

Δελτίον της Χριστιανικής Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας

Τόμ. 40 (2019)

Δελτίον ΧΑΕ 40 (2019), Περίοδος Δ'



Κοσμήματα, αντικείμενα ιδιωτικής ευλάβειας και εξαρτήματα ένδυσης από το Επάνω Κάστρο Άνδρου (13ος-16ος αιώνας)

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doi: [10.12681/dchae.21854](https://doi.org/10.12681/dchae.21854)

Βιβλιογραφική αναφορά:

ΜΠΑΡΜΠΑΡΙΤΣΑ (Eleni BARBARITSA) Ε. (2019). Κοσμήματα, αντικείμενα ιδιωτικής ευλάβειας και εξαρτήματα ένδυσης από το Επάνω Κάστρο Άνδρου (13ος-16ος αιώνας). *Δελτίον της Χριστιανικής Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας*, 40, 401–416. <https://doi.org/10.12681/dchae.21854>

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JEWELLERY, ITEMS OF PRIVATE DEVOTION AND DRESS ACCESSORIES FROM THE EPANO KASTRO OF ANDROS (13TH-16TH CENTURIES)

Το Επάνω Κάστρο βρίσκεται στα νοτιοανατολικά της Ανδρου και κατασκευάστηκε από τους Βενετούς επικυρίαρχους του νησιού μετά το 1205. Το Εθνικό και Καποδιστριακό Πανεπιστήμιο Αθηνών διεξήγαγε συστηματική ανασκαφή σε επίκαιρα σημεία της καστροπολιτείας στο διάστημα 2004-2010. Δακτυλίδια, αντικείμενα ιδιωτικής ευλάβειας και στοιχεία ένδυσης χρονολογούνται στην περίοδο της βενετοκρατίας (1205-1566) και υποδηλώνουν την ύπαρξη μιας επαρχιακής κοινωνίας που δεν αγνοούσε τους κύριους ενδυματολογικούς κώδικες του ύστερου Μεσαίωνα.

Epano Kastro is located in the southeast of the island of Andros and was built by the Venetian sovereigns after 1205. During the period 2004-2010 the National and Kapodistrian University of Athens conducted excavations at strategic parts of the castle. Rings, items of private devotion and dress accessories from the excavation at Epano Kastro, most of which date back to the Venetian occupation (1205-1566), suggest the existence of a provincial society that was aware of the main dress codes of the Late Middle Ages.

Λέξεις κλειδιά

Βενετοκρατία, Ανδρος, δακτυλίδια, σταυρός-εγκόλπιο, ευλογία μύρου, πόρπες, διακοσμητικά καρφίδια.

Keywords

Venetian period; Andros; rings; pectoral cross; pilgrim's ampulla; buckles; cloth revetments.

The Epano Kastro (Upper Castle), also known as Kastro Faneromenis¹, is located in the southeastern part of the island of Andros, the second largest island of the Cyclades, and overlooks the wider region of the fertile Korthi Valley, where the Byzantine settlement of Ano Korthi is also located. Moreover, it has visual contact with the castle

of Chora, or Kato Kastro (Lower Castle), to the north.

The Epano Kastro is built on a long, narrow rocky plateau (450×30-95 m.) at an altitude of 560 m. (Fig. 1). Its first settlement phase is linked to the arrival of the Venetians to the Aegean, i.e. it dates from the early 13th century. Together with the Kato Kastro

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** I would like to express my gratitude to Assistant Professor of the National and Kapodistrian University of Athens, Dr Eleni Deliyianni-Doris, for the opportunity she offered me to attend the excavation in Epano Kastro and to study the metal finds. The study was carried out during post-doctoral research held at the University of the Peloponnese, under the supervision of Assistant Professor Maria Xanthopoulos. The research is funded by the State Scholarship Foundation of Greece, through the program «Enhancement of Post-Doctoral Researchers», NSRF 2014-2020. I express my gratitude to the Director of the Ephorate of Antiquities of Cyclades, Dr Demetrios

Athanasoulis, for the permission to study the metal finds. Ms Marina Lykiardopoulou worked on the conservation of the archaeological material. Ms Ioanna Syrigou did the English translation.

¹ For Epano Kastro, E. Deliyianni-Doris, «Η έρευνα στο Επάνω Κάστρο της Ανδρου. Μερικές σκέψεις», *DChAE* 27 (2006), 471-480, with previous bibliography. E. Deliyianni-Doris – M. Michaelides, «Νεότερα από το Επάνω Κάστρο Ανδρου. Η έρευνα του Σεπτεμβρίου του 2006», Δ. Ι. Κυρτάτας – Λ. Παλαιοκρασσά-Κόπιτσα – Μ. Τιβέριος (eds), *Εΰανδρος. Τόμος εις μνήμην Δημητρίου Ι. Πολέμη*, Andros 2009, 195-205. E. Deliyianni-Doris – M. Michaelides, «Νεότερα από τις ανασκαφές στο Επάνω Κάστρο της Ανδρου το 2008», *Αγκυρα* 3 (2010), 87-101. E. Deliyianni-Doris,



Fig. 1. Andros, Epano Kastro, view from the east.

and the Kastro of Makrotandalos, which were constructed during the same period in the northern part of the island², they used to form a defensive network of

fortifications and surveillance posts, crucial for the interests of Venice in the trade routes of the Aegean³.

² «Νεότερα από το Επάνω Κάστρο. Οι ανασκαφές το 2009 και 2010 και ένα σύντομο οδοιπορικό», *Άγκυρα* 4 (2012), 33-49. G. Pallis, «Χριστιανικά γλυπτά από το Επάνω Κάστρο της Άνδρου», *Εὔανδρος. Τόμος εἰς μνήμην Δημητρίου Ι. Πολέμη*, op.cit., 251-268. G. Pallis, «Το Επάνω Κάστρο της Άνδρου και ο ναός της Φανερωμένης το 1926. Ανέκδοτες φωτογραφίες από το αρχείο του Ε.Λ.Ι.Α.», *Νήσος Άνδρος* 11 (2017), 23-24. E. Deliyianni-Doris et al., «Έρευνα και ανασκαφή στο Επάνω Κάστρο Άνδρου», *Το αρχαιολογικό έργο στα νησιά του Αιγαίου, Διεθνές Επιστημονικό Συνέδριο (Ρόδος, 27 Νοεμβρίου - 1η Δεκεμβρίου 2013)*, Β', ed. Π. Τριανταφυλλίδης, Mytilene 2017, 273-282, pls 7-8.

³ E. Deliyianni-Doris – P. Velissariou – M. Michaelides, *Κάτω Κάστρο. Η πρώτη φάση των ανασκαφών στο βενετικό φρούριο της Χώρας Άνδρου (ιστορική εισαγωγή Δ. Ι. Πολέμη)* (Ανδριακά

Χρονικά 34), Andros 2003. Deliyianni-Doris, «Η έρευνα στο Επάνω Κάστρο», op.cit. (n. 1), 471. N. T. Vasilopoulos, «Το κάστρο του Μαρκοντάντουλου και η περιοχή του», *Νήσος Άνδρος* 5 (2011), 52-91. D. I. Polemis, *History of Andros, With an Appendix including new data on Andros*, transl. D. Dimitriadou, Andros 2016, 79-80. ³ For the history of the Venetian occupation of Andros, G. Saint-Guillain, «Deux îles grecques au temps de l'Empire latin: Andros et Lemnos au XIIIe siècle», *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome* 113.1 (2001), 579-602. Ch. Maltezos, «Από την ιστορία της Άνδρου στον 14ο και 15ο αιώνα: Pietro Zen Domino Andre», *Εὔανδρος. Τόμος εἰς μνήμην Δημητρίου Ι. Πολέμη*, op.cit. (n. 1), 231-239. M. Koumanoudi, «Οι Λατίνοι στο Αιγαίο μετά το 1204. Αλληλεξαρτήσεις και διαπλεκόμενα συμφέροντα», *Άγκυρα* 3 (2010), 43-85. S. M. Kambanis – D. Bassantis, *Η Άνδρος μέσα στον χρόνο*, Athens 2015, 61-111. D. I. Kyrtatas, «Αναζητώντας τη βυζαντινή Άνδρο», *Η βυζαντινή Άνδρος (4ος-12ος αιώνας)*.

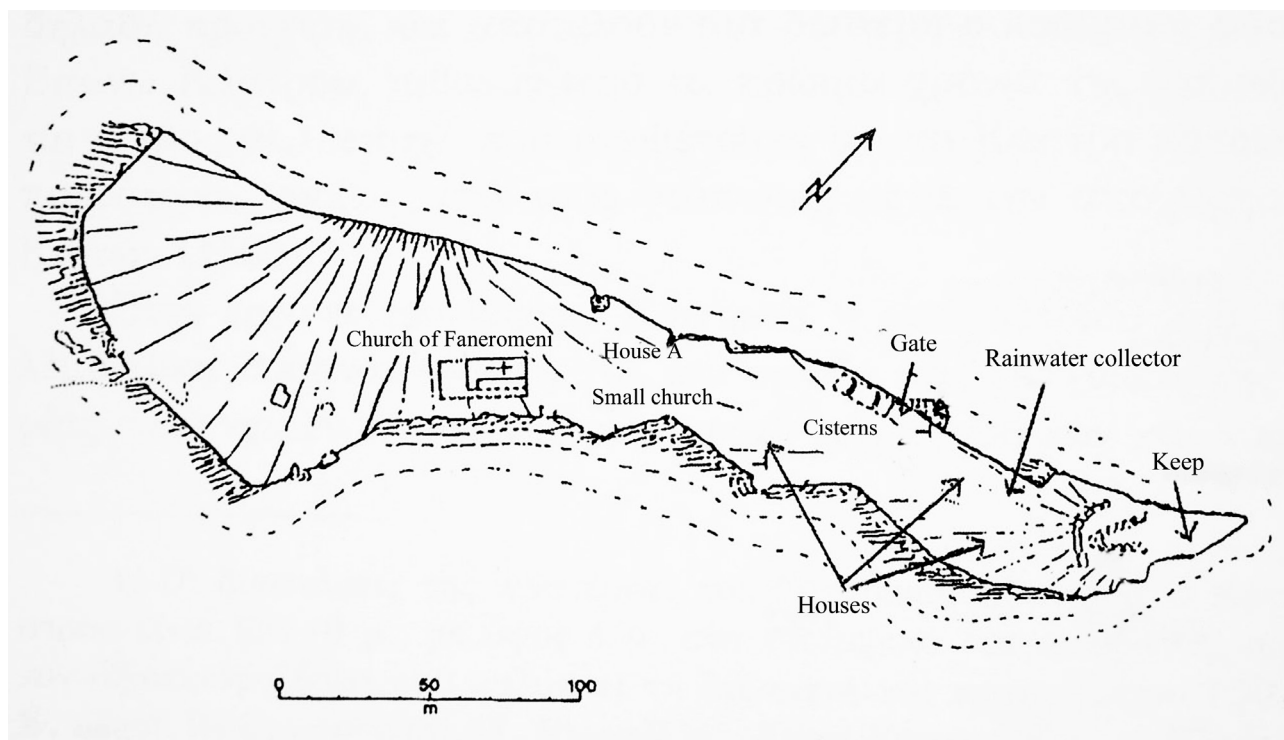


Fig. 2. Andros, Epano Kastro, drawing with the main excavation sites.

