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THESPROTIA EXPEDITION I
TOWARDS A REGIONAL HISTORY

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by Björn Forsén

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Cover: The Early Hellenistic fortress Agios Donatos of Zervochori seen from the south.
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*Dedicated to the memory of
my dearest Pedyà İleri (Dino)
and my soul brother Suphi İleri (Dino)
with gratitude for the wonderful summers
we managed to share in Doğan Apartman
(E.B.)*

Tsamouria – Nineteenth Century Ottoman Thesprotia

Evangelia Balta, Fehmi Yilmaz and Filiz Yaşar

Introduction

The history of the late Ottoman *sancak* of Chamlik (Tsamouria), roughly corresponding to the modern prefecture of Thesprotia, is exceptionally interesting because of the ethnic and religious composition of the population of its three *kazas* – Aydonat (Agiōs Donatos, Paramythia), Filyat (Philiiates) and Margaliç (Margariti) – in which there was a strong Albanian presence starting from the late fourteenth century.¹ We are participating in the Thesprotia Expedition firstly because we want to investigate the ethnic-religious character of the settlement pattern in Thesprotia during the centuries just after the Ottoman conquest, and secondly because we want to ascertain whether and to what extent the Ottoman sources record evidence of Islamization during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In other words, the purpose of our participation is to approach in historiographical terms the thorny issue of the Chams, the Muslim Albanian-speaking inhabitants of southwest Epirus.²

Presented in this chapter are the results of research in nineteenth- and early twentieth-century sources from the Prime Ministry Ottoman Archives in Istanbul. The study emerged from the need to clarify the settlement pattern of the *kazas* of Aydonat, Filyat and Margaliç, on the solid ground of the nineteenth century, before embarking on the study of the Ottoman tax registers of the previous centuries. On account of the fiscal character of the material for the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, reconstructing the settlement pattern is more difficult, more complicated and, furthermore, less secure if there is no cross-checking of the documentation from registers of different type.

Indicative of this situation is the *vilayet* of Vayonetya, as the geographical area under study was named, immediately after the Ottoman conquest. The *vilayet-i Vayonetya* was the administrative successor to the Byzantine province of Vagenitia, which according to M. Lascaris extended northwards as far as Cheimarra and southwards as far as the Glykis river (Acheron), encompassing Delvino within its boundaries, but not

¹ The main author of this chapter is Evangelia Balta (National Hellenic Research Foundation). Fehmi Yilmaz (Marmara University, Istanbul) helped in collecting the sources in the Prime Ministry Archives in Istanbul, and Filiz Yaşar (postgraduate student at Hacettepe University) in her turn took part in the final stages of processing the material.

² Michalopoulos 1986; Krapsitis 1991; Krapsitis 1992; Hart 1999; Kretsi 2002, 171-195; Manta 2004; Kretsi 2005, 57-71; Margaritis 2005, 132-220.

Argyrokastró.³ Nevertheless, the *vilayet-i Vayonetya*, as Aikaterini and Spyros Asdrachas have demonstrated by comparison of the toponyms in the 1361 chrysobull and the 1431 timar register, covered a smaller area than the homonymous Byzantine province. There were very few overlaps, since after the Ottoman conquest the region of Sopoto to the north constituted an administrative district of its own. Furthermore the *vilayet-i Vayonetya* did not include Tsarkovista to the east, while to the south it reached only to Mazaraki in the region of Margariti.⁴

The example of the *vilayet* of Vayonetya shows clearly that the Ottoman administrative provinces may refer in name to those existing before the conquest, but differ in their territorial definition and administrative composition. Bearing this in mind, we opted to begin our research from the nineteenth century, a period in which the Ottoman State itself had undertaken to record the state of affairs in its *vilayets*. The nineteenth-century experience will be of help for us when following the changes in the region during the preceding centuries, when population movements created settlements whose names changed many times, each time corresponding to the name of the settlers' kindred.

Tsamouria

The *kazas* of Aydonat, Filyat and Margaliç belonged from the mid-nineteenth century onwards to the *vilayet* of Yanya (Ioannina).⁵ As indicated by the censuses included in the *salnames*, the Official Yearbooks published by the Ottoman State for the *vilayet* of Yanya, the boundaries of the three *kazas* coincided in large part with the boundaries of the present prefecture of Thesprotia. This region was called Tsamouria, which name derives from its inhabitants, the Chams, an Albanian tribe. Tsamouria is encountered as a geographical term in an Ottoman document of 1820.⁶ In the same period, the early nineteenth century, foreign travellers such as Colonel W.M. Leake and the Consul General of Great Britain, William Meyer,⁷ as well as contemporary Epirot men of letters such as Ch. Perraivos and A. Psalidas, call the Albanian-speaking population of the region Chams, Tsamides, or Tsamouriotes, and the geographical space in which they dwell Tsamouria.⁸ Since the mid-nineteenth century the Ottomans were planning to unify the three *kazas* into an administrative district of its own, a *sancak* called Çamlık (Tsamouria), but this was not fulfilled until 1910.

Already in the early nineteenth century, H. Skene gathered exceptionally interesting information on the Albanian tribes – the Gekides-Mirdites, Toskides, Liapides and Tsamides (Chams) – that he presented in his 1848 lecture delivered in the Ethnological Society, London.⁹ Recently G. Arsh has discussed the complexity of relations in this frontier region in the late eighteenth and the early nineteenth century through the internal clashes of Ottoman paşas of neighbouring *sancaks* in order to consolidate their might,

³ Lascaris 1942.

⁴ Inalcık 1954; Asdracha and Asdrachas 1992, 239-246.

⁵ Kokolakis 2003, 187-192.

⁶ HAT 397/20922 (11.R.1235/27.01/1820).

⁷ Prevelakis and Kalliataki-Mertikopoulou 1996, 303.

⁸ Psimouli 2006, 107.

⁹ Skene 1848-1856, 159-181.

besides the claims and conflicts of Venetians, French, Russians and Britons with the Ottoman State. He describes the complicated game of coalitions, of the affiliation of the various clans by manipulating the rivalries existing between the local feudal families. A typical tactic of the Venetians, French and Russians, in order to put pressure on the Ali Paşa Tepedelenli, was to incite the Dalianides of Konispoli, the Tsaparides of Margariti, the Pronioi of Paramythia or the Souliotes to wage war against him, in most cases providing them with arms. On the other hand, Ali Paşa Tepedelenli used the military machine of the Cham *ağas* in his attacks against the Souliotes, and also benefited from the peasants' discontent by capturing, one after the other, the strongholds of the Tsamouria aristocracy and appropriating their lands.¹⁰

Vasso Psimouli, in her doctoral dissertation on Souli, examines the relations between the highland martial community of Souliotes and the Cham *ağas* and Ottoman officials. The brigandage of the Souliot clans in the plains of Paramythia and Phanari took income from the Cham beys and *ağas*, who profited from life-term tax farms (*malikane*) and their land-holdings, threatening their domination and might, as well as correspondingly that of the Ottoman authorities.¹¹ However, treaties of friendship and non-aggression also existed between the Christian Souliotes and the Albanian clans; for example, Photos Tzavelas was a blood-brother of the most powerful bey of Paramythia, Islia Pronios, just as Suleyman Tziaparis, bey of Margariti, was a friend of the brigand Lapas from Litochoro, Olympos.¹² The Souliotes' tactic differed little from that of the likewise Albanian-speaking Muslim Chams towards the surrounding population. For as Vasso Psimouli has shown, the Souliotes were not the leaders of a liberationist struggle on behalf of their fellow Christians in their region, because those villages that suffered the armed action of the Souliotes became neither autonomous nor free, as the mythopoeic historiography regarding Souli would lead us to believe.¹³

M. Kokolakis in a recent book studied the administrative structure of the three *kazas* of Tsamouria, publishing a list of all settlements based on the 1895 *salname*. Furthermore he collated the population data for these *kazas* as recorded by the Ottoman authorities of the *vilayet* of Yanya.¹⁴

Our contribution to the existing strong bibliographical base briefly presented here lies in the deposition of evidence that emerged from research in unpublished Ottoman archival material and in published Ottoman sources. The archival material we collected for the nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries was the basis for compiling the list of the *kaimakams* (head official of a district as a *kaza*) and *naibs* (substitute judge) of the three *kazas*, which is published as Appendix II accompanying this chapter, as the majority of documents found in the archive concerned appointments and transfers of civil servants, procedures set in motion by the reforms of the Ottoman Empire.¹⁵ Striking is the scant documentation for the period of domination of Ali Paşa Tepedelenli in the region, extremely important from the point of view of the events enacted. Those documents we located refer to the final phase of Ali's operations against Souli.¹⁶

¹⁰ Arsh 1994; Arsh 2007, 198-200.

¹¹ Psimouli 2006, 95-111, 305-311.

¹² Vasdravellis 1950, 10.

¹³ Psimouli 1996.

¹⁴ Kokolakis 2003, 268-271, 310-312; Kokolakis 1989 and Kokolakis 1993.

¹⁵ Theocharidis 1983.

In Appendix I are gathered demographic data from the register of the Bishop of Paramythia (1827 and 1834),¹⁷ the statistical tables of P. Aravantinos (1856) and the *salname* for the year 1895,¹⁸ whereas information about public buildings and population given in the *salname* of 1872/73 is collected in Appendix III. In the tables are recorded the settlements with their populations, and evidence is cited from Greek sources of the period on their ethnic and religious identity. Noted next to the name of the settlement is the land-ownership regime. The settlements are classified correspondingly as privately owned *çiftlik* villages, inalienable free villages (*karye*) and *muaceles*. The last are a special category of villages in which the Ottoman State allocated land-holdings – of which it never relinquished ownership – as concessions to individuals, in order to cultivate them. The concessionaire paid an annual rent, over and above which he was also obliged to pay a tithe of the produce. These villages, which occur mainly in Thessaly, Epirus and Macedonia, and which are also called *imlâks* or *imlâk* villages, resulted from confiscations of immovable properties by dynasts such as Ali Paşa of Yanya, as N.I. Eleftheriadis notes,¹⁹ referring precisely to the case examined here.

