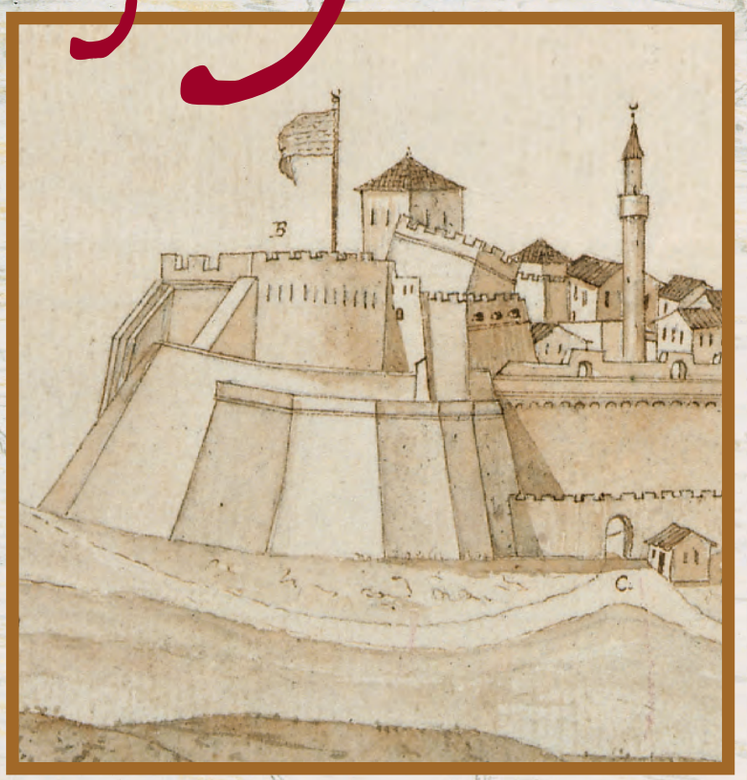
Castles of the Morea



KEVIN ANDREWS

Revised Edition,
with a Foreword by Glenn R. Bugh

GENNADEION MONOGRAPHS IV

Acrocorinth, from the Air, Northwest Sector; Pendeskouphi in the background. *Frontispiece*.

CASTLES OF THE MOREA

BY

KEVIN ANDREWS

Revised Edition,
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THE AMERICAN SCHOOL OF CLASSICAL STUDIES AT ATHENS

PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY

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For

SIMON KARAS

Ἀι δὲ τεαὶ ζώουσιν ἀηδόνες

FOREWORD TO THE REVISED EDITION

I am proud to present this foreword to Kevin Andrews's *Castles of the Morea*, a book first published in 1953 by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens as the fourth in the Gennadeion Monographs series and reprinted by A. M. Hakkert (Amsterdam) in 1978. The reissue of this classic work by Andrews to coincide with the 80th anniversary of the dedication of the Gennadius Library in 1926 affords an opportunity to contextualize the man and his work, to offer a biographical sketch of Kevin Andrews and a short annotated bibliography of the new directions in the study of castles in Greece since 1953.[1]

Castles of the Morea has become a fixture in the program of the American School, where each year a small group of graduate students participates in the demanding year-long curriculum of seminars and travel. When I first arrived in Athens as a graduate student nearly 30 years ago, one of the sites assigned to me was Acrocorinth, in particular the curtain of fortifications draped along the heights towering over the excavations at Ancient Corinth. As I prepared my site report, it became obvious that the two most important publications on the subject were Rhys Carpenter and Antoine Bon, *The Defenses of Acrocorinth and the Lower Town* (*Corinth* III.2; Cambridge, Mass., 1936) and Kevin Andrews, *Castles of the Morea.*

[1] For details contained in the biography, my gratitude to the Andrews family (Corinna, Ioanna, and Alexis), Judith Binder, Elizabeth Boleman-Herring, Nancy Bookidis and Bob Bridges at the American School, Edmund ("Mike") Keeley at Princeton, James McCredie and Stephen Miller, two former directors of the School, and Natalia Vogeikoff-Brogan, the School's archivist. Thanks go also to the diligent editors of the ASCSA Publications Office, the two outside reviewers, and American School friends for their judicious corrections of earlier drafts. Any mistakes of interpretation or content that remain are purely my own.

Following tradition, as director of the American School summer session in 2000, I assigned Acrocorinth to one of my students, and Andrews's *Castles* headed the bibliography. In 2004–2005, as the Whitehead Visiting Professor at the School, I again presented a site report on Acrocorinth on one of the fall student trips. It seemed only natural to return to my student days, particularly since the graduate seminar I offered to my students was on the topic of "Venice and Greece." And throughout the year and in the following summer I trekked out to visit castles in the Peloponnese, always carrying photocopies of the relevant chapters of Andrews's book in my backpack. An American School colleague and I may be two of the rare souls to have visited the early-18th-century Venetian naval base at Drepanon near Nauplion since Andrews investigated the site in the late 1940s (see Appendix B), and even he reached it by boat, not from the peninsular side through the unforgiving thorn bushes and rocky outcroppings.

In short, I feel that I have known Kevin Andrews for a very long time, even if we never actually met. Perhaps we passed each other on Souidias, the street that separates the Gennadius Library from the other main buildings of the American School. I will never know. What can be said with certainty is that for over 50 years *Castles of the Morea* has lived on in student site reports and has been cited in every publication on medieval Greek fortresses; to a great extent, it has never been surpassed for the topic it treats nor the passion of the time and place it evokes. For this reason and constraints of time, the American School Publications Office has wisely chosen not to undertake a totally new edition, but to let Kevin Andrews continue to tell the story

in his own words, on his own terms, in his own time, and to make this classic work, long out of print, available to the public again in its original form, correcting only some minor *errata*, and now reproducing the color in the original Grimani plans. In a letter to Lucy T. Shoe (Merritt), then Editor of Publications, dated September 4, 1953, Andrews remarked that he intended his book to be carried along by those who visited the fortresses of the Peloponnese. That goal remains as true now as it did then.

* * *

Roy Kevin Victor Andrews remains an enigma. To say that he charted his own unique destiny is an understatement. In many ways, he was a man who lived in parallel universes: philologist, translator, numismatist, authority on Greek folklore, leftist political firebrand, acerbic and impassioned observer of post-war Greece, poet, photographer, self-taught musician, maker of jewelry, expatriate, Greek citizen, and mountain climber (he loved the mountains). He simply cannot be categorized.

