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# THE SPROTIA EXPEDITION II ENVIRONMENT AND SETTLEMENT PATTERNS



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Cover: Megalo Karvounari seen from the northeast. Courtesy of the 32nd Ephorate for  
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## The Ethnic and Religious Composition of Ottoman Thesprotia in the Fifteenth to Seventeenth Centuries

Evangelia Balta, Mustafa Oğuz and Filiz Yaşar

### Introduction

The Ottoman conquest of today's southern Albania and Epirus began at the end of the reign of Murat I (1362-1389). The Ottoman presence increased with the dissolution of the Despotate of Epirus and the capture of Ioannina in 1430 by the beylerbey of Rumeli, Sinan Paşa. The fall of Arta followed in 1449. Research has shown that the conquest was part of an organized plan. The Ottomans made their first appearance as mercenaries serving the Christian rulers in the region, employed to fight their Albanian neighbours. Gradually the mercenaries assumed control as lords of these same lands, even chasing off the Venetians from their coastal territories.<sup>1</sup>

In 1418, Argyrokastro, seat of the Albanian clan known by the name Zenebiş, fell into Ottoman hands and was made the capital of the *sancak* of Arvanid in the *eyalet* of Rumeli. This newly-founded *eyalet* incorporated territory from the region of Kroya as well as the valley of the Kalamas river, as we know from the contents of the fiscal register dated 1431.<sup>2</sup> Among the administrative regions recorded in this source are included the *nahiye/vilayet* of Vagenetia with 29 villages and 2 agricultural districts (*mezra'a*), which belonged in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries to the *kazas* of Aydonat and Parakalamo. The vilayet of Vagenetia was a landholding (*hass*) of the sancakbey Ali Bey. A comparison of toponyms in the chrysobull of 1361 and the *timar* record of 1431 (*Arvanid defteri*) reveals that the nahiye of Vagenetia covered a smaller area than had the Byzantine province of the same name.<sup>3</sup> However, it has been demonstrated that the geographical area of Vagenetia was greater than that designating the 29 villages of the nahiye with the same name, since listed after the timars in the nahiyes of Himara, Velegradoi and Muzak (Muzakia) are timars with incomes derived from villages in Vagenetia.<sup>4</sup> Altogether, the Arvanid *defteri* mentions 49 villages and *mezra'as* accompanied by the designation *tabi'-i Vayonetya*, denoting that they had belonged, before the Ottomans, to the *theme* of Vagenetia. These villages were located mainly in the regions of Delvine and Philiates, and less commonly in those of Margariti and Argyrokastro.

The Arvanid tax register of 1431 confirms this chaotic recording of timars which does not conform to the administrative division of the nahiyes. Limiting our observations

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<sup>1</sup> Nicol 1984, Zachariadou 1988, 195-210.

<sup>2</sup> İnalçık 1954.

<sup>3</sup> Asdracha and Asdrachas 1992, 239-246.

<sup>4</sup> İnalçık 1954, 3-4, 6-23, 27-28. Examples are the villages of Phiniki, Sideri, Sagiada, Konistpoli, Doliani, Kontzka, Agios Vlasias, Mazaraki, Plesivitsa, Mengouli, Michalogianni, Kokkinolithari, Pigadoulia, Rachova and Gardiki.

to this region alone, we observe that the villages of Vagenetia are recorded in timars belonging to the nahiye of Sopot (Sopotos). Igoumenitsa, which according to the chrysobull of 1361 was a village belonging to the theme of Vagenetia, is noted in the tax register of 1431 as belonging to the timar of Sunkur, which is not recorded under the name of a region, but rather the name of its lord.<sup>5</sup> We agree with the view expressed by Michalis Kokolakis, who argues that the overall picture conveyed by the Arvanid tax register of 1431 is labyrinthine. We would only add that the Ottoman source conveys such a picture not only for the sancak of Arvanid, but for the wider region which, despite the dissolution of the Despotate of Epirus, had not fallen under the full control of the Ottomans.<sup>6</sup> It was essentially a marchland (*uc*). Notes made in the margin of the Arvanid tax register bear witness to resistance in certain villages to the presence of Ottoman registrars,<sup>7</sup> and we also know that in the fifteenth century the sancak of Arvanid experienced various uprisings, the most serious of which was led by Georgios Kastriotis, known as Iskenderbey.<sup>8</sup> The additional fact that many timars were granted in 1431 to local notables, or their estates were converted into timars, means that the presence of Ottoman authority was reasonably fragile in this early period and required the support of alliances with the region's economic and political players, whether tribal or ecclesiastical leaders, such as the metropolitans of Kanina and Belgrade, to whom timars were also granted.<sup>9</sup>