The process of forming the *çiftliks*, which outnumber the free villages in the *kazas* of Aydonat, Filyat and Margaliç, became generalized in the mid-eighteenth century. In the plain of Paramythia, Phanari and in the Tsamochoria, the Cham beys and *ağas* – through the method of renting public incomes for life, the display of strength, the use of force and the provision of protection – became, as time passed, possessors of the reayas' lands. Very often, the land properties of villages were turned into *çiftliks* after contracting high-interest loans, and the direct producers were reduced from inhabitants and possessors of their lands to lessees of farms or agricultural labourers. With the expansion of the *çiftliks* the rural population not only shouldered new economic burdens, but also, as Aravantinos writes, “in Tsamouria the *ağas* or patrons treated those under their protection as if they were serfs”.²⁰ Families of local feudal lords and dignitaries of the Sublime Porte laid claims to sovereignty of the lands. Tahir Paşa was forced to give half his lands in Louros and Lamari to Ali Tepedelenli Paşa, and to sell the rest to him, as a result of which the total land-holding brought Ali Paşa an annual income of 100,000 grossi.²¹ The stable demand for agricultural produce was a serious incentive for acquiring new *çiftliks*. The methods by which Ali Paşa usurped the land-holdings of others were described already in the nineteenth century.²²

In the present study we examine from Ottoman sources the area of Thesprotia in the nineteenth century, up until the Balkan Wars, when it was annexed to the Greek State. We shall follow the picture that emerges from the archival material preserved in the imperial capital, about this frontier region of the Ottoman Empire and its population. From the first years after the conquest its population was used to defend the Porte's interests vis-à-vis foreigners, but was also used by foreigners as a lever to pressurize the Porte and the local nobles, by subverting it into revolutionary movements against these. F. Pouqueville gives

¹⁶ E.g. see *HAT* 82/3414 (18.S.1219/29.05.1804); *HAT* 82/3414/A (17.M.1219/28.04.1804); *HAT* 82/3414B (29.Z.1219/31.03.1805).

¹⁷ Betis 1986-87.

¹⁸ Kokolakis 2003a.

¹⁹ Eleftheriadis 1915, 74-75.

²⁰ Arsh 1994, 137.

²¹ Psimouli 2006, 274, note 233.

²² *Demokopia*, 64-65. Also Dimitropoulos 2007, 61-72.



Fig. 1. Map of Souli, including all of the kaza of Aydonat and part of the kaza of Margaliç (after Aravantinos 1895).

a most vivid assessment of the political game of Venice in the region:

“Ainsi, depuis Buthrotum jusqu’à Prevesa, la république de Saint-Marc couvrait ses possessions de terre-ferme par les anarchies de la Chimère, de Conispoli et de Philiatès, qui tenaient en bride le pacha de Delvino. Au moyen des beys de Margariti et de Paramithia, elle arrêtaient les entreprises des visirs de Janina; et pour contenir les beys mohamétans, elle faisait agir à son gré les peuplades chrétiennes de Souli et de l’Acrocéraune, de sorte qu’elle avait une prépondérance masquée, et pourtant décisive, dans les affaires de l’Albanie”.²³

The *kaza* of Aydonat

The *kaza* of Aydonat consists mainly of the Kokytos valley (Fig. 1), which used to be characterized by several seasonal lakes and marshy areas. In Roman times the main settlement of this area was the colonia Photike, located at Liboni close to Paramythia. According to Prokopios (*De Aed.* IV.I.37-38), Photike stood on low-lying ground and was

²³ Pouqueville 1826-27, 125-126.

surrounded by stagnant water. Therefore Justinian decided that it was impossible to build walls around the town and instead chose to build a fortress by name Agios Donatos close by on higher ground.²⁴ This fortress, named after the Bishop of Euroia, St. Donatos,²⁵ is usually associated with the rocky crag above modern Paramythia, which in Ottoman times was known as the castle of Aydonat. In the years of Ottoman rule the castle of Aydonat secured together with another five burgs – Belesi, Lefterochori, Paliochori, Zaravoutsis and Kakosouli – the military defence and protection of the nearby populations of arable farmers and stock-raisers from incursions. Souli was subject to the *kaza* of Paramythia until its dissolution. According to the *salname* of 1308 (1892-1893), with the exception of Belesi, all the other *castra* were built in the time of Ali Paşa Tepedelenli, implying the building of forts and towers on the naturally fortified hills of Kougio and Bira, which were manned by Liapides and Muslims from Kurveleshi.²⁶ It is also noted in this *salname* that antiquities and a sarcophagus with decorated exterior surfaces had been found in Liboni.²⁷

In the archival material from the early centuries, as for example in the reign of Sultan Murad III (1546-1595), the *kaza* of Aydonat is referred to as belonging to the *vilayet* of Yanya.²⁸ From the seventeenth century, according to head-tax registers as well as on the basis of the testimony of Evliya Çelebi, and until the early nineteenth century, it is recorded as a *nahiye* of the *sancak* of Delvino,²⁹ whereas from the mid-nineteenth century until the 1910s the *kaza* of Aydonat was again subject to the *vilayet* of Yanya.³⁰

In the mid-nineteenth century, the issue of unification of the *kazas* of Aydonat, Margaliç and Filyat into a *kaymakamlık* (prefecture) to be named Çamlıca, Çamlık (Tsamouria), was mooted. The name, as declared in the *salname* for 1308 (1892-1893), was chosen on account of the Albanian Chams, who constituted the majority of the population.³¹ The idea of unifying the three *kazas* should undoubtedly be linked with the revolutionary movement in Epirus in 1854. There had been similar insurrections in Thessaly and Macedonia, during the Crimean War, expressing the Orthodox populations' support for Russia. The creation of an administrative district in which the Muslim Albanians were the majority population element would divert the Orthodox Christian Rums from similar uprisings in the future. However, the unification of the *kazas* was abandoned for various reasons. Firstly, the Ottoman Empire, wounded and financially exhausted by the Crimean War, was in no position to provide funding for the founding of new administrative centres, which in this particular case demanded at least 500,000 grossi.³² Furthermore, there were vigorous reactions from the Cham ağas of Preveza,

²⁴ For Photike's relocation to Agios Donatos see Chrysos 1997, 155, 167; Soustal 1981, 236-237. For Prokopios' description see also Bowden in this volume.

²⁵ Oikonomou 1983.

²⁶ Moschopoulos 1960, 116.

²⁷ *Yanya Salnamesi* 1308, 130.

²⁸ *MAD* no. 1351.

²⁹ *MAD* nos. 6851, 15207, 16152; *İE.AS.* 1582/16 (24.R.1079/01.10.1668), *İE.AS.* 1786/19 (27.S.1080/27.07.1669), *İE.AS.* 1268/13 (12.L.1089/27.11.1678), *İE.AS.* 3018/33 (26.Z.1112/03.06.1701), *İE.AS.* 3019/33 (14.B.1115/23.11.1703), *İE.AS.* 16577/280 (29.Z.1227/03.01.1813). Evliya Çelebi 2003, 293.

³⁰ *A.MKT.UM.* 302/65 (05.Ca.1274/23.12.1857). Kokolakis 2003, 187.

³¹ *Yanya Salnamesi* 1308, 225-228. Cf. also *A.MKT.UM.* 307/29 (28.C.1274/13.02.1858).

³² *A.MKT.UM.* 188/22 (13.B.1271/01.04.1855); *DH.EUM.3.Şb* 3/15 (24.M.1333/13.12.1913); *A.MKT.MVL.* 100/100 (28.M.1275/07.09.1858).

who of old, through the system of leasing, controlled lands and taxes of Margariti, Phanari and Paramythia. Hence, they persuaded the central administration that the relations of production would be disrupted and endangered, that a serious threat would be posed to the region's trading activities, and that there would be significant losses of income from the exports shipped out of the harbour of Preveza. Thus, by the end of the 1850s the idea of creating the *sancak* of Çamlık was abandoned. It returned, however, some fifty years later, shortly before the outbreak of the Balkan Wars. In 1908 the three *kazas* united to form the *sancak* of Çamlık, whose capital was Igoumenitsa, where a government house and mosques were built, and which was renamed Reşadiye in 1911.³³ M. Kokolakis maintains that the unification of Tsamouria into a common *sancak* in 1910 can be attributed to the need to combat Greek influence in the said provinces.³⁴

The *kaza* of Aydonat had eight mosques and *mescids* (small mosques), one of which had been built in the reign of Bayezid II (1481-1512). They are mentioned also by Evliya Çelebi, from whose narratives E.H. Ayverdi compiled the list of Muslim monuments in the region.³⁵ In the 62 settlements of the *kaza*, which are recorded in the *salnames*, there were 15 mosques and eight monasteries, as well as churches in all the Christian villages. In the hills around the town were the cemetery and three mausoleums with tombs (*türbe*), places of pilgrimage for many visitors. Rice was the region's most important crop, along with other agricultural produce such as cereals, legumes, flax, garlic, onions and vegetables. In the years just before the Greek War of Independence, a considerable number of inhabitants were involved with rice-growing in the regions of Louros and Paramythia, where olive oil was also produced in abundance. Seventeenth-century registers attest that olive oil from Aydonat was sent to the kitchen of the Imperial Palace, as were Albanian cheese, olives and rice.³⁶ Consequently, Evliya Çelebi's comment that Aydonat olives were superior in quality to those of Koroni, the Syro-Palestinian littoral and Karaburnu, so that the sultan's men came each year to harvest them, may be associated with the supplying of the Palace. The *salname* of 1308 (1892-1893) notes that there were no forests on the surrounding mountains. The vegetation consisted of holm oaks and scrub, and the existence of two meadows is recorded. In addition to agriculture and animal husbandry, the inhabitants were employed as blacksmiths, carpet-weavers and tile-makers; tiles were among the region's exports. On the basis of data in the *salname* of 1306 (1890-1891), of the total amount of tax, 990,171 grossi, the tax on livestock (sheep and goats) represented the greatest percentage (30%), eloquent testimony of the important role of stock-raising in the *kaza*'s economy.

Appendix III presents data relating to the many different shops in the town of Aydonat (Fig. 2), which was also the seat of the *kaymakamlık* with a directorate of economic services, a cadastral service and various law-courts (*Şer-i Mahkeme*, *Mahkeme Bidayet Dairesi*). The Mufti, the four-member Municipal Council (*Belediye*) and the Administrative Council (*Meclis-i İdare*), likewise with four members, three of them Muslim, administered the town. Aydonat also housed the Episcopal See of Paramythia. The *salname* of 1872-1873 records the name of the bishop, Anthimos, who was none

³³ *İ.DH.* 1480/1328/Ra-16 (12. Ra.1328/24.03.1910); *DH.İD.* 128/4 (13.L.1329/06.10.1911); *MV.* 130/27 (15. B.1327/02.08.1909).

³⁴ Kokolakis 2003, 94.

³⁵ Evliya Çelebi 2003, 293. Ayverdi 1982, 297, nos. 3024-3044.

³⁶ *İ.MVL.* 483/21910 (11.L.1279/31.03.1863) and *MAD* no. 18320.