Kevin Andrews was born in Peking on January 20, 1924, his legal father being the celebrated dinosaur hunter of Central Asia (discoverer of the first velociraptor skeleton!), Roy Chapman Andrews, a likely model for Indiana Jones. The truth is, however, that Andrews was fathered by a British officer and spent his childhood shuffled off to elite boarding schools in England and America. Two fathers, but apparently embraced by neither, a fact that weighed heavily on Andrews for much of his life.

He entered Harvard University in 1941 and graduated with an A.B. in Classics and English Literature in 1947. His program of study was interrupted by three years of service in the U.S. Army, two of which he spent languishing (as he himself says) in training camps in Colorado, Nebraska, and Texas, and a third as a reconnaissance scout for the Tenth Mountain Infantry Division in northern Italy (awarded a Bronze Star). He was discharged in 1946 and returned to Harvard to complete his degree, magna cum laude. His honors thesis was a comparative literature study—true to his double major—entitled "Prometheus and Ahab, a Study in Clarity and Chaos" (Aeschylus meets Herman Melville!), an early sign, perhaps, that Andrews could not be bound by fixed and formal disciplines, that ancient and modern joined naturally at the point of intellectual curiosity.

Kevin Andrews's talents won him the prestigious Charles Eliot Norton Fellowship from Harvard (he claims he was the only candidate) to attend the American School of Classical Studies at Athens in 1947–1948. This would prove to be a life-changing moment in his career. Like so many philology students who come to the School, Andrews arrived with romantic ideas of sitting on ancient monuments reading the classical authors—Hesiod, Aeschylus, Plato, to name a few—to walk where they walked, to touch the stones they touched, to feel their abiding presence in the Greek landscape. This happens all the time, of course, but Andrews quickly discovered that the educational mission of the School involves a more diverse curriculum: to introduce its students to the many fields and subfields of archaeology—pottery analysis, architecture and art, inscriptions, numismatics—in short, the history and culture of Greece of all periods. The term "Classical Studies" is only a starting point for discussion. And there is the infamous "site report," a rite of passage for every student to present a site he or she has never actually visited.[2]

In the course of his first year at the School, two events occurred that changed Andrews's life. First of all, he was diagnosed with *petit*

[2] On the last, I direct the reader to the humorous exchange in 1947 between Andrews and the assistant director of the School in chapter 2 of his revised edition of *The Flight of Ikaros* (Harmondsworth 1984).

mal, the milder form of epilepsy that put him into the hospital for several months that first year. From this moment on, his mortality would be his constant companion, and he would be dependent on various types of medication. Admonitions from doctors regarding vigorous exercise, sunlight, and the consumption of certain foods and drinks were often ignored. Secondly, in the course of the year, the director of the Gennadius Library, Shirley H. Weber, offered this brilliant but contrary young man an attractive research project: to produce the *editio princeps* of a Venetian portfolio of plans of fortresses that he had purchased for the Gennadeion in 1938. These plans, apparently drawn up for Francesco Grimani, the Venetian military commander in the Morea (1699–1701) and later governor of the Morea (1706–1708) during the so-called Second Venetian period (1685–1715), comprise two fortresses on the islands of Crete and Euboea, three in Albania and Montenegro, and seventeen in the Peloponnese, as well as certain bays along the coast. Andrews eagerly accepted the task, and this led to his being awarded the James Rignall Wheeler Fellowship from the American School for 1948–1949. Subsequent funding from the Fulbright Foundation would allow Andrews to spend another two years (1949–1951) in Greece preparing the Grimani portfolio for publication as Gennadeion Monographs IV. The first in the series had also been a monograph on the Second Venetian period: J. M. Paton's *The Venetians in Athens, 1687–1688: From the* Istoria *of Cristoforo Ivanovich*, published in 1940.

Andrews booked ship passage and hand-carried his precious manuscript back to the States in November of 1951. Over the next six months, he polished the text, checked his references, completed the index, and submitted the typescript for publication. *Castles of the Morea* appeared the following year. But the anticipated graduate degree at some distinguished institution of higher learning (recall that Andrews only had a bachelor's qualification) and an appointment at some equally fine American university upon receiving a Ph.D. never materialized. It did not happen for the simple reason that Andrews had something entirely different in mind. The four years in Greece had so changed him that his only goal now was to find some means of returning to Greece to stay. In colloquial terms, Andrews had gone native.

Photo by Jack Birns, *Time and Life*; courtesy of Getty Images

Kevin Andrews in front of Acrocorinth in 1950

The full story can be gleaned only by reading his other, equally famous, work, published in 1959 and bearing the title *The Flight of Ikaros.* One of the impelling reasons why Andrews embraced the Gennadeion project was that it would allow him to be out of Athens during much of the year, away from the staid surroundings of libraries, tea talks, and the predictable career-goal chatter among his colleagues, investigating the Peloponnesian castles whose plans constitute the Grimani portfolio. This took great courage, or perhaps recklessness, since the Greek civil war was still

raging in areas of the Peloponnese where the castles were located. Undaunted (after all, he was Ikaros), he walked about the countryside—rucksack, sleeping bag, camera, tape measure, notebooks, and permit documents as his only companions—and slept under the stars beneath the dark and forbidding walls of mortar, brick, and stone. Along the way, he met a cast of Greek characters—peasants, petty officials, militia, intellectuals, combatants on both sides of the fierce struggle—and acquired not only a keen feel for the Greek language and its dialects, but also a passionate hatred for foreign interventionism in Greece.[3] This is his other life, his other story.

Andrews took meticulous notes and recorded them in his diaries; all the while he was researching the castles of the Morea, he was also recording his observations and the conversations of Greeks caught up in the upheavals of the post–World War II period. In fact, his diaries go back to his school days in 1937 and continue to the day before his death on September 1, 1989. They represent a priceless and unparalleled contemporary account of a foreigner living in Greece for over 40 years.

Six years after the appearance of *Castles*, Andrews published the autobiographical account of his travels in Greece during the four years he lived there. He had in fact been writing two very different books, for two very different audiences, drawing from the same notes and diaries. The reader, however, will find relatively few correspondences that reveal this to be the same author. This is perhaps at the heart of the enigma, the call of two worlds that laid equal claim to his mind and spirit. But Andrews would have to choose one or the other.