The basic infrastructure of the Epano Kastro dates to the early years of Venetian rule and consists of: the walls, the keep⁴, a group of two neighbouring public cisterns⁵ and a rainwater collection tank for their supply⁶ (Fig. 2).

Νεότερα από την αρχαιολογική έρευνα και τις αποκαταστάσεις των μνημείων, Πρακτικά Επιστημονικής Συνάντησης, Αθήνα 20 Μαρτίου 2015, Andros 2016, 19-43, especially 26-28, with commentary on previous and recent historiography of Andros. Polemis, History of Andros, op.cit. (n. 2), 68-80. M. Koumanoudi, «Andros: Recent bibliography on the Frankish period», Polemis, History of Andros op.cit. (n. 2), 221-223.

⁴ Deliyianni-Doris, «Οι ανασκαφές το 2009 και 2010», op.cit. (n. 1), 42-43, fig. 7.

⁵ The cisterns are similar, in terms of construction and typology, with the cisterns of Kato Kastro, Deliyianni-Doris, «Η έρευνα στο Επάνω Κάστρο», op.cit. (n. 1), 476, fig. 4. Deliyianni-Doris – Michaelides, «Νεότερα από τις ανασκαφές στο Επάνω Κάστρο της Ανδρου το 2008», op.cit. (n. 1), 90. Deliyianni-Doris et al., «Έρευνα και ανασκαφή στο Επάνω Κάστρο Ανδρου», op.cit. (n. 1), 276, figs 6, 10. Deliyianni-Doris – Velissariou – Michaelides, Κάτω Κάστρο, op.cit. (n. 2), 63-70, fig. 29.

⁶ G. Pallis, «Μια υδραυλική κατασκευή της πρώιμης βενετικής περιόδου στο Επάνω Κάστρο της Ανδρου και αντίστοιχες

εγκαταστάσεις σε μεσαιωνικούς οικισμούς», *Επιστημονικό Συμπόσιο Ανασκαφή και Έρευνα VIII: από το ερευνητικό έργο του Τομέα Αρχαιολογίας και Ιστορίας Τέχνης του Πανεπιστημίου Αθηνών, Πρόγραμμα και περιλήψεις ανακοινώσεων*, Athens 2011, 86-87. Deliyianni-Doris, «Οι ανασκαφές το 2009 και 2010», op.cit. (n. 1), 39-40, fig. 4. Deliyianni-Doris et al., «Έρευνα και ανασκαφή στο Επάνω Κάστρο Ανδρου», op.cit. (n. 1), 279, fig. 8, pl. 8β.

During the period 2004-2010 an excavation into strategic parts of the citadel was organized by the National

εγκαταστάσεις σε μεσαιωνικούς οικισμούς», Επιστημονικό Συμπόσιο Ανασκαφή και Έρευνα VIII: από το ερευνητικό έργο του Τομέα Αρχαιολογίας και Ιστορίας Τέχνης του Πανεπιστημίου Αθηνών, Πρόγραμμα και περιλήψεις ανακοινώσεων, Athens 2011, 86-87. Deliyianni-Doris, «Οι ανασκαφές το 2009 και 2010», op.cit. (n. 1), 39-40, fig. 4. Deliyianni-Doris et al., «Έρευνα και ανασκαφή στο Επάνω Κάστρο Ανδρου», op.cit. (n. 1), 279, fig. 8, pl. 8β.

⁷ Pallis, «Το Επάνω Κάστρο της Ανδρου», op.cit. (n. 1), 26-30.

⁸ S. I. Arvaniti, «Ανδρος – Επάνω Κάστρο, η ανασκαφή του ναΐσκου», *Εϋάνδρος. Τόμος εις μνήμην Δημητρίου Ι. Πολέμη*, op.cit. (n. 1), 177-194. Deliyianni-Doris – Michaelides, «Νεότερα από τις ανασκαφές στο Επάνω Κάστρο της Ανδρου το 2008»,

and Kapodistrian University of Athens and headed by Assistant Professor Eleni Deliyianni-Doris⁹. Part of the settlement to the east of the church of Faneromeni up to the castle keep, which included an extended residential center along with the small church, the cistern complex and the rainwater collector, was investigated (Fig. 2). In addition, the construction characteristics of the walls were documented, the entrance gate was located and a survey was carried out in the wider area around the castle, which recorded eight small churches and the infrastructure of agropastoral activity (cottage, pens, threshing floors, kilns) were recorded.

The excavation revealed that by the end of the Venetian rule, around 1566, the settlement had taken its present form to a large extent. Its population is estimated at several hundred inhabitants, giving it the character of a small citadel, as well as a surveillance and defense-organization post for the wider region. This assessment is supported by the fact that the term "Apanokastrianoi" refers to the inhabitants of a broader region who, in times of danger, could probably take refuge in the castle¹⁰.

Life in the castle seems to have continued after the end of the Venetian rule on the island, until around the end of the 17th century. At that time, the conditions prevailing in the Cyclades enabled the local population, which had been ravaged by pirate raids and repeated Ottoman-Venetian conflicts, to settle down in the surrounding rural communities with a sufficient degree of safety¹¹.

Approximately 26 jewellery items, objects of private devotion and dress accessories were found during

the research carried out at the Epano Kastro¹². Based on the archaeological context and mainly on the subsidiary monetary finds, most of them date back to the period of Venetian rule on the island (1205-1566). Most of them are made of copper alloys.

Along the northern part of the walls of the Epano Kastro lies the complex of the two large cisterns, which stretch along a west-to-east axis and are built from local schist with strong binding lime mortar. The western cistern was backfilled using materials from the nearby medieval settlement in order to be reused as a residential area or a workshop at a later time, probably from the end of the 16th century onwards. Among other things retrieved from this cistern were five rings, a pilgrim's ampulla, a large iron buckle and a circular mount. The most recent find from the backfill dates back to 1414-1423 and is a tornesello of the Doge Mocenigo Gradenigo¹³.

Jewellery

A men's gold ring (2004-M2) adorned with a double-headed eagle, comes from the western cistern's backfill and is of great interest (diameter: 2.2 cm, bezel: 1×0.9 cm) (Fig. 3).

The double-headed eagle, a well-known ancient symbol in the Near East, was used by the court of Constantinople from the late 12th century and became an emblem of the Palaiologos family as well as a symbol of imperial domination. At the same time, it was adopted by several powerful families that were associated with the Palaiologos family in various ways¹⁴. In addition,

op.cit. (n. 1), 88-89. Deliyianni-Doris, «Οι ανασκαφές το 2009 και 2010», op.cit. (n. 1), 35. Deliyianni-Doris et al., «Έρευνα και ανασκαφή στο Επάνω Κάστρο Άνδρου», op.cit. (n. 1), 273, fig. 4. S. I. Arvaniti, «Γυάλινη φιάλη: Ένα ιδιαίτερο ταφικό εύρημα από το Κάστρο της Φανερωμένης», *Άγκυρα* 5 (2018), 29-45.

⁹ See above, n. 1.

¹⁰ H. Eberhard, «Byzantinische Burgen auf den Kykladen, ihre Rolle und Bedeutung», *JÖB* 36 (1986), 176. Deliyianni-Doris, «Η έρευνα στο Επάνω Κάστρο», op.cit. (n. 1), 472. See also, H. Kolonos, *Όπου ήν κήπος. Η μεσογειακή νησιωτική οικονομία της Άνδρου σύμφωνα με το οθωμανικό κτηματολόγιο του 1670*, Athens – Andros 2017, 18.

¹¹ Deliyianni-Doris, «Η έρευνα στο Επάνω Κάστρο», op.cit. (n. 1), 475, 479.

¹² The metal finds from the excavation at the Epano Kastro are kept in the Archaeological Museum of Andros.

¹³ N. D. Kontogiannis – S. I. Arvaniti, «Placing "Contexts" in a Context: Minor Objects from Medieval Andros», B. Böhlendorf-Arslan – A. Ricci (eds), *Byzantine Small Finds in Archaeological Contexts*, (Byzas 15), Istanbul 2012, 253-257.

¹⁴ A. V. Solovjev, «Les emblèmes héraldiques de Byzance et les Slaves», *Seminarium Kondakovianum* 7 (1935), 119-164. G. Spyridakis, «Ο δικέφαλος αετός ιδία ως σύμβολον ή ως θέμα κοσμήσεως κατά την βυζαντινήν και μεταβυζαντινήν τέχνην μέχρι των νεωτέρων χρόνων περίοδον», *ΕΕΒΣ* 39-40 (1972-1973), 168-170. D. Cernovodeanu, «Contributions à l'étude de l'héraldique byzantine et postbyzantine», *JÖB* 32/2 (1982), 412-415. P. Androudis, «Contribution à l'étude de la presence de l'aigle bicéphale en



Fig. 3. Complex of cisterns, western cistern, gold ring with double-headed eagle (2004-M2), middle of 13th – early 15th century.