Fig. 2. View of the town of Paramythia with one of its mosques in the background (F. Boissonas 1913, after Thesprotia 2004, 84).

other than the subsequent Patriarch Anthimos VII. The bishopric of Paramythia, which also included the short-lived bishopric of Giromeri, was promoted to a metropolis in June 1895, during the patriarchy of Anthimos VII, who hailed from Plisivitsa, Philiates.³⁷ In 1893 unknown miscreants set fire to the residence of Bishop Parthenios and the authorities ordered an investigation to find the arsonists.³⁸ Since 1890 the services of Aydonat included a telegraph office, a post office, a police station, a customs house and a branch of the tobacco monopoly (Regie),³⁹ while from 1910 a branch of the Agricultural Bank (*Ziraat Bankası*) and a Municipal Surgery were operating there.⁴⁰

The town had four elementary schools (*mekteb-i sibyan*) – one belonging to the Christian community – and one high school (*mekteb-i rüşdiye*). The *salname* of 1288 (1872-1873) mentions 160 pupils in the town of Aydonat, 100 of whom were Muslims.⁴¹ In the following years other schools were founded and a four-member committee (*maarif komisyonu*) was set up to monitor them.⁴² The expenses of building and operating the schools were covered by contributions of the inhabitants. Primary schools were also built in several villages, such as Karabunar (Karvounari). In 1907 the school was housed in a

³⁷ Oikonomou 1964, 43-51; Germanos 1937, 80-81.

³⁸ *Y.A.HUS.* 271/13 (18.Ş.1310/07.03.1893); *DH.MKT.* 41/6 (02.Za.1310/18.05.1893).

³⁹ *Yanya Salnamesi* 1288, 36; *Yanya Salnamesi* 1292, 47-48; *Yanya Salnamesi* 1293, 48; *Yanya Salnamesi* 1306, 81-82; *Yanya Salnamesi* 1308, 128-129; *Yanya Salnamesi* 1319, 114-116.

⁴⁰ *DH.MUİ.* 85/51 (04.Ca.1328/14.05.1910); *DH.MUİ.* 7/-1/33 (23.Ş.1327/09.09.1909).

⁴¹ *Yanya Salnamesi* 1288, 106.

⁴² *A.MKT.NZD.* 335/59 (04.C.1277/18.12.1860).

timber construction, since the former building had been destroyed in the 1895 earthquake.⁴³ Many documents refer to the damage this earthquake caused to houses and shops in the districts of Margariti and Paramythia. The Ottoman State had distributed army tents and provided money to erect temporary shelters to house the population.⁴⁴ There had been a previous equally destructive earthquake in 1851.⁴⁵

According to data in the *salname* for 1288 (1872-1873), there were 2,570 houses in the district of Aydonat and the population was 11,900 persons – 3,900 of them Muslims (33%) and 8,000 Christians (67%). In 1890 the population of the town of Aydonat was recorded as 2,006 persons, over half of them Muslims (1,134). In 1895 the *salname* records 2,633 houses distributed in the 62 settlements of the *kaza*, with a total population of 14,648, but makes no reference to their ethnic composition. In this period the settlements were classified according to the tenancy regime as 50 *çiftlik*s and 12 free villages. Half a century earlier, according to P. Aravantinos, five free villages, 52 *çiftlik*s and eight *muaceles* were recorded. If this distribution is combined (see Appendix I) with the data he cites also in his *Chronicle* (1856), concerning the language and the religious identity of the inhabitants of the villages, then the percentage of *çiftlik*s (92%), as M. Kokolakis rightly observes, shows that the *çiftlik*-building process first hit areas inhabited by Christians.⁴⁶ Extremely interesting is the information collected by Vasso Psymouli on the process of creating powerful families, which from managers of taxes, such as the Proniatis family in Paramythia, became *çiftlik* holders, accruing wealth as well as political and military might.⁴⁷

Greek sources mention that in 1902 the population of the district of Paramythia was 15,000 persons (9,000 Christians and 6,000 Muslims).⁴⁸ In 1905, according to the directives of the Ottoman government, the Orthodox Christians (*Rum*) should be distinguished by four ethnic categories: Orthodox Greeks, Orthodox Bulgarians, Orthodox Bosnians, Orthodox Albanians. With this distinction the Sublime Porte detached the Albanian-speaking Orthodox Christians of Epirus from the general category of Rum Orthodox.⁴⁹ The ethnic make-up of the population of Paramythia, on the basis of contemporary Greek assessments, was:⁵⁰

| | | |
|---|--------------|--------|
| Greek-speaking Orthodox Christians | 8,500 | |
| Albanian-speaking and simultaneously Greek-speaking Orthodox Christians | <u>1,500</u> | 10,000 |
| Greek-speaking Muslims | 1,000 | |
| Albanian-speaking and simultaneously Greek-speaking Muslims | <u>4,000</u> | 15,000 |

⁴³ *Y.MTV.* 303/6 (02.N.1325/09.10.1907); *İ.AZN.* 71/1325/Ra-21 (29.Ra.1325/12.05.1907).

⁴⁴ *İ.HUS.* 37/1312/Za-74 (22.Za.1312/17.05.1895); *Y.A.HUS.* 328/34 (23.Za.1312/18.05.1895); *Y.MTV.* 120/121(30.Za.1312/25.05.1895); *Y.PRK.DH.* 9/15 (27.B.1313/12.01.1896).

⁴⁵ Nikolaidou 1979, 103.

⁴⁶ Kokolakis 2003, 70-71.

⁴⁷ Psimouli 2006, 97-104.

⁴⁸ Christovassilis 1902, 11-12.

⁴⁹ Giarali-Papadopoulou 1978, 120-121.

⁵⁰ Christovassilis 1905, 29-31.

The *kaza* of Filyat

The *kaza* of Filyat (Philiates) borders with the *kaza* of Yanya and Pogoni to the east and is lapped by the Adriatic Sea to the west (Fig. 3). To its south are the *kazas* of Margaliç and Aydonat, and to the north is the *kaza* of Argyrokastro. The region was conquered by Sultan Murad II and entered in the *vilayet* of Vayonetia in 1431. In the first centuries of Ottoman rule it was a *nahiye* of the *sancak* of Delvino, with the name Parakalamos,⁵¹ at least until the eve of the Greek Revolution.⁵² From the mid-nineteenth century it is inscribed as a *kaza* of the *vilayet* of Argyrokastro⁵³ and in 1872 it passed to the *vilayet* of Yanya,⁵⁴ where it was to remain until its inclusion in the *sancak* of Reşadiye (*sancak* of Chamlik) in 1910. In nineteenth-century documents the *kaza* of Philiates appears to include a smaller administrative district, the *nahiye* of Sayada.⁵⁵ Sayada was an outpost from which produce of the area was circulated. Evliya Çelebi extols its importance for the transit trade of the Yanya area, as well as for cities such as Salonica, Serres, Yenişehir (Larisa) and Trikala, and mentions the presence there of a Venetian consul.⁵⁶ France had maintained a consulate in Sayada since 1695, to serve the needs of its trading relations with the region, before transferring it to Arta.⁵⁷

Of the 66 settlements recorded in the *salname* of 1308 (1892-1893), 39 are *çiftlik* villages and 25 free villages. The *kaza* had rich yields of agricultural and stock-raising products. However, the principal source of its income was animal husbandry. The population was involved with viticulture and olive cultivation, alongside growing cereals and tending citrus trees. The soil was fertile, due to alluvial silt deposits from the Kalamas and Salisis rivers and their tributaries. There were 35 mills operating along their banks in the late nineteenth century. The region exported acorns and vegetal dyes, processed wool, manufactured carpets, woollen socks, capes, and so on. Goods were imported from Istanbul, Korfu and Trieste. The woods were full of game and in the late nineteenth century hunters came there from Britain, France and other countries, as is mentioned in the *salname* for 1308 (1892-1893) and Ottoman documents.⁵⁸ The salina at Sayada produced 800,000 okas of salt annually,⁵⁹ which were exported mainly to Britain, which installed an agent in Sayada from the mid-nineteenth century in order to negotiate and arrange commercial transactions.⁶⁰ In the *kaza* of Philiates too, the largest tax income came from stock-raising. The second source of income was payments in lieu of military service (*bedel-i askeri*). Thus, perhaps economic reasons, beyond political ones, lay behind the fact that the Orthodox Rums of Philiates and Margariti were not accepted in the ranks, not even as auxiliaries;⁶¹ instead of conscription they paid the

⁵¹ MAD no. 10198.

⁵² The documentation refers to the revolutionary activity of the metropolitan of Philiates and his deacon; see HAT 921/40069 (11.Ş.1236/14.05.1821).

⁵³ A.MKT.UM. 292/2 (24.M.1274/13.09.1857). See also Kokolakis 2003, 154.

⁵⁴ İ.MMS. 54/2401 (30.S.1293/26.03.1876).

⁵⁵ DH.İD. 144/1/39 (17.L.1330/29.09.1912).

⁵⁶ Evliya Çelebi 2003, 295.

⁵⁷ Arsh 1994, 137.

⁵⁸ DH.MKT. 1485/58 (01.C.1305/13.02.1888); DH.MKT. 1487/26 (07.C.1305/19.02.1888). See also Yanya Salnamesi 1308, 136-137.

⁵⁹ Yanya Salnamesi 1308, 136-137.

⁶⁰ HR.MKT. 44/36 (27.Ca.1268/19.03.1852).

