3 members of a family, the trees may be owned by someone else, while stipulations might also be made as to who owns a proportion of or all of the income or crop or both. This entails a complex negotiation and to a degree cooperation between the various parties, but most importantly it requires a detailed knowledge of both boundaries and the ownership of the land within the wider area. Also in terms of looking at adaptation and change through the period, there is also the question of what strategies are employed to overcome problems that may arise from the system. For example at what point does the division of landscape into such component parts and multiple ownership become unworkable? This is the challenge presented in looking at the economic strategies employed by individuals as they appear in the documents.

The division of landscape has a particularly strong association with social factors such as family alliances and networks. It is important to remember that dowry⁵⁰ is the vehicle through which women receive their pre-mortem inheritance or share and to contrast the relative impact of the dowry, particularly in terms of scale and timing compared to traditional post-mortem inheritance. This balance of the two: dowry and inheritance is significant in the way that it forces the development of specific economic strategies and illustrates contemporary social and financial pressures placed upon the family and household as an economic unit⁵¹. Marriage is also the clearest indication of the building or expansion of social networks and family alliances beyond the boundaries of the village.

Dispersal of landholdings can be considered in local terms relating to the way that

⁵⁰ There are considerable problems with distinguishing and defining 'prika' (dowry) inheritance and meridhio (share) as pointed out by Herzfeld 1987:146 and many of the same terminological issues persist here (Herzfeld 1980b).

⁵¹ The expectations associated with all types of inheritance often act as a mechanism creating social tension (Herzfeld 1980a)

land within what is considered the wider Mitatan hinterland are managed, but marriage alliances potentially cross village boundaries by building interconnections with other villages. This practice adds another aspect to dispersed landholdings where inheritance patterns can accentuate the degree of dispersal by bringing land from beyond the hinterland and also through the movement of people caused by such marriage alliances, as will be examined in detail later.

Evaluating inheritance patterns: a detailed examination of wills

The documents I have selected for this analysis are 32 wills from a 30 year period ranging from the earliest dating from 1835 (Aronis) to the latest from 1865 (Charamountanis). These documents undoubtedly illustrate inheritance patterns but also serve to highlight a number of other issues such as land use, social relations and the personal stories of the individuals present in the documents. From analysing the wills the following basic pattern emerges in the way that inheritance is allocated and distributed. First is the strongly gendered allocation: gender plays an intrinsic role in the way that wills are organised and the way that inheritance is subsequently divided. The most obvious gender difference is the way in which property is legally transferred and allocated. Inheritance is calculated on the percentage of the individual's family right relating to both their maternal and paternal share. On the whole, as the law dictates, this is governed by equality so that a family with four children for example should divide it into four equal shares⁵². In practice it is difficult to determine if the inheritance was indeed equal due to the lack of equivalences for goods and due to the inconsistencies in

⁵² The Napoleonic principle of equal partible inheritance which is inscribed in the Ionian code and remains in the civil code until dowry is abolished in 1983 (Herzfeld 1987:147)

the details individuals add to the description of their property. For example, some helpfully add the assessment of the quality of the land or tree; some add a figure for the production of the field in terms of weight while still others give no information at all. Despite this, what is evident in the records is that there is an attempt to ensure that all heirs have essentially a bit of everything ranging across the types of land, crops, property and goods owned by the family⁵³.

Undoubtedly the key difference is that men receive their family inheritance on the death of the family member whereas women receive their family share as their dowry. This is more of a technical separation than a way of preventing women from inheriting. However in terms of the way that wills are structured, women are not normally named as the final heirs, a position which usually means the inheritance of “everything”, in practice what is actually meant by ‘everything’ is all properties and goods that have not been specifically outlined and allocated within the will. Women therefore do receive through wills though this is often either outlined as a dowry they are yet to receive or as supplemental items, while in exceptional circumstances women can also be named as final heirs. Also connected is the way that women dispose of their own property as legally their dowry and whatever they have inherited through wills belongs to them, though it may be placed under the supervision of their husband. This is seen through examples of men who have sold off part of the dowry and then subsequently make provision for compensation in their wills⁵⁴. Ironically however

⁵³ 19th century commentators noted that due to the lack of industrial and commercial opportunities, Greek agricultural households had to essentially produce everything for themselves (Petmezas 2003:42) the ‘we have a little of everything’ syndrome (Forbes 1976)

“Industry is still in its infancy in Greece...Cotton spinning and weaving in general, are carried on in a primitive way in the homes of the peasantry for their own use” Bikelas 1868:281

⁵⁴ E.g Michalis Sklavos compensates his wife with a field in Viglatori in return for her dowry which he sold and his daughter-in-law is to be compensated 40 *distila* for all goods that she brought into the house that were not included in her dowry contract Ch/642 1852 see appendix 1 for full summary

it is women who have the apparent freedom in dividing their assets, especially women who are no longer overshadowed by the notional control of their husbands, notably widows (especially those without living children) and those whose husbands had left Kythera as economic migrants, leaving them in control of the family assets.

It would be easy to dismiss the number of women appearing in the will books as examples of exceptional circumstances such as childless widows and widows without any male children whom they can name as heirs. However although such examples do exist, these are counteracted by the examples of wives with wills that were written while their husband was very much alive. A good case study includes the visits by couples to the notary where on the same day both record their own will separately. Zambeta Prinea (A 2296/1843 v2pg95) appoints her daughters Stamata and Marieta as her heirs while her husband Dimitris Prineas (A 2300/1843 v2pg95) appoints their two sons Giorgios and Ioannis. Another example sees the wife Maria Prinea (Ch 63/1849 v2pg101) appointing her husband Dimitris as her heir but in practice splitting her property into two equal shares: one belonging to her three brothers and the other to her husband. Once again this practice confirms the importance of blood relatives rather than spouses in the way that inheritance is distributed, particularly considering the problems caused by the potential for remarriage.

Remarriage can often be specifically mentioned and dealt with within the provisions of the will. For example, Dimitrios Chaniotis (Ch 5013/1862 v2pg102) appoints yearly allowances of crops and a house to live in to his wife Stamatoula. These provisions, however, are to be cancelled in the event that she remarries.

Others seek to protect their spouses from the claims of their blood family in the event of their death, especially in terms of property that was given as part of the dowry agreement between the two families. Maria Prineas (Ch 1849/63 see appendix for summary) specifically notes that her husband Dimitris, has sold off part of her own personal property and that her brothers do not have the right to claim anything further from him. In one sense wills are as much about balancing the law with the web of often conflicting and competing claims, rights and obligations, as they are about dividing assets.

A good case study of these types of conflicts, claims and how such problems are amplified by unusual circumstances, is the case of Papa Dimitris Sklavos (A/180 v2pg82). This is a particularly good case to deal with as the wills of Papa Dimitris himself, his son Michalis (Ch/642/1852 (v2pg104) and his daughter Maria (A/4803/1861 v2pg100) are to be found in the record. By combining these wills with the census data, a task made easier by the fact they are more easily identifiable due to the extra information available and his position as a priest, the family can be traced through to four generations. However it is soon apparent that this is an exceptional example. Papa Dimitris has seven children. Of these only two survive him: his daughter Maria and his son Michalis. However only Michalis and his dead brother Thiloitis have any children. Therefore the will of Papa Dimitris has to deal with the needs and claims of his wife, his dead son Thiloiti's family who will receive his share, his son Michalis and his daughter Maria. Maria is left nothing in the will, which strongly suggests that she has already collected her share through her dowry.

Papa Dimitris deals first with his grandson Manolis. Manolis is an example of exceptional circumstances in that from the census data, he later becomes a priest himself, and unlike his brothers is not named as one of his grandfather's heirs. However all of Papa Dimitris religious duties and obligations are placed upon him and he is ordered to fund two festivals a year at the church of Ag. Giorgios at Mavri Spilea, a reflection of his profession. It is a spiritual pre-occupation which is inherited by his son Michalis who in his own will (Ch 642/1852 (v2pg104)) leaves a total of 10 distila to be donated at a number of churches for charitable works.

In terms of the female members of his wider family, Eleni his wife is given all that she needs to survive comfortably until her death in terms of land and somewhere to live as does his daughter in law who is given a residence which is then to be split between her sons. These later divisions of equal shares though complicated are not uncommon. The unusual thing about this family is the fact that the daughter Maria is in her turn left childless and in her will appoints as her heir, her nephew the priest, the same Manolis Sklavos mentioned above appointed by her father to carry out his religious obligations. It is interesting to trace the process of double inheritance where property is divided but is consolidated partially a generation later. This is not uncommon and there are a few examples of childless women in particular who leave property to their blood family thus momentarily breaking the trend for division. In fact when it comes to property being transmitted along the female line in general (though more usually through dowry), there is an awareness that instead of dispersing the original family assets it is in fact providing for the next generation as it will be passed onto the grandchildren (Schlegel and Eloul 1988:294).

The Dowry: property and social contracts.

The dowry is undoubtedly central in any discussion of the position of women but it is also far more significant, particularly in its role as a social contract often at the heart of community relationships and one of the key obligations of the household as an economic unit. Dowry in many ways can be envisaged as a counterpoint to male inheritance but it is utilised as something far more than simply a way in which women inherit. Rather it is part of wider marriage strategies with all the economic, social and often political implications involved (Bourdieu 1976:141, Schlegel and Eloul 1988:304).

The dowry is key in its role within the process of reproducing the household unit. One of the main features of the dowry is creating a new household out of an existing one and catering for all its economic and practical needs rather than a mechanism through which property is transferred to the female line or equally as an incentive to marriage. The impact of the dowry is therefore twofold, affecting both the household, which has to provide it and also the new household created which is therefore dependent upon it to a certain extent.

As a contract the dowry is subject to a number of social and economic pressures. Provision of a dowry is a significant financial burden both in terms of its timing and its wider impact on the productive capacity of the household. Transferring land through inheritance on death does not have the same immediate effect or cost as the dowry where the income and land is lost immediately. As an

economic burden the implications of the dowry are clear: the same land that previously supported one household now has to be split in order to support two. This however is not as straightforward as calculating an adequate share of the family property, as a dowry has to be a complete package inclusive of all crops, trees and household goods that constitute the make up and economy of a typical household in the village. This does not mean that the dowry is the only source of property etc for the new household created but that it should be sufficient to support the household until the husband acquires his own inheritance. To what extent the husband's family contribute is not shown within the documents. Everything is included in the dowry: apart from property also moveable goods are listed from linens, pots and pans, clothes and tools etc, to stock as it were the new household. This means that dowry lists are an invaluable resource in terms of the information they provide about what a household consists of and also in highlighting the impact on the way that economic strategies are developed or adapted in order to meet the demands of the dowry.

Before considering the social and economic pressures evident within the contracts perhaps it would be useful to first explore the limits of dowry lists and the way that households are defined. The creation of the new household through the dowry is usually recorded in meticulous detail in order to ensure against the potential for future conflict between the parties. These lists therefore leave nothing unaccounted for from the most banal details of goat's hair sacks to the number and colour of shirts and dresses through to land, trees and yearly allowances of crops. In terms of land, dowry contracts are extremely good at highlighting both the

mixed economy of the village and also in showing the application of a system where the land is divided not equally in terms of size but in its provision of every major component of the subsistence economy. In terms of land, plots are provided for sown crops, orchards and gardens are all important especially when in close proximity to the village while a house is also desirable where it is available. In terms of tree crops the olive is vital as are vineyards. The importance of vines, olives and orchards is shown where they are not readily available. For example in one dowry (Ch 387/1851 see appendix for summary) the father makes provision for vines, an orchard and olive trees either in terms of compensation, as he does not physically provide them, or for his daughter to purchase them by allocating the sum of 4 pounds sterling specifically for these items (See fig 5.4 for comparative prices). It is not the sum of money that is significant as this is largely dictated by the individual financial means of the family involved, but it is the recognition of the importance of these items and the understanding that these should be provided that emphasises their position at the core of the local household economy. It also begins to show the stress placed upon families to provide full and complete dowries amidst the considerable economic pressure and the burden of social expectation. For example on Cyprus one of the rules of marriage was that the newly wed family should 'form a separate autonomous unit of production' (Sant Cassia 1982:644). The same can be seen on Kythera as well, and the dowry is crucial in this process but beyond the economic side of making provisions for a new household production unit, there is also a level of social obligation attached to this process.

The dowry is undeniably a social contract between the two families and as such is bound by many of the same rules and expectations that govern and

underlie the relations and social networks within the village. The first social expectation is undoubtedly that the agreement is adhered to and that all items and property are transferred accordingly. This can be seen in the numerous provisions in a number of different wills (see appendix for documents) whereby instructions are left for property to be transferred or for dowry obligations to be met. One case sees a dowry contract being drawn up after the daughter has eloped (Aronis 5119/1863 (v2pg79) causing considerable scandal and problems in the relations between the parties involved. This is not a typical dowry agreement and it outlines the problems caused by the elopement 11 months earlier including the desire of the bride's family to exercise their legal rights in stopping this wedding, which was not sanctioned by them. It is indicative that after having decided to accept mediation they draw up a dowry contract, which however makes it clear in its opening statements that the family is under no legal obligation and is only drawing up the contract so that their daughter does not remain 'without the necessary things' as she embarks on her married life. This illustrates the social pressure and ingrained expectation that the parents provide adequate dowry for their daughter even when legally they are not compelled to.

Apart from functioning as a contract that is an economic transaction or transfer of property between two families, the dowry is also a vehicle for social display and prestige. Not to provide adequately for a bride attaches a social stigma to the family in question. One will brazenly admits to this problem. Nikolaos Prineas (Ch 2700/1846) throughout his will is having considerable problems in providing his daughters' dowries whilst also dealing with the dowry property brought into the marriage by his wife and his mother before that. It is obvious that in this case a delicate balance is being sought between providing for everybody correctly

according to the law from limited resources, while to do so it seems involves including dowry property that technically does not belong to him. Equally fascinating is the confession that the dowry he has outlined in his will for his daughters is not adequate and is not enough to be recognised by the law. Provision is made that his sons should supplement this property with money should the problem arise in the future, once again being indicative of the problems of achieving a balance between the affordability of the dowry and the associated legal and social obligations.

Aspects of social display are also evident and emphasised in a number of high profile items and status objects included in the moveable goods listed in dowries. This is particularly seen in the emphasis on high-quality materials such as silk, elaborately embroidered items, imported goods and even in certain cases jewellery⁵⁵. This is however a relatively rare phenomenon, at least within the sample available for analysis from Mitata. Social display is usually confined more to the correct provision of dowry allowances and allocations of land. For example Stavrakis Prineas is particularly generous with his daughter Kali, (Ch 2609/1860) giving her both the usual allocation of land and olive trees but also a large amount of money: 100 distila (21 pounds sterling 13 shillings and 4 pence) (see fig. 5.4 for average prices in the 1860's). To put this into perspective, we can note that in sales documents from the 1850's a pound could buy 1 or 2 olive trees depending on the location and quality, this does not of course necessarily mean that the money was used to buy 50-100 olive trees, its fate remains unknown. This is however a significant amount of money and the largest amount listed in a dowry contract.