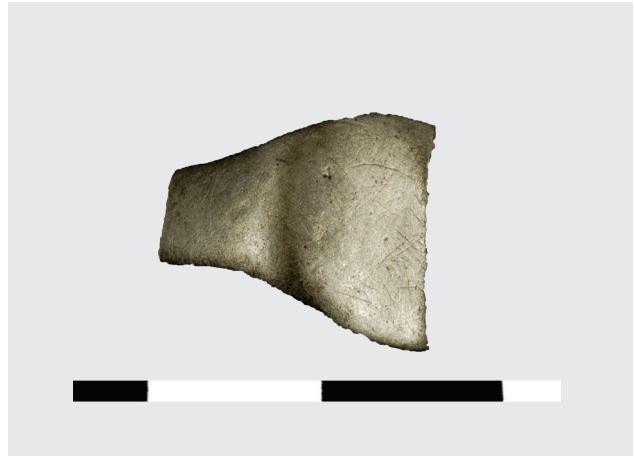


Fig. 4. Complex of cisterns, western cistern, silver and copper ring (2004-M11), middle of 13th – early 15th century.

as a symbol of power and a sign of connection to the imperial house of Constantinople, it was used by the rulers of the Greek, Balkan and Latin states that were established after the sack of Constantinople by the Crusaders, in 1204¹⁵. The Latin emperors of Constantinople

occasionally used the double-headed eagle as a symbol of imperial power¹⁶. In the Late Middle Ages, due to the influence of the Byzantine court, the symbol spread throughout Western Europe as a coat of arms to a limited extent¹⁷, while it was also used in Western art works destined for recipients of Greek origin or for members of Hellenophile circles¹⁸. By the end of the Middle Ages, the symbol's use had been gradually standardised and was used in objects destined for the West or for Greek and Latin buyers¹⁹.

Occident», *Βυζαντιακά* 21 (2001), 245-277. A. Babuin, «Standards and Insignia of Byzantium», *Byzantion* 71 (2001), 36-38. M. Parani, *Reconstructing the Reality of Images. Byzantine Material Culture and Religious Iconography (11th-15th Centuries)*, Leiden – Boston 2003, 62, 338 no. 63 and pl. 72, 63-64, 333 no. 43 and pl. 74, 172 pl. 23, 321 no. 37, 322 no. 47, 323 no. 51, 332 no. 37, 335 no. 52 and no. 54, 338 no. 66. *Byzantium, Faith and Power (1261-1557)* (exhibition catalogue), ed. H. C. Evans, New York 2004, 495 no. 298 (J. Ball). R. Ousterhood, «Byzantium between East and West and the Origins of Heraldry», C. Hourihane (ed.), *Byzantine Art: Recent Studies*, Princeton 2009, 159-161. A. Babuin, «Σημιαῖες τῆς παλαιολόγειας περιόδου», *AE* 149 (2010), 111, fig. 23, 128, fig. 29, 132-134. J. Spier, *Late Byzantine Rings, 1204-1453*, Wiesbaden 2013, 44-45, fig. 19a-c.

¹⁵ Babuin, «Standards and Insignia», op.cit. (n. 14), fig. 62, 64, 81, 82, 85. Parani, *Reconstructing*, op.cit. (n. 14), 31. *Byzantium, Faith and Power*, op.cit. (n. 14), 44 no. 13D (V. Ivanišević), 46 no. 17, 48 no. 20 (B. Ivanič), 56-57 no. 27, fol. 2v (S. McKendrick), 126 no. 61B (Dr. Todorović), 485-487 no. 296 (B. Ratliff), 260 fig. 9.2. Babuin, «Σημιαῖες», op.cit. (n. 14), 140-141, fig. 7. Spier, *Late Byzantine Rings*, op.cit. (n. 14), 35 no. 13, 38 no. 32, fig. 20a-b, fig. 21a, fig. 22, fig. 34. N. Melvani, *Late Byzantine Sculpture*, Turnhout 2013, 24-25, 147-150, fig. 41, 50, 73, 106.

¹⁶ Cernovodeanu, «Contributions à l'étude de l'héraldique byzantine», op.cit. (n. 14), 412-413. Spier, *Late Byzantine Rings*, op.cit. (n. 14), 44.

¹⁷ Androudis, «Contribution à l'étude», op.cit. (n. 14), 252-266. Babuin, «Σημιαῖες», op.cit. (n. 14), 134, 139, 140. In a manuscript of c. 1330-1340, associated with the royal court of Naples, a double-headed eagle is depicted as a coat of arms. The Anjou rulers of Naples were suzerains of the Principality of Achaëa (1278-1383), London, British Library, MS Royal 20 D.I., fols 107r, 117v, 126v, 144v, 150r, 154r, 156r-v, 175v, 219v, 221v, 338v, http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=royal_ms_20_d_i_fs001r (accessed: 7.11.2018).

¹⁸ Babuin, «Standards and Insignia», op.cit. (n. 14), 36-38, fig. 85. *Byzantium, Faith and Power*, op.cit. (n. 14), 231-233 no. 139 (J. Durand).

¹⁹ Babuin, «Σημιαῖες», op.cit. (n. 14), 140-141. *Chypre entre Byzance et l'Occident, IVe-XVIe siècle, Louvre, 28 Octobre 2012 au 28 Janvier 2013* (exhibition catalogue), eds J. Durand – D. Giovannoni, Paris 2012, 297-298, no. 121 (Ph. Trélat), fig. 7.



Fig. 5. Complex of cisterns, western cistern, silver and copper ring (2004-M7), middle of 13th – early 15th century.



Fig. 6. Complex of cisterns, western cistern, silver and copper ring (2004-M10), middle of 13th – early 15th century.

The double-headed eagle on the ring from Andros morphologically corresponds to a type whose most important specimen is found on the so-called ring of Queen Theodora, unearthed from a grave in the Banjska monastery in Kosovo²⁰. The ring from Kosovo, dating back to the early 14th century, appears to be, in terms of style and fabrication, the work of a goldsmith who was familiar with the Italian Gothic style, probably that of Venice²¹. The double-headed eagle on the Andros ring, made with an engraving technique, is disproportionate and rendered schematically and could therefore be considered the work of a provincial workshop, familiar with the Venetian Gothic style²².

²⁰ National Museum in Belgrade, Inv. Number: 26-342. *Byzantium, Faith and Power*, op.cit. (n. 14), 46 no. 17 (B. Ivanič) with previous bibliography. V. Bikić, *Vizantijski nakit u Srbiji, Modeli I nasleđe*, Belgrade 2010, 102 no. 74. Spier, *Late Byzantine Rings*, op.cit. (n. 14), 52. V. Bikić, «Rings from Banjska: Identification and the artistic and craftsmanship context», *Саопштења* 48 (2016), 79-86, 90-91 (in Serbian).

²¹ Spier, *Late Byzantine Rings*, op.cit. (n. 14), 52. Bikić, «Rings from Banjska», op.cit. (n. 20), 91. See also, *The Treasury of San Marco Venice* (exhibition catalogue), eds D. Buckton – C. Entwistle – R. Prior, Milan 1984, 286-290 no. 42 (D. Alcouffe).

²² See also a 14th-century gilt-silver ring with a double-headed eagle from Veliko Tarnovo, Spier, *Late Byzantine Rings*, op.cit. (n. 14), 38 no. 32 pl. 9. For jewellery with representations of the

The ring of the Epano Kastro was found in an excavation layer which can be dated with certainty to the middle of the 13th – early 15th century²³. Given the widespread use of the double-headed eagle throughout the Eastern Mediterranean, it is not easy to establish the identity of its owner. However, taking into account that the Epano Kastro was under Venetian rule and that this was a ring with symbolic decoration, probably made by a workshop that was in contact with contemporary Italian goldsmith works, it is more likely that it belonged to a Venetian official, or even the commander of the castle, without dismissing the possibility that it was owned by a local nobleman of Greek origin²⁴.

Four more finger rings, made of silver and copper alloys, retrieved from the western cistern, are preserved

double-headed eagle dated to the Late Middle Ages, *ibid.*, 35 no. 13 pl. 5, fig. 19-22, fig. 34. D. Minić – O. Vukadin, *Srednjovekovni Stalać - Medieval Stalać*, Belgrade 2007, 241 fig. 93.1.

²³ See above, page 404.

²⁴ For the economic and social status of the Greek noblemen of Andros, D. I. Polemis, *Οί άφεντότοποι τής Άνδρου. Συμβολή εις την έρευναν των καταλοίπων των φεουδαλικών δεσμών εις τας νήσους κατά τον 16ο αιώνα*, Andros 1995. D. Jacoby, «Silk in Medieval Andros», E. Chrysos – E.A. Zachariadou (eds), *Captain and Scholar: Papers in memory of Demetrios I. Polemis*, Andros 2009, 141-150. Kambanis – Bassantis, *Η Άνδρος μέσα στον χρόνο*, op.cit. (n. 3), 66-68.



Fig. 7. Complex of cisterns, western cistern, silver copper ring (2004-M12), middle of 13th – early 15th century.

in a fragmentary state and thereby confirm that they had been disposed of (2004-M7, 2004-M10, 2004-M11, 2004-12) (maximum dimension: 2.8 cm, average diameter of the bezel: 1.3 cm) (Figs 4-7). In one case, only part of the bezel and the shoulder are maintained (Fig. 4). In the other three cases, the bezels are intact but the hoops are distorted and their segments are cut off (Figs 5-7).

All four rings have a simple typology with flat, oval-shaped bezels. In two cases, the bezels are undecorated or bear rudimentary linear engravings²⁵ (Figs 4-5). The bezels of the other two rings are decorated with cruciform engravings and supplementary linear designs²⁶ (Figs 6-7).