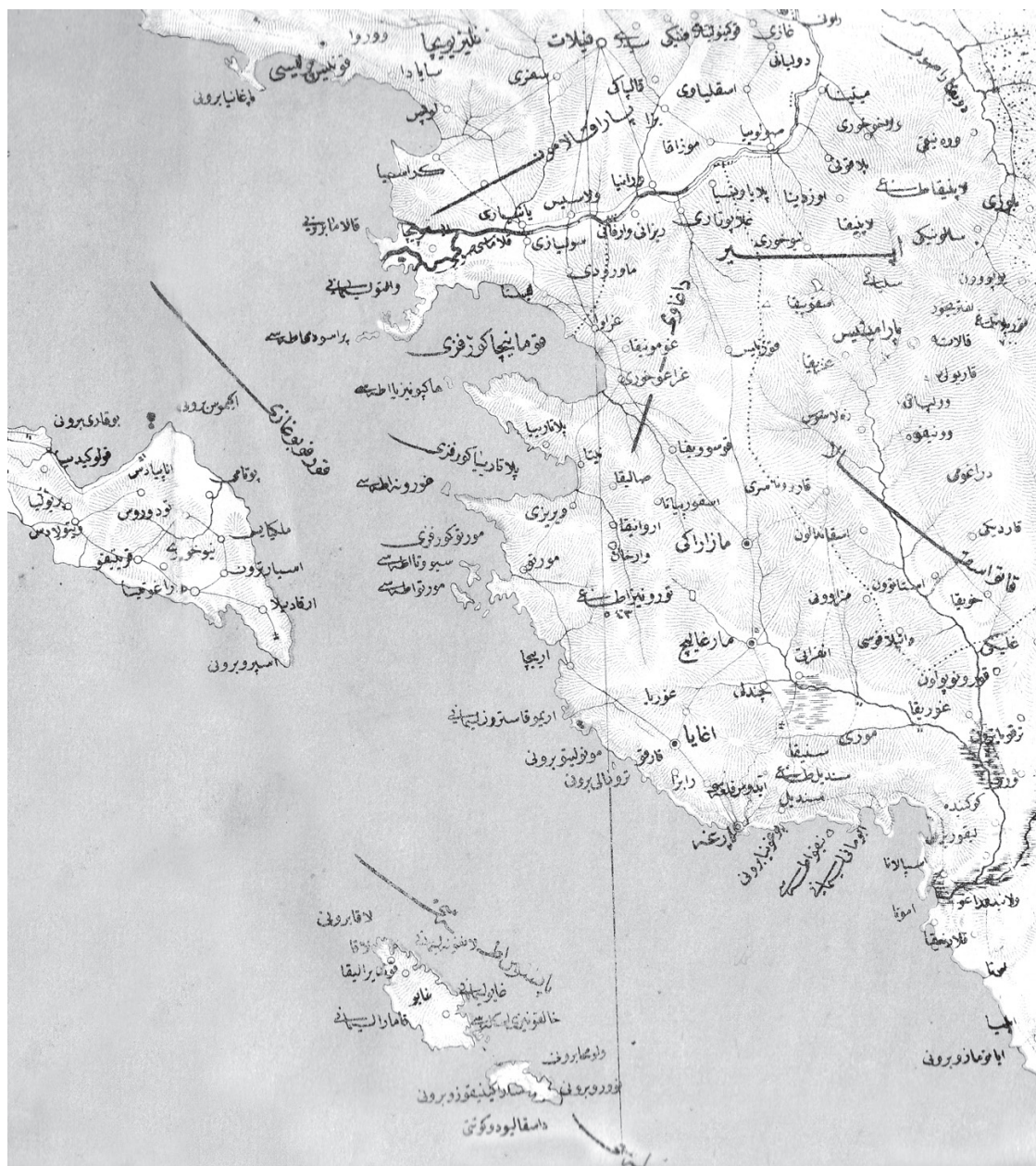


Fig. 3. Military map of the Ottoman Empire 1870 showing Tsamouria stretching from the Acheron river in the south to the Kalamas river in the north.

counter-value of their military service. In documents we have located, they protest at being disbarred from the army. The Young Turks movement in 1908 permitted the use of the Albanian language and the opening of Albanian schools, and also encouraged the founding of Albanian clubs.⁶²

In the archival material we processed from the nineteenth century, strife in the relations between *çiftlik* holders and farmers in the *kaza* is attested in 1866.⁶³ There are

⁶¹ *MV*. 9/12 (06.B.1303/11.04.1886); *MV*. 9/33 (13.B.1303/18.04.1886).

⁶² *DH.MUİ*. 116/18 (19.B.1328/26.07.1910); *İ.MBH*. 9/1330/N-002 (02.N.1330/15.08.1912). For the activity of these clubs see Nikolaidou 1984.

⁶³ *İ.MVL*. 562/25238 (07.C.1283/16.10.1866); *A.MKT.MHM*. 371/69 (23.Ş.1283/30.12.1866); *A.MKT.MHM*. 371/77 (23.Ş.1283/30.12.1866).

multiple references to Albanian rapacity against Christian and Muslim villages, and there are records of the Ottoman authorities' efforts to confiscate the weapons in the brigands' hands, in order to prevent violence. Already at the beginning of the nineteenth century J. Cam Hobhouse had ascertained that the Christian and Muslim Albanians were armed. Other travellers, such as H. Holland and F. Pouqueville, note the entrenched hatred and intransigent hostilities prevailing between clans in the same village or between two neighbouring villages.⁶⁴ On the pretext of protecting themselves against brigand attacks, the villagers used weapons to resolve their ethnic and religious differences.⁶⁵ On the eve of the Balkan Wars, the Greek State, in its demarche to the authorities of Philiates, requested the confiscation of the weapons in the hands of the town's Muslim inhabitants, in order to pre-empt the possibility of their joining forces with brigand bands of their compatriots from Margariti and using them against the Orthodox element.⁶⁶ There is no shortage of references in the documents to differences between Muslim and Christian villages, such as that at the beginning of the twentieth century in the village of Konjka, which was inhabited by Muslim Albanians, and of Plisivitza, inhabited by Orthodox Rums.⁶⁷

In the town of Philiates, seat of the *kaimakam*, there were the same services and authorities as referred to above for Aydonat. According to the *salname* of 1288 (1872-1873) there were 100 shops, two mosques and 250 houses, and the population was 1,240 persons. By 1306 (1890-1891) the population had increased to 1,576 persons, the overwhelming majority of them Muslims (there were only 434 Christians). The town had a primary school and a secondary school, as well as two Muslim seminaries (*medrese*), which were maintained by a *vakıf*.⁶⁸ Schools also existed in Salisi, Liopsi, Lykou, Achouria and Konispoli.

In 1902 the population of the province of Philiates was 25,000 persons – 15,000 Greek Christians and 10,000 Muslims. In 1905 they are defined numerically respectively as Greek-speaking Orthodox Christians and Albanian Muslims, speaking Greek and Albanian.⁶⁹ By this time the villages of Verva, Yaniari, Karoki, Konispoli, Markati, Inati, Disati, Salesi and Touse *çiftlik*, from the *kaza* of Filyat, were subject to Albania.⁷⁰

Kaza of Margaliç

The *kaza* of Margaliç, which in the nineteenth century belonged to the *sancak* of Preveza,⁷¹ bordered to the east with the districts of Preveza and Aydonat, north with the *kaza* of Filyat, west and south being lapped by the Ionian Sea, and included two *nahiyes*, of Parga and of Phanari.⁷² The *kaza* of Margaliç was created from the *nahiye* of Mazarak, which in its turn belonged to the *sancak* of Delvino.⁷³ In the *salname* of 1308 (1892-1893) the

⁶⁴ Psimouli 2006, 181.

⁶⁵ For example see *A.MKT.UM.* 188/22 (13.B.1271/01.04.1855); *DH.MKT.* 540/88 (08.R.1320/14.07.1902).

⁶⁶ *DH.EUM.3.Şb* 3/15 (24.M.1333/13.12.1913).

⁶⁷ *DH.MUİ.* 27/-1/31 (13.L.1327/28.10.1909).

⁶⁸ *Y.A.RES.* 100/30 (20.M.1317/30.05.1899); *Y.A.RES.* 77/54 (22.C.1313/09.12.1895).

⁶⁹ Christovassilis 1902, 11-12 and Christovassilis 1905, 29-31.

⁷⁰ Kokolakis 2003, 248-249.

⁷¹ Ortaylı 1998, 137-138.

⁷² *DH.TMİK.S.* 74/24 (15.C.1326/14.07.1908).

⁷³ *İE.AS.* 16/1609 (06.L.1081/16.02.1671).

population of the district of Margariti is noted as Albanian, originating from the Cham clan. The same source also yields the information that there were in Margariti ruins of an ancient castle, as well as another two castles which had been built by Sultan Bayezid II and Ali Paşa Tepedelenli. Castles existed also in the villages of Koroni, Glyki, Koutzi (pres. Polyneri), Grava (pres. Vounospilia) and lastly at Kastri, capital of the *nahiye* of Phanari, to control the area. The oldest mosques in Margariti were built by Bayezid II,⁷⁴ and the newest by the *vali* of Yanya, Mustafa Nuri Paşa, and the *ağas* of Margariti, Ali Tsapari and Huseyin Çelebi. There was also a *medrese*, founded by Piri Paşa,¹⁵ and there were 24 fountains. E.H. Ayverdi compiled a list of Muslim monuments in the *kaza*.⁷⁶

As mentioned already, the region of Margariti was controlled by the Tsaparis family. Venetian sources record the brigandage of members of this family, the *ağas* Suleyman and his son Hasan, and their raids against Souli and Preveza. Details are also given of their alliance with the Turkish-Albanian *ağa* Pronio of Paramythia, in 1772, in order to exterminate the Souliots, whose attacks on villages under the jurisdiction of the *ağas* of Paramythia, Margariti and Yanya deprived them of incomes.⁷⁷ The Venetians, staunch allies of Christian Souli, backed it with money and munitions, in this way securing on the landward side the two other Christian ports in their possession, Preveza and Parga. In 1789 the Tsaparaioi allied with Ali Paşa Tepedelenli and *ağas* of Paramythia, and attacked Souli, starting a war that lasted until 1792.⁷⁸ In 1794 the Ottoman State, afraid of this aggressive activity of the Margariti *ağas*, asked the *Provedditore Generale* of Venice not to supply the Tsaparaioi with munitions and ships because they were attacking provinces of the Ottoman Empire.⁷⁹

This powerful family of Margariti had an eye not only on the plain but also on the harbour of Parga, for the exclusive conduct of the region's trade.⁸⁰ The consular agent of the French at Arta, Jérôme Dupré, remarked in the late eighteenth century that secondary *çiftlik* holders of Margariti were dependent on Hasan *Ağa*, which shows the family's omnipotence in the region.⁸¹ They were the main allies and supporters of Ali in the blockade of Souli in 1802, and in the dissolution of the four villages in 1804. Nonetheless, three years later Ali forced the Proniates and Tsaparaioi *ağas* to abandon their properties and seek refuge in the Ionian Islands, and from there to join Mehmed Ali Paşa of Egypt, at whose side they stayed until the fall of the paşa of Yanya.⁸² The Tsaparaioi kept their power as tax collectors and *çiftlik* holders in the region until the beginning of the twentieth century. A document of 1909 refers to their seizure and appropriation of the *çiftlik* of Goritsa.⁸³

⁷⁴ MAD no. 13588.

⁷⁵ Kokolakis 2003, 400.

⁷⁶ Ayverdi 1982, 299, nos. 3104-3123.

⁷⁷ Mertzijs 1940, 12-17; Mouselimis 1960; Papageorgiou 1980, 94-95; Psimouli 2006, 322-324; Vetsios 2007.

⁷⁸ Arsh 1994, 167.

⁷⁹ HAT 97/3897/D (05.L.1208/06.05.1794); HAT 97/3897 (29.Z.1208/28.07.1794); HAT 97/3897/E (03. Za.1208/02.06.1794).

⁸⁰ Psimouli 2006, 93-94.

⁸¹ Giannakopoulou 1986-87, 50, 61.

⁸² Psimouli 2006, 446.