⁵⁵ Jewellery and high status goods are mentioned in a dowry list dating from the 18th century in the folio of Papa Dimitris Sklavos. Only partial translation possible. See fig. 5.5

Contrasting the need for display is the ability to deal with the financial burden generated by the need to bestow such dowries. In the 18th century (Papa Dimitris Sklavos' folio) a dowry also included a bride price paid by the groom in question, but by the 19th century the notarial documents suggest that the practice had disappeared or at least was not documented by the notary⁵⁶. An agricultural economy based on the family/household as its main productive unit intensifies the potential for strain and economic loss as a result of dowry practice. It is indicative that one of the most effective ways of dealing with the results of the loss of income and property, is to mitigate the loss by giving allowances from the yearly production rather than transferring ownership of land or trees. Classic allowances are usually basic staples such as flax, smigadi, broad beans, oil and wine and are obligations which are inherited if necessary in order that they are carried out for the period of time promised in the dowry. Annual allowances of such products impact on the wider family strategy only to the extent that they extract a proportion of the income or yearly crop. This may be one way of avoiding the problems of dividing landholdings and releasing them before death while the rest of the family is still economically dependent upon them to survive. In some ways it is a compromise in order to achieve self-sufficiency in the new household eventually created by the dowry by providing everything necessary (or at least the basics) while also protecting the productive capacity of the household providing the dowry, at least to some extent. It is also important to bear in mind that with large families provisions had to be made often for a number of dowries thus multiplying the subsequent economic and social pressures. Perhaps more

⁵⁶ From anecdotal, ethnographic information that I have collected on Crete from the late 19th century, the family of the groom often gave gifts (not a bride price but in the same vein) to the bride (if she was from a wealthy family) in order to prove that they were social equals within the hierarchy of the village. I would not be surprised if there wasn't a similar mechanism on Kythera but of course it would not be recorded in the documents.

significant is ultimately how adaptable family strategies had to be in order to survive such pressures and maintain a basic day to day living.

Economic strategies: subsistence and capital.

A self-sufficient economy based upon the household as the main production unit often masks the details and nuances of the system in its drive towards attaining its ultimate aim of economic survival. However it is already clear from looking at dowry and inheritance, that attaining 'self-sufficiency' was not a one-dimensional aim revolving around producing simply enough to ensure survival. The household was not working towards its economic survival but instead perhaps more accurately alongside self-sufficiency was aspiring to its own social and economic reproduction through its provision for the next generations. Marriage, dowry and inheritance all indeed bring to the fore the need for creating self-sufficiency which will ultimately allow for the creation of new, economically viable households ⁵⁷. Though this can be clearly seen in the division and exploitation of the landscape, it can also be seen in the different strategies employed by people in order to balance such competing claims, needs and obligations. One feature that is often critical to such strategies is the availability of capital within the village. Despite the absence of banks on the island, from the dowries and wills it is obvious that there is money circulating within the system ⁵⁸.

⁵⁷ This is the ideal but the census records do show examples of households made up of more than one family, but these are definitely in the minority.

⁵⁸ Not only is there money but there is also a number of different currencies circulating at the same time: distila, pound sterling, french dollars and eventually drachmas to name but a few examples.

Loans and credit

Loans are particularly significant as a source of capital within the economic system of the village, especially on Kythera where there was no access to external credit facilities either from the Ionian Bank that was established during the British Protectorate/Ionian State or from the Agricultural Bank, which was created early in the days of the Greek Kingdom. In general the Greek agricultural sector as a whole had chronic credit and capital flow problems throughout the 19th century. Even the Bank of Greece did not allow mortgage loans due to the perception of a widespread vagueness over property rights and registration (Stassinopoulos 2002:173). Contemporary economic theorists became obsessed with the idea of credit and lack of available capital (Stassinopoulos 2002:182) and though the State responded with the creation of the Agricultural bank initially and then later by increasing the capital in the National Bank, these measures did not cover the needs of the general population (Mansolas 1867:48-9)⁵⁹. The lack of banking/credit facilities on the island speaks perhaps once again to the scale and nature of the Kytheran economy, the first banks on the island made their appearance subsequent to the large waves of migration and the substantial migrant remittances. Therefore credit or loans became very much an internal affair adding to the social and economic networks and interconnections both within and between villages.

⁵⁹ Agricultural Bank was designed as a respite from credit and loan sharks. When it was founded in 1842 two thirds of its capital was earmarked for loans but it failed to cover the demand (Mansolas 1867:48)
1861: capital in the National Bank of Greece was increased by 2 million drachmas earmarked solely for loans to the non-commercial classes, once again it did not cover the demand (Mansolas 1867:49). It is clear that credit remained an unsolved problem well into the 1860's.

It is difficult to come to any meaningful statistical interpretation as to how widespread the practice of loans was and the degree of change during the period. Although there is a certainly a smaller number of loan documents within the notarial books, with the difficulties and problems inherent with the records, this does not necessarily mean that loans were in fact a statistically relatively rare occurrence. Another question is of course the level to which loan agreements are actually recorded. Bearing in mind that a visit to the notary entailed an expense, it is likely that, as with other types of documents, not every agreement was recorded by the notary⁶⁰. Also important are private agreements. There is evidence of these types of agreements in the examples throughout the notarial books of the 19th century at least, of people bringing 'private' documents, contracts and agreements to be copied and then filed by the notary.

A good example of this practice is Ch 4353/1866 (v2pg114) where Ioannis Prineas brings a private loan agreement to the notary to be copied and then to add the agreement by which he has paid off the money owed. What is particularly interesting in this case is that this is a loan agreement that was drawn up in 1840 for Manolis Keromitis. The fact it is paid off by Ioannis Prineas, shows that the loan has either been inherited or passed on in some manner and the money itself is not paid to the original lender but to his widow. The sum itself is not particularly significant at 6 *distila*, but the original terms are interesting in what they reveal about the length and flexibility of these agreements. The contract states that the money is to be repaid within a year or that, with the agreement of both sides, it shall continue from year to year until it is either paid off or the money is requested by the lender. This year-to-year rolling arrangement shows considerable flexibility

⁶⁰ unfortunately the cost of hiring the notary is not known.

perhaps based largely on the economic situation which the agreement was made in or even perhaps the relatively small amounts involved. Similar terms however appear in other loan agreements too.

It would be true to say that as a whole the loan arrangements and loan payments that I have examined show that there was both a considerable amount of flexibility and variability both in the terms of the agreements, payments and naturally the sums involved. As a whole this seems to point to a system, where apart from the rate of interest which seems to have been a fairly standard 10%⁶¹ (as is maintained through to the period recorded in Kasimatis' study), as a whole the agreements reflected individual circumstances, opportunities and needs both in terms of the lender and the borrower. This is particularly true when it comes to interpreting the amounts of money involved ranging from the extreme of 295 *distila* down to the much less significant amount of 6 *distila*. The sums of money of course allow us to interpret the system in terms of the needs and reasons for the loan in the first place as well as the original source of the funds. From the examples littered throughout the wills, it is clear that certain individuals including some women were a consistent source for loans. Panagiotis Sklavos for example who lends out 295 *distila* clearly has considerable funds at his disposal, at least in relative terms within the village economy. This money moving around in a village system based on the proceeds of an agricultural economy shows that at least on an individual level economic production could extend beyond self-sufficiency. Of course the ability to offer loans could be related to certain individual circumstances such as greater inheritance but it could equally be

⁶¹ The standard way in the documents of expressing the interest rate is usually through the phrase "making 10, 11"

connected to the sale of a potential surplus or due to an engagement in an alternative or supplementary economic activities or even of course migration. It is definitely an individual phenomenon rather than one based on any sort of specific family or village network⁶². Different lenders are listed in different agreements.

In general it would seem that loan agreements are characterised by the individual circumstances in which they were drawn up. Some are inherited debts, others have the interest waived, while there are a number of late payments. Such an example is of the relatively late payment recorded in Aronis 25/5152 (v2pg116) where the original agreement is made with a different notary in 1846 and paid off in 1863 by the widow of the original debtor. In this case the money that the widow will inherit from her deceased husband pays off the loan. Here it is clear that the funds have only become available or that the loan was discovered after the death of the husband, as is often the case where loan agreements are outlined in wills and the debts are subsequently inherited.

Certain loans are paid off extremely quickly and with the smaller sums involved may represent the need for an immediate source of cash rather than a long-term financial obligation. Again the lack of credit facilities on the island would support this type of short term loan and although trying to understand the economic reasons behind individual loans is largely speculative, it is not unreasonable to imagine that there was already an anticipated source of funds either through a sale, inheritance or alternative income that would cover the loan so quickly. This seems to be the case for Ch 12/3609 where the loan of 30 distila is repaid within 5 days of the original agreement being recorded. Longer-term

⁶² or at least if such lending networks did exist they do not appear in the documents examined.

loans can present problems especially when the debt is passed on and inherited. In general this is problematic because, with property, inheritance law dictates that everything should be divided into equal shares amongst the heirs of the deceased and this includes obligations like loan agreements. The problem created is usually twofold. The first is the degree of awareness of the debts of the deceased, some wills describe debt and any loan agreements in detail but this is again dependent on the individual involved. This is highlighted in one of the inventories where the heirs confess to the notary that they are not entirely sure about the details of their deceased father's debts, although subsequently the court-ordered inventory publishes the details of loan agreements. The second issue is who exactly discharges the debt, particularly in the case of families where some of the children are minors at the time of death, either left under the supervision of appointed guardians or adult siblings. This can lead to further conflict of dispute and ultimately resolution usually through agreements where, for example, his younger brother pays the eldest son back the share of his father's debts or there is some other form of settlement between family members. Inherited debt however can cover the wider extended family as in A/100/1835 (v2pg59) where a nephew has inherited his uncle's debt. In this case in order to cover the sum, the nephew essentially pays by handing over a piece of land, which has been valued, far higher than the sum involved ⁶³. Of course inheriting loan agreements does not always mean that a debt is inherited. There are examples in wills of lists of loans that were given out by the person involved, in this sense the inherited loans are of course a valuable commodity and a potential source of cash depending on the amount of money entailed in each agreement.

⁶³ This could be seen as a type of forfeit or penalty or equally a level of economic opportunism by the lender.

Another issue is the impact of the notary on these types of agreements and settlements. A historical example taken from 19th century Cyprus shows that money lending facilities provided by brokers within rural villages (Attalides 1979:364-7), although providing the capital in times of crisis, tax payments and economic expansion often resulted in exploitation of the “illiterate” borrowers (Attalides 1979:364-7). This was largely because of the nature of the relationship and the fact that it was the brokers who maintained the records and accounts of the loans, effectively using literacy as an advantage for more mercenary exploitation (Attalides 1979:366). This contrasts greatly with the 19th century notarial records of loans on Kythera. These show clearly a system where loans are recorded at their initial agreement (though sometimes in the forms of private documents the so called *privato*) and another record is made on full payment with the express condition that the agreement is now declared null and void. This format is clearly designed to avoid conflict especially when it is added to the examples of documents that are routinely handed to the notary to be filed in his folios for safekeeping or to be copied into his current notarial books. A clear record of transactions is maintained; a system where although certain debts may take a while to be discharged or may even be inherited, they are not forgotten. In the more unusual inventories that are compiled it is significant that loans are listed as part of the wider catalogue of household items and property. In general the relationship with the notary is not one characterised by any form of exploitation but rather the notary is there to follow his client’s instruction in drawing up agreements, witness payments, copy and file documents and thus create a legal record of the transaction from start to finish.

Looking at the broader issue of credit and debt and its wider effect on rural populations in particular, it is clear that historically there were very different and explicit power based relationships between debtors and creditors. In the Ionian Islands under Venetian control for example, credit relations were governed as much by petty corruption in the administration as exploitation of lower economic classes by merchants, landowners and tax farmers who were all involved within the system (Gekas 2006:6). Insurrection and rebellion often broke out in response largely to the impact of the credit system on the economic fortunes of the peasant class as a whole right through even into the period of the British administration, which largely inherited the legal framework covering credit and debt from its Venetian predecessors (Gekas 2006:7)⁶⁴. The problem lay with a system where the rural populations were generally excluded from the political and legal process and exploited by virtue of their social class. The courts for example operated in Italian (until Greek became the official language in the 19th century under the British see fig. 5.6) thus automatically alienating rural populations who lacked the education to understand Italian (Gekas 2006:7). At least in the 19th century, which is the period that the agreements cover, it is obvious that in the particular parts of the island and cases involved this type of alienation and exclusion from the system did not exist in the same way. As a whole the people involved could be most accurately characterised as being aware of the way that the system operates and, from other types of agreements where they take matters to court, that they are engaged with it despite relatively high levels of illiteracy and of course their social class (see fig. 5.7).

⁶⁴ The situation was so bad that in the 'revolutionary days' of 1797 peasants burnt their debt contracts (Gekas 2006:7).

Another aspect to the broader dimensions of debt and credit is of course the types of problems that were presented by specific economic strategies. Debt and loans were a massive problem in relation to agricultural production that continued into the early years of the Greek State. Credit facilities that were founded such as the Ionian Bank and then later the National Bank of Greece and the Agricultural Bank, which was specifically created to deal with the problems associated with credit and the agricultural economy, largely bypass Kythera. In part this is due to the differences in the agricultural economy established on Kythera and its counterparts, both the Ionian islands during the Venetian and British administration and its mainland neighbours within the Greek state. The main hub of the Ionian Islands had largely focused agricultural production on export crops such as olive oil and currants in the Venetian period. This economic strategy led to particular problems relating to the state of the market and the system in which prices were negotiated with merchants balanced against a need for credit in order to fill in the gaps left by such crop specialization on the islands as a whole (Gekas 2006:6).

Ironically Kythera by largely remaining in a sense undeveloped and not participating in the wider cash crop production escaped some of the long-term debt problems that plagued agricultural communities throughout the period. Although the issue of cash crops and specialisation is explored in further detail in the discussion on land use, the lack of involvement within this wider system may in part answer why the issue of debt in the village presents differently to other areas in the wider region. Once again it is important to emphasise that only part of the picture is revealed in the selection of relevant documents and by no means does this mean that Mitata and perhaps even Kythera as a whole, was idyllic.

However given the levels of literacy, low standing in the socio-political hierarchy and the generally hard conditions on the island it is still important to see the wider engagement of the villagers with the notarial and locally based credit system.

Once again it is also key to highlight that although this is a rural village based on subsistence agriculture rather than cash crops, there is still money circulating within this community-based system and that loans are part of a wider network of social relations and village interconnections.

Land acquisitions and strategies of consolidation.

The most insightful way of exploring the types of economic strategies that were employed during the period is to explore the way that land itself was acquired and disposed of. An analysis of sale agreements and contracts provides the opportunity to get a deeper understanding of the types of strategies employed and in particular to look at the degree of impact of potential problems and established limitations of the traditional methods of acquiring land either through inheritance or dowry. It is here that sale agreements are useful in that they move beyond the normal mode of acquisition potentially highlighting the limits of the system of division or equally by illustrating those that sought economic opportunities to either improve or extend their land holdings. These documents also provide further insight into how land (and trees) was perceived and valued in purely financial terms. Of course behind these sales are the decisions that were taken and these are themselves of interest to the analysis. The reasoning behind the acquisition of land is crucial in understanding the wider connections of such actions with issues of economic and social obligations, for example. In addition to

this perception of the landscape is the number of established sources of potential strain on the system of land ownership particularly under the forces of division and multiple ownership and also the need to have enough resources to deal with future economic obligations. This introduces therefore a number of related agreements to those that deal with straightforward sales including land exchanges, leasing of land and the application of *analavi*.⁶⁵ Again it is difficult to estimate statistically what proportion of these agreements are recorded, however it is indicative that the agreements deal with a broad spectrum of deals between family members and strangers as well as wider kin or village groups. What is interesting about these records is that they document the types of transactions and methods by which people furthered their own economic ambitions or at the other end of the scale maintained their self-sufficiency.