²⁵ Similar rings were widespread in Greece and the Balkans during the Middle Ages. Indicatively, E. Barmparitsa, *Η μαρτυρία των μεταλλικών αντικειμένων από τα κάστρο Χλεμούτσι, Γλαφέντζα και άλλες θέσεις της φραγκικής Ηλείας. Όψεις της ζωής των Φράγκων του προγκιπάτου της Αχαΐας*, αδημοσίευτη διδακτορική διατριβή (unpublished PhD), Athens 2014, 146-147. P. Diaconu – S. Baraschi, *Păcuilul lui Soare. 2. Așezarea medievală (secolele XIII-XV)*, II, București 1977, figs 95.25, 96.5-10, 96.13-15. M. Popović, *The Fortress of Ras/Tvrđava Ras*, Belgrade 1999, 245 fig. 203.11,13. Bikić, *Vizantijski nakit u Srbiji*, op.cit. (n. 20), 170-171, 92 fig. 60.1, 94 fig. 63.5. See also, T. Yashaeva – E. Denisova – N. Ginkut – V. Zalesskaya – D. Zhuravlev, *The Legacy of Byzantine Cherson: 185 Years of Excavation at Tauric Chersonesos*, Austin 2011, 481 no. 115, fig. 190.115.

²⁶ Bikić, *Vizantijski nakit u Srbiji*, op.cit. (n. 20), 93 fig. 61.1, 117 fig. 89.1,4.



Fig. 8. Northeast of the complex of cisterns, surface find, copper alloy ring with rock crystal (2006-M2), Venetian period.

The rings were found together with a denier tournois of the Prince of Achaea, Florence de Hainault (1289-1297)²⁷. However, they belong to a broader excavation layer of a backfill with *terminus ante quem* the early 15th century²⁸. Therefore, they most probably already existed in the late 13th century and within the span of approximately a century they were used until they became deformed and were then disposed of.

A copper alloy finger ring (2009-M1) (diameter: 2.1 cm, bezel width: 0.7 cm) has a similar typology with the above and was found in a relatively superficial layer at the entrance of a house across the small church (House A). The House A dates to 1552, based on a Venetian inscription found near its doorway²⁹. The ribbon-shaped hoop of the ring is smoothly integrated into a slightly flattened undecorated bezel.

A survey carried out to the east of the complex of

²⁷ Kontogiannis – Arvaniti, «Placing “Contexts” in a Context», op.cit. (n. 13), 256-257.

²⁸ See above, page 404.

²⁹ For House A, Deliyianni-Doris – Michaelides, «Νεότερα από τις ανασκαφές στο Επάνω Κάστρο της Άνδρου το 2008», op.cit. (n. 1), 93, fig. 10. Deliyianni-Doris, «Οι ανασκαφές το 2009 και 2010», op.cit. (n. 1), 35-36, fig. 1-2. Deliyianni-Doris et al., «Έρευνα και ανασκαφή στο Επάνω Κάστρο Άνδρου», op.cit. (n. 1), 273-276, fig. 5.

cisterns revealed a copper alloy ring with broad hoop which becomes wider at the intersections with the bezel (2006-M2) (diameter of hoop: 1.9 cm, diameter of bezel: 0.9 cm) (Fig. 8). The bezel bears a circular cavity with a rock crystal, held in place by four hooks. Similar rings are occasionally discovered at sites from the Late Middle Ages throughout the Peloponnese, the Balkans and Western Europe³⁰. The ring from the Epano Kastro could also date to the Venetian period.

Rings were the most common pieces of jewellery. Wills and matrimonial contracts of the Late Byzantine period reveal that middle and upper class households usually had two to three rings made of precious metals. References to copper jewellery are characteristically absent from these documents, probably because they had a relatively small market value³¹. Consequently they were more widespread in almost all social strata, as the fact that they are frequently found in excavations also shows³².

Items of Private Devotion

A small cast bronze pendant cross was found near the surface of the small church (2005-M1) (4×2.6 cm) (Fig. 9). It is preserved in a fragmentary condition and it is adorned with imprinted circled dots. A small Middle

Byzantine cross of unknown origin from the Tsolozidis collection³³, as well as crosses of the 6th-7th century from the Holy Land³⁴, the 6th-8th century from Asia Minor³⁵, the 10th-12th century from the Serbian castle of Ras³⁶ and elsewhere³⁷, are similar from the point of view of manufacture and typology. The decorative theme of the circled dot is very common and often found in cross pendants mainly of the Early and Middle Byzantine periods, in a variety of shapes³⁸.

³⁰ Barmparitsa, *Μαρτυρία μεταλλικών αντικειμένων*, op.cit. (n. 25), 147. K. Totev, «Prospections archéologiques de la forteresse sur la colline de Trapezitsa à Veliko Tarnovo — résultats et problèmes (2007-2016)», *Conférence scientifique internationale, Rencontres culturelles, Le Passé et la Contemporanéité*, eds V. Velinova – A. Dzhirova et al., Sofia 2017, 110 fig. 6 (in Bulgarian). G. Egan – F. Pritchard, *Dress accessories c.1150 – c.1450* (Medieval Finds from Excavations in London 3), London 1991 (repr. Woodbridge 2008), 329-331, 329 no. 1619.

³¹ M. Parani, «Byzantine Jewellery: The Evidence from Byzantine Legal Documents», Ch. Entwistle – N. Adams (eds), *Intelligible Beauty*, *Recent Research on Byzantine Jewellery*, London 2010, 186-187, 190. The safekeeping of silver and gold objects is also recorded later on. Indicatively, Ch. Maltezos, «Ανάμεσα στη βυζαντινή και τη δυτική παράδοση: το εσωτερικό σπιτιών Ελλήνων στη Βενετία (17ος αι.)», Β. Κατσάρος – Α. Τούρτα (eds), *Αφιέρωμα στον ακαδημαϊκό Παναγιώτη Α. Βοκοτόπουλο*, Athens 2015, 267-268.

³² A. Antonaras, «Middle and Late Byzantine Jewellery from Thessaloniki and its Region», B. Böhlendorf-Arslan – A. Ricci (eds), *Byzantine Small Finds in Archaeological Contexts*, (Byzas 15), Istanbul 2012, 121.

³³ *Συλλογή Γεωργίου Τσολοζίδη. Το Βυζάντιο με τη ματιά ενός συλλέκτη* (exhibition catalogue), gen. ed. N. Zafeiropoulou, Athens 2001, 22 no. 14 (Π. Καμπάνης).

³⁴ *Cradle of Christianity* (exhibition catalogue), eds Y. Israeli – D. Mevorah, Jerusalem 2000, 89, 140, 142.

³⁵ R. Temple (ed.), *Early Christian and Byzantine Art: Textiles, Metalwork, Frescoes, Manuscripts, Jewellery, Steatites, Stone Sculptures, Tiles, Pottery, Bronzes, Amulets, Coins and other items from the fourth to the fourteenth centuries*, London 1990, 98 no. 63 (A. Spira).

³⁶ Popović, *Ras*, op.cit. (n. 25), 248, fig. 208.1.

³⁷ *Καθημερινή ζωή στο Βυζάντιο. Ώρες Βυζαντίου – Έργα και ημέρες στο Βυζάντιο* (exhibition catalogue), gen. ed. D. Papanikola-Bakirtzes, Athens 2002, 499-500 nos 681-682 (E. Μεραμβελιωτάκη).

³⁸ G. R. Davidson, *Corinth XII. The Minor Objects*, Princeton 1952, no. 2071, nos 2073-2074, 2081-2082, 2096-2097). *Byzantium at Princeton: Byzantine Art and Archaeology at Princeton University* (exhibition catalogue), eds S. Čurčić – A. St.Clair, Princeton 1986, 88 nos 79-82 (K. Sandin). G. Oikonomaki-Papadopoulou – B. Pitarakis – K. Loverdou-Tsigarida, *Ιερά Μεγίστη Μονή Βατοπαιδίου, Εργόλπια*, Mount Athos 2000, 30-31 no. 1 (B. Pitarakis). *Συλλογή Γεωργίου Τσολοζίδη*, op.cit. (n. 33), 21 nos 5-10, 124 no. 212, 214 (Π. Καμπάνης). *Καθημερινή ζωή στο Βυζάντιο*, op.cit. (n. 37), 191 no. 213 (X. Κούτσιου), 406 no. 510 (Σ. Κουγιουμτζόγλου), 500-501 no. 684 (M. Παϊσίδου), 504 no. 690 (X. Κούτσιου), 505 no. 695, 566 no. 786 (I. O. Κανονίδης). L. Wamser (ed.), *Die Welt von Byzanz – Europas Östliches Erbe. Glanz, Krisen und Fortleben einer tausendjährigen Kultur*, Stuttgart 2004, 276 nos 422, 424-429 (V. Bierbrauer), 314 nos 550-556 (Ch. Schmidt), 315 nos 562-563, 565, 570-572 (Ch. Schmidt), 405 no. 926 (B. Wührer). B. Pitarakis, *Les croix-reliquaires pectorales byzantines en bronze*, Paris 2006, 107, 374-381 and passim with many examples dating to the 10th-11th century. E. M. Schoolman, «Kreuze und kreuzförmige Darstellungen in der Alltagskultur von Amorium», F. Daim – J. Drauschke (eds), *Byzanz – das Römerreich im Mittelalter, Teil 2,1 Schauplätze*, Mainz 2010, 377-378, fig. 3-6. F. Karagianni, «Βυζαντινοί σταυροί της πρώιμης και μέσης βυζαντινής περιόδου σε ιδιωτική συλλογή», *Αφιέρωμα στον ακαδημαϊκό Παναγιώτη Α. Βοκοτόπουλο*, op.cit. (n. 31), 199, fig. 1-2, 5-6. *Βυζαντινό Μουσείο Αργολίδας*.



Fig. 9. Small church, superficial, bronze cross pendant (2005-M1), possibly Middle Byzantine period.