In the 1959 edition of *The Flight of Ikaros* (p. 25), he wrote about his feelings at the close of his first year at the School (1948):

> Greece seemed most disappointing when I began to make my preparations for leaving it. Then, when the other students were already sending home their trunks, I was offered a fellowship to stay and study the fortresses built by Byzantine Greeks, Frankish Crusaders, Turks and Venetian traders between the Dark Ages and the eighteenth century to guard the harbour towns and mountain passes of the Peloponnese, sometimes on foundations of forts dating from Roman, Macedonian or Mycenaean times. I saw the work stretching indefinitely into the future; hardly anything had been written on the subject, and I would be able to travel unobserved and in my own good time.

In the revised edition of 1984 (p. 40) the passage now reads:

> Almost before I knew it the academic year was over, and the students packed their trunks. They had their careers mapped out. Unlike them, I had nothing but a vague urge towards one dicey, unprofitable occupation that was more demanding still, but I didn't know that yet. I had even less wish, however, to go home.
>
> And then, with a generosity I had done nothing to deserve, the School granted me another fellowship. I would stay on in Greece to make a study of the fortresses once built to guard the harbour towns and mountain passes of the Peloponnese by Byzantine warlords and Frankish would-be Crusaders, Turkish conquerors and Venetian traders, from the Dark Ages to the eighteenth century. It was a subject as unexplored as the Greek provinces today were unfrequented by outsiders; I would work unsupervised, and travel at the pace I chose, and eventually produce a book for the School to publish.

The changes are subtle, yet telling: in 1984, Andrews could glance back across 36 years to pinpoint the moment he turned away from a traditional academic career, the decision to stay permanently in Greece, something he could not have said so emphatically in 1959 when other options were still available. And the tone has hardened politically by his careful choice of descriptive adjectives, "warlords," "would-be Crusaders," and "conquerors."

In fact, a careful reading of the second edition of *The Flight of Ikaros* reveals fuller and more polemical historical and political tracts than in the first edition. In 1959, he can write simply in chapter III, "It was a year since I had come

[3] See, for example, his *Athens Alive* (1979) and the review by Patrick Leigh Fermor (*Times Literary Supplement*, 13 June 1980; republished in *Words of Mercury*, ed. Artemis Cooper, London 2003, pp. 234–245).

to Greece," but in 1984, he has added two new pages of retrospective reflection (pp. 62–63):

> After a year now Greece was a country I felt curiously at home in, as if it had some affinity with the lost birthplace I had been hearing about as long as I could remember but hardly remembered myself and hadn't consciously experienced, and later had not found a substitute for on two other continents. This country had become something like a presence, a personal private companionship; dependable like a magnetic force or law of gravity, except that I couldn't take it for granted yet, it was still all too new.
>
> I didn't even imagine how little I still knew about it, yet I had a vivid sense of more and more ahead, as if there would be no end to learning, and all of it through the medium of living people—people altogether different from me but so immediate, pressing and responsive that they inevitably pointed a way out of a whole set of habits and assumptions that I only now (as these began to lose importance) could notice as constricting. . . .
>
> . . . As for current history, I was standing on the edge of it but didn't yet notice. I thought I was learning rapidly and exclusively about the Greek Middle Ages. Trips out of Athens by myself led to flowery fields that were becoming more and more familiar. All Greece was a friend now. Alone in a foreign land one tends to see one's surroundings in a direct and personal relation.

None of these words appear in the original edition. The *Flight of Ikaros* evolves as Andrews himself does.

Kevin Andrews's personal life is just as complex. Soon after he returned to America in December of 1951, he met Nancy Thayer, the biological daughter of E. E. Cummings, the poet and painter. Nancy was recently divorced from her first husband, Joseph Willard Roosevelt, a grandson of Theodore Roosevelt, and the mother of two young children, Simon and Elizabeth. Nancy brought her new fiancé up to Joy Farm in New England to meet Cummings in the late summer of 1953, and it appears that the famous American poet was rather taken with this bright, intense, "primitive" young man armed with a Harvard degree and a book on medieval castles of Greece. Andrews and Nancy were married in 1954, and a daughter, Ioanna, was born in New York in 1955. The Andrews family departed for Greece in 1956. A son, Alexis, was born in the winter of 1960. These were not Andrews's only children, however; he had fathered a daughter, Corinna, in Athens during his student years. In October of 1960, E. E. Cummings and his companion, Marion Morehouse, paid a visit to his daughter and grandchildren in Athens. On one occasion, Kevin escorted Cummings, Marion, and Ioanna up the slopes of Mt. Hymettus to see the Byzantine monastery (Kaisariani).

By the late 1960s, the political situation had turned radically to the Right. The Junta of the Colonels held power from 1967 to 1974. This was a particularly difficult time for Andrews, and he clearly felt that the American School, staying true to its core educational mission and its longstanding policy of noninvolvement in Greek politics, was not vocal enough about the suspected CIA complicity with the Colonels. Andrews was consistent in his leftist political views: even before the Junta he had been critical of what he perceived as the social coziness between the School and the Monarchy. During the years of the Junta, Andrews stayed in Athens and produced a series of scathing articles that he wisely published in foreign journals (collected in *Greece in the Dark: 1967–1974*, Amsterdam 1980). He joined in the antigovernment student riots at Athens Polytechnic in November of 1973, and, in his own words, describes how he was badly beaten by police thugs in the aftermath of the military crackdown, his leg injury requiring his use of a crutch for some time thereafter.[4] The fall of the Colonels led him to a momentous decision in the fall of 1974, recorded in the first person in an open letter published in Greek (with an English translation) entitled "Kalimera Patrida": to give up his U.S. citizenship and become a Greek citizen. This took place on February 26, 1975. Andrews was no longer merely a philhellene, he was a Hellene.

[4] See *Greece in the Dark: 1967–1974* (Amsterdam 1980), chapter 6: "1973. Blood," pp. 69–93.