The situation gradually changed in the following years, as is apparent in the tax registers from the mid-sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Control over the area had been secured and the Ottomans had made their presence felt in the conquered territories, for which reason we no longer find Christian timar holders (*sipahi*), who had been present in the fifteenth-century registers. The name of the former theme, Vagenetia, passed into the Ottoman registers by the end of the fifteenth century, particularly in the head tax register dated 1488 for the *vilayet-i Viyanite nam-i diğer Delvine*, recorded as having 4,668 households (*hane*) and 130 widows (*bive*).<sup>10</sup> In the following years, the Byzantine toponym Vagenetia disappeared and was replaced by the name Delvine. However, the conquest of Vagenetia was complete by the middle of the second half of the fifteenth century. The conquest of Agios Donatos (which eventually became known as Aydonat) is dated to the reign of Sultan Mehmet II, the Conqueror, while the region of Margariti was conquered much later, since the castle was built in the first half of the sixteenth century.<sup>11</sup>

In the present study, we report the results of our research into this region according to sixteenth- and seventeenth-century sources housed in the *Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi*

<sup>5</sup> Asdracha and Asdrachas 1992, 245.

<sup>6</sup> Kokolakis 2003, 116.

<sup>7</sup> “Karye-i Luzat, tâbi’-i Kurelaş bu köy hâindir, üç dört kez adam gönderdik, gelmediler, sonra süvarsi ardimızca gelip Kara Ferîd’e yazdırdı”, see İnalçık 1954, 21.

<sup>8</sup> İnalçık 1968, 1079-1082; Ashcom 1953, 16-29; Puchner 1985, 139-215; and Yochalas 1994.

<sup>9</sup> İnalçık 1951, 118-138. Highly illuminating information concerning the Christian sipahi of the area is found in the following note in the Arvanid defteri: “İspahi gâvurlar imiş, timardan düşmüş, bu vilâyetin gâvurları ‘âsi oldukları vakit bunlar doğruluk etmişler, ol sebepten Sancak beğleri müsellemler edip kendi bitilerin vermişler, amma Sancak-beği Lala Şahin evden eve birer filorilerin almış, sonra Aydın beğ gelecek ol dahi almış, amma sonra mezkûr süvariye gene vermiş, bu il hâin olub Sancak beğleri bunlara biti verince bu köyü yiyen dört süvari düzer, onu müşterek tasarruf ederlerdi deyu kadı tanıklık verdi”; see İnalçık 1954, 12.

<sup>10</sup> Barkan 1964, 96; Todorov and Velkov 1988.

<sup>11</sup> Psimouli 2006, 73.



(the Prime Minister's Ottoman Archive in Istanbul), henceforth *BOA*.<sup>12</sup> Based on material from sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Ottoman fiscal registers, we have reconstructed the network of settlements in the kazas of Aydonat, Parakalamo and Mazaraki, which in subsequent centuries were known, respectively, as Paramythia, Philiates and Margariti /Margaliç. These kazas constitute, along general lines, the boundaries of the modern prefecture (*nomos*) of Thesprotia. At the same time our aim was also to investigate the ethnic and religious composition of the region's population in the first years of the Ottoman conquest. It is our belief that the previously unknown historical material in the Ottoman sources brought to light here will facilitate a historiographically informed approach to the subject of the Tsamides (the Chams), the Albanian-speaking Muslims who constituted a pronounced feature of southwestern Epirus after the eighteenth century.<sup>13</sup> The evidence provided in these sources concerning the region's inhabited space and the population's ethno-religious composition in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was decisive for the changes which followed in the later period. Thanks to the Ottoman fiscal registers it is possible to check older views in the historiography concerning mass conversions to Islam in this region which occurred until at least the early seventeenth century.