The cross is a cosmological symbol which predates the Christian era. As a symbol of the martyrdom of Christ it evolves into the main talismanic-apotropaic symbol of Christianity³⁹. The decorative theme of the circled dot represents roughly the concept of the eye⁴⁰ and has talismanic-apotropaic properties in order to ward off the evil eye⁴¹. Regardless of its symbolism, the theme of the circled dot was widely used in miniature artifacts, especially during the Early and Middle Byzantine periods, due to its ease of replication. Apart from crosses, it is also found in jewellery, grooming paraphernalia

Κατάλογος Μόνιμης Έκθεσης, eds D. Athanasoulis – A. Vasileiou, Athens 2016, 67 no. 61 (Δ. Χατζηλαζάρου, S. Metaxas), 214 no. 341 (S. Metaxas), 214 no. 342 (Δ. Αθανασούλης, S. Metaxas). A mould for cross pendants decorated with the theme of the circled dot was excavated in Cherson and dates to the 9th-10th century, Yashaeva et al., *Cherson*, op.cit. (n. 25), 451 no. 50, fig. 169.50.

³⁹ P. Kambanis, «Christians against the Forces of Evil», *Εξορκίζοντας το κακό. Πίστη και δεισιδαιμονίες στο Βυζάντιο*, Athens 2006, 24-25.

⁴⁰ Davidson, *Corinth XII*, op.cit. (n. 38), nos 1500, 2354-2355.

⁴¹ H. Maguire – E. D. Maguire – J. Duncan-Flowers, *Art and Holy Powers in the Early Christian House*, Illinois 1989, 5-7. V. Foskolou, «The Virgin, the Christ-child and the evil eye», M Vassilaki (ed.), *Images of the Mother of God. Perceptions of the Theotokos in Byzantium*, Aldershot 2005, 255, 257. Kambanis, «Christians against the Forces of Evil», op.cit. (n. 39), 25.

and dress accessories⁴² as well as in a variety of household items⁴³ both in Byzantium and in Europe⁴⁴.

It is not possible to establish a precise date for the cross from the Epano Kastro, as it was found in a superficial layer and has an ordinary decoration, which was especially prevalent in the Early and Middle Byzantine periods. The presence of older crosses in layers of the Late Middle Ages is not unusual, as they are items with talismanic properties, which in time evolved into heirlooms⁴⁵.

A lead ampulla that was unearthed in the western cistern belongs to the same category of private devotional

⁴² Davidson, *Corinth XII*, op.cit. (n. 38), nos 2131-2132. *Καθημερινή ζωή στο Βυζάντιο*, op.cit. (n. 37), 389 no. 475 (Γ. Κακαβάς), 390 no. 477 (Χ. Κούτσιου), 395 no. 486 (Ε. Γκίνη-Τσοφοπούλου), 450-451 nos 609-614 (Α. Ντίνα), 452 no. 618 (Σ. Κουγιουμτζόγλου), 453 no. 622 (Α. Ντίνα), 464-465 no. 632α-γ (Ι. Δ. Βαραλής), 561-562 no. 778 (Φ. Κεφαλλοντίου). Wamser (ed.), *Die Welt von Byzanz*, op.cit. (n. 38), 275 nos 418-420 (V. Bierbrauer). M. Schulze-Dörrlamm, *Byzantine Gürtelschnallen und Gürtelbeschläge im Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseum*, Mainz 2009, 1: 239-250 passim, 2: passim. *Εκ Θεσσαλονίκης φως* (exhibition catalogue), eds A. D. Tsilipakou – P. Kampanis, Thessaloniki 2014, 122-123 nos 41-43 (Α. Αντωνάρας, Ι. Παπάγγελος). *Βυζαντινό Μουσείο Αργολίδας*, op.cit. (n. 38), 188 no. 263 (S. Metaxas), 189 no. 269 (Δ. Χατζηλαζάρου, S. Metaxas).

⁴³ Davidson, *Corinth XII*, op.cit. (n. 38), nos 1379, 1401, 1413, 1429. Temple (ed.), *Early Christian and Byzantine Art*, op.cit. (n. 35), 88-89 nos 44-46 (Α. Spira). *Συλλογή Γεωργίου Τσολοξίδη*, op.cit. (n. 33), 44 no. 60 (Α. Αντωνάρας), 123 no. 208 (Π. Καμπάνης), 99 no. 133 (Α. Αντωνάρας). *Καθημερινή ζωή στο Βυζάντιο*, op.cit. (n. 37), 368-369 no. 442 (Λ. Σταρίδα). M. Xanthopoulou, *Les lampes en bronze à l'époque paléochrétienne*, Turnhout 2010, 7 fig. 11-13. *Βυζαντινό Μουσείο Αργολίδας*, op.cit. (n. 38), 201-202 nos 309E, 310Γ-ΣΤ (S. Metaxas).

⁴⁴ Yashaeva et al., *Cherson*, op.cit. (n. 25), 535 no. 218, fig. 248.218. Z. Demo, *Zlato i srebro srednjeg vijeka u Arheološkom muzeju u Zagrebu*, Zagreb 2014, 48-49 no. 13. A. J. Mainman, N. S. H. Rogers, *Crafts, Industry and Everyday Life. Finds from Anglo-Scandinavian York*, York 2000, 2590-2591 nos. 9862-9863.

⁴⁵ Oikonomaki-Papadopoulou – Pitarakis – Loverdou-Tsigarida, *Εγκόλπια*, op.cit. (n. 38), 13-14. A reliquary pectoral cross of the 10th-11th century was unearthed from a church dating to the late 11th – early 12th century, M. Kappas, «Μεταμόρφωση Σκόρμηγκα και Άγιος Νικόλαος Αίπειας. Ανασκαφική διερεύνηση και εργασίες αποκατάστασης σε δύο βυζαντινά μνημεία της Μεσσηνίας», *Το Αρχαιολογικό Έργο στην Πελοπόννησο (1ο ΑΕΠΕΑ)*, *Πρακτικά του Διεθνούς Συνεδρίου*, eds E. Zimi – A.-M. Karapanagiotou – M. Xanthopoulou, Kalamata 2018, 709-712, especially 711-712, fig. 6.



Fig. 10. Complex of cisterns, western cistern, lead ampulla (2004-M1), late 13th century or later.

objects⁴⁶ (2004-M1) (height: 7 cm, diameter of the body: 4.7 cm) (Fig. 10). Both sides of the object bear medals with effaced representations of linearly depicted saints with halos. On one side, the letters reveal the figure of Saint Demetrios. The depiction on the back is unidentifiable.

Cast lead ampullas which usually have the representation of Saint Demetrios on one side are associated with Thessaloniki and are commonly named *koutrouvia* according to the written sources of the period. They are connected with the development of pilgrimage to the myrrh-gushing saints of Thessaloniki, Saint Demetrios and Saint Theodora, which began in the middle of the 12th century and was suspended when the Ottomans conquered the city in 1430⁴⁷. The widespread dissemination

⁴⁶ E. Barmparitsa, «Ευλογία μύρου από το Επάνω κάστρο Άνδρου», *Εὔανδρος. Τόμος εἰς μνήμην Δημητρίου Ι. Πολέμη*, op.cit. (n. 1), 241-250. Kontogiannis – Arvaniti, «Placing «Contexts» in a Context», op.cit. (n. 13), 253-255.

⁴⁷ B. De Kitrovo, *Iitinéraires russes en Orient*, Genève 1889, 147. *Καθημερινή ζωή στο Βυζάντιο*, op.cit. (n. 37), 184-185 nos. 203-205 (X. Μπακιρτζής, Β. Ν. Παπαδοπούλου, Ε. Γκίνη-Τσοφοπούλου). In Thessaloniki, a part of an unpublished mould for ampullas was found recently in a rescue excavation west of the church of Hagios Demetrios, A. Ch. Antonaras, *Arts, Crafts and Trades in Ancient and Byzantine Thessaloniki. Archaeological, Literary and Epigraphic Evidence*, Mainz 2016, 51.

of this cult is evidenced by the large number of ampullas found today across the Balkan peninsula and in collections abroad⁴⁸.

The Andros ampulla probably dates from the late 13th century and its linear decoration and the forms of the medals are summarily depicted, since it was mass produced in order to meet demand. Furthermore, it could be an indirect confirmation of the relocation of Greeks from northern Greece to the islands of Andros, Tinos, Mykonos and Syros between 1364 and 1413, as a result of the Turkish raids. In particular, Apostolos Vakalopoulos notes the close relationship, and even the dialectical affinity that existed between the residents of the Epano Kastro and Chalkidiki⁴⁹. The myrrh ampulla could therefore have been brought by Orthodox Greeks of Chalkidiki as an heirloom of private devotion and a reminder of their place of origin.

Dress accessories

Buckles and buckle components in a variety of shapes, made mainly from iron but also from copper alloys, are typically associated with articles of clothing. A large iron D-shaped buckle was found in the backfill layer of the western cistern and, according to the excavation data, can be dated to the middle of the 13th - early 15th century⁵⁰ (2004-M13) (maximum dimension: 6 cm) (Fig. 11). The type and material from which it was made is often found in the Late Middle Ages⁵¹. It probably

⁴⁸ Barmparitsa, «Ευλογία μύρου», op.cit. (n. 46), 243 n. 4. M. Popović, *Manastir Studenica: Arheološka otkrića / The Monastery of Studenica: Archaeological Discoveries*, Belgrade 2015, 228 fig. 144. A. Mitsiou, «“Ευλογίες”: Ταπεινά προσκνηματικά αναμνηστικά ανεκτίμητης αξίας», *Byzantium without Glamour. The humble objects and their use in the everyday life of the Byzantines* (eds A. G. Yangaki – A. Panopoulou), Athens 2018, 206-229. The ampullas were kept as amulets mainly by pilgrims carrying the myrrh in distant places, since until now no myrrh ampulla have been found in the city of Thessaloniki, K. Loverdou-Tsigarida, «Thessalonique, centre de production d'objets d'arts au XIV siècle», *DOP 57* (2003), 243 and n. 12.