A major problem in analysing the rate and degree of land acquisition is that there is no way of knowing how much land was owned by any of the individuals concerned prior to the acquisitions or sales. However it is possible to identify individuals that are particularly active on the market and try to correlate them with other information from wills and dowries if they are available. From the outset what is interesting about these documents is the way that the deals are set up themselves and the level of detail that is recorded within the contracts. One aspect that is particularly significant is the system of valuations.

Valuations are important for two reasons. Firstly they are an often bureaucratic and time-consuming process with multiple visits to the notary.

⁶⁵ *Analavi*: Can be retained by the original owner thereby giving him the right to sell the land but purchase it back within a period of 3 years

Secondly they are important because of who the valuations are actually completed by. Multiple visits to the notary are of course at an extra cost, but there is a specific sequence of events, which are recorded, that differs from a simple sales agreement. First the sale and request for a formal valuation is established. This is then followed by the appointment of 3 people by each party to value the property or land on their behalf. Once appointed the notary in front of witnesses then places these assessors under oath, swearing that they will visit the property in question and provide an honest value. Once the on-site inspection is complete they return to the notary and the values are recorded. After the parties involved have accepted the estimates, an average value is calculated and agreed upon as a price and the normal sales document is produced (see Appendix for summaries of valuation documents).

This more cumbersome process could perhaps be related on a personal level to degrees of suspicion and bad relations. Of course it could simply be part of a wider culture of making formal agreements with a view to minimising the potential for conflict in the future. Valuations, where each side has three valuations and then a price is agreed based on these, are perhaps the most even-handed way of producing a price and this is illustrated by the fact that where valuations are presented in the records the two sides come up with similar prices. Also important is the fact that the people who perform these duties are village residents not specialised in any sense but once again illustrating that people were informed as to the relative value of land, buildings etc, in a similar way to their knowledge of the wider landscape and boundaries.

It is difficult to draw statistically meaningful conclusions or trends about the extent of land sales or the perhaps the wider economic state of the village; although there are more sale agreements than any other form of document. Much like the rest of the notarial records, they are more indicative of individual circumstances and decisions than a general economic trend. It is problematic given the relatively small size of the sample (35 complete documents) or rather its selective representation of the village⁶⁶ to make more generalised conclusions. However certain key aspects and themes can be identified. As the majority of the records predate the mass migration from the village there is as yet no connection with the ongoing effects of depopulation and an empty landscape. Clearly highlighted, however, is the way that the landscape is managed, particularly by showing how acquisitions were selected. It is indicative that most sales contrasts involve land that is bordering property already belonging to the purchaser.

From the 35 sales documents identified and examined from the two 19th-century notaries, 21 described transactions where the buyer is acquiring adjacent land. The motivation behind such a strategy seems to suggest a process of consolidating or expanding existing holdings in specifically selected areas. The reasons behind this are of course potentially related to the wider problem of division through inheritance and dispersal of land. The question is whether by the 19th century the system had led to a degree of fragmentation that had begun to have negative implications on the effectiveness of production from these plots of land. Of course fragmentation and dispersal of holdings is not related purely to

⁶⁶ Selective in the sense that it most certainly does not cover all agreements just those who decided to go to these two *specific* notaries but also more importantly from the documents that are legible and have survived.

inheritance patterns but also perhaps more importantly the growing interconnections and links that were created through marriage. In fact the more extreme examples of dispersed holdings have largely been a result of exogamy over a number of generations.

The result of this process can be seen in the sale contracts. One example is A/25/5066/1862 (v2pg65) where Giorgios Protosaltis, native to Mitata is selling olive trees to a resident of the village of Pitsinades, Elias Mavromatis (son of the deceased Andreas Pitsinades). Furthermore the location of the property Georgadika (Kastrisianika) is outside of the wider Mitata area and the fact that the olive trees are within a field belonging to the buyer, Ilias Mavromatis, is highly suggestive that this is property that has been brought into the Protosaltis family by marriage outside of the village. This connection is confirmed in the document that follows shortly (A/25/5069/1862 v2pg66) where the same Giorgios Protosaltis is selling his rights and claim to the inheritance that has come down from Anastasis Mavromatis who is his maternal grandfather. This case also serves to highlight the often complex nature of intervillage and interfamilial connections, as the person acquiring the rights to the land is Giorgios Karidis, a resident of Dokana but a relative by marriage as he is married to Giorgios' aunt on his mother's side (the Mavromatis family).

Here is a triple link built between Mitata, Pitsinades and Dokana and the Protosaltis, Mavromatis and Karidis families respectively. In terms of property however these types of links can lead to dispersed holdings that perhaps are too far removed from the base of Mitata, for them to actually be a usable asset or to operate within the limits and practicalities of local farming strategies. It is perhaps

unsurprising that Giorgios Protopsaltis sells the property and rights to the property associated with the Mavromatis family. Although this is in fact almost the reverse of consolidation in widespread selling of property in certain locations, it is still essentially another way of dealing with the same problem. Unfortunately Giorgios Protopsaltis' next economic decisions or how the money from these sales was used cannot be traced in the records. However the wider strategy of consolidation as a potential solution to dispersed holdings, of which this is a part, can be explored further through the records.

A strategy of consolidation is further highlighted through the parallel practice of formal land exchanges that are documented by the notaries. The point of interest with land exchanges as opposed to straightforward sales is that this is a two-way transfer of land. By default for both sides to be in possession of land that in each case is bordered by the other requires a certain amount of family connection at some point in the past. In some cases it is clearly an exchange kept within the wider extended family grouping where all parties belong to the Firos group of the wider Sklavos group. Others suggest a link through marriage at some point in the past. Ch/15/1865/3871 is an example where Kali who is both married and born into the wider Kastrisos clan is exchanging an olive tree in her possession located in the field of Ioannis Protopsaltis. Since this type of division of property is originally done within a single family grouping it would suggest some previous link between the two families through marriage at some point in the past. Unfortunately due to the lack of further records it is not possible to trace the connections through the census records.

Buying and consolidating land in a specific location can be seen in the case of Panagiotis Malakos, a resident of Viaradika, who makes two appearances in the records, acquiring land from Mitata residents in the Palaeokastro area. The Palaeokastro area is itself interesting as it is one of the areas that can be seen on the wider border of the village hinterland of Mitata or at least one of those more permeable areas where the lines between the respective villages' hinterlands begin to blur. In the details of sales contracts Ch/13/3411/1863 (v2pg53) and Ch/13/3434/1863 (v2pg53) we see a number of non-Mitatan names making an appearance as owners. For example the land sold by Giorgios Firos is listed as having been originally purchased from a Kosmas Viaros (Ch/13/3411/1863), (a name indicative of Viaradika), and the grazing rights are currently taken up by two Friligos brothers, residents of Kiperi (Ch/13/3411/1863). The same can be seen in the second contract with a mixture of names from the classic Mitatan family of Prineas through to Kironis, Panaretos and Malakos. Equally in terms of consolidation of holdings the first piece of land acquired from Giorgios Firos is bordering the purchaser and the second piece of land acquired from Athanasios Keromitis is bordering another member of the Malakos family who from the deceased father's name listed could well be the purchaser's brother, although without the census information this can not be confirmed. However in general partly due to the distribution patterns created by division through inheritance it is relatively common for land to be acquired within the vicinity of other family members who either belong to more immediate circles or the extended family groups.

Consolidation of holdings can be taken a step further where members of the same family formally purchase land. Of course within the wider social framework of the documents and use of the notarial system, it may well be that family oriented agreements were often not documented but took the form of an oral settlement. Examples do exist of formally notarised agreements and transactions between siblings. One such document is the agreement between the brothers Spiridon and Nikolaos Firos (Ch/13/3334/1863) that illustrates consolidation through the acquisition of what is essentially another share in the patrimony. The document explains that the piece of land with a 'spitaki' borders both the purchaser and seller and was part of their father's inheritance, which has as yet to be divided between them. It further clarifies that the land being sold is only that which formed part of their father's share and does not include the further piece of land which Nikolaos, the seller, has purchased independently. In a sense here there was a double consolidation, initially where Nikolaos bought more land in the vicinity of his father's holdings and then finally by Spiridon as he buys from his brother to be left with two shares of his father's inheritance in this location. Unfortunately although the father's original will has been found (Ch/1214/1855 v2pg105) it does not list the inheritance of his sons in any detail which would help to further clarify the extent of their holdings in the area, the only detail given is that two terraces of vines in the same area of Vamvakari are to belong to his wife.

In this case however, further buying activity in the area can be traced as Nikolaos Firos appears in the records again in 1864 buying land in the same area Vamvakari as above. In this contract (Ch/14/3650/1864 v2pg54) Nikolaos buys two portions of land at Vamvakari, one at Bouzana which is bordering both him and his brother

Spiridon and another piece in a location called Dasos in the wider area, again bordering land he already owns. Coincidentally the price paid by his brother for the initial sale in 1863 was 2 pounds sterling, which is the same amount paid out by Nikolaos in 1864 to make his further purchases at Vamvakari. It is tempting to sketch a potential consolidation strategy where perhaps due to the relative size of the divided holdings or the practical logistics of farming them Spiridon acquired his brothers' share and then his brother used the money to consolidate and enlarge his holdings in the area by purchasing more land. However once again this is speculation, although the ability to trace connected purchasing strategies consolidating land which has originally come to them through family inheritance is important in at least illustrating some of the more sophisticated negotiations and dialogue between family members and the potential complexities involved in the process of consolidating holdings.

These types of complexities are particularly well illustrated when problems and disputes arise over the agreement. One such example is Ch/15/3965/1865 (v2.pg56), which records the results of an unsuccessful sale while also showing the darker side of personal interests and strategies. The conflict arises over a sale that occurred in Smyrna between the two parties involved who are related and members of the extended Firos family. This is significant as an example of economic strategies being developed in the face of migration. In this case it is not a permanent migration as both men return to Kythera, however it is interesting in how migrants continued to develop and manage their holdings despite their absence in view of their eventual return to the island. The problem with this sale is largely down to the ambiguities in the original contract regarding the boundaries and extent of the property. Originally Thodoris Firos sold to

Panagiotis Firos a 'variety of landholdings' that included two terraces of orchard with trees and land beyond the terraced orchard located at Afentika in Mitata. The slightly vague documentation of the land presumably lacking detail in the initial contract, have meant that on return to the island it has become apparent that the land sold was in fact split into two separate plots which sandwiched the land of a different owner in the middle. Thodoris added to the conflict by requesting that Panagiotis give up one of the orchard plots and was planning to take the matter to court. However as is outlined in the document, this action was in conflict with the original binding terms of the sale contract. Therefore as Thodoris admits in the document his action would constitute fraud, as the implication is that he misrepresented what the precise nature of the land was at the original sale. Therefore in order to avoid this, all claims are abandoned by Thodoris and Panagiotis' ownership of the land at Afentika is reaffirmed and guaranteed by Thodoris. In return Panagiotis pays 7 distila to cover any expenses incurred by Thodoris and also agrees to not claim against Thodoris who has already harvested the olives on the land. Indicative of Thodoris' slightly ambivalent role within this matter is the fact that he is declared to be 'very grateful' with the currently negotiated settlement, whether this is an admission of guilt is difficult to assess. However what the whole matter does show is the potential for conflict that is inherent in contracts particularly where the contents of the sale are not documented in detail. It also shows that problems do occur and that transactions between family members however closely or distantly related does not necessarily act as a guarantee as this case illustrates the spectre of fraud or at least a degree of opportunism that can be seen within the spectrum of acquisitions and land deals.

Another financial strategy somewhere in between a sale and a lease can be seen in the more unusual settlement outlined in Ch/15/3875/1865 (v2pg122).

Although neither of the two parties are technically residents of Mitata, there are links to the village. Athanasios Protopsaltis although resident in Kiperi, through his name has family links with the village and the piece of land at the heart of the agreement is located within the wider Mitata area and is next to the land of the inheritance of Athanasios Kastrisos Miliotis, the Miliotis indicating a member of the Kastrisos branch based in Mitata. The agreement takes the form of a type of leasing arrangement. Protopsaltis is handing over two pieces of land in order for Kastrisos to plant olive trees and specifically is to build walls in order to make the field into a sinambelon ⁶⁷As is specifically detailed in the document, when the trees reach a “good condition” in other words maturity and there is an income (harvest), it is to be divided into two equal portions and shared between the two parties. The arrangement is to last for fifteen years and after that the ownership of the land, which will be divided into two equal parts, will be shared between the two parties involved. Again this is an alternative economic strategy utilising and disposing of land in a different way to other methods of consolidation or expansion.

Although the original owner of the land is not a resident of Mitata but of Kiperi, there is not enough evidence to suggest that in this case it is a matter of land that is not within an area that can be practically farmed from either village base. The location involved is part of a wider area close to the hinterland of Kiperi and is one of those blurred boundary areas of mixed ownership. This kind of leasing arrangement, however, is of mutual economic benefit to both parties:

⁶⁷ Sinambelo – a retaining wall in lower sloping fields in order to support the earth (Komis 1995)

Protopsaltis gains an income from land and Kastrisos specifically increases his olive production capacity. After the 15-year period when the land is finally split between the two, both are left with productive olive groves. It is interesting that this does not take the form of a conventional sale; instead the land is essentially acquired on behalf of Kastrisos through an exchange of labour and a portion of the income of the eventual harvests, rather than a cash payment. The terms of this agreement illustrate a balance and negotiation of a number of matters and concerns in a more complex and essentially interlinked strategy of land management. It is tied into wider issues of how land and value of land are perceived. Essentially out of this agreement in terms of land ownership, Kastrisos adds to and expands his holdings whereas Protopsaltis' sees a reduction in his holdings but an eventual increase in production of oil.

There are two interpretations of deals like the one above within the broader issue of acquisition and consolidation. One sees this reduction as part of an assessment of landholdings whereby the loss of this portion of land is covered by the production capacity of the rest. An alternative interpretation might well be that although a portion is lost the land remaining with the addition of the olive trees has had value added both in terms of the productive capacity and potential income, thereby mitigating the loss. Again this illustrates a different approach to the management of landholdings as well as how strategies are developed and employed. In this case the outcome is as a result of a type of partnership employing a joint strategy to further development of the land. It is also a strategy designed for medium to long-term, as 15 years is not an insignificant amount of time. As this is an unusual example and the only one within the documents examined, the extent to which agreements of this kind were utilised is difficult to

assess. Although this type of arrangement cannot be generally applied to the period it is yet another example of the number of strategies conceived and options available in the way that landholdings were managed, acquired and expanded.

The process of analavi is one that raises further questions behind the strategies and motives behind sales and acquisitions. Analavi as outlined in the documents is a protected right, which enables the seller legally to buy back the land within a period of three years. As is stated in Ch/579/1852 (v2pg 49) the right is retained by the seller but in the case that it is used the purchaser is to be reimbursed the sale price while also receiving compensation for his work on and additions to the purchased land i.e sowing of crops, planting of trees or building of structures etc. A case where this is clearly shown is the negotiation that takes place in Ch/3604/1864 (v2pg118) where although the original buyer Nikolaos Prineas has no right under the law to protest at having to return the land back to its previous owner he does preserve his grazing rights there for the next few months until August and is also allowed to harvest the crop that he has sown that year.

This kind of potential source of conflict is dealt with specifically in one later document Chara/3067/1863 and although in this case it is not a sale but rather an exchange of land between the parties it is stipulated in the contract that the 3 year right of analavi is retained and a moratorium is placed on building and other such activities during that period. In many ways this is slightly odd in that this is not a sale but an equal land exchange however it is perhaps indicative that this is not a normal case as one side of the agreement are actually representatives of the absent migrant Spiridon Firos. The clause relating that no additions such as buildings should be made to the land is just another way of ensuring that should

the sale need to be reversed through this process it will be as simple as possible without the need for negotiation over compensation to cover additions and potential modifications. This is also shown in the sales document Ch/3055/1863 (v2pg49), where once again the process is repeated. In this case the ability to reverse the agreement may well be caused by the fact that the owner is in fact absent and acts almost as a safety net for his representatives and their decision to exchange or sell.