### The tax registers of the sancak of Delvine in 1551 and 1613

The history of Paramythia, Philiates and Margariti in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries can be teased out mainly from two detailed tax registers in which are recorded by name the leaders of the households under taxation and the various taxes levied on the settlements. The register known as *TT* 273 is dated to H. 958 (1551) and corresponds to the census of the sancak of Delvine, which was divided into the kazas of Delvine and Aydonat, which in turn were subdivided into the nahiyes of Parakalamo, Kurveleş, Aydonat and Mazaraki. This census records the situation which prevailed in the region after the Ottoman-Venetian war, which ended with the naval battle of Preveza and the victory, as we shall see below, of the Ottomans.

The *TT* 608 register is also a census of the sancak of Delvine dated H. 1022 (July/August 1613),<sup>14</sup> which included the kazas of Delvine, Kurveleş and Aydonat which belonged to the nahiyes of Parakalamo, Kurveleş, Aydonat and Mazaraki. The register known as *MAD* 3727 from H. 1020 (1611-1612) in which were recorded the *has* of the high-ranking Ottoman officials also included the incomes of the areas of Parakalamo and Aydonat.<sup>15</sup> The summary register (*icmal defteri*) *TT* 747 from H. 1036 (1626-1627) which also recorded information about the liva of Delvine, among others, noted *zeamets* and timars in the above-mentioned nahiyes which, in most cases, had the same income as that noted in *TT* 608, despite the difference of a decade. Both *TT* 608 and *TT* 747 record the

<sup>12</sup> Mustafa Oğuz collaborated in this research from its inception. In 2009 and 2010, Raif İvecan, Ayşe Kavak and Nurdan Şafak took part in the archival research. Filiz Yaşar (graduate student at Hacettepe University) assisted in the final stages of processing the material.

<sup>13</sup> Balta, Yılmaz and Yaşar 2009, 245-273.

<sup>14</sup> In the register, the date is listed thus: "Sûret-i mufasssal-ı Sultânî ki nakl olundu. Tahrîren fî evâhır-i şehr-i Cemâziyelâhır sene 1022."

<sup>15</sup> *MAD* 3727 Parakalamo nahiyesi, pp. 7, 39, 50, 75, 80; Aydonat nahiyesi, pp. 8, 39, 52, 75, 80, 112, 121, 155, 176, 178.

situation in the region after the uprising led in 1611 by Metropolitan Dionysios of Larissa and Triokka had been suppressed.

Register *TT* 273 often refers to a previous register which seems to have covered the period between it and the one dated 1431. In other words, it would have been contemporary with the census taken between 1520 and 1530, if we judge from the published registers *TT* 367 and *TT* 1078, which are concerned with the neighbouring geographical area, the livas of Avlona and Ioannina.<sup>16</sup>

Basing ourselves on registers *TT* 273 and *TT* 608, we drafted a catalogue of settlements in the three nahiyes listing the demographic size and productive activities of each. This information has been processed and presented in the tables found in the appendices accompanying this study, and the following observations organized under main headings derive from the information found in the tables. The lists of settlements also reveal the territorial boundaries of the nahiyes of Aydonat, Parakalamo and Mazaraki. The relevant sections of H. Kiepert's map (*Carte de l'Épire et de la Thessalie*) on which we have located the villages in question is reproduced as Fig. 1.



Fig. 1. *Carte de l'Épire et de la Thessalie*, Die griechisch-türkischen Grenzgebiete mit Angabe der griechischen Sprachgrenze, dressée par H. Kiepert, Berlin 1897.

<sup>16</sup> 367 Numarah.

Toponyms were identified on the basis of nineteenth-century names, as suggested by Aravantinos in the second half of his Chronicle, and in the Ottoman statistics of 1895 published by Michalis Kokolakis.<sup>17</sup> The identification of some toponyms was simplified by their presentation with a double name. For instance, the village noted as Markopoulos in the 1613 census was accompanied by its Slavic name Glavitsa (*Markopulo nam-i diğēr Ġglaviça*),<sup>18</sup> which eventually dominated and was the name by which it was known in the nineteenth century. By observing the names of individuals taxed in this village as recorded in both *TT* 273 and *TT* 608, in other words in 1551 and 1613, it becomes clear that the majority of the baptismal names continue to be Duka, Miço, Leka, Kosta, Gin, Gön, Todor, Nikola, Franko, Andriya, etc. However, completely absent from the list of notables in the seventeenth century are names such as Fragopoulos, Fragoulis, Radinos, Kephalinos, Giorgopoulos, Maramenos, Kalogieras etc., which had been used by the inhabitants of this village fifty years earlier. Does, then, the dominance of the Slavic toponym Glavitsa suggest a change in the ethnic composition of the population? It would seem so, if we deem as indicators of ethnic change the developments observable in the personal names noted in the two lists.