⁴⁹ A. Vakalopoulos, «Η θέση των Ελλήνων και οι δοκιμασίες τους υπό τους Τούρκους», *ΙΕΕΥ* (1974), 73-74.

⁵⁰ See above, page 404.

⁵¹ Popović, *Ras*, op.cit. (n. 25), 251 fig. 212.5. D. Rabovyanov,



Fig. 11. Complex of cisterns, western cistern, iron buckle (2004-M13), middle of 13th – early 15th century.

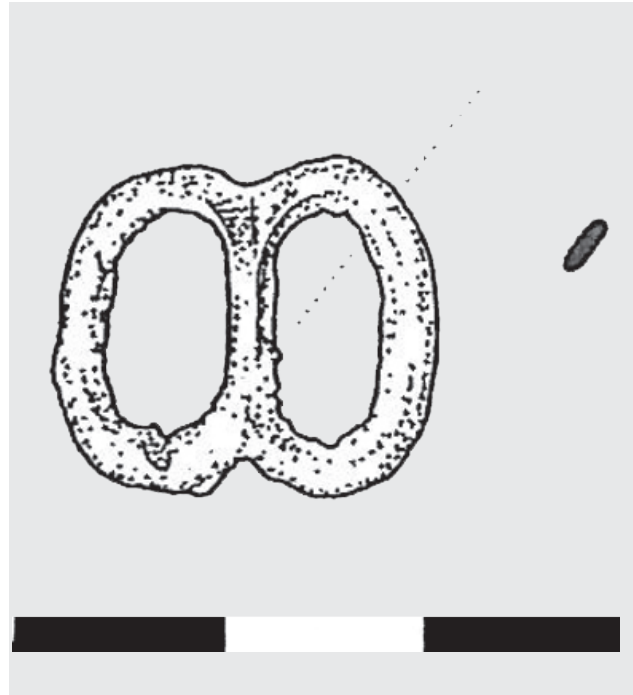


Fig. 12. House A, iron buckle (2009-M28), Venetian period.

comes from a belt used to fasten the outer garment at the hips⁵², without ruling out the possibility that it was used to fasten riding equipment, in particular the saddle straps passed across the horse's belly⁵³.

A double-oval iron buckle comes from House A together with a Venetian coin, a tornesello⁵⁴ (2009-M28)

Archaeological Studies in the Southern Section of Trapezitsa, 1. The Medieval Town, Veliko Turnovo 2015, 228, nos 1440, 1442 (in Bulgarian). S. Oța, «Burials with belts. Rank insignia or dress accessories (12th-15th centuries A.D.)», I. M. Ţiplic – M. Crîngaci-Ţoplic (eds), *ArhIn I, Medieval Changing Landscape: Settlements, Monasteries and Fortifications*, Sibiu 2016, 48, 56 no. 13, from a male burial.

⁵² M. G. Parani, «Optional extras or necessary elements? Middle and late Byzantine male dress accessories», Π. Πετρόδης, Β. Φωσκόλου (eds), *Δασκάλα. Απόδοση τιμής στην καθηγήτρια Μαίρη Παναγιωτίδη-Κεσίσσογλου*, Athens 2015, 420-425.

⁵³ A. Babuin, «Ο ίππος και η εξάρτησή του κατά την ύστερη βυζαντινή εποχή», *Βυζαντινά* 27 (2007), 129. E. Barmparitsa, «Riding Equipment from the Principality of Achaia (1205-1428)», *DChAE* 37 (2016), 248, fig. 19.

⁵⁴ Preliminary note. The numismatic data of the excavation are

(Fig. 12). Because of its small size (maximum length: 1.8 cm), the buckle was probably used as a shoe buckle or even in bags and small belts. Similar finds are known from archaeological layers across Greece, the Balkans and Western Europe and date from the 12th century onwards⁵⁵.

A cast copper alloy buckle plate, found in House A together with a tornesello, is of particular interest (2009-M5) (2.8×2 cm) (Fig. 13). The object is elongated and curved at the end and remains disjointed, having lost its buckle frame and pin⁵⁶. On the back it has three

currently under research. For the Venetian tornesello, A. M. Stahl, *The Venetian tornesello. Medieval Colonial Coinage* (American Numismatic Society. Numismatic Notes and Monographs 163), New York 1985, especially 67-70.

⁵⁵ Davidson, *Corinth XII*, op.cit. (n. 38), 274-275 no. 2243, pl. 115. Minić – Vukadin, *Stalač*, op.cit. (n. 22), 124 fig. 78.7. I. Fingerlin, *Gürtel des hohen und späten Mittelalters*, Munich 1971, 463-464 no. 516. Egan – Pritchard, *Dress accessories*, op.cit. (n. 30), 86-87 nos 347, 350-370.

⁵⁶ The shape of the buckle was rather common during the Byzantine period, P. Orsi, «Byzantina Siciliae IV-VIII», *BZ* 21 (1912), 199-201. Davidson, *Corinth XII*, op.cit. (n. 38), 273 no. 2221, pl. 115.

transverse circular holes for adjusting the belt. On the front, inside a linear oval frame, it bears semi-effaced engraved decoration, which probably depicts a lyre-shaped floral pattern. The conservation status of the object does not currently allow clearer conclusions⁵⁷.

Two copper alloy plates that are preserved in a fragmentary state and come from a domestic complex to the east of the small church (Lower Neighbourhood)⁵⁸ are connected with straps.

The first was found in a layer of collapsed walls on the paved courtyard between two houses, together with one tornesello (2008-M7). It is an elongated ribbon-shaped plate with three holes for attaching it to a strap (2.9×1.3 cm) (Fig. 14). Its one end was probably attached to the frame of a small buckle through folding. Similar objects were very common throughout the Late Middle Ages⁵⁹, and indicate a date in the Venetian period.

The second plate is ribbon-shaped and folded (2007-M41) (2×1.5 cm) (Fig. 15). Its long sides are decorated with a dotted pattern and it bears a hole in the middle of one side. It was probably placed at the endpoint of an object made of an organic material (e.g. leather strap) for protection against wear, and fastened with a pin, which today has been lost. As it is a superficial find, it is hard to establish the period from which it dates. However, similar finds became widespread during the Late Middle Ages⁶⁰.

⁵⁷ Lyre-shaped floral decorative patterns are found on buckle plates since the Early Byzantine period, *Καθημερινή ζωή στο Βυζάντιο*, op.cit. (n. 37), 390-391, no. 478 (Σ. Γερογιώργη).

⁵⁸ For Lower Neighbourhood, Deliyianni-Doris – Michaelides, «Νεότερα από τις ανασκαφές στο Επάνω Κάστρο της Ανδρού το 2008», op.cit. (n. 1), 91-92. Deliyianni-Doris, «Οι ανασκαφές το 2009 και 2010», op.cit. (n. 1), 37-38, fig. 3. Deliyianni-Doris et al., «Έρευνα και ανασκαφή στο Επάνω Κάστρο Ανδρού», op.cit. (n. 1), 276, fig. 6, pl. 7β.

⁵⁹ D. Pringle, *The Red Tower (al - Burj al - Ahmar): Settlements in the Plain of Sharon at the Time of the Crusaders and Mamluks, A.D. 1099-1516*, London 1986, 165 no. 13, fig. 55. V. Jovanović, «Considerations sur la necropole médiévale Lukovit-Mušat près de Loveč en Bulgarie», *Starinar* 38 (1987), 119 pl. IV, 122 pl. V.90 (in Bulgarian). Egan – Pritchard, *Dress Accessories*, op.cit. (n. 30), 96 no. 434, 112 nos 514-515. C. Theune et al., «Das Land an der March im Mittelalter», *Archaeologia Austriaca* 93 (2009), fig. 12.

⁶⁰ Egan – Pritchard, *Dress Accessories*, op.cit. (n. 30), 126-129. A. Grey, «The Metalwork», R. P. Harper – D. Pringle (eds), *Belmont Castle. The Excavation of a Crusader Stronghold in the Kingdom*



Fig. 13. House A, copper alloy buckle plate (2009-M5), Venetian period.

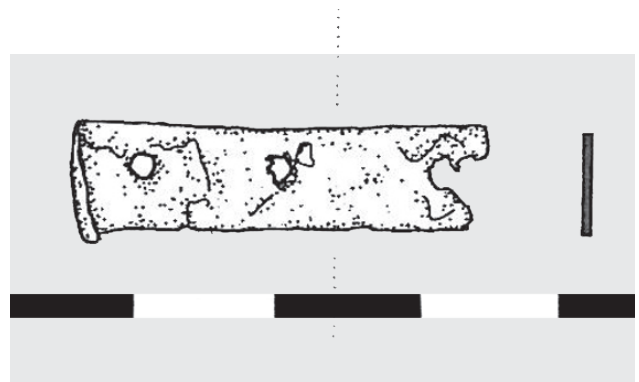


Fig. 14. Lower Neighbourhood, copper alloy buckle plate (2008-M7), Venetian period.

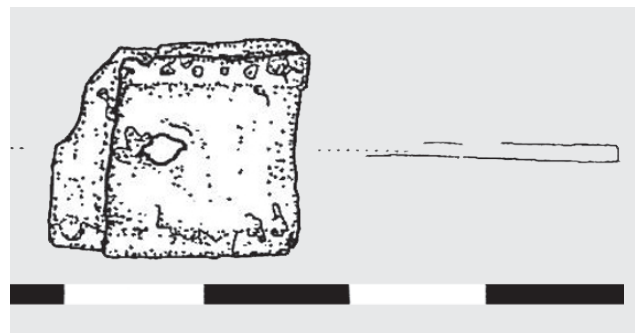


Fig. 15. Lower Neighbourhood, superficial, copper alloy strap-end (2007-M41), Venetian period or slightly later.



Fig. 16. Complex of cisterns, western cistern, copper alloy mount (2004-M14), middle of 13th – early 15th century.