Analysing the process and use of *analavi* is not helped by the small statistical sample or the broader problems associated with the physical condition of the documents. It is particularly difficult to assess how widespread the practice was. It is explicitly mentioned rarely in sales contracts but this can be misleading as the contracts that stipulate that the right has been retained (Ch/3/579/1852, Ch/12/3055/1863, Ch/13/3302/1863 v2pg52) are not the same ones that later appear in the documents where the sellers have exercised their right to *analavi*. This means that the process is more widespread than the figures of the documents identified would suggest. However in general it is clear that this was not a right exercised by the majority and may well relate to the individual circumstances and motivations behind the original sale or exchange. However it does raise questions about the initial motives for selling, but again these would be speculative. From the documents a reversed decision where money is returned and land reclaimed could perhaps suggest either changing circumstances or needs particularly for example added economic pressure on the household as a unit or a specific need for more land. Equally it could indicate a reversal of the conditions, which may have resulted in the sale in the first place. For example if the land was sold purely for capital because that was what was needed when the money is available again it

may well be bought back. This is partially illustrated by Ch/12/3226/1863 v2pg118 where the land was sold back precisely 3 years to the day and thus on the very verge of the right expiring altogether. The importance of *analavi* however is that it provides yet another financial option and perhaps even forms the basis of specific strategies to deal with specific problems and conditions such as absentee owners or agreements formed by guardians.

The strategies of consolidation illustrated here, from simple acquisitions through to more complex arrangements and the use of the right of *analavi*, demonstrate the flexibility and variety in the approaches available to overcome land fragmentation. These are often family specific or individual solutions designed to target and resolve potential problems or shortcomings of their own landholdings while once again balancing the long-term demands and obligations of the household. The ability to adapt and to engage in processes like consolidating landholdings is fundamental to both the economic survival of the household but also its reproduction.

Exploiting the landscape: local strategies and regional economic trends

On the basis of documentary, ethnographic and historical evidence it appears that an agrarian household economy lies at the heart of the productive life of the village. The ultimate financial goal is to achieve a measure of self-sufficiency that supports an independent household and its ability to reproduce itself through mechanisms of dowry (and inheritance). The way that the landscape

is exploited and managed reflects this: the typical mixed farming regime so characteristic of the Mediterranean is the strategy employed on the island throughout most of the period in question. This does not mean that the system itself is not without a degree of flexibility and adaptability in response to the changing economic and social conditions of the period, especially from the late 19th century onwards, culminating in the extremes of the mass emigration of the 20th century. The landscape as an expression of these strategies, though the goal of self-sufficiency remains relatively constant, this does not mean that there is not a wider engagement with changing ideas and trends in the regional economic climate, or equally that strategies are adapted to deal with changing conditions and pressures. Indeed there are a wide range of different responses to such problems, ranging from realignment of family strategies such as changing the proportions of certain crops, developing more specialised production, or responding to incentives and changing tax regimes on crops that are imposed by the administration of the time. Equally while the production of cash crops can be seen in terms of large scale specialisation e.g currant production in the Peloponnese during the 19th century it can also be used on a smaller local scale for internal exchange.

In terms of the practical aspects of land use and the crops employed, the best evidence comes from the 19th century and in particular for Kythera the details shown in the notarial documents. The 19th century itself is interesting in terms of land use in that it is on the cusp of major demographic and economic change that is to follow in the early 20th century. It is also associated with two major administrative changes that form a departure from the long established Venetian period and its associated economic policies. Looking at the economic productivity of the island as a whole, just by looking at the monetary contributions to the wider

Ionian fund, it is clear that Kythera is problematic (Andreades 1914b).

Administrations throughout the period identify the causes as invariably revolving around issues of depopulation or the low agricultural productivity of the island. However though as an island Kythera is economically struggling in generating funds, the same gloomy outlook cannot be applied to the villages and individual households, as the household economy is not oriented towards creating a cash surplus.

One of the main problems in comparing Kythera with its Ionian counterparts is of course the substantial difference in the objectives of the different island economies. The hub of the larger Ionian islands including Corfu and Zakynthos had since the Venetian period begun to configure their agricultural production towards increasing crop specialisation, mainly tapping into the international export market (Progoulakis 2003:18-20) This included a focus on olives and currants and by the 19th century these crops formed the core of the respective island economies. Kythera never really engaged in this process of developing a more market driven specialised agricultural production. This was not necessarily as a result of or a sign of 'economic backwardness. Rather it reflected the disadvantages of Kythera's geographical position within the wider Ionian system, particularly in terms of communication links and infrastructure, and also the practical realities and limits of the agricultural potential of the island. Indeed other smaller Ionian islands like Paxos or Ithaca adopted strategies similar to Kythera in maintaining a degree of self sufficiency through subsistence farming (Andreades 1914 a/b).

The attainment of self-sufficiency through subsistence farming on Kythera was not as difficult as many of the contemporary 19th century assessments of the island would suggest. Indeed the system on Kythera, though it lacked the economic opportunities, it offered considerable stability, which contrasts with the boom-and-bust economics that certain crops and markets displayed elsewhere during the period. From 1850 to 1852 there was a major economic crisis in the Ionian state that followed a period of widespread recession from 1846-1851 (Progoulakis 2003:201). In 1851 the failure of the olive crop and disease-affected vines led to a collapse in the export based economy (Progoulakis 2003:201). In Corfu as well as the other major Ionian islands involved in this system, this led to widespread economic crisis within the agricultural community largely due to the high and crippling levels of debt accrued by producers in their zeal to expand (Progoulakis 2003:202). Equally such economies were also vulnerable to the impact of changing market prices both in terms of their crops but also the staples that had to be imported such as grain. The Crimean war, for example, had a major effect on the wider Ionian market (as well as its European counterparts) as it removed one of the main sources of imported grain leading to serious price readjustments and compounding the generalised crisis (Progoulakis 2003:39-40). It is indicative that a typical farmer on Corfu could buy with one barrel of oil the equivalent of 20 kilos of 2nd quality cereals in 1836 but his purchasing power had been seriously reduced to just 8 kilos of cereals in 1854 (Progoulakis 2003:42).

In contrast to this the goal of self- sufficiency, which dominated agricultural production on Kythera, acted as a sort of buffer to these types of economic problems, despite the effects of disease on island crops. This is not to say that on Kythera individual households were better off than their Ionian

counterparts who had invested in cash cropping regimes, just that as a system it was relatively stable, dependent on individual decisions and management strategies as well as the general condition and productive capacity of the basic commodity of land. In Mitata, from the documents examined at least, there is no hint of the crippling levels of debt on a widespread scale which hit farmers elsewhere. From the documents it appears that credit was not sought out in the same way (nor was it available from Banks) to fund expansion and crop specialisation. Rather it was utilised to achieve specific goals such as land consolidation and within the economic network of the village, where the lenders resided. However again a degree of caution must be maintained in terms of the number of documents available and whether they are representative enough to allow for such sweeping generalisations to be applied to the island as a whole. However what is clear is that this system of self-sufficiency through mixed farming regimes rather than crop specialisation was maintained through the period and formed the basis of the household and local economy.

In terms of scale, the household is the productive and social unit that lies at the heart of the subsistence economy of the village. As well as functioning as an economic unit it is also the decision-making hub and as such raises questions of family co-operation, gender relations and other issues related to kinship and wider village networks. The household as a unit requires some definition. The archival evidence from Mitata, in particular the census documents, show that throughout the period the majority of households comprised nuclear family groupings with a male head. However there is considerable amount of variation, largely associated with individual family circumstances. For example there are households headed by a woman, either widowed or as the eldest sibling where both parents have died.

There are also households that do not conform to a nuclear family, either because they have been extended through the addition of in some cases unmarried siblings or elderly parents⁶⁸.

From the census documents it is also clear that it is not a generalised rule that widowed or unmarried family members as well as elderly parents will join another family member's household group. Indeed there are cases where there are single- person households and as has been illustrated from the dowries in particular, the objective of creating a new household upon marriage means that this neolocal or neodomestic (Casselberry and Valavanis 1976) format is actively working against the creation of large extended family groupings ⁶⁹. This is further supported by the provisions in wills - in particular the way that residence for widowed partners is allocated usually for the duration of their life and separate from the household establishments of the children. This in one case is extended to provide for a widowed daughter-in-law as well. In one settlement it is made perfectly obvious that an extended household is not what is desired.

The settlement outlined in A/2/352/1836 is one where the residence of a widowed mother has become a source of conflict between her and her married daughter. The problem arises as the married daughter Kerani does not wish to live with her mother Potheti. Her daughter and husband agree to a series of yearly allowances of crops to be given to Potheti from the holdings that formed her

⁶⁸ e.g from 1844 census see appendix , entries no. 68 Dimitrios Castrissos Miliotis or for a more extreme example no.82 household headed by Papa Giorgis Protopsaltis

⁶⁹ This is in contrast to the later ethnographic model of virilocal movement of brides into the husband's household which included the aging parents (Du Boulay 1986)

deceased husband's livelihood. Equally the daughter is willing to allow her mother to live in her current residence and is obligated to find her mother alternative accommodation within the village should she ask her to vacate the property at a later date. This leads to the compromise where Potheti voluntarily relinquishes her control over her deceased husband's property and income and hands it over to her daughter.

This example is not presented to make the case that family members are not part of a larger network of family-oriented strategies and interests that become interconnected. Instead it shows that the household is largely defined as a nuclear family because there is a separation of the households on marriage rather than a merger of the two. Arguably this is one example and therefore shows the wishes of an individual family, but the 19th century census records seem to back it up though of course there is also a degree of variability within this standard (See census 1844 in appendix). Partly this can be explained through adverse or unusual circumstances such as the death of parents or equally the death of, or lack of, children. A childless couple makes different arrangements to those who have children who survive them. Again this has been shown in the wills where necessarily this draws in other closely related family members, as inheritance is passed along bloodlines.

In fact the same argument has been made for the relative dominance of the nuclear household in some studies where the question is whether the nuclear household is a conscious choice or as a result of circumstances and conditions such as low life expectancy (Couroucli 1993:269). Equally it is argued that the organisation of the household in these unusual or extended groupings is often a

temporary solution (Couroucli 1993:270). In the case of 19th century census records from Corfu where such extended households are a reaction to problems such as isolated family members or death it is debated as to whether in such cases the independent groups that have now merged into one household could survive as economic units if they did not join forces (Couroucli 1993:272). This to a certain extent seems to apply to unusual cases examined in the Kytheran documents particularly in the case of guardians left to manage the economic fortunes and property left to young children.

However it is equally true and apparent that, in certain cases, the merging of two households or the non division of property between siblings is a specific and conscious choice made by the parties involved, a decision intimately related to the family's financial situation and economic strategies that the individuals wish to proceed with. A good example is the valuation documents related to the undivided property of Manolis Firos and his deceased brother Ioannis (Ch/13/3436/1864 and Ch/13/3487/1864 v2pg129). In this case Ioannis, though married and with a daughter, has been, as the document states, living with his brother and shared their paternal inheritance that they had not as yet divided. Unfortunately it is difficult to assess the potential financial reasons behind such a decision in terms of perhaps limited landholdings or something similar, because the holdings are not listed in either document. Instead the initial inventory and the later court supervised one, is largely an exercise in documenting the contents of the shared household in meticulous detail, although this does include their livestock and the details of a number of loans arranged by their deceased father and Ioannis himself (Ch/13/3487/1864). However it is clear that this was a conscious choice and is paralleled in other instances where brothers have left

certain pieces of their shared inheritance undivided, or purchase land together. In general however, the trend seems to point to nuclear family units and the creation of separate households as the dowries suggest.

The preference for nuclear family units is further illustrated in the size of the average household. In the 18th century the mean household size in Mitata from the census figures in 1724 for example is 3.98 members (Table 5.6 for further data). The age distribution of the village population where 37% is made up of children up to the age of 10, speaks volumes to the levels of infant mortality in relation to the average family size (see table 5.7 for age distribution throughout the 18th century and chart 5.1). By 1822 and the list of households in the village there are a total of 75 households with a mean size of 4.93 members and by 1844 which is the last census examined, there has been an increase in the number of households to 97 and a mean size of 4.88 members (Tables 5.5 and 5.6).⁷⁰ These relatively small households are similar to comparative examples from the period for example from the 1845 census of agricultural settlements on Corfu; the mean family size is 4.56 (table 120, Progoulakis 2003:255). Contemporary sources throughout the 19th century also estimated that the agricultural family unit was fairly small with an average of four to five members (Petmezas 2003:41), so that Mitata seems to fit the broader pattern. In general this goes against the stereotype of agricultural families being necessarily large and households made up of the extended family (Progoulakis 2003:255 Wagstaff 2001:345).

⁷⁰Average family sizes remain fairly consistently small as does the dominance of the nuclear family.

1721: 4.5 members

1753:3.2 members

1770:4.5 members

Apart from whom the household consists of, also fundamental is the physical structure of the household i.e. what it practically consists of in view of its role as the main unit of production and organisation. Once again the documents can begin to build a picture of exactly what the household consisted of in Mitata, during the 19th century in particular. Inventories such as the ones discussed earlier are particularly good at providing a snapshot of the physical contents, as the house is sealed and everything from the smallest item of clothing down to the number of cattle is catalogued for the courts. Once again Ch/13/3487/1864 is particularly useful as the value of the items is included, but also because through the details which it includes, a picture of the type of agricultural strategies employed can be tentatively constructed.

The details within this document are fascinating; particularly in the often-haphazard way the items are catalogued, giving the impression that the items are listed as the estimators find them while walking around the house, rather than in any sort of categorised order. From the contents listed you can begin to pick out the types of crops favoured and the basic staples used, for example. These include barley, broadbeans, wheat, cotton, straw, smigadi, olive oil and a little wine. It is indicative that looking at the quantities of cereals, smigadi is the most plentiful with 35 moutzouria being listed in the household store as opposed to 4 moutzouria of barley and only 2 misopinakia of wheat. This ties in well with the evidence of the pre-eminence of the smigadi mix within the local economy both historically and from the later ethnographic evidence. Also it is supported by the dowry lists, which include allowances of basic staples of consumption such as broadbeans, olive oil and smigadi. The same can be seen in allowances outlined in wills.

Another aspect are the materials of household craft production such as cotton and

flax. Here both unprocessed cotton as well as cotton seed is listed as well as the customary tools relating to the processing of flax such as the 'maggani'⁷¹ (Ch/13/3487/1864). This is supplemented by the large and valuable amounts of woven cloth and garments and of course the foundation of household cloth production which is the loom. It is indicative how important the loom is within the household as it is included in every single dowry agreement and it is a relatively expensive piece of equipment: in this inventory the loom with cloth being woven is valued at 42 shillings, which is not an insignificant amount compared with the cost of other items or tools. The loom is important particularly in its association with the household economy and its relationship with craft production and also the role of women within it.

Women ethnographically, are most often associated with the domestic sphere and identified with the household in terms of gendered division of labour and spaces. The ethnographic evidence attests this to not only from the village but also in many studies in the wider region (e.g Friedl 1967 Du boulay 1991, Papataxiarchis and Loizos 1991, Dubisch 1986). The loom is essential in understanding a crucial part of the household economy: that of craft production, especially that of cloth and associated garments. It is once again a piece of equipment identified with women. Women historically have been associated with woven handicrafts ranging from highly decorative items through to producing garments and cloth to cover the everyday, practical needs of the household. The association with women can be seen in the creation of their trousseau from an

⁷¹ The only definition I have found is for magano in Babiniotis "a handpowered tool used in the production of thread, particularly in the transfer and winding on dowels

early age, which is a key part of the dowry and the tradition of how the dowry is accumulated and what it consists of.