During the period of the Junta, Nancy took the children to England, but Kevin chose to remain in Greece. In a poem entitled *First Will & Testament*, published in Athens in 1974, but composed in 1972–1973, he re-creates a (imagined?) dialogue with Nancy: "Then why subject yourself? There is no substitute for place, my children. Oh dear, then that means place is stronger ties for you than people—me, your children." He adds tellingly, "I'm fifty now, a door has shut." Becoming a Greek citizen one year later locked it forever. He writes in "Kalimera Patrida," "This is the place I chose. My choice was free and must be total. Once and for all." Nancy and Kevin, though estranged, never divorced.

Andrews published an assortment of political, historical, and travel pieces into the 1980s (a complete list of his books can be found following this introduction), but he never returned to the *Castles of the Morea*. That was now part of his distant past, his other life. The election victory in October of 1981 of PASOK, the socialist government under Andreas Papandreou, encouraged Andrews to hope for political change and reform in Greece, and it may also have led to some thawing of the chilly relations between himself and the American School. This is a disputed point. It is true, however, that he began to be invited to various functions at the School, and in March 31, 1986, he delivered (in Greek) the fifth annual lecture of the Gennadius Library in honor of Francis R. Walton, director *emeritus*, on the topic of the "Coming of the Greek Revolution."

While vacationing on Kythera, the 65-year-old Andrews attempted a difficult swim to Egg (Avgo) Island, five kilometers off the coast, and drowned on Friday, September 1, 1989, exactly 42 years to the day after he had first set foot on Greek soil. At the time of his death, he had been revising for publication a novel that he had written in the 1950s, *Old Rising Sun*. His funeral in the First Cemetery of Athens on September 8, 1989, was attended by members of his family, his many Greek friends, and several members of the American School of Classical Studies.

* * *

Kevin Andrews may have chosen not to return to the formal study of castles, but others have embraced it. The bibliography on this subject since 1953 affirms an active interest both in detailed scholarly studies of particular castles and fortresses as well as in publications intended for the general audience and the curious visitor.

Of the several reviews following the publication of *Castles of the Morea*, the most balanced and learned was provided by Antoine Bon in *Revue archéologique* (1954, pp. 118–122; summary version in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 49 [1954], p. 165). Bon had spent years investigating the medieval castles of the Peloponnese and Andrews graciously thanked him in his preface, almost as a student to his professor, for allowing him access to Bon's unpublished manuscript on the Frankish Morea and to his site photograph collection. Bon went on to publish two fundamental works that overlapped with some of Andrews's material: *Le Péloponnèse byzantin jusqu'en 1204* (Paris 1951) and *La Morée franque: Recherches historiques, topographiques, et archéologiques sur la principauté d'Achaïe (1205–1430)* (Paris 1969). In his reviews Bon praised Andrews for the ardor and enthusiasm with which he applied himself to his study, and his firsthand and hands-on knowledge of the monuments. But he also noted, as had other reviewers, that *Castles of the Morea* only treated the Venetian castles in the Grimani portfolio, not the totality of castles in the Peloponnese (let alone in Albania and Montenegro), and that, with the exception of Mistra, all of those described in the book were located on the coasts or have uninterrupted views of the sea (as one would expect with the maritime Venetians). Furthermore, Bon suggested that it might have made more sense to group the castles geographically

rather than in the chronological order of Morosini's reconquest of the Peloponnese starting in 1685. In sum, the title of the book could be construed as misleading and the composition arbitrary and prone to repetition.

To be fair, however, Andrews was charged with publishing the Grimani portfolio specifically for the Gennadeion Monographs series, and he did exactly that. The book that his critics lamented not seeing, on the other hand, would have required many more years of fieldwork, and an end product more encyclopedic than analytical. That book has yet to be written, and almost certainly would require a collaborative effort. Bon knew this better than any other. Bon also called attention to a few minor historical inaccuracies in Andrews's text that would have been corrected had a second edition appeared: (1) Old Navarino cannot have been constructed around 1278, but between 1282 and 1289; (2) the *chrysobull* of the Byzantine emperor Andronikos II in favor of Monemvasia, usually dated to 1293, is now considered a forgery;[5] (3) the archbishop of Patras won recognition of his independence from the Principality of Achaea in 1336–1337, not in 1326; and (4) Kalamata did not belong to Niccolò Acciajuoli—he had only been granted a barony at the "Vale of Kalame."[6]

In recent years there has been an ample offering of books on the castles of Greece, and on the Peloponnese in particular. Some follow closely in the tradition established by Andrews, replicating, although often in more summary form, the compositional elements of *Castles:* site entry, historical survey, description of the remains, and photographs. Their principal value lies in updating the bibliographies to the sites.

The best of these are (1) E. Karpodini-Dimitriadi, *Κάστρα της Πελοποννήσου* (Athens 1993);[7] and (2) A. Triposkoufi and A. Tsitouri, eds., *Venetian and Knights Hospitallers: Military Architecture Networks* (Athens 2002), with entries written by a number of Greek scholars. Both of these works liberally cite Andrews in their bibliographies. Alexander Paradissis surveys the region of the Peloponnese in volume 2 of his three volume series, *Fortresses and Castles of Greece* (Athens 1972–1976). Although this volume does provide a wealth of interesting topographical detail, it is casually edited, unnecessarily polemical, and the illustrations are never positioned near the corresponding text. Moreover, the author cites authorities without bibliographical documentation. Still, it can be useful when you are exploring lesser-known sites, off the beaten track. For the best-preserved fortresses of the Peloponnese, see the concise *Κάστρα της Ελλάδας* (Athens 2002), pp. 87–139, with text by Nikos Nikoloudis.

Probably the most useful in terms of scholarship, recent bibliography, and portability are the popular and inexpensive, thin burgundy booklets published under the auspices of the Ministry of Culture Archaeological Receipts Fund (ΤΑΠ). These booklets are often authored by Greek scholars who have actually worked at a particular fortress, and the list of sites covered, in both Greek and English versions, is constantly expanding. Recent additions to the series include studies of the fortresses of Acrocorinth, Patras, Monemvasia, and Rethymnon (Crete). In the same series, see also G. Papathanassopoulos and T. Papathanassopoulos, *Pylos-Pylia* (Athens 2000), which has succinct discussions (with photographs and plans) of the fortresses at Pylos,

[5] Haris Kalligas has recently reanalyzed the historical and artistic evidence (*Byzantine Monemvasia: The Sources* [Monemvasia 1990], pp. 227–239). She concludes that the *chrysobull* is genuine and can probably be dated to A.D. 1314. Kevin Andrews may have been correct after all.