⁸³ Y.PRK.AZJ. 54/75 (27.R.1327/18.05.1909); DH.MUİ. 22/-1/48 (27.N.1327/12.10.1909).

In the southern and more lowland part of the *kaza* of Magarlıç the powerful Dino family of Preveza also had land-holdings, *çiftlik*s and *muacele*. The tower of the Dino family in the village of Liopsi existed until the Second World War. In Ottoman documents of the period they are referred to as *Arnavutluk Çamlık hanedan*⁸⁴ and this family sired Abidin Dino Paşa (1843-1906), *vali* of the Archipelago,⁸⁵ Ali Dino (1891-1938), parliamentary deputy of Preveza in the Progressive Party of Papanastasiou and cartoonist in the press of the day, and his brother Abidin Dino, the painter. Mazar and Nuri Dino, who in the interwar years struggled for the inclusion of Tsamouria in Albania, also belonged to the same feudal family.⁸⁶

According to the population data for the year 1870-1871, 80% of the *kaza*'s inhabitants were Muslims, and this percentage was maintained throughout the rest of the nineteenth and into the first decade of the twentieth century. In 1895, 5,224 households (23,955 persons) were counted. Appendix I shows that Margariti, Arpitz, Parga and Mazaraki were the most populous settlements. In the mid-nineteenth century, according to the information of P. Aravantinos, of a total of 43 settlements, 11 were *çiftlik*s and 32 were free villages (*karye*). The latter, as can be observed, were either purely Muslim or had a majority Muslim population. Documents of the second half of the nineteenth century echo the violence perpetrated against the Christian element⁸⁷ and the need for additional measures to impose order in the *kaza* of Margaliç, in which brigand bands were roaming. In order to confront the danger these posed, the Muslim inhabitants had to be supplied with weapons.⁸⁸ In all the censuses the Muslim population of Margariti appears as exceeding the Christian population by a wide margin. In Ch. Frangoudis's report drafted for the periodical *L'Orient Chretien* in 1866, he notes 1,316 Turkish and 810 Christian families.⁸⁹ In 1905, according to the estimates of Ch. Christovassilis, of the 9,000 Christian inhabitants only 4,500 were Greek-speaking, while the number of Albanian-speaking Muslims reached 15,000. In 1895, in a memorandum of the Greek Consul General to the "Committee for reinforcing Education and Church", he mentions that there were only 15 Christian households in the capital of the *kaza*, Margariti, and these were not in a position to pay for the upkeep of a priest.⁹⁰ In the statistical table of P. Aravantinos too, Margariti is presented as inhabited by 100 Muslim families and only 19 Christian ones.⁹¹

The primary source of income was olive-oil production. Cereals were grown in the *çiftlik*s and good-quality dairy products were produced. The region exported wool, kilims, carpets, woollen socks, capes and 800,000 okas of acorns. The products were transported by pack animals as well as by boats along the network of riverine routes. Exports were shipped through the harbours of Goumenitsa, Plataria, Mourto and Arpitsa. Margariti,

⁸⁴ *DH.SAİD.d* 152/85 (29.Z.1278/27.06.1862); *A.MKT.UM.* 96/84 (27.C.1268/18.04.1852); *A.MKT.UM.* 67/81 (05.L.1267/03.08.1851); *A.DVN.* 82/22 (10.M.1269/24.10.1852); *A.DVN.* 82/23 (10.M.1269/24.10.1852); *A.MKT.UM.* 134/69 (01.Ş.1269/10.05.1853).

⁸⁵ Kunalp 1999, 54.

⁸⁶ Manta 2004, 164-165.

⁸⁷ *A.MKT.UM.* 400/84 (25.Ş.1276/19.03.1860).

⁸⁸ *DH.MUI.* 50/-1/53 (03.M.1328/15.01.1910); *Y.PRK.MYD.* 18/100 (25.Za.1314/27.04.1897); *DH.MKT.* 357/40 (06.L.1312/02.04.1895).

⁸⁹ Kokolakis 2003, 462.

⁹⁰ *AYE* 1895/fol. Epirus-Albania. "Committee to reinforce Greek Church and Education".

⁹¹ Psimouli 2006, 82.

seat of a *kaimakam*, had a town hall and various services that the modernizing reforms imposed in all the empire's provinces. There were Muslim primary schools, a secondary school (*Rüşdiye mektebi*) and a high school (*mekteb-i ibtida*), which were supervised by a four-man committee (*maarif komisyonu*).⁹² Schools also existed in the villages of Ligorati (pres. Katavothra), Arpitsa (pres. Perdika), Grikochori, Mazaraki, Varfani (pres. Parapotamos), Koutsi (pres. Polyneri) and in Parga. According to the testimony of Christovassilis,⁹³ in 1902 there were 19,500 Albanians living in the province of Margariti and 4,500 Greeks. As far as religion is concerned, there were 15,000 Muslims and 9,000 Christians (4,500 Greeks and 4,500 Albanians). Again according to his estimates, in 1905 the 24,000 inhabitants of the *kaza* were distributed as follows:⁹⁴

| | | |
|---|--------------|--------|
| Greek-speaking Orthodox Christians | 4,500 | |
| Greek-speaking and Albanian-speaking Orthodox Christians | <u>4,500</u> | 9,000 |
| Albanian-speaking and simultaneously Greek-speaking Muslims | <u>6,000</u> | 15,000 |

Concluding remarks

Tsamouria is a good field of observation for following the role of the Albanian tribes in the borderlands of the Ottoman Empire, their services to and their network of relations with the Sublime Porte. Gergana Georgieva's observation that the boundaries of administrative regions in Arvanitia were defined on the basis of the land-holdings of the Albanian beys and the local nobles, "who ruled the region as legitimate governors, *mutasarrıfs*, even in earlier periods", applies also to Tsamouria. These realms were indeed hereditary and old Albanian families became local ruling dynasties.⁹⁵ This whole feudal microcosm was in a continuous state of enmity and upheaval. *Ağas*, *beys*, and Ottoman officials vied with one another and fought incessantly between themselves. 'Might is right' held sway and war was the sole means of solving all differences. The much-suffering Christian and Muslim inhabitant, enduring the victor's wrath, remained without house and fields, was turned by the owner into a tenant or was obliged to abandon the home of his forefathers, as in the case of the Souliotes. The Albanian character of the ruling feudal class, in conjunction with the frontier character of the region and the heterogeneity of the population (Greeks, Albanians, Slavs, Vlachs), continually generated acute social oppositions and ethno-religious rivalries. These rivalries were reinforced by the constant uncertainty about the political future of the region, until the time of the Balkan Wars when Tsamouria was annexed to the Greek State. Thereby the region's history entered another phase, the events in which compose the picture of the unsuccessful process of incorporating the Muslim Chams into Greek society, with the well-known dramatic climax in the Greek-Italian War and the Nazi Occupation of Greece.

⁹² *A.MKT.MVL.* 112/99 (02.C.1276/28.12.1859); *İ.DH.* 486/32844 (26.Ş.1278/26.02.1862); *MV.* 21/2 (20.N.1304/12.06.1887); *İ.MMS.* 91/3854 (14.L.1304/06.07.1887).

⁹³ Christovassilis 1902, 11-12.

⁹⁴ Christovassilis 1905, 29-31.

⁹⁵ Georgieva 2007, 13.

Appendix I – Demographic data for the *kazas* of Aydonat, Filyat and Margaliç

Symbols used in the tables

[] : the present name.

() : the number of Muslim households.

A/G: mixed population, Albanian and Greek. Symbols used in Aravantinos's table. The fact that A is first presumably implies that the majority of the population were Albanians.

G/A: Greek and Albanian population. In the case of these villages, the Greek element is in the majority.

G: Greek population.

(ç): *çiftlik* village.

(k): free village.

(m): *muacele*.

Unless otherwise stated all figures refer to the number of households.

Kaza of Aydonat (Paramythia)

| Name of village | | 1827 | 1834 | 1856 | | 1895 |
|---------------------------|----------------|------|------|------|-------|---------|
| Aydonat | [Paramythia] | | | 98 | (180) | A/G 469 |
| Belesi (ç) | | 7 | 9 | 8 | | A/G |
| Borovari (ç) | [Kyra-Panagia] | 14 | 18 | 22 | | A/G 15 |
| Choika (ç) | | 34 | 42 | 18 | | A/G 20 |
| Dovla (k) | | 8 | 8 | 5 | | G 7 |
| Dragani (k) | [Ampelia] | 46 | 50 | 38 | | A/G 93 |
| Dragumi ⁹⁶ (k) | [Zervochori] | 34 | 34 | 30 | (50) | A/G 110 |
| Glavitza (ç) | [Avlotopos] | 10 | 13 | 14 | | G 29 |
| Granitza (ç) | | | | 13 | | G 33 |
| Gratziani (ç) | [Katamachi] | | | 9 | | G 20 |
| Grika (ç) | | 23 | 25 | 20 | (10) | A/G 40 |
| Kaitsa (k) | | | | 5 | | G 20 |
| Kaminia (ç) | | | | | (30) | A/G |
| Kardiki (k) | [Gardiki] | | | | (150) | A/G 156 |
| Karvunari (k) | | | | | (150) | A/G 188 |
| Karyoti (ç) | | 12 | 15 | 9 | | A/G 12 |
| Kerasovo (ç) | [Kerasia] | | | 6 | | G 10 |
| Kolyostati (ç) | | | | 6 | | G |
| Kopra (ç) | [Anthochori] | | | 9 | | G 13 |
| Koristiani (ç) | [Frosyni] | 16 | 24 | 19 | | G 32 |
| Kukulioi (ç) | | 13 | 17 | 15 | | G 30 |
| Laliza (ç) | | | | 19 | | G 20 |
| Lambinitza (ç) | [Elataria] 13 | 20 | 17 | | | G 60 |
| Lefterochori (ç) | | 30 | 48 | 36 | | G 60 |
| Ligianoï (ç) | | 10 | 9 | 5 | | A/G |
| Logat (k) | [Agora] | | | | | 6 |
| Lozana (ç) | | | | 7 | | G 7 |
| Lubikista (ç) | [Zotiko] | | | 25 | | G 50 |
| Lyviahovo (ç) | | | | 11 | | G 40 |
| Maja (ç) | [Polydoro] | | | | | 45 |

⁹⁶ The Orthodox church in the village was renovated in 1911 at the expense of the St. Demetrios monastery, which used for this purpose the money gained from selling an orchard; see *İ.AZN.* 102/1329/R-14 (24. R.1329/24.04.1911).