The village of Belesi/Sevasto appears with both its names in the mid-sixteenth century and in the early seventeenth. In the nineteenth century the name Sevasto was dominant and Belesi remained in use in the other village of the same name in Aydonat. The village of Mazates/Stanovo became known as just Stanovo (modern Mandrotopos). The village of Sendeli/Lefterochori preserved its second name, Lefterochori, throughout the seventeenth century as well. In the nineteenth century, villages for which a double name (of which one was a personal name) had been previously used tended to adopt just one since changes had occurred in the political and demographic landscape, dislocating the authority of old patriarchal families with feudal ties. A typical example is that of the village known as Pantelis Seliani, which was recorded in seventeenth-century head tax registers as Seliani (modern Agia Mavra). On the other hand, it is significant that the villages of Zagori Epáno and Zagori Kato are noted in two registers, as well as *TT* 747 with their qualifying names in Greek. Other items of interest are the changes undergone by the name for the village known as Agios Vlasís, which translated into Albanian was rendered as Souvliasis in the nineteenth century, to be reconverted later to present-day Agios Vlasís.<sup>19</sup> In all likelihood, the change in toponyms hints at a change in the ethnic composition of the village's population. The village of Kokkinolithari in the fiscal register of Arnavíd dated to 1431 appears two centuries later, in 1613, translated into Turkish as Kızılkaya. There were some Muslims among the inhabitants, as can be understood from the *resm-i çift* and *resm-i bennak*,<sup>20</sup> which was noted in the register. Kızılkaya is also recorded in the head tax register we investigated,<sup>21</sup> and also in the Christophoros Philetas catalogue published by Aravantinos, but in the nineteenth century it is once again recorded as Kokkinolithari.

With regard to the large number of Slavic toponyms in Epirus, Johannes Koder has drawn the conclusion that the majority date – and in some areas exclusively – from

<sup>17</sup> Aravantinos 1957; Kokolakis 2003.

<sup>18</sup> *TT* 608, pp. 196–197.

<sup>19</sup> The etymology offered by N. Karampelas is incorrect; see Karampelas 2009, 201, n. 201.

<sup>20</sup> Taxes assessed according to the land possessed by a rural Muslim household.

<sup>21</sup> *MAD* 14635; *MAD* 18242; *KK* 2663; *MAD* 1451.



the period of the Slavic invasions. Older toponyms were preserved, in his view, when Slavicization did not bring with it new forms of organization sufficiently radical to produce a new way of naming the landscape.<sup>22</sup>

## The nahiye of Aydonat

The nahies took its name from the citadel of Aydonat which served as its administrative centre. Built near the ruins of the Byzantine town of Agios Donatos, the fortress was known already from the early Byzantine period<sup>23</sup> and controlled the pass toward the Ionian Sea. In the mid-sixteenth century the nahiye included 87 settlements with 5,411 taxpayers.<sup>24</sup> The overwhelming majority of the settlements also occur in the salname of 1895, listed under the kaza of Paramythia, as the nahiye of Aydonat had been renamed. But some of the villages of Aydonat are included in the nineteenth century in other administrative districts, as for example the village of Glyki inscribed in the kaza of Margariti, Malouni in the kaza of Philiates, and Stegopoli in the kaza of Argyrokastro. If we exclude the few cases of villages for which the reading of the names is uncertain (such as the village of Kontaratoi), there were in the nineteenth century no villages whose names referred to personal names, such as Xenopoulos, as had been attested in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Without systematic research into all the tax registers it is not easy to understand whether these villages were deserted, or had in the meantime changed their names.