Kasimatis' study of Kythera under the British protectorate points to the importance of household craft production (Kasimatis 1994:133). His study details that it was common for households to produce all the necessary resources such as cotton, flax, wool and animal hair (in particular goats hair) which were used to make everything from fine cotton sheets and headscarves through to animal hair sacks and even rope (Kasimatis 1994:133). Also part of this process was the way in which the cloth was coloured which was usually done within the home by the "practical housewives" using natural plant derived dyes such as black from boiled pomegranate skins or acorn shells (Kasimatis 1994:133). The most prestigious colour was a red/burgundy shade taken from the root of the 'rizari', which required considerable processing to achieve, and was therefore reserved for the more upmarket or special occasion items⁷² (Kasimatis 1994:133-4). To achieve blue, the cloth had to be taken to a professional and therefore when the colours are emphasised in the way that the items are listed in the inventories and especially in dowry agreements, they are significant as an indicator of the relative value and status of the garment. All this activity is parallel, and supplemental, to the agricultural production of the household unit and reflects the self-sufficient ideal.

The exploitation of landholdings belonging to the household is as previously stressed, largely defined by the immediate need to attain a measure of

⁷² There is an identification of special items of clothing within the documents usually by being called 'skolina' or festive i.e the best outfit in the range owned by the individual.

self sufficiency and this is generally achieved through a regime of mixed farming of basic staples: cereals, vines, olives - classic Mediterranean triad - supplemented by the produce from irrigated gardens and fruit orchards where they are available. From the ethnographic evidence from the village, and as seen in the previous chapter, the land within the village and its immediate surroundings was of particular importance largely due to the effect of the local springs and therefore a good access to water. This can also be seen within the documents to an extent as sales concentrating on the area within Mitata itself as opposed to its wider hinterland seem to suggest that this land was more desirable in the sense that it is a popular area with a higher degree of mixed ownership, indicating potentially that people are seeking to acquire land there largely because of the location of the land rather than to consolidate existing holdings. It seems that fragmentation in this case was mitigated by the proximity to the village and the economic benefits (potentially even necessity) in owning a piece of land in these irrigated terraces or within the village itself for kitchen gardens far outweighed any thought of avoiding further division. This is supported by the later ethnographic evidence, where informants pointed to the now abandoned terraces and explained that “everyone” had a garden or orchard there, partly due to the convenience in terms of its proximity to the village but also because of the water, which allowed for more intensive cultivation and irrigated crops.

In terms of landholdings in the village, property that is located within Mitata unsurprisingly consists of houses or when it comes to land is, more commonly than is the case for other major areas within the hinterland, described as consisting of orchards or gardens. In fact some of the purchases are within the inhabited neighbourhoods of the village such as Priniadika (A/w/649/1837

v2pg84) where a garden is purchased. Some of the toponyms for specific locations are also potentially illustrating land use, such as Perivolaki⁷³ where an orchard is sold (Ch/w/2300/1843 v2 pg 95) or Koukorovithos⁷⁴ (Ch/13/3302 v2pg52) where a garden is acquired and finally Skales⁷⁵ (Ch/W/1745/1840 v2pg91) where an olive tree is inherited within a larger orchard. Again given the limitations of the documents and the sample it is difficult to get a statistical analysis of land use within the immediate environs and within Mitata.

In terms of specific crops, apart from the basic staples, there are a number of supplemental crops mentioned in the documents, though again how widespread they were can not be appreciated from the archival evidence examined. In terms of tree crops apart from the olive tree, which is the most common, others mentioned include fig, carob, almond, lemon, pear and peach, as well as a number of instances where no detail is given further than an orchard with trees. The most common tree crops behind the olive on the basis only of the documents examined seem to be fig (see fig 5.4 for value) in some cases listed as wild or without a precise number and then the carob tree, which from ethnographic research was a crop that was harvested and used in times of hardship or famine in the form of carob flour. In terms of arable crops from the documents it is evident that there were a number of supplemental crops including cotton and flax for household cloth production, straw and in general animal fodder (vetch). In the irrigated gardens an array of seasonal crops would be grown for household consumption. The location and proximity of such gardens allowed for more intensive cultivation

⁷³ Literally the small orchard

⁷⁴ literally a combination of the words for broadbeans and chick pea

⁷⁵ literally steps but in this context terraces

that required greater attention and was part of the daily routine as opposed to the seasonal harvests of sown crops like cereals or olives. From the beginning of the 20th century and beyond from the ethnographic evidence, informants pointed out that the now abandoned terraces around Mitata were the source of the oranges that were sold in the nearby market town of Potamos. This small-scale engagement with local markets suggests if not large-scale crop specialisation at least a supplemental role of cash crops to the household economy, taking advantage of the resources of the Mitatan landscape, in this case water.⁷⁶ Though the details of the transformation that the landscape underwent in the 20th century will be considered later, the informants mentioned the production of irrigated tree crops like oranges to precisely emphasise the great water resources of the village and how they were exploited to produce a crop for market, in a period where the household economy was beginning to realign and engage with market forces rather than focusing on attaining a measure of self sufficiency. In contrast to this, one of the traveller accounts of the 19th century notes within a largely negative assessment of the agricultural economy of the island, that there was not a single orange tree planted, despite the favourable climate (Davy in Andritsaki-Fotiadi and Petrocheilos 1982:128)

One of the major crops particularly in its role in the realignment of household production strategies towards more market-oriented production is the changing role of the olive tree. From the documents the most frequently acquired

⁷⁶ I have similar examples from ethnographic research on Crete from at least the late 19th century. Villages supplemented their income with cash crops like citrus fruits and even if these were not then taken to one of the major markets on the island, they were used in mutual exchanges with other villages. Eg for a 20th century example villagers from the Plateau grew potatoes came down to the Pediada and exchanged these with oranges, villagers from the Pediada went down to the coastal villages and exchanged oranges with watermelons and other crops that flourished there. So instead of market centres there were mutual exchange networks in order to supplement the household economy.

and mentioned tree is the olive. Indeed it is often graded in terms of quality, production of oil and whether it is a table olive or one more suited to oil production. However throughout the period it is apparent that though olives are an important component of the household economy they are not present in huge quantities. Most listings of olive trees are single trees often subject to split inheritance where just the tree has been transferred rather than the tree and the land. Nowhere in the documents do they appear in large quantities, the single largest collection sold is four olive trees within a larger field, in this case sold together with the land (Ch/12/3231/1863 v2 pg51). In the dowry lists, slightly larger olive groves are mentioned though these are then divided, in one case the daughter receives an isolated olive tree in one part of the field which is divided by the road and then is also given half of the eight olive trees located on the other side (Ch/10/2609/1862 v2pg 72).

In general though there is no way to estimate the precise number of olive trees owned by individuals, as they are not always listed. They form a supplementary role within the economy and thus the landscape is made up of fields with olive trees, where both the land is cultivated and the trees harvested, rather than the more intensive, densely planted groves. This ties in well with the ethnographic evidence, where the informants explained the olive groves, where there is a visible mix of old and younger trees as essentially a process of infilling groves. Going back to the late 19th/early 20th century, generation upon generation began to steadily increase the number of trees as the focus shifted towards these types of cash crops and gradually began to move away from sown cereal crops and a strategy that focused on producing a self-sufficient household. This is also seen in the way that olives are described within the documents in the instances

were further detail is given in terms of the uses or type of olive concerned. In these cases the trees are either described as for oil or as 'matsa' according to the definition in the dictionary matsa is the term for table olives rather than ones suited for oil production. According to Kasimatis' (1994) survey of the economy of the period of the British Protectorate he adds that these olive trees were the larger older trees suggesting perhaps reflecting a similar situation of mixed groves of older and younger trees. Equally in terms of the economic incentives related to olive production, the British administration of the island under McPhail attempted to encourage and increase the island's olive and wine production. According to traditional history the economic incentives implemented included a payment per olive tree added (Kasimatis 1994).

The household as management centre: decision making strategies and gender relations

One of the main issues of the household in terms of the economic management of family landholdings is the relative position between men and women. The question of the roles of men and women and in particular the contribution of each to household production largely revolves around the issue of labour division. It is true that women have been historically identified with the household and domestic sphere and men largely defined by their position as the head. There are two main issues in relation to the question of household management and economic production: decision making processes and their wider connection to the relations and roles of women within the economic organisation of the household.

The household organisation of labour is in a sense the simplest place to start, as it reflects the classic association of women with the domestic sphere. In terms of daily routines, women's economic contribution comes through the practical management of the household, from typical duties such as cleaning and cooking extended through to the 'craft production' of textiles, the care of household animals, gardens etc ⁷⁷. This is largely the picture that persists through to the period of the ethnographic testimonies. Women are also involved in labour intensive seasonal activities such as harvests as well as a number of specific duties related to the cultivation of the family's landholdings. The need to mobilise labour in order to successfully ensure the household's economic survival and to an extent future, includes children who are also allocated specific jobs. This has been seen in local resistance to the expansion of the education system of the island during the Protectorate. One of the main issues in particular was the reluctance to release girls, who had a significant role within the household in assisting their mothers. It is indicative that to ensure some semblance of attendance, the Protectorate punished absence with the imposition of much hated policy of forced labour on the family concerned.

However this strict division of labour was in many ways another example of a social ideal often subverted by the practical realities of certain circumstances and conditions. From contemporary historical examples women were not solely confined inside the home and with domestic activities. Women within the Aegean

⁷⁷ Though dating from a later period to the one in question, Allbaugh's observations of women's work in Crete still hold true: "One gets the impression that Cretan women work harder than the men. Managing a Cretan home frequently requires caring for children, cooking, cleaning, spinning, weaving blankets and clothing fabrics, sewing, embroidering, making garments and helping with some farming activities" (Allbaugh 1953:76) This could just as easily be a description of the Kytheran woman's work.

world were known to participate in different economic strategies, for example on Tinos unmarried women were known to migrate to act as maids in the economic centres of the wider region such as Constantinople and Smyrna (Karali 2002). The more common alternative was that women would often act as hired labour in times of harvest (as was shown in the previous chapter). The documents available here do not provide the detail necessary to assess the participation of Mitatan women in practices like migration for example. The only indication available is the number of 'absent' daughters mentioned in wills, since absent is often used as the term to describe sons that have migrated and are no longer on Kythera (Ch/W/ 1249 and 2300 v2 pg 88+95). It could be plausible to suggest that these potentially could be examples of women who have left the island as temporary economic migrants and with the most common destination of the period: Smyrna (Kasimatis 1994). However there is no real evidence within the archival information to confirm this.

Beyond the roles outlined above, women's main economic contribution to the establishment of the household itself was the property they brought into the marriage as part of their dowry. The question of the ownership of this dowry property within the marriage is interlinked to the negotiation of power and authority and furthermore intimately connected to the decision-making processes within the household. How property is disposed of in terms of legal rights, shares etc. have been dealt with in the more detailed discussion of wills and dowry contracts. However within the context of the marriage matters are less clear. In terms of legal rights it is established that although women officially own their dowry property, it is the man who holds the ultimate authority within the household. This is displayed in the fact that when women sell part of their

property a husband's consent is required on the contract. It is difficult to extend this formal authority as household head to all aspects of life within the households.

The debate over the degree of control that women exercised over their property is one that can be applied throughout most of 19th century European history, as laws governing giving women rights began to be passed (Marrese 2002:60-65). For example in Russia where married women were given control of their property as the dowry became an agreement between parents and daughters, the land passed on was very much considered to belong to the household rather than to be the wife's individual property and thus by extension was controlled by the head of the household i.e the husband (Marrese 2002:61). Equally, one interpretation of growing women's property rights in the United States and England was a way to protect families from financial ruin in the case of bankruptcy, as the economy shifted away from landed property to stocks and bonds (Marrese 2002:63). This same problem is in a sense repeated on Kythera: from the documents it is clear that women do have certain prescribed legal rights and make use of them. However it is also difficult to assess the degree of outright control in the presence of their husbands. What is true though and is clear from the documents is that women given the opportunity will take advantage of their legal rights and fully engage in the process.

Ethnographic work on decision making processes within the household has pointed to a negotiated partnership or that ultimately women can even subvert the system and acquire a considerable measure of practical power and authority under the façade of male supremacy (Herzfeld 1991). The idea of women as "mute and

marginal” that has come across in some anthropological work is not the picture that emerges from at least the households outlined in the documents examined.

For a start under certain conditions (usually as a result of death) women head their own households. In fact a widow seems to be able to wield considerable power in certain cases as she adopts the role and therefore rights of the head of the household.

Another dimension to add to this is the effect of households split by migration, where the normal social and domestic order is overturned. It is indicative that as migration towards centres like Smyrna begins to increase on the island from the 1850's onwards (Kasimatis 1994) a number of women appear who have essentially taken over their husband's position as the head of the household. This is not women acting with the consent of their husband in disposing of their own property, but women taking over as their husband's representatives legally enabled to take control of the property of the entire household, including the ability to sell or buy land as they see fit, and therefore adapt the economic strategy and production. This engagement with relatively complex economic transactions and agreements is fascinating, especially contrasting the status of these relatively sophisticated decisions with the fact that all women in the documents are listed as illiterate. Illiteracy of course does not imply stupidity but it does mean that these women are reliant on second hand accounts of the documents themselves. Of course it is difficult from the documents to assess the potential influence of others on the actions of the women involved or the degree of awareness that the absent husbands had of the transactions. However it is clear that women also engaged

with the wider systems and economic strategies related to notaries, and the transactions documented.

Migration was perhaps the single biggest catalyst in overturning not only the household order but also in transforming the Kytheran rural landscape from the model so far presented here. Migration had two major transforming effects. On the one hand migrant remittances boosted the island economy (in terms of cash flow) and supplemented the household finances. Also migrants brought back ideas and influences on their return to Kythera and formed a tangible point of contact between major economic centres of the wider region (even the United States) and a rural village on a small somewhat neglected island. The negative side of migration that was seen initially with the growth of urban centres on the Greek mainland was that it transformed the country's economy and began to shift the focus away from agriculture (Dertilis 2005). Migration towards the growing centre of Athens from the 19th century onward began the process of depopulation that would ultimately lead to the wholesale abandonment of landholdings and the creation of an empty almost deserted landscape. From the ethnographic testimonies however, informants made the point for those who did not leave the island and continued with a modified version of past strategies of land exploitation. For a start, the strategy of consolidation was fundamentally transformed as many landholders essentially never claimed their inheritance, as they were no longer resident on the island, or handed it over to family members who had stayed. Essentially the question of the availability of land had come full circle from a crowded landscape full of complex negotiations to one where there was considerably more room for manoeuvre, and alternate economic strategies

could be employed, like increasing the ratio of cash crops like the olive. Equally the relationship between land and dowries changed as the urban practice of providing houses in centres like Athens became the goal not the reproduction of the household within the confines of the village (Friedl 1967, St. Cassa and Bada 1992). In a sense the economic and social horizons expanded into the 20th century but did so by looking beyond both the village and the island and the source of economic opportunities. This in many ways was the final adaptation of the household to the pressures of contemporary life (Sutton)

CONCLUSION

Village and Hamlets: spatial and structural organisation of the landscape.