| | | | | | | | |
|---|-------------------|-----|-----|-------|-------|-----|------|
| Minina (k) | [Neraida] | 8 | 9 | 8 | (30) | A/G | 30 |
| Nikolitz (k) | | | | 20 | (30) | A/G | 48 |
| Nikolitz + Psaka | | 22 | 22 | | | | |
| Niochori (k) | | 14 | 20 | 10 | (18) | A/G | 30 |
| Ozdina (ç) | [Pente Ekklesies] | 20 | 25 | 20 | | A/G | 25 |
| Paliokoutzaki (ç) | | | | 6 | | A/G | |
| Pangrati (ç) | | 35 | 40 | 22 | | A/G | 25 |
| Petousi (ç) | | | | 22 | | G | 25 |
| Petrovitsa (k) | | 14 | 18 | 13 | (25) | A/G | 50 |
| Plakoti (ç) | | 28 | 28 | 22 | | A/G | 40 |
| Popovo (ç) | [Ag. Kyriaki] | 70 | 84 | 42 | | G | 105 |
| Pradali (ç) | [Pardalitsa] | | | 16 | | G | 25 |
| Psaka (ç) | | | | 23 | | G | 30 |
| Radovizdi (ç) | | | | 16 | | G | 10 |
| Saloniki (ç) | | 12 | 18 | 11 | | G | 35 |
| Seliani (ç) | [Ag. Mavra] | 50 | 48 | 26 | | G | 60 |
| Senikou (ç) | | | | 13 | | G | 25 |
| Sevasto (ç) | | 14 | 14 | 14 | | G | 20 |
| Sfakari (ç) | | | | 5 | | G | |
| Skandalo (ç) | | 8 | 12 | 8 | | A/G | 6 |
| Skupitsa (k) | [Ag. Georgios] | | | | | | 7 |
| Stanovo (ç) | [Mandrotopos] | | | 8 | | A/G | 7 |
| Stregonetzi (ç) | [Dichouni] | | | 5 | | G | 7 |
| Toblesa (k) | | | | 7 | | G | 7 |
| Toshkesaki (ç) | [Mikrochori] | | | | | | 5 |
| Tsangari (ç) | | 14 | 22 | 21 | | G | 35 |
| Tsifliki | [Rachouli] | 10 | 9 | 11 | | A/G | 15 |
| Tsourilla (ç) | [Kallithea] | 40 | 37 | 30 | | A/G | 90 |
| Valanidia (ç) | | | | 8 | | G | 25 |
| Varbombi (ç) | [Fteri] | 7 | 10 | 7 | | G | 6 |
| Vathylakkos (m) | | | | 8 | | A/G | |
| Veliani (ç) | [Chrysavgi] | 9 | 10 | 10 | | A/G | 15 |
| Vlachor (ç) | [Polydrosos] | 13 | 13 | 15 | | G | 30 |
| Voinikou (ç) | [Prodromi] | 42 | 48 | 40 | | A/G | 60 |
| Vreniko (ç) | [Vereniki] | 16 | 24 | 14 | | G | 35 |
| Vrysopoula (ç) | | 6 | 5 | 6 | | A/G | 7 |
| Vursina ⁹⁷ (ç) | | | | 22 | | G | 26 |
| Zalango Bala (ç) | | 9 | 11 | 7 | | G | 15 |
| Zalongo Zir (ç) | | 12 | 16 | 9 | | G | 10 |
| Zaravutsi ⁹⁸ (ç) | [Ag. Nikolaos] | 20 | 26 | 8 | | G | 25 |
| Zelessos (ç) | [Xirolophos] | | | 28 | | A/G | 30 |
| Monasteries of Pangos and Dogon ⁹⁹ | | | | | | | 2 |
| Monastery of Prodromos ¹⁰⁰ | | | | | | | |
| Monastery of Panagia ¹⁰¹ | | | | | | | |
| Total | | 763 | 903 | 1.045 | (673) | | 2633 |

⁹⁷ The *çiftlik* is mentioned in documents of 1882: see *İ.DH.* 865/69247 (29.Z.1299/11.11.1882) and 1903 *DH.TMİK.S* 46/18 (15.Ra.1321/11.06.1903).

⁹⁸ Evliya Çelebi records it as a Christian village: see Evliya Çelebi 2003, 293.

⁹⁹ These are respectively the Pagania and the Dichouni monastery; see Oikonomou 1964, 97-98, 92-93.

¹⁰⁰ This is the monastery near the village of Veliani (mod. Chrysavgi); see Oikonomou 1964, 94-97.

¹⁰¹ Oikonomou 1964, 91-92; Pasali 1996-1997, 369-394.

Kaza of Filyat

| Name of village | 1827 | 1834 | 1856 | | 1895 |
|---|------|------|------|-----------|------|
| Ahurya Bâlâ ¹⁰² (ç) [Ag. Pantes] | 60 | 60 | 60 | G | 113 |
| Ahurya Zîr (ç) [Ag. Nikolaos] | | | | | 47 |
| Arachova (ç) [Rizo] | | | 40 | G | 45 |
| Babouri ¹⁰³ (ç) [Vavouri] | 70 | 80 | 90 | G | 184 |
| Babur Ahurya (ç) | | | | | 48 |
| Brania (ç) [Marina] | | | 11 | G | 17 |
| Dishad (k) | | | | | 36 |
| Doliani (k) [Geroplatanos] | | | | (15) G/A | 66 |
| Faneromene (ç) | | | 40 | G | 37 |
| Fatiri (ç) [Kerasochori] | 20 | 26 | 20 | G/A | 46 |
| Filiat | | | 30 | (200) G/A | 317 |
| Finiki (ç) | 40 | 46 | 50 | G | 67 |
| Giromeri (k) | | | 85 | G | 146 |
| Glousta (ç) [Kefalochori] | 76 | 80 | 80 | G | 116 |
| Gola (ç) | 16 | 17 | 16 | G | 29 |
| Gourtza (ç) [Kato Palaioyklisi] | | | | | |
| Gourtza (k) [Ano Palaioyklisi] | | | | (28) G/A | 47 |
| Imari (ç) | | | 34 | G/A | |
| Kalbak ¹⁰⁴ (k) [Elia] | | | | | 110 |
| Karoki (ç) | 19 | 26 | | | 46 |
| Karyani (ç) [Achladya] | 8 | 9 | 10 | G | 13 |
| Kastanya (ç) [Melia] | | | | | 31 |
| Keramitsa (ç) | | | 70 | G | 32 |
| Kokinesta (k) [Kokkinia] | 26 | 28 | 35 | G | 52 |
| Kokkinon Lithari (ç) | | | 25 | G | 52 |
| Konispolis ¹⁰⁵ (k) | | | | (250) G/A | 282 |
| Kontzka (k) [Kotsika] | | | | (100) G/A | 166 |
| Koutzi (ç) [Vrysoula] | | | 15 | G | 32 |
| Leptokaria (ç) | | | 7 | G | 23 |
| Lia (ç) | 100 | 108 | 120 | G | 164 |
| Limbovon (ç) [Kryonerio] | | | 55 | G/A | 55 |
| Liopsi ¹⁰⁶ (ç) [Neo Asproyklisi] | | | | (150) G/A | 89 |
| Lista ¹⁰⁷ (ç) | 34 | 40 | 40 | G | 70 |
| Lykou ¹⁰⁸ (ç) [Charavgi] | 47 | 50 | 41 | G | 70 |
| Malouni (ç) | 36 | 50 | 50 | G | 59 |
| Mantzare (k) [Kyparissos] | 6 | 6 | 8 | (6) G/A | 22 |

¹⁰² A document of 1909 attests to the existence of a Greek school in the village: see *İ.AZN.* 84/1327/Ra-10 (15. Ra.1327/06.04.1909).

¹⁰³ Natsis 1991.

¹⁰⁴ *DH.MKT.* 534/63 (27.Ra.1320/03.07.1902).

¹⁰⁵ *DH.ID.* 144/1/39 (17.L.1330/29.09.1912). In this village, which Ayverdi reads as Kostol, he mentions the existence of the Hasan Ağa mosque, a *medrese* and schools; see Ayverdi 1982, 297, nos. 3046-3039.

¹⁰⁶ Evliya Çelebi records it already from the seventeenth century as a Muslim village: see Evliya Çelebi 2003, 295.

¹⁰⁷ In 1913 permission was granted to build a church; see *İ.AZN.* 111/1331/C-21 (17.C.1331/24.05.1913).

¹⁰⁸ In 1896 a school was built in the Lykos çiflik, for its Christian inhabitants; see *İ.AZN.* 18/1313/Ş-16 (19. Ş.1313/03.02.1896).

| | | | | | | |
|---|-----|------|------|--------|-----|-------------------|
| Markates (k) | | | | (150) | G/A | 117 |
| Mengouli | 8 | 4 | | | | |
| Mouzaka (k) | | | | (38) | G/A | 25 |
| Ninates (k) | | | | (60) | G/A | 93 |
| Palaba (ç) | 10 | 11 | 7 | | G/A | 17 |
| Palaiochori (ç) | 20 | 30 | 25 | | G | 35 |
| Pigadoulia (ç) | 10 | 14 | 6 | (30) | G/A | 31 |
| Pitsar (ç) | | | | | | |
| Pitsar (k) [Aetos] | | | | | | 89 |
| Pitzous (k) | 13 | 13 | 8 | (102) | G/A | |
| Plesivitsa ¹⁰⁹ (ç) [Plaisio] | | | 250 | | G | 344 |
| Povla (ç) [Ambelonas] | 20 | 20 | 18 | | G | 37 |
| Ravene (ç) | 46 | 54 | 47 | | G | 64 |
| Rodostiva (ç) | 8 | 9 | 11 | | G | 15 |
| Salisi (k) | | | | (80) | G/A | 150 |
| Sayada (k) | | | 60 | | G/A | 141 |
| Sboka (ç) [Sbokia] | | | | | | 3 |
| Sefere (k) [Skefari - Myloi] | | | | (90) | G/A | 73 |
| Sideri (k) | 60 | 64 | 64 | | G | 66 |
| Skliavi (ç) | | | | | | 3 |
| Skliavi (k) [Ag. Arsenios] | | | | (60) | G/A | 38 |
| Skoupitza (k) [Kestrini] | | | 70 | | G/A | 33 |
| Smertou ¹¹⁰ (k) | | | | (10) | G/A | 39 |
| Souloupia (k) | | | | (31) | G/A | 38 |
| Spatari (k) [Trikoryfo] | | | | (30) | G/A | 65 |
| Tsifliki Mane | 12 | 15 | 14 | | G/A | |
| Tusha (ç) | 17 | 17 | | | | 20 |
| Tzamanta ¹¹¹ (ç) | 140 | 150 | 128 | | G | 227 |
| Tzaraklimane ¹¹² (ç) [Kallithea] | 29 | 28 | 38 | | G | 52 |
| Verva (k) | | | | (50) | G/A | 64 |
| Vilia (k) [Donatos] | 12 | 18 | 11 | | G | 13 |
| Virselas (k) [Vrysella] | | | | | | 78 |
| Xehoro Dem (k) [Ano Xehoro] | | | | | | 39 |
| Xehoro Memko (k) [Xehoro] | | | | | | 39 |
| Xehoro Zeineli (k) [Kato Xehoro] | | | 46 | | G/A | 54 |
| Yaniari (k) | | | | (60) | G/A | 105 |
| Yeromer Panaya Manastiri ¹¹³ | | | | | | 35 ¹¹⁴ |
| Total | 963 | 1073 | 1835 | (1540) | | 4936 |

¹⁰⁹ Pegas 2006.