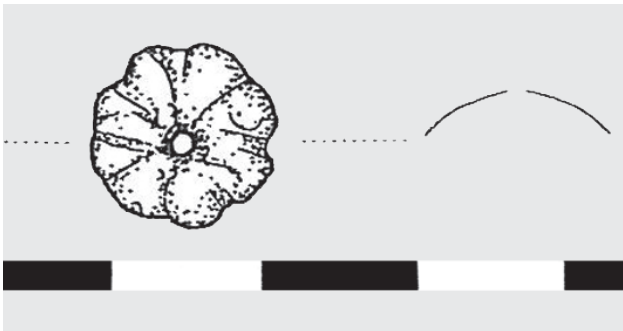


Fig. 17. House A, copper alloy mount (2009-M22), Venetian period.

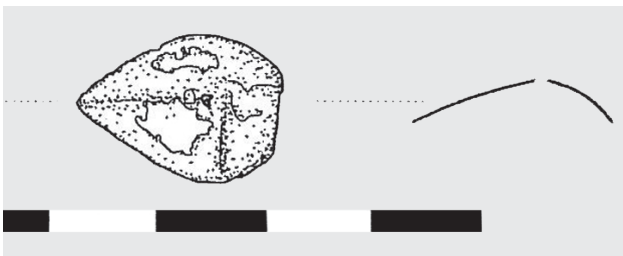


Fig. 18. Lower Neighbourhood, copper alloy mount (2007-M5), Venetian period.

Copper alloy mounts usually decorated leather or fabric belts or related equipment (clothing, bags, shoes) and also protected them against wear. Their decorative effect was based on the repetition of the same type or the combination of different types of mounts usually

of Jerusalem (British Academy Monographs in Archaeology no. 10), Oxford 2000, 134, fig. 11.2.26.

made of the same metal⁶¹. Five such finds, four of which were derived from the domestic complexes (House A, Lower Neighbourhood) and the fifth from the back-fillings of the western cistern, are typologically varied and measure from 1.2 to 2.7 cm. Two of them have a circular head and an integral rivet for adjustment⁶² (2004-M14, 2010-M4) (Fig. 16). The remaining three, one in the shape of a rosette⁶³ (2009-M22) (Fig. 17) and two almond-shaped ones⁶⁴ (2007-M5, 2009-M21) (Fig. 18), have a hole for the fixing pin.

A copper alloy clasp⁶⁵ was excavated together with two torneselli in a layer of collapsed Venetian houses (2007-M10) (length: 1.7 cm) (Fig. 19). By the 14th century, the use of strap loops, small buttons and cords became widespread as part of a trend for tighter garments, which originated in Western Europe and spread to the Latin States of the Eastern Mediterranean⁶⁶.

Finally, a closed-type copper alloy bell was unearthed in House A together with one tornesello (2009-M16) (length: 2.4 cm, diameter of loop: 0.4 cm) (Fig. 20). Closed-type bells were either spherical or pear-shaped

⁶¹ I. Bitha, «Η γυναικεία ενδυμασία της περιόδου της Φραγκοκρατίας», Μ Παναγιωτίδη-Κεσίσογλου (ed.), *Η γυναίκα στο Βυζάντιο. Λατρεία και τέχνη*, Athens 2012, 200-202, fig. 29-31. Parani, «Optional extras or necessary elements?», op.cit. (n. 52), 421-422, fig. 1, 6. Egan – Pritchard, *Dress Accessories*, op.cit. (n. 30), 162-165, 244-246.

⁶² Ibid., 167 nos 798, 802, 808, 170 no. 823. Barmparitsa, *Μαρτυρία μεταλλικών αντικειμένων*, op.cit. (n. 25), 132-133.

⁶³ It was found together with an iron crossbow arrowhead and seven coins, five of which are torneselli. See also, N. Brosh, «Between East and West: Glass and Minor Arts in the Crusader Kingdom», S. Rozenberg (ed.), *Knights of the Holy Land. The Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem*, Jerusalem 1999, 268. Egan – Pritchard, *Dress Accessories*, op.cit. (n. 30), 187 no. 952, 194 no. 1034.

⁶⁴ Μ. Χανθοπούλου, «Τα μεταλλικά αντικείμενα και η οστέινη λαβή», Θ. Καλπαξής – Ν. Πούλου-Παπαδημητρίου – Α. Γ. Γιαγκάκη – Μ. Ξανθοπούλου – Λ. Μανταλάρα – Δ. Μυλωνά (eds), *Ελεύθερα, Τομέας II. 3. Βυζαντινό σπίτι στην Αγία Άννα*, Rethymno 2008, 312 no. 62.

⁶⁵ Καθημερινή ζωή στο Βυζάντιο, op.cit. (n. 37), 397 no. 493 (Ε. Γκίνη-Τσοφοπούλου).

⁶⁶ For the eclectic trends in dressing in the Eastern Mediterranean during the Late Middle Ages, M. G. Parani, «Encounters in the Realm of Dress: Attitudes towards Western Styles in the Greek East», M. S. Brownlee – D. H. Gondicas (eds), *Renaissance Encounters. Greek East and Latin West (Medieval and Renaissance Authors and Texts 8)*, Leiden – Boston 2013, 263-301.



Fig. 19. Lower Neighbourhood, copper alloy clasp (2007-M10), Venetian period.



Fig. 20. House A, copper alloy bell (2009-M16), Venetian period.

with a plate that folded into the lower part to hold the bead. They were used as decorative extras for fastening woollen or cotton cloaks especially around the neck and on the sleeves. They were also hung on pets, hunting dogs and horses and were produced in abundance⁶⁷.

Conclusions

The small but representative collection of jewellery and dress accessories from the Epano Kastro of Andros suggests that its inhabitants were not unaware of the major clothing trends of the Late Middle Ages. Buckles, buckle components and decorative mounts were primarily associated with the extensive use of belts, which became

⁶⁷ Bitha, «Γυναικεία ενδυμασία», op.cit. (n. 61), 188, fig. 11-12. See also, Egan – Pritchard, *Dress Accessories*, op.cit. (n. 30), 336-341. B. Štular, *Mali Grad. Visokosrednjeveški grad v Kamniku / Mali Grad. High Medieval Castle in Kamnik*, Ljubljana 2009, 114-118.

visible from the 14th century onwards as they were used to fasten the outer garments worn by men and women. The use of belts in combination with the other clothing items (clasp, bell) can be connected to a trend for tighter garments, which spread to the Eastern Mediterranean through Italy from the 14th century onwards⁶⁸.

Recent studies on donor portraits in Latin-dominated regions (Crete, Rhodes, Cyprus) suggest that dress was a signifier of social status and group identity as well as an expression of individual taste⁶⁹. The attire of less affluent populations must have remained unchanged for a long time based on economic and practical needs.

Male and female attire from the period prior to the 16th century in the Cyclades is difficult to determine due to scanty textual and pictorial information. Because of the Venetian rule on Andros and the commercial transactions between its rulers and territories under Latin occupation (Crete, Negroponte) during the 14th and early 15th century, as revealed by written sources⁷⁰, it may be assumed that Western items of clothing (most probably Italian), were introduced, at least among the upper social classes of the island. People of the higher ranks of the society of Andros, the Venetian officials or even the local aristocracy who maintained contact with the Venetians, could order textiles and pieces of clothing from abroad, especially Venice⁷¹. Besides, there

⁶⁸ Parani, «Encounters in the Realm of Dress», op.cit. (n. 66), 285-301. Bitha, «Γυναικεία ενδυμασία», op.cit. (n. 61), 181-202, especially 189-195. N. D. Kontogiannis, «What Did Syropoulos Miss? Appreciating the Art of the Lippomano Chapel in Venetian Negroponte», F. Kondyli – V. Andriopoulou – E. Panou – M. B. Cunningham (eds), *Sylvester Syropoulos on Politics and Culture in the Fifteenth-Century Mediterranean, Themes and Problems in the Memoirs, Section IV* (Birmingham Byzantine and Ottoman Studies 16), Abingdon 2014, fig. 7.8, 7.10.

⁶⁹ C. Stancioiu, *Objects and Identity. An Analysis of Some Material Remains of the Latin and Orthodox Residents of Late Medieval Rhodes, Cyprus, and Crete*, PhD thesis, University of California, Los Angeles 2009, 235.

⁷⁰ Polemis, *History of Andros*, op.cit. (n. 2), 71, 77. Maltezos, «Ἀπὸ τὴν ἱστορία τῆς Ἄνδρου», op.cit. (n. 3), 236-239. Jacoby, «Silk in Medieval Andros», op.cit. (n. 24), 141-150.

⁷¹ A. K. Vionis, *A Crusader, Ottoman and Early Modern Aegean Archaeology. Built Environment and Domestic Material Culture in the Medieval and Post-Medieval Cyclades, Greece (13th-20th Century AD)* (Archaeological Studies Leiden University 22), Leiden 2012, 339.

could be local imitations of fashionable imported textiles and clothes.

The Greek inhabitants of the countryside or those with less interaction with the Venetian authorities probably maintained the traditional Byzantine dress codes. Donor representations of the 13th century from Paros and Naxos reveal that the indigenous population, especially women, maintained strong ties with Byzantine clothing tradition⁷². From the late 14th century

⁷² A. Mitsani, *The Collection of Byzantine and Postbyzantine Works of Art in Naousa, Paros*, Athens 1999, 7-8. G. S. Mastoropoulos, *Naxos, Byzantine Monuments*, Athens 2006, 80-81, no. 39, fig. 40, no. 69, fig. 152.

onwards male and female costumes in Latin dominated regions slowly began to adopt more elements of Western fashion⁷³. The trend can be detected in the fragmentary finds from Epáno Kástro.

⁷³ Vionis, *A Crusader, Ottoman and Early Modern Aegean Archaeology*, op.cit. (n. 71), 340-342.

Illustration credits

Fig. 1: Excavation Archive. Fig. 2: Deliyianni-Doris, Michaelides, «Νεότερα από τις ανασκαφές στο Επάνω Κάστρο της Άνδρου το 2008», op.cit. (n. 1), 101 pl. 1. Fig. 3-20: Excavation Archive, drawings by Meni Binteri.