[6] Readers should also be aware that some of the transcriptions Andrews made of text shown on the Grimani plans are erroneous; some examples are given by Haris Kalligas in a recent article, "Francesco Grimani at the Gennadius Library," *The New Griffon* 8 (2006), pp. 29–36.

[7] Karpodini-Dimitriadi also has a book on the castles and fortresses of Crete (1995) as well as the more general *The Peloponnese: A Traveller's Guide to the Sites, Monuments, and History* (Athens 1983).

Methoni, and Koroni.[8] The website of the Greek Ministry of Culture also provides a list of all the castles in Greece that are maintained and open for visitation.

For the more serious student of Greek castles, there is another category of books that goes beyond Andrews's efforts. A number of Venetian fortress sites have been the subject of dissertations, articles, and monographs, particularly by Greek students. Andrews concerned himself principally with history and architecture, and, of course, only with those Venetian-held castles in the Grimani portfolio. What the more recent fortress studies have in common is a greater appreciation for, and use of, archival sources, particularly Venetian and Ottoman, and the integration of the castle into broader regional considerations. Of particular note is the seminal work of Siriol Davies on the fiscal arrangements of the Venetian Peloponnese, particularly Navarino, in "Tithe-Collection in the Venetian Peloponnese, 1696–1710," *BSA* 89 (1994), pp. 433–455, and in "Pylos Regional Archaeological Project, Part VI: Administration and Settlement in Venetian Navarino," *Hesperia* 73 (2004), pp. 59–120. She has inspected the archives of Francesco Grimani in Venice and those of Antonio Nani in the National Library of Greece and her publications draw on these materials. Closely related is F. Zarinebaf, J. Bennet, and J. L. Davis, *A Historical and Economic Geography of Ottoman Greece: The Southwestern Morea in the 18th Century* (*Hesperia* Suppl. 34, Princeton 2005), particularly informative on the Ottoman fortress at New Pylos and the Frankish–Venetian–Ottoman fortress at Old Pylos across Navarino Bay (appendixes I–IV).

The utilization of the Venetian archives has allowed scholars to begin constructing what we might term "social and economic histories" of medieval fortress sites in ways never envisioned in Andrews's prospectus. See, for example, the pioneering work of F. Thiriet, *Régestes des délibérations du Sénat de Venise concernant la Romanie*, 3 vols. (Paris 1958–1961); *Délibérations des assemblées vénitiennes concernant la Romanie*, vol. 2: *1364–1463* (Paris 1971); and his fine synthesis (though focusing on the 12th–15th centuries) in *La Romanie vénitienne au Moyen Age* (Paris 1959); as well as the numerous articles by other authors in the journal *Πελοποννησιακά* (e.g., T. Gritsopoulos, "Τὸ ἐν Βενετίᾳ Ἀρχεῖον Grimani καθ' ὅσον ἀφορᾷ εἰς τὴν Πελοπόννησου," *Πελοποννησιακά* 7 [1969–1970], pp. 396–399, a useful catalogue of documents dealing with Francesco Grimani during the years 1697 to 1708).

The unpublished Grimani plans and maps were Andrews's lodestone, and his commentary never strayed far from their physical manifestation. He was content to live in Greece, to be close to the monuments, and to call upon the splendid collection of the Gennadius Library for bibliographical support. He read widely in the literature on medieval Greece, citing early travelers to Greece and contemporary historians, and he relied heavily on W. Miller's classic synthesis, *The Latins in the Levant: A History of Frankish Greece, 1204–1566* (London 1908), a book in some respects now superseded by P. Lock, *The Franks in the Aegean, 1204–1500* (London 1995). He even made use of the correspondence of the Venetian provveditori to the Peloponnese (published in a series of articles by S. Lampros from the 1880s to the 1920s, now translated into modern Greek by A. Tzelika, "Μεταφράσεις Βενετικῶν ἐκθέσεων περὶ Πελοποννήσου," *Πελοποννησιακά* 15 [1982–1984], pp. 127–152; 17 [1987–1988], pp. 141–171; 21 [1995], pp. 33–53; 22 [1996–1997], pp. 58–80), but it is clear that he never went to Venice to search the archives directly for additional material on the Grimani family, or on the engineers named in the plans, or on Venetian fortifications in Greece. Nor did he, apparently, conduct an archival search for period maps, beyond those of Vincenzo Coronelli,

[8] On Pylos and Methoni, see also John A. Biris, *Chora, Pylos, Methoni* (Athens 2002).

that might have provided comparanda to, and context for, the Grimani plans.

Recent scholarship, however, is weaving the castle into the larger fabric of the medieval Greek community and landscape. I mention here the works of only four authors, two of whom (Maria Georgopoulou, the current director, and Haris Kalligas, the former director) are closely associated with the Gennadius Library:

(1) For Nauplion, Diana Wright's dissertation on Bartolomeo Minio (Catholic University, 2000; available online as vol. III, no. 5, of the Electronic Journal of Oriental Studies [http://www2.let.uu.nl/Solis/anpt/ejos/EJOS-III.5.html]) yields important clues about the rulers and subjects, land use, borders, and urban life of 15th-century Nauplion. Of course, the Grimani portfolio includes one of the few purely Venetian constructions of the Second Venetian period, the Palamidi, high above Acronauplia, but Wright's study allows for a comparative study of the two periods of Venetian control. This is especially true when one consults the articles and books by E. D. Liata on Nauplion in the 17th and 18th centuries.

(2) For Venetian Herakleion, see Maria Georgopoulou, *Venice's Mediterranean Colonies: Architecture and Urbanism* (Cambridge 2001).

(3) For Monemvasia, the articles and books by Haris Kalligas have illuminated the life of this Byzantine and Venetian fortress town; see, for example, "Στοιχεία από το αρχείο του Grimani για οχυρωματικά και άλλα έργα της βενετικής διοίκησης στη Μονεμβασία," in *Η εκστρατεία του Morosini και το "Regno di Morea"* (Athens 1998), pp. 59–91.

(4) For Koroni and Methoni, see A. Major, *Les colonies continentales de Venise en Grèce méridionale* (Toulouse 1989), and "Etrangers et minorités ethniques en Messénie vénitienne (XIII^{e}–XV^{e} s.)," *Studi veneziani* 22 (1991), pp. 361–381.