In the mid-sixteenth century, the tax-payer population in the densely populated nahiye of Aydonat was exclusively Christian. There were many villages, as is evident from the number of taxable inhabitants. The larger villages were:

Villages	Taxpayers ( <i>neferan</i> )
Aydonat	538
Ozdina	331
Tsourila	317
Souli	244
Artses	217

These are followed by seven villages with more than 100 households, such as Choïka, Vrosina, Dragoumi<sup>25</sup> and others. Also counted were 17 settlements with more than 50 households, in other words with a population of approximately 180-200 souls. Small villages were in the minority. Aydonat and Ozdina were recorded as towns. Aydonat consisted of the following seven neighbourhoods: Paramythia (Paramişa in the Ottoman source), Agia Paraskevi, Morphi, Morphopoulos, Xenopoulos<sup>26</sup>, Çeşme (meaning fountain). The last should no doubt be identified with the neighbourhood in which was located the fountain described by Evliya Çelebi.<sup>27</sup> Spyros Mouselimis mentions two

<sup>22</sup> Koder 1982, 13, 22 and Sariyannis 1989, 63-73.

<sup>23</sup> Chrysos 1997, 155, 167.

<sup>24</sup> *TT* 273, pp. 137-212, see Appendix Ia.

<sup>25</sup> Dragoumi paid taxes of 13,000 aspers to its sipahi from 1613 until 1737/38; see *Cevdet Timar* 5211.

<sup>26</sup> There is also a village known as Xenopoulos in *TT* 273, pp. 140-141.

<sup>27</sup> Evliya Çelebi 2003, 293b.

fountains in Paramythia, one known as Dourouti and the other as Kanali.<sup>28</sup> It is worth noting that in the mid-sixteenth century no neighbourhood in Aydonat bore the name of the mosque of Sultan Bayezid Veli to which Evliya refers in his account.<sup>29</sup> The neighbourhood of Paramythia owed its name to the church of the Panagia of Paramythia (known as the Paregoretia, or Comforter).<sup>30</sup> From the name of this 'great church' the kaza's capital later took its name, most likely in the eighteenth century, because throughout the seventeenth century the city continued to be known as Aydonat, as is shown in the head tax registers (Fig. 2).<sup>31</sup>

Ozdina is known today as Pente Ekklesies and certainly did not acquire its new name by chance. In register TT 273, five of the town's neighbourhoods bear the names Sotira, Agio Nikola, Taxiarchi, Panagia, Agio Dimitri.<sup>32</sup> These correspond to

the names of the town's churches, which were declared as *vakıfs* with incomes from agricultural produce (cereals, olives, wine etc.), for which they were taxed a flat sum each year. Their real estate was recognized and registered under the category of *vakıf* lands as long as they were not part of state land holdings, as was the rule for all conquered regions. This leads us to suggest that the churches under consideration enjoyed certain privileges from their Byzantine past which were recognized by the Ottomans, hence their assets were included in the category of *vakıf* lands. Our source also specifies that it is the first time they are recorded (*haric ez defter*), in other words, the first time they paid tax.

In Ozdina, as also in the village of Dragoumi, there were *müsellem*, that is to say, *reayas* who offered military service in exchange for tax exemption. According to a note in the register's margin, the *müsellem* of Ozdina, who served in the citadel of Riniasa (today



Fig. 2. Maliyeden Müdevver 15207. Record of the head tax of 856 households/hane in 81 villages of the kaza of Aydonat (22. Ca.1096 / 26.4. 1685).

<sup>28</sup> Mouselimis 1973, 583.

<sup>29</sup> Evliya Çelebi 2003, 293a and Ayverdi 1982, no 3027. A neighbourhood bearing the name of the mosque's founder, who was clearly Sultan Bayezid, appears in a register dated to 1847; see *Cevdet Dahiliye* 7842.

<sup>30</sup> Oikonomou 1964, 43, 90-92; Pasali 1996-97, 369-394.

<sup>31</sup> KK 2663; MAD 1521; MAD 15207; MAD 15205; MAD 6851.

<sup>32</sup> On the churches of Ozdina, see Soustal 1981, 219.

Riza),<sup>33</sup> were taxed just like other *reayas* because during the course of the census they did not produce the firman which authenticated their right to tax exemption.<sup>34</sup> The tax paid by the fourteen *müsellem* of Ozdina was recorded separately from those of the town's other *reayas*, as was the tax of 720 aspers paid by the five *müsellem* in Dragoumi.