Ελένη Μπαρπαρίτσα

ΚΟΣΜΗΜΑΤΑ, ΑΝΤΙΚΕΙΜΕΝΑ ΙΔΙΩΤΙΚΗΣ ΕΥΛΑΒΕΙΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΕΞΑΡΤΗΜΑΤΑ ΕΝΔΥΣΗΣ ΑΠΟ ΤΟ ΕΠΑΝΩ ΚΑΣΤΡΟ ΑΝΔΡΟΥ (13^{ΟΣ}-16^{ΟΣ} ΑΙΩΝΑΣ)

Το Επάνω Κάστρο ή κάστρο της Φανερωμένης βρίσκεται στο νοτιοανατολικό τμήμα της Άνδρου και, μαζί με το κάστρο της Χώρας (Κάτω Κάστρο) και το φρούριο του Μακροτάνταλου, κατασκευάστηκε από τους Βενετούς επικυρίαρχους του νησιού μετά το 1205. Το Εθνικό και Καποδιστριακό Πανεπιστήμιο Αθηνών, υπό τη διεύθυνση της επίκουρης καθηγήτριας Ελένης Δεληγιάννη-Δωρή, διεξήγαγε συστηματική ανασκαφή σε επίκαιρα σημεία της καστροπολιτείας στο διάστημα 2004-2010.

Τα κοσμήματα, τα αντικείμενα ιδιωτικής ευλάβειας και τα εξαρτήματα ένδυσης από την έρευνα στο Επάνω Κάστρο είναι 26 στον αριθμό και τα περισσότερα από αυτά χρονολογούνται, με βάση τα ανασκαφικά δεδομένα και κυρίως τα νομισματικά συννευρήματα, στην περίοδο της βενετοκρατίας στο νησί (1205-1566). Στην πλειονότητά τους είναι κατασκευασμένα από κράματα χαλκού.

Κατά μήκος του βόρειου τμήματος των τειχών του

Επάνω Καστρου βρίσκεται συγκρότημα δυο μεγάλων δημόσιων στερνών. Η δυτική στέρνα δέχτηκε επιχώσεις από υλικό προερχόμενο από τον παρακείμενο μεσαιωνικό οικισμό, για να ξαναχρησιμοποιηθεί ως χώρος εγκατάστασης ή εργαστηρίου σε μεταγενέστερη εποχή. Από τη στέρνα αυτή προέρχονται, μεταξύ άλλων, πέντε δακτυλίδια, ένα φιαλίδιο μύρου, μια μεγάλη σιδερένια πόρπη και ένα διακοσμητικό κορφίδιο. Το νεότερο χρονικά εύρημα της επίχωσης ανάγεται στο διάστημα 1414-1423 και είναι ένα tornesello του δόγη Mocenigo Gradenigo.

Ιδιαίτερο ενδιαφέρον παρουσιάζει ένα ανδρικό χρυσό δακτυλίδι με παράσταση δικέφαλου αετού. Δεδομένης της μεγάλης διάδοσης του δικέφαλου αετού στον χώρο της ανατολικής Μεσογείου κατά τον ύστερο Μεσαίωνα, δεν είναι εύκολο να προσδιοριστεί η ταυτότητα του κατόχου του. Η τυπολογία και η απόδοση του δικέφαλου αετού παραπέμπει σε επαρχιακό εργαστήριο, εξοικειωμένο με έργα του βενετικού

γοθθικού ρυθμού. Λαμβάνοντας επιπλέον υπόψη ότι το Επάνω Κάστρο τελούσε υπό βενετική διοίκηση και ότι το δακτυλίδι έφερε συμβολική διακόσμηση, θα μπορούσε να αποδοθεί με περισσότερες πιθανότητες σε Βενετό αξιωματούχο ή ακόμη και στον διοικητή του κάστρου, χωρίς ωστόσο να μπορεί να αποκλειστεί η κατοχή του από κάποιον τοπικό άρχοντα ελληνικής καταγωγής.

Τέσσερα δακτυλίδια από κράμα χαλκού με ασήμι, που προέρχονται από τον χώρο της δυτικής στέρας, είναι ακόσμητα ή φέρουν σταυρόσχημες εγχαράξεις και διατηρούνται αποσπασματικά επιβεβαιώνοντας τον χαρακτήρα της απόρριψης. Δυο ακόμη χάλκινα δακτυλίδια, το ένα με ακόσμητη πεπλατυσμένη σφενδόνη και το δεύτερο με ένθετη διακόσμηση από ορεία κρύσταλλο, ανάγονται στην περίοδο της βενετοκρατίας.

Ενδιαφέρον παρουσιάζει ένας μικρός χάλκινος σταυρός-εγκόλπιο, που βρέθηκε επιφανειακά κατά την ανασκαφή μικρού ναΐσκου, διατηρείται αποσπασματικά και καλύπτεται με έκτυπη διακόσμηση με κύκλο και στιγμή στο κέντρο. Ο τύπος του σταυρού και ο τρόπος διακόσμησής του κυριαρχούν ιδιαίτερα κατά την πρώτη και μέση Βυζαντινή περίοδο. Το θέμα του κύκλου με τη στιγμή στο κέντρο αποδίδει αφαιρετικά την έννοια του οφθαλμού και συνδέεται ενδεχομένως με αποτροπαϊκές αντιλήψεις προστασίας από τον βάσκανο οφθαλμό.

Ένα φιαλίδιο μύρου από το προσκύνημα του Αγίου Δημητρίου Θεσσαλονίκης προέρχεται από τις επιχώσεις της δυτικής στέρας και χρονολογείται πιθανότατα από τα τέλη του 13ου αιώνα. Θα μπορούσε να θεωρηθεί έμμεση επιβεβαίωση της μετεγκατάστασης Ελλήνων από τη βόρεια Ελλάδα στα νησιά Άνδρο, Τήνο, Μύκονο και Σύρο μεταξύ των ετών 1364 και 1413, εξαιτίας των τουρκικών επιδρομών. Ο Απόστολος Βακαλόπουλος σημειώνει ειδικότερα τη στενή σχέση και μάλιστα τη διαλεκτική συγγένεια που υπάρχει μεταξύ των κατοίκων της περιοχής του Επάνω Κάστρου και της Χαλκιδικής. Η ευλογία μύρου, επομένως, θα μπορούσε να είχε μεταφερθεί από ορθόδοξους Έλληνες της Χαλκιδικής ως οικογενειακό κεμήλιο ιδιωτικής ευλάβειας και ανάμνησης του τόπου καταγωγής.

Πόρπες και εξαρτήματα πορπών σε ποικιλία σχημάτων συνδέονται κατά κανόνα με την ένδυση. Μια μεγάλη σιδερένια πόρπη σε σχήμα γράμματος D θα

αξιοποιείτο σε ανδρικά ζωνάρια που δένονταν χαλαρά στους γοφούς, χωρίς να αποκλείεται η χρήση της στη στερέωση της ιπποσκευής. Σιδερένια οκτώσχημη πόρπη χρησιμοποιείτο πιθανόν σε υποδήματα ή σακίδια εξαιτίας του πολύ μικρού μεγέθους της. Ιδιαίτερο ενδιαφέρον παρουσιάζει ένα χάλκινο χυτό εξάρτημα πόρπης, με ημιεξίτηλη εγχάρακτη διακόσμηση, που πιθανόν αποδίδει λυρόσχημο φυτικό κόσμημα.

Χάλκινα χυτά καρφίδια διακοσμούσαν συνήθως δερμάτινα ή υφασμάτινα ζωνάρια ή συναφή εξοπλισμό (ρούχα, σάκους, υποδήματα) προστατεύοντάς τα παράλληλα από τη φθορά. Το διακοσμητικό τους αποτέλεσμα βασιζόταν στην επανάληψη του ίδιου τύπου ή στον συνδυασμό διαφόρων τύπων καρφιδίων κατά κανόνα από το ίδιο μέταλλο.

Μια κόπιτσα και ένα κουδουνάκι εντάσσονται, πιθανόν, σε μια τάση για περισσότερο εφαρμοστά ρούχα, η οποία διαμορφώθηκε στη δυτική Ευρώπη κατά τον 14ο αιώνα και διαδόθηκε σταδιακά στα λατινικά κρατίδια της ανατολικής Μεσογείου.

Η μικρή αλλά αντιπροσωπευτική συλλογή κοσμημάτων και εξαρτημάτων ένδυσης από το Επάνω Κάστρο υποδηλώνει ότι οι κάτοικοί του δεν αγνοούσαν τις κύριες ενδυματολογικές τάσεις του ύστερου Μεσαίωνα. Πόρπες, εξαρτήματα πορπών και διακοσμητικά καρφίδια συνδέονταν κατά κύριο λόγο με την εκτεταμένη χρήση ζωναριών, που από τον 14ο αιώνα γίνονται πλέον εμφανή. Η χρήση της ζώνης σε συνδυασμό με τα υπόλοιπα στοιχεία ένδυσης (κόπιτσα, κουδουνάκι) μπορεί να συνδεθεί με μια τάση για περισσότερο εφαρμοστά ενδύματα, που διαδόθηκε στην ανατολική Μεσόγειο μέσω της Ιταλίας από τον 14ο αιώνα και εξής. Η βενετική επικυριαρχία της Άνδρου και οι γνωστές από τις γραπτές πηγές εμπορικές συναλλαγές των ηγεμόνων της με λατινοκρατούμενες περιοχές (Κρήτη, Νεγροπόντε) κατά τον 14ο αιώνα, επιτρέπουν να υποθέσουμε την παρείσφρηση δυτικών, πιθανότατα ιταλικών, ενδυματολογικών στοιχείων, τουλάχιστον στις ανώτερες κοινωνικές τάξεις του νησιού, των Βενετών αξιωματούχων ή ακόμη και της τοπικής αριστοκρατίας που διατηρούσε επαφές με τους Βενετούς.

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