¹¹⁰ *DH.MKT.* 305/64 (11.Ca.1312/ 09.11.1894).

¹¹¹ In 1908 permission was granted to build a church; see *İ.AZN.* 81/1326/N-09 (28.N.1326/24.10.1908).

¹¹² *İ.DH.* 881/70236 (01.Ca.1300/10.03.1883).

¹¹³ Oikonomou 1964, 74-83.

¹¹⁴ This is a number of monks.

Kaza of Margaliç

| Name of village | | 1827 | 1834 | 1856 | | 1895 |
|-----------------------------|---------------|------|------|------|-------|---------|
| Arpitz ¹¹⁵ (k) | [Perdika] | 18 | 22 | 12 | (150) | A/G 386 |
| Artsa (ç) | [Narkissos] | 14 | 12 | 6 | | G/A 26 |
| Arvenitsa (k) | [Argyrotopos] | 8 | 9 | 11 | (30) | A/G 86 |
| Aya (k) | | 95 | 120 | 107 | | G/A 186 |
| Aya Triada | | | | 3 | | G/A |
| Bedlish (k) | [Bedeleni] | | | | | 13 |
| Berbil (ç) | [Andoni] | 5 | 4 | 16 | | G/A 13 |
| Beshere (ç) | [Gefyri] | | 8 | | | G/A 15 |
| Dapankule (ç) | [Kolestasi] | 8 | 38 | 18 | | G/A 19 |
| Dirames (k) | | | | | (50) | A/G 68 |
| Dirimitsa (k) | | | | | | 21 |
| Gliki (ç) | | 10 | 8 | 11 | | G/A 41 |
| Glopotzari (k) | [Makrochora] | | | | (30) | A/G 33 |
| Goritsa ¹¹⁶ | [Stavrochori] | 16 | 31 | 40 | | G/A 53 |
| Grava (k) | [Vounospilia] | 22 | 32 | 27 | (40) | A/G 53 |
| Grikochoi (k) | | 44 | 46 | 50 | (120) | A/G 244 |
| Kanalak ¹¹⁷ (k) | | 16 | 14 | 29 | | G/A 79 |
| Kartereza (k) | [Karteri] | 16 | 19 | 20 | | A/G 27 |
| Kastri (ç) | [Phanari] | 140 | 140 | 140 | | A/G 33 |
| Kastri Dağı (k) | [Igoumenitsa] | 16 | 20 | 28 | | G/A 189 |
| Klisura (ç) | | 11 | 7 | 7 | | G/A 11 |
| Kodra (k) | | | | | | 17 |
| Konostates (ç) | [Kolestasi] | 8 | | 4 | | A/G |
| Koritiani (k) | | 18 | | 12 | (20) | A/G 23 |
| Koron (ç) | | 5 | 11 | 12 | | G/A 33 |
| Koronopulo (ç) | | 13 | 9 | 26 | | G/A 28 |
| Kosovitsa (k) | [Ag. Marina] | 18 | 20 | 22 | (20) | A/G 35 |
| Kourtesi (k) | [Mesovouni] | | | | (40) | A/G 130 |
| Koutzi (k) | [Polyneri] | | | | (86) | A/G 78 |
| Lediza (k) | [Ladochori] | 10 | 12 | 15 | | A/G 14 |
| Likuris (ç) | [Mesopotamo] | 7 | 17 | 17 | | G/A 13 |
| Livadari (k) | | | | 8 | | A/G 31 |
| Lougarat (k) | [Katavothra] | | | | (40) | A/G 163 |
| Manya (ç) | | | | 4 | | G/A 9 |
| Margariti | | 15 | 15 | 19 | (100) | A/G 546 |
| Mavroudi (k) | | 17 | 20 | 25 | (4) | A/G 27 |
| Mazaraki ¹¹⁸ (k) | | | | | (250) | A/G 318 |
| Milikokia (k) | | | | | (6) | A/G 19 |
| Mesovouni (ç) | | 6 | 8 | 10 | | A/G |
| Morfati (k) | [Morphi] | 8 | 10 | 7 | | A/G 23 |
| Mouri (k) | [Pigi] | | | 6 | | A/G 5 |

¹¹⁵ *A.MKT.UM.* 385/90 (23.Ca.1276/19.12.1859).

¹¹⁶ In 1909 the Tsaparaioi family appropriated the *çiftlik*; see *İ.AZN.* 24/1314/L-06 (26.L.1314/30.03.1897).

¹¹⁷ *İ.DH.* 870/69532 (02.M.1300/13.11.1882).

¹¹⁸ *İ.AZN.* 87/1327/B-09 (16.B.1327/03.08.1909).

| | | | | | | | |
|--------------------------------|----------------|-----|---------|------|--------|-----|---------|
| Muzakat (ç) | [Mouzakeika] | 11 | 24 | 18 | | G/A | 29 |
| Nemitsa (ç) | [Vouvopotamos] | 6 | 5 | 8 | | G/A | 36 |
| Nesta (ç) | [Faskomilia] | | | | | | 108 |
| Nihor (ç) | [Neochorio] | | | 12 | | G/A | 15 |
| Nounesati (k) | | | | | | | 62 |
| Parga | | 60 | 110 | 150 | (140) | G | 377 |
| Pestani (k) | [Kryovrysi] | 28 | 28 | 28 | | A/G | 43 |
| Platarya ¹¹⁹ (k) | | 18 | 17 | 20 | (40) | A/G | 34 |
| Potamya (ç) | | 16 | 12 | 19 | | G/A | 26 |
| Punda Monastery ¹²⁰ | | | | | | | 4 |
| Rapeza (k) | [Anthousa] | | | 25 | | G/A | 101 |
| Rayu Monastery ¹²¹ | | | | | | | |
| Retsat (k) | [Tropaïouchos] | | | | | | 7 |
| Rizyani (k) | [Ag. Georgios] | | | | (50) | A/G | 60 |
| Salitza (k) | [Lakka] | | | | (80) | A/G | 128 |
| Sekpeton | | | | 6 | (6) | A/G | |
| Senitsa (k) | [Eleftherio] | 28 | 40 | 40 | | A/G | 55 |
| Sharat (k) | [Myloi] | | | | | | 47 |
| Shendila (k) | [Ag. Kyriaki] | 8 | 9 | 6 | | A/G | 10 |
| Shenmeriza (k) | | | | | (20) | A/G | 24 |
| Skorpiona (k) | [Ammoudia] | | | | (30) | A/G | 36 |
| Smokovina (k) | [Sykochori] | | | | | | 33 |
| Souvliasi (k) | [Ag. Vlasis] | 70 | 80 | 90 | (80) | A/G | 194 |
| Spathari (k) | | 22 | 24 | 20 | | A/G | 23 |
| Splanca (ç) | [Ammoudia] | 6 | 11 | 10 | | G/A | 34 |
| Tsifliki | | | | | (6) | A/G | |
| Tsiflik Hadji Kasim (k) | [Ragio] | 15 | 20 | 15 | (4) | A/G | 17 |
| Tsikurat (ç) | [Tsekouri] | 24 | | 7 | | G/A | 7 |
| Tsoukniza (ç) | [Tsouknida] | 6 | 10 | 7 | | G/A | 25 |
| Turkopaliko (ç) | [Kypseli] | 18 | 28 | 26 | | G/A | 43 |
| Valanidoracho (ç) | | 8 | 24 | 16 | | G/A | 32 |
| Varfani (ç) | [Parapotamos] | | | 5 | (130) | A/G | 141 |
| Viratla (ç) | [Vratilia] | | | | | | 15 |
| Volia ¹²² (ç) | [Syvota] | | | | (40) | A/G | 257 |
| Vrachona (ç) | | | | | (30) | A/G | 86 |
| Vrastovon (ç) | [Paliokastro] | | | | (40) | A/G | 50 |
| Vrysi (ç) | | | | | (20) | A/G | 19 |
| Yunus (ç) | [Acherousia] | 6 | 13 | 15 | | G/A | 17 |
| Zaravina | | | | | | | 15 |
| Vlachs | | | | | | | [55] |
| Gypsies | | | [20] | | | | |
| Total | | 929 | 1099+20 | 1263 | (1702) | | 5303+55 |

¹¹⁹ Evangelou 2003; Evangelou 2004.

¹²⁰ Oikonomou 1964, 93-94.

¹²¹ Oikonomou 1964, 84-87.

¹²² *I.DH.* 866/69273 (29.Z.1299/11.11.1882).