The village of Sendeli/Lefterochori, which was called a *derbent*, a fortress commanding a mountain pass on the road between Aydonat and Yanya (Ioannina), enjoyed special treatment with regard to its taxation. The inhabitants paid only ten aspers *ispence* (tax of 25 aspers per non-Muslim *hane*) and gave a kile (measure equal to 20 okas) of wheat and barley as a tithe, but normally paid the exceptional taxes allocated to them. Taxes were collected by the *zeamet* İskender.<sup>35</sup>

In 1551, two monasteries are recorded in the nahiye of Aydonat. One is Agios Dimitrios, situated on the border of the village of Radovitzi, which paid a fixed annual sum (*ber vech-i maktu*) of a 50 aspers tithe in cereals. This was the famous monastery of Agios Dimitrios Dichounis, located between Paramythia, Kerasovo and Radovitzi, where the metropolitan of Larissa and Triokka, Dionysios Skylosophos, had once lived.<sup>36</sup> According to the register dated 1611 the monastery continued to pay the same amount in tax (50 aspers) even though tradition relates that the monastery was destroyed by the Ottomans on account of its involvement in the insurgency fomented by Dionysios.<sup>37</sup>

Also noted is the church/monastery of John the Baptist (Ioannis Prodromos) at the village of İpsareza Küçük. We were unable to identify the village in the nineteenth century. Nevertheless, a connection with the monks Nektarios and Theophanis from the Apsarada family, who built the monastery with the same dedication on the island of Ioannina and later the monastery of Barlaam at Meteora, would not come amiss. In our opinion, neither the name of the village İpsareza (best read as Apsarada), nor the presence there of a monastery dedicated to John the Baptist, should be deemed a coincidence.<sup>38</sup>

Finally, with regard to Doliani and Vrousina, the Ottoman registrar noted that whereas 20 to 30 years earlier the villages' inhabitants revolted and scattered into neighbouring villages, in the 1551 register the villagers were recorded by their place of origin and obliged to pay their taxes to the *sipahi* of their village.<sup>39</sup> Register TT 608 demonstrates that the villages were not deserted. Their inhabitants only left temporarily. But in later head tax registers only the village of Vrousina is recorded.<sup>40</sup>

<sup>33</sup> Soustal 1981, 250-251.

<sup>34</sup> "Mezkûrlar sâbika müsellem olup hâliya hukûk-ı şer'îyye ve rûsûm-ı örfiyesin sâir re'âya gibi edâ eylemek üzere bâb-ı Sa'âdet'den fermân olunmağın defter-i cedidde nefis-i Özdine'de ra'îyyet kayd olundılar. Sah." (TT 273, p. 155).

<sup>35</sup> "Aydonat'dan Yanya'ya gider mahalde muhavvif yolu beklerler, tîmar erine neferden neferine onar akçe ispençe ve evlülerinden birer kile bugday ve birer kile arpa ve cürm-i cinâyet ve bâdihevâların verirler. Sâir tekâlif-i örfiyyeden mu'âf ve müsellem olmak üzere derbend hizmetin ederler. An ze'âmet-i İskender Za'im" (TT 273, p. 158).

<sup>36</sup> Oikonomou 1964, 92 and Kamaroulis 1996, I, 618-623.

<sup>37</sup> "The Turks destroyed the monastery of St. Dimitrios down to its foundations, leaving only the sanctuary undamaged – and when the monks living there scattered, they [the Turks] plundered the monastery's rich estates and possessions. Rather than listing them all, I mention only that the monastery had eighteen dependencies in different villages, each with its own church." Kamaroulis 1996, I, 619-620.

<sup>38</sup> Tourta 1980, 66-88.

<sup>39</sup> "Mezkûr karye 20-30 yıldan berü âsi ve mütemerrid Ferhad zulmünden müteferrik olup hâliya vilâyet tahrir olundukda giru kadîmi yerlerine gelüp defter-i cedid-i Hâkanîye kayd olundılar" (TT 273, p. 159).

<sup>40</sup> KK 2663; MAD 15210; MAD 15205; MAD 1351; MAD 6851; MAD 1451.