The relationship between the village and its two hamlets is key in understanding the wider spatial organisation and perception of the Mitatan landscape and perhaps too in understanding questions of settlement hierarchy. From the analysis of both the physical structures in the hamlet and the way that the village itself is subdivided into kin-based neighbourhoods, it is perhaps more constructive to move away from the concept of a hierarchy to that of a network (Barkey and Van Rossem 1997). This is not to say that structurally Mitata is not as the village the core of this system at least within its hinterland. Looking at the structural attributes of the village versus the hamlets (see fig, 6.1) it is clear that Mitata is very much the base providing key infrastructure particularly through its communal and public spaces, whereas the hamlets are acting as outposts, created or at least used in order to serve specific targeted needs related to the management

of landholdings in the vicinity. The question is one ultimately of distance and mobility.

From the ethnography it is clear that spitakia are located close to the holdings they were constructed to serve thus mitigating the disadvantages of owning land at a distance from the main hub of the village. In terms of serving as basic accommodation and storage in order to save time during labour intensive periods such as the harvest this all makes clear and logical sense. However it is a clarity that is blurred by the ethnographic testimonies. Neither Kokkinochorafa nor Makrea Skala are at an excessive distance from the village. In fact during harvests informants talked of two or three round trips per day in order to take the crops back to the village be processed and stored, particularly olives, which are more sensitive to spoiling if left unprocessed. Equally the modern routes have been shown to be misleading in the sense that more direct routes, if somewhat more extreme in terms of gradient (down, across the gorge floor and up in the case of Makrea Skala) were used in the past. This degree of mobility or at least ease in traveling back and forth therefore introduces a more complex scenario to the purpose of constructing these hamlets moving beyond the simple factor of distance.

Although being closer to landholdings is clearly an advantage during labour intensive periods in saving time⁷⁸, it seems as if the purpose of these spitakia is linked more deeply with the individual and village wide strategies of

⁷⁸ Saving time or rather maximising daylight is clearly a consideration at key harvests. Having noticed agricultural areas with no evident fieldhouses on Crete my inquiries about the strategies used to not waste time traveling during harvests were that they would camp out in the fields overnight, preferring the temporary solution rather than the investment of a permanent fixture like a spitaki.

the way the landscape was divided and exploited. Perhaps the most accurate perception of these field houses therefore is as outposts serving a purpose that could not be placed within the village. The high incidence of permanent animal enclosures at both hamlets (see table 4.1) suggests that this may well be one of the functions served, keeping small livestock in numbers that was not feasible in the village itself (beyond the customary household goat and chickens etc serving daily needs). This is the scenario posited by the ethnographic testimony of later 20th century use of the hamlets, where men lived out at Makrea Skala along with their flocks as within the exploitation of Mitata's water rich terraces there was simply no grazing room for even small flocks. Again the hamlet is not usurping Mitata as primary residence or even ironically as a permanent settlement, even when there is ethnographic evidence for people living out there in the spitakia beyond the short stays associated with harvest periods. Instead once again the solution is one of adaptation and flexibility where mobility is the preferred option rather than further investment in the basic facilities within the hamlet. Essentially a form of weekly commute is set up between the hamlet and village, with women and men moving back and forth to use either the essential facilities of the main house/*spiti* like ovens in the case of women (See Smith 2004) or key communal areas such as the kafenion in the case of men. Even where the ethnography talks of permanent or semi-permanent habitation of spitakia the physical structure is not added to or converted, to add those missing features of the house. The distinction between the main house (*spiti*) and the spitaki is still maintained conceptually though the boundaries of its use have been blurred by changing strategies of land use (e.g larger flocks as was suggested at Makrea Skala by the informants) or exceptional circumstances such as those caused to one informant by the migration of her father to the United States. Of course it is the relatively short distance from the

village that enables mobility as a mechanism of adaptation in the form of the 'commute' to be a viable alternative.

This spatial organisation in the form of an interlinked network can be extended beyond simply the hamlet-village relationship to that of other villages in the area. In this case the connection between the villages is more abstract or at least not so rooted in individual strategies but in a more relative regional overview. Within the relatively small confines of Kythera itself, it is clear from looking at the map (see Map 1, 2a) Mitata must have some sort of relationship with its neighbouring villages. The obvious answer to this is that of boundaries and how the villages interconnect while also negotiating their borders and defining their individual territory. From the documents however it is clear that links are also created through family alliances especially through exogamy, while the property brought in with the dowries of brides and grooms' inheritance begins to complicate the boundaries between the villages over time, or as the links through marriage increase. (See Map 4 for plotting of areas both associated with Mitatan hinterland and other settlements mentioned in the documents)

The creation of areas and boundaries with levels of mixed ownership from different villages is obvious within the documents themselves though usually indirectly through the descriptions of the borders and neighbours of land plots mentioned or through transactions, especially where land is exchanged or purchased by non-Mitatan. Indeed this raises the question of distance and the viability of connections between villages, especially those that are not immediate neighbours within the region. There are a number of documents, as has been previously discussed, where land outside the wider village hinterland is sold or

exchanged. It is obvious that there is a limit where it no longer becomes profitable to farm these lands due to the distance involved; this also therefore places the same notional limits on the connections between villages at least in terms of social alliances being actively reflected in the landscape through mixed ownership of land.

The negotiation of territory and boundaries between neighbouring villages however is a different matter entirely. It is obvious from the documents and the later ethnographic testimony that the borders become more permeable on the periphery of the village hinterland. A good case in point is the border between Mitata and Frilingianika in the Paleopolis valley, where the informants spoke of much later wrangling when the borders of the village administrative district (koinotita) were drawn up in the early 20th century, precisely due to the high level of mixed ownership. This may have caused considerable problems when it came to constructing a clear border between the two communes but it also shows how the results of social alliances and even individual purchasing strategies superimpose the social network of interlinked villages or interconnected kin groups upon the physical landscape rather than a landscape organised on the basis of clear, distinct territorial boundaries.

Perceptions of the Kytheran landscape: the view from inside the documents

This collection and analysis of documentary evidence from the archives, has enabled I think for the voices and life stories of the residents of the village to be heard. This is not some cliché statement nor is it implying that the a series of

documents relating to specific legal and financial transactions has magically uncovered exactly how 19th century Kytherans perceived their landscape. However it does begin to offer clues and more importantly allows individuals to be seen as well as more collective action. The stories related beneath the legalese of the notarial language, show a balancing act of social and financial obligations against the continual maintenance and eventual reproduction of the household. Though approaches that focus on the economic aspects of landscape have been largely criticized, the documents here show that at least for these people, their landscape was perceived in economic terms. Over the immediate concerns of the household economy, another layer of understanding and perception is added that of family and social networks. The link between the hamlet and the village is ultimately the result of individual (?) family groups branching out and the subsequent interconnections between them all, within Mitata and beyond, extending out into the wider island network. The perception, as shown in the documents is one where social and local economic networks are essentially linked in a tangled web. This is demonstrated more clearly in the way that the land is divided and managed particularly through inheritance. Land is not perceived in the clear cut way that the physical structures in the landscape would themselves seem to suggest. Every productive part of the landscape is considered and managed as a separate entity, especially if excessive fragmentation or economic pressures demands it. The tree, the crop, the land: in the end the enclosure walls serve little purpose apart from keeping animals in or out, as plots straddle roads and in general defy purpose built boundaries. Even the clusters of spitakia, that make up these hamlets may very well be a result of these constantly adapting strategies of exploitation. It is entirely feasible that these clusters, are so dense precisely to enable maximum exploitation of the landscape (in terms of travelling

distance or animal keeping) whilst not wasting the more productive land on the large Makrea Skala terrace or the flat land around Kokkinochorafa.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION: Lessons from the Kytheran rural landscape

Questions of scale: the small world of the island

One of the interesting themes to emerge from the analysis has been the interplay between specific localised issues, adaptations or strategies and larger scale regional even global trends and patterns. Though this is admittedly a slight exaggeration, it still brings out the essential contrast between the local and the global and the different perspectives that can be gained by considering these opposites and of exploring the ‘microhistory’ (Doumanis and Pappas 1997) of a specific area within the Kytheran rural landscape. An obvious example of this interplay between the grand ideas (or in this case economic trends and

developments) and the small place (Mitata) is of course migration. As was traced in the historical background, migration develops from a seasonal occupation to supplement the household income to the mass emigration to Australia after the Second World War and the continuing internal migration towards the urban centres of the Greek mainland. The abandonment of the rural landscape follows and where an agrarian economy persists, the system continually adapts and changes as processes of industrialisation and mechanisation gain speed throughout the twentieth century. Priorities therefore change and the household itself no longer operates in the same way, removed from the centre of economic strategies and decision-making processes.

Taking the comparison of the 'small' localised world of Mitata further, the analysis has shown that though admittedly throughout the period in question, it is a small village on the margins of an island, which itself is on the periphery of its own region, it does not remain untouched by either emerging ideologies or changing economic trends and climates. Kythera remains engaged with the wider world and Mitata, as well as the hamlets, show a similar engagement reflecting contemporary socio-economic trends and practices. This can be seen even in details of daily life: imported goods used as social display within dowry agreements, the practical agriculture preached by the 19th century agronomists (Mansolas 1867, Bikelas 1868:276) appearing in land exchange documents and forming part of wider strategies designed to mitigate property devolution through inheritance and dowry. Finally even returning migrants act as conduits of contact bringing news, ideas as well as more practical things like cash and in turn facilitate the emulation of the urban lifestyles they have returned from (Costa 1988:75). So that although the rural landscape is to an extent defined by its series

of complex interlocking connections between villages, kin networks and land holdings in an attempt to balance economic needs and social obligations, this does not in any way imply that it is essentially cut off from the outside world or inherently introspective.

Engaging with the system: notaries and state

Far from introspection the archival evidence has shown that throughout the period people actively engaged with the system, aware of both of their legal rights and also aware of the opportunities presented to them through legal tools like *analavi* in the management of their holdings and adaptation of their land use strategies. Despite low levels of literacy and helped by a system where it could be argued there were too many notaries serving a small population, the inhabitants of Mitata took full advantage (at least during the 19th century). Formal valuations of land were commissioned, inventories were carried out under court order; loan agreements were recorded so that not only was the debt not forgotten but was even inherited until it was discharged. Representation was (at least for those that appear in the documents) good as in adverse circumstances minor children had their rights protected and formal guardianships were arranged equally in the light of migration power of attorney was arranged so that those that left the village were also represented. Much like their counterparts in the other Ionian islands during the 19th century (Gallant 2002) instead of being excluded from the legal process, by virtue of their relatively low social standing as farmers, they added notaries to their panoply of adaptive strategies.

The same level of engagement cannot be extended to the government or local authorities. In fact the evidence for the impact of governmental policies is rather circumstantial with just a few references to the idea of 'practical agriculture', which was a new trend of the 19th century. The lack of impact is seen by the fact that unless close attention is paid to the details of the documents like the administrative stamps the major shifts between Venetian to British and then to Greek rule is hardly noticeable. It certainly does not seem to directly influence practice, at least not in ways that are abundantly obvious within the archival evidence. In fact the real influence or rather driving force for change was the development of industry and the growth of urban centres on the mainland, which provided the impetus and opportunity to move beyond farming self sufficient households, as well as in certain cases the development of small scale cash cropping to supplement existing incomes in the early 20th century. Interestingly this change is only seen on the economic side of the equation while the social obligations such as dowry remain very much the same just that the material demands shifted to encompass the new opportunities and lifestyles presented by the growing urban classes on the mainland (Sant Cassia and Bada 1992) and the desire to emulate their lifestyle which became a common feature in rural society throughout the 20th century (Friedl 1963).

Looking at the documents in terms of these adaptive strategies, what becomes immediately apparent is the often precarious balance that is being sought between social obligations, achieving economic self-sufficiency and ensuring household production and reproduction (Psychogios 1993). The tension between these often-conflicting aims means that the balance is not easily achieved and it

may in fact just be an aspirational ideal. The reality of achieving it in practical terms is like that Greek classic of the Gordian knot. Some historians go further arguing that self-sufficiency could never actually be achieved in full (Petmezas 2003, Dertilis 2005) partly I suspect due to the competing claims on the land. This can be seen in the largely individual responses to specific problems rather than collective action on a wider scale. This is clearly illustrated in the way that classic problem of dowry is dealt with.

Dowry requires a number of criteria to be fulfilled by the parents of the bride: the legal obligations of equality are placed against the need to provide enough to sustain the new household that will be created while also ensuring the economic sustainability of the current household. It is not surprising with pressures such as these placed upon the landscape so that the land itself is conceptually broken down into its component parts. The trees, the crop and arable land: these divisions make sense as adaptations to cater for the demands placed upon the landscape by such social (and economic) obligations. Dealing with component parts adds flexibility to what is essentially a complicated negotiation between current and future needs. It also however has a major impact on the spatial organisation of the landscape both in terms of fragmentation but also in terms of issues of multiple ownership, boundaries and social networks. The rural landscape becomes more than just reflection of the economy and land use but also stands as a mirror to the social networks and alliances within the village. In other words we can conceive of the landscape as more than just a mixed farming regime but instead as a lattice of interconnections, negotiated rights and boundaries, as a social product as much as it is related to the economy.

The social construction of the landscape can be seen clearly in the documents, which are themselves revealing as much about the social alliances and networks as they are about economic strategies. The way that the land is described within the documents is particularly revealing with all neighbours listed as well as whose inheritance these plots originally were part of. It is therefore not surprising that certain microtoponyms e.g. Gero Thiloiti probably relate to an owner in the distant past and where the name has subsequently been converted to the place name. Equally the detail in the borders, boundaries and even in the way that facilities, crops, trees and rights of way are allocated, clearly show not only the level of interconnection but also how important a detailed knowledge of the contemporary wider landscape is. This is not just important in being able to efficiently navigate the maze of complex boundaries and rights in order to avoid conflict but also in maintaining the necessary relationships and alliances with on a practical level the immediate neighbours but also raises the spectre of mutual obligations and cooperation.

This can also be seen in the physical remains out at the hamlets. The close proximity of the dense cluster of buildings at Kokkinochorafa and the negotiated entrances indicate some form of cooperation. This is more clearly illustrated in the simple fact that in neither hamlet are there the equivalent numbers of processing facilities to buildings. Bearing in mind that from the ethnographic research all primary processing is done on site and that each family had their own there should therefore be enough e.g a threshing floor for each building. The fact there is not indicates one of two things. Either that this is once again the projection of the ideal situation and in practice there was a degree of cooperation and sharing of these facilities or it is a problem of definition. What precisely does family mean?

Is it strictly regimented to only apply to the ideal of the nuclear family or does it in practice mean an extended one, where even separate households within the same kin groups cooperate and share communal resources (Goody 2000)?

The census records show that sometimes the nuclear ideal is not always possible and there are examples (although in the minority) of extended family groupings operating as one household. For example in the 1760 census 13.3% of households were mixed households, in other words contained members beyond the traditional nuclear set up. This set up is usually a response to a specific event such as death or absence of the male head, unusual family circumstances such as unmarried women or finally the care of elderly parents who join the household. Equally documents where property such as houses are subdivided to create new, discrete spaces to cater for inheritance/dowry practices show the persistence of the nuclear ideal even though this sometimes results in a less than perfect compromise⁷⁹.

Land fragmentation and strategies of consolidation.