These scholars have demonstrated that the Venetian and Ottoman archives have much yet to offer in the area of castle studies and, more broadly, to our understanding of Greece during the Venetian periods.

Castle studies have also benefited from new information emerging from archaeological excavations, the stuff of material culture not available to Andrews in the immediate postwar years, and by the work of trained architects who have taken medieval and Venetian sites to heart. Andrews was not trained as an archaeologist or even as an architect, and his conclusions resulted from empirical observation, a keen eye and a sharp mind, and a sense of confidence that the walls and their mortar would reveal their secrets if only examined sufficiently. Today we are somewhat more chary about our ability to date fortification walls on the basis of style or construction without accompanying documentation.

The following survey will be necessarily selective. The American School excavations in Ancient Corinth under the direction of Charles K. Williams II uncovered a vast Frankish complex, and this complex figured prominently in the annual reports in *Hesperia* during the early to middle 1990s. The research of the current director of the Corinth excavations, Guy Sanders, is firmly grounded in medieval Greece, as seen by his coedited volume (with Peter Lock, a specialist in Frankish towers), *The Archaeology of Medieval Greece* (Oxbow Monograph 59, Oxford 1996). This book includes an essay on village fortifications in the Venetian Peloponnese. In Crete the mighty Venetian fortresses of Chania, Rethymnon, and Herakleion have received serious archival and architectural study by Ioanna Steriotou: "Η πολιορκία της πόλης των Χανίων από τους Βενετούς το 1692: Οι απεικοωίσεις της στα κρατικά αρχεία της Βενετίας," in Πεπραγμένα

του ΣΤ′ Διεθνούς Κρητολογικού Συνεδρίου, Β′ (Chania 1991), pp. 541–565; *Οι βενετικές οχυρώσεις του Ρεθύμνου, 1540–1646*, 2 vols. (Athens 1992), and the ΤΑΠ booklet, *The Fortetza of Rethymno* (Athens 1989); and *Τα βενετικά τείχη του Χάνδακα τον 16ο και τον 17ο αι.: Το ιστορικό της κατασκευής τους σύμφωνα με βενετικές αρχειακές πηγές* (Herakleion 1998). For Patras, see M. Georgopoulou-Vera, *Το Κάστρο της Πάτρας* (Athens 2000), her ΤΑΠ booklet on the same topic, and her summary article, "Castle of Patra," in *Venetians and Knights Hospitallers* (mentioned earlier), pp. 107–110. Patrice Foutakis has devoted a number of articles to Venetian Modon (Methoni), the latest in the *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* (24 [2005], pp. 89–105), with a nod to Kevin Andrews as the only visitor to the site to comment seriously on the granite column.

In spite of this exciting archaeological work, it is also not an exaggeration to say that systematic excavations at medieval and Venetian castles are a rarity. There are exceptions, as at Astypalaia in the Cyclades, in the fortress-town at Platamon guarding the Vale of Tempe, in the Genovese castle at Mytilene, in the Venetian fortresses at Zakynthos and Corfu, and in the lower town of Monemvasia, but available funds are regularly directed toward consolidation and preservation, often with the goal of creating a community space for summer cultural events and to draw in tourists. Tourism is, indeed, the driving force, and magnificently preserved walls, gates, and towers have an immediate visual impact. No one can dispute that they are national treasures and that they deserve our diligent stewardship. I, too, am seduced by the sheer wonder of them, lit up at night, silhouetted against a black sky, but mere *preservation* does not advance our knowledge of the life and times of the former inhabitants of the castle nor its long and colorful history, nor the relations between lord and subject, rich and poor, foreigner and native, urban and rural, much beyond what Andrews observed over 50 years ago. The castles of the Morea still await detailed study.

We have come full circle—the American School of Classical Studies, Kevin Andrews, and the study of castles. Beyond the interest and research that Andrews's book inspired, there has been a return to the Grimani portfolio itself; see, for example, E. G. L. Pinzelli, "Les forteresses de Morée: Projets de restaurations et démentelèments durant la second période vénitienne (1687–1715)," *Thesaurismata* 30 (2000), pp. 379–427. Recently, Haris Kalligas, while acknowledging the continued use of Andrews's book by historians, architects, and archaeologists, has proposed a new study of the Grimani portfolio, drawing on the extensive Grimani archives in Venice, expanding the discussion of the Grimani family itself, and incorporating all the new research since 1953. Such a massive enterprise will need to be a collaborative effort of a number of scholars who will be responsible for individual fortress sites. The completion of this major project is eagerly awaited. In the meantime, we have Kevin Andrews and his *Castles of the Morea.*

Glenn R. Bugh
Athens and *Riva San Vitale, Switzerland*

Select Bibliography of Kevin Andrews

Castles of the Morea (Gennadeion Monographs IV), Princeton 1953. Reprinted, Amsterdam 1978.
The Flight of Ikaros: A Journey into Greece, London 1959. Revised edition, Harmondsworth 1984.
Athens (Cities of the World 7), London 1967.
First Will & Testament, Athens 1974.
Athens Alive, or The Practical Tourist's Companion to the Fall of Man, Athens 1979.
Byzantine Blues: A Cradle-Song for Neodemocracy, Nicosia 1980.
Greece in the Dark: 1967–1974, Amsterdam 1980.

PREFACE

In 1938 the Director of the Gennadius Library in Athens discovered in Venice a folio of plans of medieval fortresses in the Peloponnese, drawn during the Venetian occupation of 1685–1715. I first saw these plans in 1948, during a year as a fellow of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens. Undertaking their publication, I remained in Greece four years longer.

This book is an attempt to gather together the historical sources relative to the castles figuring in the collection, and to present the results of my archaeological investigation, illustrated by early travellers' descriptions, by photographs of my own, and by the plans of the XVII century Venetian engineers. I have arranged the fortresses in the order as they fell to the armies of the Holy League in the campaigns of 1685–1692, whose course may be traced through the opening sections of the following chapters. In each chapter the fortress' history is recapitulated from its earliest known beginnings to its last military engagement, followed by an analysis of its architecture.

The history of the long Greek Middle Ages is viewed generally in the introduction, treated locally in the chapters, and listed by dates in the chronological table. Throughout the book, and specifically in the conclusion, I have sought to establish—with humility—evidence for the identification of the different periods and builders of the castles of the Morea from the Roman conquest to the Greek War of Independence.