Appendix II – *Kaimakams* and *naibs* of Aydonat, Filyat and Margaliç*Kaimakams of Aydonat*

| | | |
|-----------|-----------------------|--|
| 1867 | Hüseyin Ağa | <i>A.MKT.MHM.</i> 425/94 |
| 1868 | Muin Efendi | <i>A.MKT.MHM.</i> 425/94 |
| 1872-73 | Tevfik Efendi | <i>Yanya Salnamesi</i> 1288, 36 |
| 1876-78 | İskender Bey | <i>Yanya Salnamesi</i> 1292, 48; <i>Yanya Salnamesi</i> 1293, 48 |
| 1883-86 | Mehmed Fazlı Efendi | <i>İ.DH.</i> 70252/881; <i>DH.MKT.</i> 1471/107 |
| 1888 | Müslühiddin Bey | <i>DH.MKT.</i> 1471/107; <i>İ.DH.</i> 1064/83434; <i>Y.PRK.AZJ.</i> 12/84; <i>DH.MKT.</i> 1482/90; <i>DH.MKT.</i> 1562/20 |
| 1889 | Süleyman Fehmi Efendi | <i>İ.DH.</i> 1191/93223 |
| 1890 | Ali Nihat Efendi | <i>İ.DH.</i> 1191/93223 |
| 1890-01 | Müslühiddin Bey | <i>Yanya Salnamesi</i> 1306, 81-82 |
| 1892 | Rüstem Efendi | <i>İ.DH.</i> 1307/1311/S-41; <i>Yanya Salnamesi</i> 1308, 128 |
| 1893 | Halil Efendi | <i>İ.DH.</i> 1309/1311/Ca-32; <i>İ.DH.</i> 1309/1311/L-20; <i>İ.DH.</i> 1307/1311/S-41 |
| 1893 | Mehmed Şerif Efendi | <i>İ.DH.</i> 1309/1311/Ca-32; <i>İ.DH.</i> 1312/1311/Za-27; <i>DH.MKT.</i> 115/31 |
| 1894 | Süleyman Fikri Efendi | <i>DH.MKT.</i> 232/36; <i>İ.DH.</i> 1312/1311/Za-27; <i>DH.MKT.</i> 284/4; <i>DH.MKT.</i> 319/58; <i>DH.MKT.</i> 348/40; <i>İ.DH.</i> 1323/1312/Z-44 |
| 1894 | Mehmed Rüstem Efendi | <i>DH.MKT.</i> 298/11; <i>DH.MKT.</i> 314/8 |
| 1895 | Malik Efendi | <i>İ.DH.</i> 1323/1312/Z-44; <i>İ.DH.</i> 1361/1316/N-11 |
| 1899-1904 | İshak Tevfik Efendi | <i>İ.DH.</i> 1362/1316/L-18; <i>İ.TAL.</i> 249/1319/M-006; <i>Yanya Salnamesi</i> 1319, 114 |
| 1905 | Vehbi Efendi | <i>İ.DH.</i> 1447/1324/B-09 |
| 1906 | Nusret Efendi | <i>İ.DH.</i> 1447/1324/B-09; <i>İ.DH.</i> 1460/1325/N-32 |
| 1907 | İbrahim Rüştü Efendi | <i>İ.DH.</i> 1460/1325/N-32 |
| 1913 | Şefik Efendi | <i>İ.DH.</i> 1509/1331/Za-12 |

Naibs of Aydonat

| | | |
|---------|-----------------------|------------------------------------|
| 1852 | Mehmed Rüştü Efendi | <i>A.MKT.NZD.</i> 54/8 |
| 1860 | Üveys Naili Efendi | <i>A.MKT.DV.</i> 202/60 |
| 1866 | Abdullah Efendi | <i>A.MKT.MHM.</i> 357/89 |
| 1872-73 | Süleyman Hilmi Efendi | <i>Yanya Salnamesi</i> 1288, 36 |
| 1876-77 | Feyzi Efendi | <i>Yanya Salnamesi</i> 1292, 48 |
| 1877-78 | Hüseyin Hüsnü Efendi | <i>Yanya Salnamesi</i> 1293, 48 |
| 1890-91 | Mehmed Raşid Efendi | <i>Yanya Salnamesi</i> 1306, 81-82 |
| 1892-93 | Ali Mürteza Efendi | <i>Yanya Salnamesi</i> 1308, 128 |

Kaimakams of Filyat

| | | |
|---------|---------------|---------------------------------|
| 1872-73 | İsmail Bey | <i>Yanya Salnamesi</i> 1288, 63 |
| 1876-87 | Halit Efendi | <i>Yanya Salnamesi</i> 1292, 47 |
| 1877-78 | Sadık Bey | <i>Yanya Salnamesi</i> 1293, 51 |
| 1879 | Abdullah Paşa | <i>Y.PRK.UM.</i> 1/74 |
| 1880 | Servet Bey | <i>İ.DH.</i> 807/65233 |

| | | |
|---------|--------------------------|---|
| 1890-91 | Mehmed Galib Bey | <i>Yanya Salnamesi</i> 1306, 82-83 |
| 1892-93 | Mehmed Nuri Efendi | <i>Yanya Salnamesi</i> 1308, 133 |
| 1899 | Nuri Efendi | <i>İ.DH.</i> 1369/1317/C-40; Kokolakis 2003, 503 |
| 1903-04 | Abdurrahman Fenni Efendi | <i>Yanya Salnamesi</i> 1319, 82-83 |
| 1906 | İbrahim Rüşdü Efendi | <i>İ.DH.</i> 1460/1325/N-32 |
| 1907 | Nusret Efendi | <i>İ.DH.</i> 1472/1326/2a-66; <i>İ.DH.</i> 1460/132M-32 |
| 1908 | Hüseyin Efendi | <i>DH.İD.</i> 124/1/5; <i>İ.DH.</i> 1472/1326/2a-66 |
| 1910 | Ziya Bey | <i>İ.DH.</i> 1487/1329/R-08 |
| 1911 | Enver Efendi | <i>İ.DH.</i> 1489/1329/N-04 |
| 1912 | Ali Kemal | <i>DH.İD.</i> 81/2/31; <i>İ.DH.</i> 1494/1330/B-30 |

Naibs of Filyat

| | | |
|---------|---------------------|--|
| 1872-73 | Ragib Efendi | <i>Yanya Salnamesi</i> 1288, 63 |
| 1876-78 | Abdülhilmi Efendi | <i>Yanya Salnamesi</i> 1292, 47; <i>Yanya Salnamesi</i> 1293, 51 |
| 1890-91 | Adem Fuzi Efendi | <i>Yanya Salnamesi</i> 1306, 82-83 |
| 1892-93 | Nimetullah Efendi | <i>Yanya Salnamesi</i> 1308, 117 |
| 1899 | Mehmed Fehmi Efendi | Kokolakis 2003, 503 |

Kaimakams of Margaliç

| | | |
|---------|--------------------|---|
| 1867 | Hüsnü Efendi | <i>A.MKT.MHM.</i> 371/47 |
| 1872-73 | Mahmud Bey | <i>Yanya Salnamesi</i> 1288, 68 |
| 1876-77 | Nusret Bey | <i>Yanya Salnamesi</i> 1292, 73 |
| 1877-78 | Salih Hayri Efendi | <i>Yanya Salnamesi</i> 1293, 69 |
| 1883 | Salih Hayri Efendi | <i>İ.DH.</i> 879/70156 |
| 1884 | Abdülkerim Bey | <i>Y.A.RES.</i> 28/6 |
| 1888 | Yahya Bey | <i>DH.MKT.</i> 1549/79; <i>DH.MKT.</i> 1563/68 |
| 1890 | Riza Bey | <i>Y.PRK.DH.</i> 4/64; <i>Y.PRK.UM.</i> 24/74 |
| 1890-91 | Salih Hayri Efendi | <i>Yanya Salnamesi</i> 1306, 113-116; <i>DH.MKT.</i> 1554/115; <i>DH.MKT.</i> 1563/100; <i>İ.DH.</i> 1148/89514 |
| 1891-92 | Rauf Bey | <i>İ.DH.</i> 1257/98738; <i>DH.MKT.</i> 16/39; <i>Yanya Salnamesi</i> 1308, 222-223 |
| 1892-94 | Muharrem Bey | <i>İ.DH.</i> 1282/100894; <i>DH.MKT.</i> 170/47; <i>Y.PRK.AZJ.</i> 28/2; <i>DH.MKT.</i> 218/53; <i>İ.TAL.</i> 55/1311/Z-101 |
| 1894-95 | Bahaeddin Bey | <i>DH.MKT.</i> 273/7; <i>İ.DH.</i> 1328/1313/Ca-42; <i>Yanya Salnamesi</i> 1311, 171-175 |
| 1895-98 | Fehmi Bey | <i>İ.DH.</i> 1328/1313/Ca-42; <i>İ.DH.</i> 1352/1315/N-15 |
| 1898-99 | Ali Riza Efendi | <i>İ.DH.</i> 1352/1315/N-15; <i>İ.DH.</i> 1369/1317/C-40; <i>Y.A.HUS.</i> 408/66; Kokolakis 2003, 506 |
| 1900 | Nuri Efendi | <i>İ.TAL.</i> 217/1318/Ra-041 |
| 1903-04 | Hacı Salih Efendi | <i>Yanya Salnamesi</i> 1319, 178 |
| 1907 | Hami Efendi | <i>İ.DH.</i> 1459/1325/Ş-41 |
| 1907-09 | Nuri Bey | <i>İ.DH.</i> 1459/1325/Ş-41; <i>DH.MUI.</i> 2/-2/69 |
| 1909-10 | Rauf Bey | <i>İ.DH.</i> 1482/1328/B-10 |
| 1910-11 | Zeki Bey | <i>İ.DH.</i> 1482/1328/B-10 |
| 1912 | Sabri Efendi | <i>İ.DH.</i> 1494/1330/N-19; <i>İ.DH.</i> 1499/1331/Ş-20 |

Naibs of Margaliç

| | | |
|---------|---------------------|--------------------------------------|
| 1872-73 | Kasım Efendi | <i>Yanya Salnamesi</i> 1288, 68 |
| 1876-77 | Mehmed Edib Efendi | <i>Yanya Salnamesi</i> 1292, 73 |
| 1877-78 | Abdülcelil Efendi | <i>Yanya Salnamesi</i> 1293, 69 |
| 1890-91 | Mehmed Fazlı Efendi | <i>Yanya Salnamesi</i> 1306, 113-116 |
| 1892-93 | Mehmed Fehmi Efendi | <i>Yanya Salnamesi</i> 1308, 222-223 |
| 1895-96 | Naim Efendi | <i>Yanya Salnamesi</i> 1311, 171-175 |
| 1899 | Mehmed Emin | Kokolakis 2003, 506 |

Appendix III – Public buildings and population in the *kazas* of Aydonat, Filyat and Margaliç according to the *salname* 1872/73

| | Aydonat | Filyat | Margaliç |
|---|------------------|--------|----------|
| Town, Villages and Tsiftliks | 64 | 63 | 55 |
| Churches/ Havra/ Monasteries | 212 | 60 | 12 |
| Mosques and mesdjids | 22 | 34 | 43 |
| Muslim religious buildings (Takiyye/Türbe) | 4 | | |
| Houses | 2570 | 4800 | 2628 |
| Shops and storehouses | 121 | 100 | 100 |
| Mills | 3 ¹²³ | 35 | 11 |
| Tanners | 3 | 2 | |
| Tile factory | 1 | | |
| Bakeries | 5 | 9 | 3 |
| Inns | 6 | 3 | |
| Cafe, Cazino, Taverns | 10 | 10 | 5 |
| Government Office | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Primary schools | 4 | 57 | 1 |
| Soup kitchen | 1 | 2 | 1 |
| Bridges | 13 | 9 | 9 |
| Fountains | 93 | 30 | 24 |
| Christians | 8000 | 12947 | 20260 |
| Muslims | 3900 | 9251 | 4750 |

¹²³ The mills belonged to the sultan; cf. *İ.DH.* 939/74385 (05.Ra.1302/23.12.1884), *İ.DH.* 969/76581 (23. S.1303/30.11.1885).

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5. İbnülemin Tasnifi
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6. İrade Tasnifi
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