The major problems caused by division can be seen more clearly with landholdings. Internal spaces within these buildings are with the exception of a few key features like an oven, clearly multifunctional and often hard to assess the degree of use. In fact as Whitelaw argues, in his Keian example, some uses e.g semi-permanent residence can not be satisfactorily distinguished from the physical

⁷⁹ E.g with houses in order to create the subdivisions, space is sacrificed by all parties. The same is true of landholdings to an extent where multiownership can become so complicated it can affect the production or income.

remains alone and that certain features are standard despite the degree of use (1994:168). This is shown in the spitakia especially at Kokkinochorafa, where the larger compound structures are made up of non-communicating rooms and separate entrances. This simplifies future subdivision and from the ethnographic research members of the Protopsaltis family did recall people essentially inheriting rooms rather than whole structures. This adds yet another element of flexibility and adaptability but although this may be true for a similar approach being taken to the division and subdivision of the landscape, in reality there comes a point where land fragmentation becomes a serious problem

Fragmentation is perhaps an overused analysis of the Mediterranean landscape as a whole, as there are a number of adaptive mechanisms that have evolved to counteract it. On Kythera during the 19th century the documents revealed a series of different strategies employed to deal with the problem. One relating to dispersed landholdings as a result of exogamy, here clear decisions were made that beyond a certain notional boundary, holdings were too far away from the base of the village to be worthwhile. Therefore the holdings were sold and the implication is that depending on the individual financial circumstances more appropriate plots of land were acquired. Another is the consolidation of existing property within kin groups mainly through land exchanges with the aim of acquiring adjacent plots. Of course this in reality is almost a perpetuation of a vicious cycle, where land is consolidated to then ultimately be divided again. Perhaps this suggests that it is less about the division itself (i.e small plots) but instead about convenient locations so that the land can be efficiently exploited from the Mitata base. This is also highlighted by the way that land within the village is exploited. As was shown in the analysis, the benefits of owning land

within the village outweighed the disadvantages of the relatively high level of subdivisions, mainly due to the important role that land within the village played in the household economy, particularly in terms of irrigated crops and fruits and eventually of course small scale cash crops. In fact the reason why production of cash crops remained at a relatively low level may well have been because this premium, irrigated land could not be acquired in large enough quantities to allow for a more market oriented level of crop specialisation.

The household as production unit

Managing landholdings through combating fragmentation is just one of the strategies employed within the Kytheran rural landscape in order to ensure the sustainability of the household economy. The household itself is the key production unit and focal point within the village. It is easy when discussing the exploitation and special organisation of the landscape to forget about the productive capacity of the household itself. The household is very much the processing centre at the heart of a self-sufficient economy while the spitakia could be envisaged operating as outposts within the landscape. It is 'women's work' within the household that creates both the craft production of staples like cloth as well as utilitarian goods like hair sacks while also acting as the processing centre of raw goods like flax and a more generalised storage facilities of seed, crops and tools. From the inventories of the household combined with the ethnographic research household production really did try to push forward towards the goal of complete self-sufficiency. Of course the most important feature of the household's craft production was undoubtedly the presence of the loom, an item that is almost a prerequisite to every single dowry, such is its importance in the 19th century.

However women were not chained to their looms; from the ethnographic evidence it is clear that women participated in all labour intensive events like harvests and could even act as hired labour. From the documents it is clear that women participate in the decision-making processes and are at least present when transactions concerning their property are made. They also act as surrogate heads of households in lieu of migrant husbands and of course as completely independent entities once they are widowed. Though the extents of women's freedom under the power of male household heads remain unknown, women could be seen 'mediators of space' (Ardener 1993) within the social and political dynamics of the household (Allison 1999:2). In fact there are instances within the records where women are in complete control of the household as their heads, in 1721, 11.6% of households are headed by women while this fluctuates according to circumstance and in 1770 for example 24% are women led households, adding another dimension to the definition of the household.

The documents have once again shown that social and economic dynamics of the household are defined by their very diverse and complex natures. Diversity, complexity alongside adaptation and flexibility (Allison 1999) are key aspects in understanding the role and importance of the household and the way that these are ultimately constructed and reflected in the way that the landscape itself is exploited and managed. The household can be further explored not as a unit but as 'a system of membership' bringing in social alliances, mutual obligations and even status within the village. The case study of Mitata and its neighbourhoods has shown that kin groups can have a considerable impact on the spatial

organisation of the settlement, which of course is then paralleled within the wider landscape.

Fluidity and change

The idea of ever changing, fluid landscapes is not new (Forbes 2007b, Sutton 2000a) and in many ways this case study is just another positive example of fluidity, adaptability and change. However I would also argue that the landscape is a fluid and ever changing reflection of social dynamics as well as purely economic trends and concerns. In essence like the household before, the landscape is shaped by its changing social, economic and even political contribution and role.

Looking purely at land use over the period: the economic development is from self-sufficiency through to a supplemented adaptation of the same with cash crops and migration through to ultimate abandonment. But it is not just land use that changes and adapts over time or that maintains this fluidity, from the ethnographic evidence it is clear that there is a considerable amount of mobility in the system as people move around in order to ensure maximum productivity and efficiency, despite the often harsh or problematic conditions. A classic example of this is the use of Makrea Skala from the ethnography, where the men move out as the larger animal herds and the valuable plough oxen are exiled to graze in order to not disturb the highly lucrative and productive system of intensively cultivated terraces within the village itself. This is potentially linked with the ethnographic evidence for a gradual shift in the household economy away from self-sufficiency

from the end of the 19th century onwards. This is not a radical overnight change but instead a process of re-evaluation and replacement of certain component parts or a change in the proportion of certain crops grown, as their relative values decline or increase. Informants focused on the olive, where groves formally used for mixed farming regimes were gradually filled with increasing numbers of trees as sown crops like cereals began to lose their importance as they became more available. Even more extreme is the ethnographic evidence for permanent occupation at Kokkinochorafa in a spitaki.

The interesting thing missing in this process of reassessment and change is the relative absence of the impact of the changing governments of the period. Though Mitatans engage with the notarial system and use the legal provisions to their own advantage, the impact of the changing administrations on their daily lives is minimal, not really extending beyond taxes. The impact of policies aimed at specifically targeting the farming economy or village populations is rather haphazard. It is difficult to assess the true impact of policies that fostered education merely from the signatures available in the documents, but they do provide clues that as a whole. From the 19th century we see that while the village is not reclusive, in that major global ideas and trends such as migration filter through, solutions to problems like the lack of credit on the island are found internally rather than resorting to the local administration. The focus is undoubtedly on creating that tenuous balance between conflicting and competing needs in order to attain a measure of self-sufficiency in order to fulfil the households' social and economic obligations.

Constructing the Mitatan landscape

How precisely is the Mitatan landscape viewed and perceived by those that inhabit it? As is to be expected, there are multiplicities of deeply contextualised experiences that change and adapt over time, much like the structures where this thesis began. At the heart lies the landscape as a means to attain economic self-sufficiency, it is exploited and managed through shrewd economic calculation designed to balance all the socio-economic pressures that the household unit faces. On a decision-making level, there appears therefore to be a rational streak to the perceptions of these so called ‘peasants’, who seem to engage with the administrative processes that benefit them (i.e. notaries) while ignoring those that don’t (administrative policies like forced labour). However looking further at the way that landscape is presented within the documents, it is clear from toponyms and microtoponyms that there are a network of family relations and family history often inscribed on the landscape, as past owners retain their place by being turned into toponyms for example, “Gero Thiloiti”. The same can be said of the family based neighbourhoods in Mitata, even though this may in practice, thanks to local marriages, be largely a statement of intent rather than a true reflection of the identity of the inhabitants within. Equally the number of ‘family’ foundation myths attest to this process; stories which are either just that, fictive myths or severely truncated memories. These collective identities are more likely to be discovered through the dynamics of the microhistory uncovered by the archival evidence. While individual stories do shine through, the existence and furthermore

the survival of these is in part down to luck, whereas the collective experiences are more likely to leave discernible traces to be found and analysed.

Movement around the landscape is one, once again based upon the productive needs. Habitation out at the hamlets occurs within either times of crisis or as part of a more widely plotted adaptive strategy such as more extensive animal husbandry. Their orientation within their landscape, however, remains the same, focused towards Mitata and the *spiti*. Knowledge of the landscape is also dependent on the parts that are relevant and therefore have meaning to each person, for example one informant had never ventured out to Makrea Skala, as she had no reason to. Her landscape was, beyond the confines of the village, one based on memories of areas where her own family had land and was tied to her perception of the deprivation and hardship of that particular period of time.

Spatial organisation and management of the landscape is one that is undoubtedly defined by the need for negotiation and cooperation, within a landscape that is broken down and divided by each component part. Walking around the hamlets, in particular Kokkinochorafa, is in many ways similar to reading the inventories written by the assessors as they walk around the house. Even in ruins, the linked enclosures, negotiated entry ways and system of calderimia, as well as processing facilities and considerable evidence of continual structural adaptation, already begin to show the need for some system of negotiation between competing needs and claims. This is highlighted further in the documents with the details of individual disputes and methods of managing such pressures.

The adaptive, fluid nature of the landscape is perhaps most devastatingly seen with its gradual depopulation and abandonment due to migration. While migration essentially expands the social landscape of the village to include its diaspora communities from Athens to Australia, the productive landscape becomes essentially superfluous. As Sterelny concluded about decision-making processes, this way of life or perception of landscape is passed on from generation to generation through “informational engineering” (Sterelny 2006:218). However “if the world changes very rapidly, the information of the previous generation may well be past its shelf life”(Sterelny 2006:218) and this is precisely how the Mitatan landscape came to be perceived, as part of economic strategies that were no longer viable in a changing, industrialised world.

Final evaluation of the datasets: problems, surprises and unresolved questions

To an extent the weaknesses of the data sets, in particular the archival evidence, are predictable from the outset. The main problem due to availability and state of preservation has been of course the considerable time gaps, which has hampered the analysis in certain respects. The main problem with the notarial documents has been the loss of Charamountanis’ last registers, which would have allowed a more complete examination of the potential effect of government, in this case under the Greek state at a time, where as the historical background has shown there were considerable developments concerning the agricultural economy and the beginnings of urbanisation and industrial development. This is added to by the lack of consistent census data for the 19th century in order to compare with the 18th century. Equally in terms of demographic transformations and their relative impact, though migration is certainly an established critical

factor in the way that the Kytheran population and rural economy were radically changed from the late 19th century onwards there is little direct evidence for it until the ethnographic testimonies.

Another major issue are the errors within the documents themselves particularly in the census data. The most glaring errors seem to be related in the ages recorded. While constructing the family trees it was noticeable that errors were both common and plentiful from census to census throughout the 18th century. Some people aged backwards by as much as 5 years others still aged a single year (though 4 had passed) and in general such errors made it particularly difficult to identify people especially given the high prevalence of common names. In a way this did not allow as much of the stories of individuals as I would have liked, specifically a more detailed exploration of the way that social alliances were constructed and to begin to deconstruct the village networks and interconnections. Another problem is of course the validity of the demographic analysis when for example age distribution analysis is based on potentially misleading age data. This unfortunately curtailed the analysis of the village's internal structural dynamics.

However there were positive surprises particularly within the notarial documents. Though the statistically non--representative nature of the number and people who go to notaries is well established (Kasdagli 2007), there were instances of the same people visiting the notaries; of consecutive and follow up documents to previous transactions and finally even family members enabling a more detailed picture to be built up over the time period the documents cover. In general there was a depth of detail not expected, partly due to the frequency that

people seemed to make use of the notaries. This suggests that there is further scope to narrow the focus even further onto the mechanisms of individual strategies as the notarial documents are rich in the detail that can be extracted, as can be seen in Appendix 1. In many cases the notarial documents, particularly in the more unusual records such as the valuations and inventories, really do provide snap shots into the individual household's economy.

Also there is scope for further work with the archive in considering wider relationships between the villages within Mitata's administrative region and neighbouring settlements not in the Castriso district. As the selection of documents was based on the identification of members of Mitata's key family groups due to time constraints and the limits of this study, this could be expanded to look at some of the smaller family groupings traditionally viewed as outsiders or late settlers, providing not only an interesting comparative analysis but also help clarify further the extent and limits of Mitata's hinterland.

Eighteenth to Twentieth Century Kythera and survey archaeology in Greece.

From the conception of this thesis, one problem became immediately apparent this being the period itself. On numerous occasions throughout the study I would either be asked if I meant the eighteenth to twentieth century B.C or would be queried over whether this constituted 'archaeology'. My response to the query has always involved the question why if it wasn't "real archaeology" was material from this period collected by archaeological surveys in the region? On Kythera, material was routinely collected and structures identified throughout the survey process. As a whole the period however suffers from under-representation.

In part this can be attributed to the focus of the project involved, for example Whitelaw's ethnoarchaeology on Kea (1991), was specifically designed to aid in the understanding of features such as terraces within the landscape. Others have focused on particular aspects like churches for example, included in work done on Kythera (Gregory 2003). Ethnoarchaeological approaches do offer the temptation to provide historical analogies to solve problems or questions from earlier periods, and sometimes this temptation can limit the scope of the analysis in terms of creating a more complete understanding of the landscape. This study can be seen as a direct contrast to this type of ethnoarchaeological analysis, the purpose of this thesis is to understand the eighteenth to twentieth century landscape of Mitata on Kythera. This might seem to limit the value of the thesis, especially in pure archaeological terms but this period presents a number of opportunities which showcase Kythera and the integration of both documentary and ethnographic evidence, alongside material remains.

Kythera is both a bit of a backwater and, if not unique within wider regional history, is perhaps fascinatingly idiosyncratic. First of all is Kythera's geographical position sandwiched between two majorly significant political and economic regions; Crete and the Peloponnese. Despite its own relative insignificance due to size, production capacity and a litany of other problems ranging from no money to depopulation, its proximity to these areas, especially within the ever changing colonial regimes and Great Power politics of the period, has a direct affect on the island. As always this can be seen on two separate levels, the local economy and the so called peasant or agricultural classes and on the other hand the way in which it is governed. This is one of the reasons why the

eighteenth to twentieth century is interesting, as it serves as a snapshot of the way in which Kythera is governed by different regimes, ranging from the declining Venetian Empire through the Great Powers and the British Protectorate down to the Modern Greek State. This has been considered in detail in the historical background but what really comes out is the level of impact that these changing power politics and governments have on the local economy that encompasses Mitata and the hamlets. It seems as if the direct effect is relatively minimal, that the real driving force is both the need to attain self-sufficiency and be able to ensure the production of a new household, through dowry or inheritance, against more global economic trends like industrialization and urbanization. The development of Athens as a major urban centre has a much greater impact on the landscape, through emigration and depopulation, rather than individual regime changes. This filtering down of much wider socio-economic trends, contrasts with the relative isolation of the political classes within Chora, on the island itself. Interestingly it is the stagnation of the self-sufficient model and the problems created by increasing land fragmentation to attain this aim, that leads to the change in economic strategies rather than any direct influence from the government on the island and their policies.

Within the sphere of politics, colonial regimes and government during this period, is the question of Kythera's role within the wider world. Again there are number of quirks of history which add specific dynamics to the way that Kythera operates, especially within the eighteenth and nineteenth century. While Kythera is dwarfed by its neighbours and politically isolated from the other members of the Ionian Island grouping, it is this isolation which has some positive political effects in the way that the island is represented and its position in the region. As

has been mentioned in the historical background, Kythera is over represented based on size, population and economy within the Ionian Parliament and this continues in the way that certain institutions are applied to the island. The rich documentary evidence is partly due to the practice of appointing a notary to each region. On an island as small as Kythera this means that in terms of population there is an abundance of notaries. Added to this is the fact that the nineteenth century notarial documents are far more accessible to a native Greek speaker like myself than their earlier counterparts which require more specialist linguistic training to translate the specific form of shorthand the documents are written in. Again this demonstrates the value of choosing the period in question and the nature of the data it presents.