This work has been made possible by the support of Harvard University, the American School of Classical Studies, and the Fulbright Foundation. The opportunity to write it I owe to Dr. Shirley H. Weber, Director of the Gennadeion, whose discovery of the plans and whose keen interest first stimulated an exploration of my own, and whose encouragement and kindness added constantly to its pleasure. To Dr. Lucy T. Shoe I am most fortunately indebted for vigorous and heartening assistance in the editing of my manuscript, and for the sympathetic intelligence for which a writer longs. I wish to express also my thanks to Dr. John L. Caskey, Director of the American School of Classical Studies, to Miss Eurydice Demetrakopoulou, Mrs. Alexandra Dervys, Dr. Peter Topping, and Mr. Takis Demodos of Methone.

To Professor Antoine Bon of Montpellier my obligations are too many to number. To his twenty-five year study of the archaeology of medieval Greece I owe all I know of method and examination. Without his previous publications I would not have known how to begin; without our acquaintance and correspondence I could hardly have continued. To his generosity, which placed at my disposal the unpublished manuscript of his history and monuments of Frankish Achaea, I owe the correction of many mistakes, the relief from uncertainty, and the greater deliverance from unwise certainty. The free choice from his collection of photographs has enabled me to include twenty-three illustrations (Figs. 21, 25, 27, 31, 32, 33, 89, 94, 96, 98, 99, 116, 117, 120, 131, 132, 133, 135, 144, 145, 147, 182, 183), together with the plan of Argos (Fig. 119), drawn by himself and M. Henri Ducoux.

The photographic reproductions of the Grimani plans I owe to the skill of Miss M. Alison Frantz. Nine of the photographs of Acrocorinth (Figs. 151–156, 160–162) were taken by Hermann Wagner. Except for the above

mentioned, and the air views of Acrocorinth, New Navarino, Methone, Nauplia, and Canea (Frontispiece, Figs. 48, 61, 97, 226), the photographs in this book are my own. The sketches and diagrams have been re-drawn from my own originals by Mr. Thomas Fisher, Mrs. Grace Norcross Fisher, and Miss Patricia Baker.

Finally, to Greece as a country the debt of the spirit is, fittingly, not to be measured. I am obliged for many occasions of assistance to the agencies of the Greek Government, whose good faith was particularly welcome in an era when ξένος ἀρχαιολόγος has become almost synonymous in the language with προπαγανδιστής. During a civil war, at a time when communications and accommodation barely existed, one could do no more than throw oneself on the forebearance of the people of the country, who know only one word for stranger and guest, and whose hospitality, generosity, and trust provided a more valuable education than may be found in histories or monuments.

Athens, March, 1948
New York, January, 1953

Kevin Andrews

CONTENTS

ABBREVIATIONS

Annuario = *Annuario della Regia Scuola Archeologica di Atene.*

Ἀρχ. Βυζ. Μνη. = Ἀρχεῖον τῶν Βυζαντινῶν Μνημείων τῆς Ἑλλάδος.

B.C.H. = *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique.*

B.S.A. = *Annual of the British School of Archaeology.*

Bory de Saint-Vincent, *Relation* = J. Bory de Saint-Vincent, *Relation du voyage de la Commission scientifique de Morée* (Paris, 1836–1838), 2 vols.

Byz-Neu. Jahr. = *Byzantinisch-Neugriechische Jahrbücher.*

C. di M. = *Cronaca di Morea*, in Hopf, *Chroniques gréco-romanes* (Berlin, 1873).

Cappelletti = G. Cappelletti, *Storia della Repubblica di Venezia* (Venice, 1850–1855), 13 vols.

Χ. τ. Μ. = Τὸ Χρονικὸν τοῦ Μορέως (*The Chronicle, of the Morea*) ed. J. Schmitt (London, 1904).

Corinth = *Corinth.* Results of Excavations conducted by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens (Cambridge, Mass., 1925–1947. Princeton, N.J., 1948–).

Coronelli, *Description* = V. Coronelli, *Description géographique et historique de la Morée* (Paris, 1686).

Coronelli, *Memorie* = V. Coronelli, *Memorie istoriografiche del regno di Morea*, 2nd ed. (Venice, 1688).

Corp. Scrip. Hist. Byz. = *Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae* (Bonn).

Daru = P. Daru, *Histoire de la République de Venise* (Paris, 1821), 8 vols.

Δελτίον = Δελτίον τῆς Ἱστορικῆς καὶ Ἐθνολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας τῆς Ἑλλάδος.

Foscarini = M. Foscarini, *Historia della Republica Veneta* (Venice, 1722).

Garzoni = P. Garzoni, *Istoria della Repubblica di Venezia in Tempo della Sacra Lega* (Venice, 1705), 2 vols.

Gerola, *Napoli di Romania* = G. Gerola, "Le Fortificazioni di Napoli di Romania," *Annuario*, XIII–XIV, 1930–1931, pp. 347–410.

J.H.S. = *Journal of Hellenic Studies.*

L. de C. = *Livre de la conqueste de la princée de l'Amorée. Chronique de Morée* (*1204–1305*), ed. Longnon (Paris, 1911).

L. de F. = *Libro de los Fechos et Conquistas del Principado de la Morea* (Société de l'Orient latin), ed. A. Morel-Fatio (Geneva, 1885).

Leake, *Morea* = W. Leake, *Travels in the Morea* (London, 1830), 3 vols.

Locatelli = A. Locatelli, *Racconto historico della Veneta Guerra in Levante* (Cologne, 1691), 2 vols.

Miller, *Essays* = W. Miller, *Essays on the Latin Orient* (Cambridge, 1921).

Miller, *Latins* = W. Miller, *The Latins in the Levant: A History of Frankish Greece, 1204–1566* (London, 1908).

La Morea Combattuta (Bologna, 1686) = *La Morea Combattuta dall'Armi Venete* (Bologna, 1686).

La Morea Combattuta (Venice, 1686) = *La Morea Combattuta dall'Armi Venete* (Venice, 1686).

Paruta = P. Paruta, *Historia Vinetiana* (Venice, 1703).

Phrantzes, ed. Bonn = G. Phrantzes, *Annales*, in *Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae* (Bonn, 1838).

Pouqueville, *Voyage* = F. Pouqueville, *Voyage de la Grèce* (Paris, 1826), 6 vols.

Rev. arch. = *Revue archéologique.*

Romanin = S. Romanin, *Storia documentata di Venezia* (Venice, 1853–1861), 10 vols.

Tafel und Thomas, *Urkunden* = G. Tafel und G. Thomas, *Urkunden zur älteren Handels- und Staatsgeschichte der Republik Venedig mit besonderer Beziehung auf Byzanz in die Levante*, in *Fontes Rerum Austriacarum, II. Diplomataria et Acta*, vols. XII–XIV (Vienna, 1856–1857).

Zakythinos, *Despotat*, I = D. Zakythinos, *Le Despotat grec de Morée*, vol. I (Paris, 1932).

ILLUSTRATIONS

FIGURES IN THE TEXT

PLATES

CASTLES OF THE MOREA

Fig. 1. Map of Medieval Greece.

INTRODUCTION

The title of this book is brief and correspondingly indefinite. More exactly, it is a description of sixteen of the larger medieval fortresses in the Peloponnese, occupied by the Venetians during the period 1685–1715, and drawn by their engineers round the year 1700. More generally, it is about Greece during the Middle Ages, in the sense that in Greece the Middle Ages have continued, without major interruptions, into the present day. Deprived of the Renaissance, admitted to Europe only in the XIX century, still waiting for her industrial revolution, Greece presents a peculiar and unfamiliar history as background for a book on castles.

This medieval aspect of Greece needs to be taken into account, no less, as the background to the present epoch, if either are to be comprehensible. In the V century B.C. Greece resisted and threw back the invasions of Asia. Three hundred years later she fell captive to Rome, which transmitted Hellenistic civilization to the western half of Europe. The legacy of Greece has come to us third-hand, filtered and re-filtered through Rome and the Renaissance. What we have is a painting of a painting. The original living image has been transformed. The great myths of a primitive tribe that covered the mysteries of man and nature wend their way through weary Roman epics, emerge again in courtly lyrics, declaim themselves upon the stage of Madame de Maintenon's school for young girls, and finish up as the musty devices of a literature of revivals. The aesthetic predilections of a different time and place have embalmed Antiquity and varnished it over with concepts of restraint, rationality, and remoteness, like an object under a glass bell. Modern scholarship has smashed the glass, and exposed what lay beneath it to the rough winds of reinterpretation, so that we begin to make out the image of a hot, turbulent, uncomfortable country, and a race whose peculiar genius was to curb the meridional violence of its nature with the forms of art. Still, however, in the popular mind, and for most of the western world, ancient Greece remains a sort of cool, ideal condition, decorated with snow-white pediments in a Mediterranean as tranquil as Baedeker or *The Tanglewood Tales*, peopled with eminent Victorians called Themistocles and Plato. For the most part we are still children of the Enlightenment, and cling to this ideal Antiquity as the direct and fitting parent of our civilization, while we keep our gaze averted from the age between, the centuries which swallowed up the last of the Legions and the *Pax Romana.*

In Greece to-day the traveller may note, among the ruins of the Ancient World, the erection of the barracks and pillboxes guarding communications through the mountains of Arkadia, and the regiments raising the defense lines across the coastal plain between Mount Olympos and the sea; and be reminded of that other age given over to danger, less chronicled

but closer to us than Troy or Actium, whose memorials cover the mountain passes and valleys, clifftops and harbors, from Crete to Macedonia. Where, he may ask, is the classical Greece he has been brought up with, in the long afterglow of the Renaissance? Instead of shining templestones chiselled with the resources of perfection, these fortresses of medieval Greece crouch to the contours of the land with crumbling, roofless walls of rubble, built with the mark of haste, as if there were not time between one invasion and the next to build them. The columns have fallen, and the upright bodies of the gods and charioteers have given way to the murky features of the saints, in whose melancholy slit-eyes or open glare of pity we read the warning of an age that has seen the columns fall and gone into the defensive, waiting for invasions and the Judgment.

They strike a familiar note to-day, after the bombs have fallen, among our underground lines and our research laboratories, whose hint of destruction sets us far off from the sunnier centuries of Metternich or Pericles, Louis XIV or Gladstone or Augustus Caesar. Our affinity is rather with that intervening period of disorder, where we can see the familiar crises preenacted among the crumbling social fabrics, the frightened governments, and the towering efforts of the unheroic.

Yet though our civilization claims to have been born in Ancient Greece, with its one or two centuries so bright that a squabble of two villages has set the pattern of world wars, still it is the whole of Greece, from the beginning to the present, whose history serves as the compass of human events. Let it guide us past Alexandria and Rome into its darkest period, where we shall find more signposts and read more oracles. Here in a small space are empires fighting, measuring their fortunes in the grip or loss of colonies; wars waged in the name of Christianity and civilization; native peoples fighting the encroachment of outsiders, fighting against each other with the outsiders' help; and the technique of civil war so fully developed that the crisis of one country reflects the conflict of nations. It is the Middle Ages which determined Greece's relation to the world of to-day.

With the end of the Roman Empire, however, the East Mediterranean world vanishes from our Western textbooks. Side glances at medieval Greece are mostly accompanied by attempts to squeeze it, together with classical Antiquity, into the framework of a single European history, despite the divergence of their strains. Europe has been endlessly revolutionized. Its geography and institutions have been cut up into sections, and with each change the past has been set off always at further and further removes. Its present is the end of a road with many turnings. The vanishing of the empire that had unified the world, the rise of independent cities while Rome crumbled, the rise of nation-states, the blotting out of tradition and learning, the rediscovery of learning in a new tradition, the Reformation and the breakdown of a single church, the discovery of the New World and the expansion of Europe, colonization, imperialism, industrial and political revolutions, the replacing of religion by science and the class war: all this on one hand. And in contrast, the Eastern Mediterranean where the Emperors of the Romans ruled down to the century that saw the discovery of America.

Here was a huge state, always on the defensive, gradually shrinking over a thousand years, while bit by bit was broken off its edges in the long fight against the Arabs from the South, the Turks from the East, the Slavs from the North, and the Franks from the West of Europe. Within these limits it preserved its political integrity and its traditions unbroken. The palace revolts of Constantinople were not enough to destroy the Empire. Orthodox Christianity was again and again asserted over the heresies which shook it, while Christian