Another issue with the period is the way that it is represented within the wider field of survey archaeology of the region. Although material from the period is often collected, as a whole, there is a problem of under-representation. This is in part due to the focus of studies and the areas in question. For example the Pylos survey addressed the Ottoman South-West Morea in considerable detail, another often understudied period (Zarinebaf, Bennet and Davis 2005). The point is made here that there are actually practical difficulties in accessing these historical records (Zarinebaf, Bennet and Davis 2005:2). Even on Kythera, where the main archive in Chora was organized, the volume of notarial documents available is in part due to the way the system was originally set up with index books and sequentially numbered ledgers that were handed into the authorities. Many of the 'loose' documents that recorded other potentially relevant transactions in dealing with the local town authorities, were not available or accessible. There are however a number of archives with detailed records, especially historical bank

archives. A number of studies have also been used from the nineteenth century: Loukos (2000) and Hionidou (1999) on Syros; Progoulakis (2003) on Corfu and Petmetzas' (2003) detailed look at the nineteenth century economy. These however are largely historical studies and not an integrated approach to landscape though they are useful in providing additional detail.

The problem with integrating approaches for the nineteenth century lies largely in the way that material culture from the period seems to straddle the fine line between being 'old' and therefore archaeology and the perception that it is traditional. Another issue concerning the period is the lack of resolution when it comes to dating material which leads to the label of traditional. This is particularly acute when considering the architecture, especially of fieldhouses, which again suffer from the 'timeless' appearance that makes dating often impossible, but also is largely ignored in favour of the more complex folk interpretations of the neoclassical style in villages. This is particularly true of the study of Kytheran volume of Melissa's Greek Traditional Architecture. As has been seen throughout the thesis, pottery suffers from a similar problem.

Another feature of the nineteenth century, is the ability to connect this with the ethnography, especially for the later part of the period. The problems with extended ethnographic evidence beyond living memory, have been discussed at length throughout the thesis. However judicious use of ethnography, alongside an awareness of the pitfalls inherent with this approach, can mean that at least a connection between earlier historical documents can be created and brought up to the point of living memory and oral history. In this case these two sources of evidence, enabled a more integrated approach to be taken in the exploration of the

dynamics in the relationship between the hamlets and Mitata, adding greater insight and depth to the consideration of the evolution of the local landscape. The ability to bring out individual voices, either through documents or oral histories, is important in capturing the irrational human element that could potentially be missed. A good example of this are the remains of the intricate system of walls and enclosures at both hamlets. While the archaeology seems to stress the need for physical boundaries, in part down to the need to protect or separate animals from crops, the documents show that the boundaries are far more fluid and interchangeable than the physical remains would suggest. The way that land boundaries are adapted is just another example of a “contingent countryside” (Sutton 2000), again adding layers of depth and complexity to a more integrated exploration, from material remains through to the way in which the perception of the landscape is constructed. In turn this begins to expose the mechanics and processes which underpin these fluid, ever-changing landscapes.

The question is how the thesis fits into the broader work within survey archaeology in Greece? As I have stated earlier, this thesis can stand as a detailed case study alongside other work on both the mainland and islands. There is value in this as it contributes to the understanding of an often maligned period, by going a step further in seeking to integrate historical records, ethnographic testimony alongside the material remains of the two sites. This type of approach results in the “more nuanced view of the past than would be possible using either category of data by itself” which has been utilised successfully by other projects (Zarinebaf, Bennet and Davis 2005:2). Therefore this a case study, which almost revels in pointing out the nuances and details, in the way that the landscape has

been shaped by the inhabitants of the village. This has also been shown to be a two-way relationship, how a landscape is understood and how it acquires meaning is beyond the physical attributes and productive capacity of the land. We see how an oral history of sorts imprinted on the landscape through nested toponyms where families almost mark their territory and the sense of identity follows. Landholdings, in fact, can be seen as another instrument of social networking. The management of these landholdings, is as much about creating a certain balance between often competing social and economic obligations, as it is about the practicalities of farming. Tracing these negotiations and compromises over time through the documents, begins to highlight and deconstruct the forces behind the way that the landscape changes and how it is broken down into its component parts and re-evaluated. In this case the devil really is in the details. It is these details that also show the potential of this integrated approach. It enables each data set to essentially act as a kind of backup, filling in the gaps or providing the tools to achieve a better understanding. An obvious example from the experience of this thesis, was how having studied the material remains of processing facilities, it immediately flagged the problem of informants being more likely to express the social or economic ideal, rather than the messy everyday reality. In this case it was as simple as the numbers of threshing floors on the ground not matching the initial ethnographic testimony. Equally the more complex human relationships exhibited in the documents, often including cheating, fraud, unpaid debts and even family feuds contrasted with the more idyllic negotiation of space and boundaries from the structural review.

This approach can also be seen to contribute to the wider discipline of landscape archaeology and theory. One of the key themes to have emerged in the

discussion of the relationship between the village and its hamlets or how it operates within its wider hinterland, is the question of movement. Movement, access, settlement hierarchy, distance are all important factors within the attempt to understand how landscape is defined and how the village and the hamlets in turn are identified and understood.

A more detailed approach to movement through the landscape: knowledge, action and the senses

Another key aspect of this thesis is the question of sensory landscapes and alongside this movement through them. In many ways these are linked by the same processes. One of the key themes that runs throughout this study is the question of how the landscape is perceived and how this is in turn reflected in the way that it is exploited and managed. As has been shown the perception of the landscape is in fact a deeply interconnected web of memory, knowledge and experience juxtaposed with the practical economic demands and strategies designed to meet them. Exploring the dynamics between the village and the hamlets has ultimately, as has been shown above, also led to the consideration of how people move through their landscape. Movement through the landscape can lead to the understanding of what can be in effect the mundane, the everyday routine; the practical arrangements through which people managed their landscape and their individual plots of land. Distance from the village, has been shown to have a significant impact on the strategies designed to manage and exploit landholdings. From the documents it is clear that there is a notional boundary, beyond this plots, can no longer be feasibly and productively managed. Land

management here is of course tied up with the practical considerations, limits of travel and distance especially during the critical periods of harvest. Distance is of course relative, the distances and types of journey that were acceptable do not always conform to what would be expected by modern standards. For example the informants 2-3 round trips a day to Kokkinochorafa during the harvests was routine. As was the weekly practice of returning to the village from both Makrea Skala and Kokkinochorafa, for the women to bake bread and for the men staying out with the animals to join in with the social life of Mitata. Equally assessing the accessibility of areas such as Makrea Skala or Kokkinochorafa from Mitata is made harder by the fact that the original routes, paths or roads have changed considerably over time. The calderimi at Makrea Skala for example can clearly be seen heading for the direct if more extreme (in terms of gradient) route down and across the gorge floor and up to the village, as opposed to the modern road which bypasses this.

The issue of routes, paths and roads also brings to the fore the way that the landscape is perceived in terms of how it is mapped and identified. As has been shown, this is part of a larger process enabling areas to be cognitively mapped and territory marked, through for example the use of nested toponyms, often down to individual fields and invoking specific family connections e.g. Gero Thiloiti. Indeed this is a wider application of the way which extended families or clans have marked their territory within the village itself, even to specific neighbourhoods like Sklavianika for example. Beyond this family orientation is the wider way in which intrinsic knowledge about the landscape is passed on and the way that the intricate family dynamics and even economic strategies are reflected within the landscape itself.

From the ethnography, it is apparent that knowledge of the local landscape can be both incredibly intricate and haphazard. Although again this is in part due to assumptions made about accessibility and proximity. Knowledge and experience of the landscape is not universal and is often related to areas where the family holdings are or where their economic activities are concentrated. An example of this is where informants who had spent her childhood living at Kokkinochorafa, and had extensive knowledge of the wider landscape and the common paths through it, had never been to Makrea Skala which was much closer to the village and visible from Mitata itself. As has been discussed, memory plays an important part in the way that this knowledge or experience is presented. There is the dichotomy between the rose-tinted 'olden days' which are, somehow, perceived as more honest in terms of morals or even pure hard work and then there is the comparison to a modern standard of conditions, which often leads to the harshness and poverty being overstated in relation to contemporary standards of living. However memories are a key link between the way the landscape is understood and engaged with and the way it is mapped.

As shown cognitive maps are a hybrid blend of personal and family experiences and memories alongside a level of familiarity that often excludes outsiders. For example when describing the landscape to me during conversations, informants constantly used physical markers or reference points that were so incredibly vague le.g 'the almond tree' but which held meaning to them. This type of insider knowledge is based on shared experiences or is something learnt from family members. This level of familiarity also highlights the fundamental

difference in the way that the landscape is experienced by the ethnographer and the informants. What an outsider may be immediately struck by within the landscape as a remarkable feature may be something that is lost within the routine of travelling through these landscapes on a daily or seasonal basis over a lifetime. It is why when markers, within the landscape, are assigned they are highly specific and yet also incredibly mundane, such as a tree or the stone pile. This depth of knowledge and interpretation of the landscape, is extremely difficult to access in full as an outsider. However as the thesis has shown, you can engage and analyze the way in which such perceptions and interpretations are constructed and how they are reflected and used in the management of the landscape. In other words, it is another way that can be used to explore the fluid and dynamic nature of these landscapes which are constantly adapting to the changing economic climate and the strategies applied to them. From the documentary evidence, it is clear that the landscape reflects the social and economic relationships and demands placed upon, not just individual households, but also wider family connections which are essentially reproduced in the way that the landscape is divided.

The importance of the senses and experience of course brings to the fore phenomenology within the wider bracket of landscape archaeology (Alcock and Rempel 2006, Forbes 2007a). It is clear from the way that landscape is effectively translated into these personalized, cognitive maps imbued with memory, experience and even family history, that the senses form an intrinsic part of this process. Phenomenology focuses on the visual, but this is far too limited. 'Seeing' landscape, can as has been discussed above, prove to be misleading. What grabs

my attention may have become so familiar it no longer registers at all to a local informant. There is far greater integration of other senses and experiences in assigning meaning or creating a sense of family or community identity. This is especially true in a dynamically shifting landscape.

Sensory landscapes are a complex construction of physical sensation, experience, movement and even memory. Looking at the purely physical attributes of landscape and the way people engage with it, other senses such as smell emerge. There are a number of examples, as mentioned in the theoretical background, where religious ritual utilizes the smells of the season and/or landscape to evoke the connection between the two. This is especially true of Greek Orthodox ritual which evokes the senses to aid religious practice: the bells on the incense burners, the incense itself, all act as cues within the service for the completion of a specific ritual action by the congregation. The landscape and even its seasonal cycles is brought into the church, almost to reflect the seasonal cycles within the liturgy: basil in summer, orange blossoms and flowers in spring. Again to reiterate this does not mean that basil and orange blossoms are grown solely for a ritual purpose, it is just one of many functions. Just as smell can act as a ritual cue, it can also trigger the memory or even be representative of a landscape.

One of the key parts of the uncultivated landscape is especially important in this consideration of sensory aspects. The large swathes of maquis and phrygana that cover the uncultivated areas of the study are especially rich in wild herbs. After spending six weeks fieldwalking in such areas, everything from boots

to backpacks, ended up smelling strongly of thyme. The association and smell was so strong then when speaking of this at a later date, informants could pinpoint the areas we had walked through the previous year. In this case it was not the crop per se that was the visual reminder, as the thyme is effectively obscured by the maquis, but the smell which is released as you walk on it. This of course ties in with that other agricultural byproduct of honey which is successfully produced within the village, although it relies on a single yearly crop based on thyme and herbs rather than spring flowers. Equally the shift towards a more market-oriented production of citrus fruits to take advantage of Mitata's natural water resources was eloquently described to me through the scent of orange blossoms. A rich scent that faded away as the village and the agricultural life were abandoned in the post-war period; a sensory landscape indicative of the rise and fall of an economic strategy. Incidentally the scent of orange and lemon blossoms, even the tree itself, is a common metaphor within literature and folk culture to represent the archetypal and romanticized Greek countryside, e.g in the writings of Kazantzakis, where the scent of citrus represented the gentle, farming plains of Heraklion to cinnamon which represented the wild mountain villages and a history of engaging in piracy.

A sensory approach to landscape, is not however one that relies purely on the metaphoric or leads to a romanticized stereotype. The sensory experience is just another facet to the way in which landscape is perceived and conceptualized. This is why an integrated approach that brings in the more practical forms of land use and economic strategies resists the cliché interpretations of the 'countryside. Exploring the microdynamics of such rural structures and trying to achieve a greater understanding of the relationship between the village and the hamlets,

enables the landscape itself to be seen beyond its physical attributes and productive capacity as an evolving framework of shifting social networks, obligations, economic needs and the strategies, decisions and aspirations used to manage them.

The starting point in this study is the ideal of economic self-sufficiency, it remains the driving force for much of the period. It is this overarching economic goal that leads to the landscape to be deconstructed into its component parts which is reflected in the way that it is managed. The village is perched on the top of a hill, while its well watered slopes are intensively terraced to service the daily needs of the household from kitchen gardens. Animals are exiled outside the village, to maximize production and safeguard this more intensive cultivation. As the period progresses market crops such as citrus fruits are added to these orchards and gardens, but this comes with the first waves of emigration and the need for self-sufficiency is tempered by Kythera's improved connection with the mainland and its agricultural products. Moving out beyond the village, as the hinterland is gradually extended down to the coastal plain by the beginning of this period, is a mixed farming regime of sown crops and olives. Within the hamlets are both crop processing and stabling facilities for animals. Periods of seasonal through to almost permanent occupation occur within the hamlets and yet the village remains the social hub, while fieldhouses at the hamlets are never upgraded to cater for occupation beyond the basic facilities for their seasonal harvest use. As pressure increases due to land fragmentation through inheritance patterns and a different economic aspiration, which filters in from new urban centres of the mainland, the whole system begins to fundamentally change and shift. As the waves of emigration hit Kythera's rural population, the pressure decreases but the

cultivation of more market oriented crops increases by those that stay in the village. Olive groves are infilled as sown crops like flax are no longer necessary while the number of herds increases. Makrea Skala, as it stands now, has physical evidence of the addition of animal enclosures described in the ethnographic testimony. The perception of the landscape also shifts too, its productivity is no longer envisaged in terms of providing a 'little of everything' in order to achieve self-sufficiency, instead it is to provide value-added crops such as olives or oranges to supplement incomes or diets. This contrasts with the pressured breaking down of every productive component as shown within the documents where the land, the tree and the tree's crop could be under different ownership. Added to this, is the picture of a complex series of negotiations, compromises and detailed knowledge of boundaries and access routes in order for the landholdings to be effectively managed. These ebbs and flows in economic and social pressures are in part what govern the equivalent changes in the landscape. In other words there is a symbiosis between the landscape and the relationship between the village and the hamlets.

In conclusion this thesis stands not as an ethnoarchaeological analogy but as another positive example of a dynamic rural landscape constantly changing and adapting both physically in the manner in which it is exploited but also conceptually in how it is perceived and how it is utilised within adaptive and flexible strategies to achieve the social and economic aims of the household. This dynamic, changing, fluid rural landscape is in essence an integral component within interlinked systems of kinship, internal and external networks,

relationships and influences which govern and define the reality of daily life throughout the period.

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¹ Greek text based on symbol as no alternative currently available

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Population census of Kythera, 18th Century, 3 Volumes M.G Patramani, A.Marmareli, E.Drakakis (editors) Athens 1997

spiti – the house or household as a whole, denoting the main residence

spitaki, spitakia plural – literally translated as small houses, on Kythera used to denote field houses

zeugari – plough team usually oxen