Although formally a tax register, the document preserves precious information about the conditions in the area adjacent to the northern end of the Ionian Sea during the reign of Suleyman the Magnificent. The registrar's note about the villages of Doliani and Vrousina probably alludes to the aspirations and uprisings encouraged by the patrols made by the Sacra Lega fleet commanded by the Genoese admiral Andrea Doria along the coast of Apulia and the Albanian and Epirote littoral, which concluded with the Ottoman victory over the fleet of the Christian alliance in the naval battle of Preveza (1538).<sup>41</sup> Their victory was attributable to the Ottoman exploitation of disagreements among the commanders of the allied Christian forces. The flimsy solidarity of the Christian powers' political aims coloured the episode and, in particular, the political antagonism between the Spanish and Venetians with regard to the Ottomans, which would continue throughout the second half of the sixteenth and into the early seventeenth century. The same problem undermined all attempts to coordinate involvements in the Greek mainland and also had negative implications for revolutionary efforts initiated by the Greeks themselves.<sup>42</sup>

With the Ottoman-Venetian treaty of 1540, the Venetian Republic had to pay 500 ducats for the possession of Zakynthos and was allowed to restore her sovereignty over Buthrotum and its rich fishing grounds, to consolidate her presence in plundered Parga and to fortify her other bases in the Ionian islands. But the inhabitants of Aydonat, Margariti and Parakalamo, and especially those in the coastal regions, suffered from the arbitrary acts of the Venetians and their Corfiot subjects who violated the terms of the treaty they had signed. They seized herds belonging to Ottoman subjects on the opposite shores, and lured merchants away from the harbour at Sagiada by offering lower prices if they would bring their business instead to Corfu.<sup>43</sup> In 1571, the Venetians formed an alliance with the other Western powers and began assaults on the region, seizing the villagers' offspring and flocks and threatening the citadel at Margariti.<sup>44</sup> A firman addressed to officials in the region by the sultan asks that they take measures to protect Ottoman subjects.<sup>45</sup> The unrest did not abate. The uprisings at Chimara and Xeromero followed the first attempted revolt led by Dionysos, metropolitan of Larissa and Triokka, who apparently anticipated Spanish aid.<sup>46</sup> Already from 1590 Dionysos had been in contact with the western monarchs in the hope that they would assist the struggle for liberation in western Greece. The Venetian bailo in Corfu recorded on 30 December, 1604, a meeting of Spanish envoys at the village of Choika, where at a secret gathering two hundred Christians promised to attack Preveza if the Spanish fleet appeared.<sup>47</sup>

The tax register for the kaza of Aydonat begins by quoting the taxes which belonged to the sultan's landholdings. The income of 100,000 aspers from the customs-house at

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<sup>41</sup> Paulino Toledo Mansilla has traced the political situation and armed conflicts in the region as reported in the Ottoman chronicles; see Mansilla 2010, 139-167. On the Venetian presence in Thesprotia, see Hakkarainen 2009, 223-237.

<sup>42</sup> On this complex historical conjuncture in the region characterized by on-going conflicts between the Ottomans and Venetians, and the involvement of the European powers, see Floristan 1993, 73-84; Psimouli 2006, 71-75; and Dokos 2009, 65 ff.

<sup>43</sup> 7 *Numaralı*, no. 2747.

<sup>44</sup> Ploumidis 2010, 241-250.

<sup>45</sup> 12 *Mühimme Defteri*, no. 391.

<sup>46</sup> Chasiotis 1968, 265-276.

<sup>47</sup> On the organization of the uprising spearheaded by Dionysios, see Aravantinos 1957, I, 220; Mertzios 1938, 81-89; Mertzios 1940, 33; Papakonstantinou 2000 and Papakonstantinou 2004.



Sayada, recorded as Bastia, belonged to the sultan, as well as that from the salinas also at Sagiada (40,000 aspers).<sup>48</sup> Also accounted to the sultan were 15,000 aspers from the income of the customs-houses at the harbours of Goumenitsa, Douviana (Kryopigi) and Ragi, 7,000 aspers from oak exports from the liva of Delvine, and 20,000 aspers from the tax on pasture land in the kaza of Aydonat.<sup>49</sup> Finally, the sultan also received 5,000 aspers from the income of the harbours at Arila and Volia (Syvota). Taken in sum, the sultan's income from the kaza of Aydonat reached 187,000 aspers.

The fiscal registers for the villages show that cereals were the basic agricultural goods cultivated in the kaza, with viticulture and wine production ranking second.<sup>50</sup> Small quantities of pulses, cotton and olives were also produced. Evliya Çelebi in the late seventeenth century noted that one hundred *tulums* (skin made into a bag) of olives were sent from this region to the Topkapı Palace annually, indisputable proof of their high quality.<sup>51</sup> He praises their quality by saying that they are superior to olives from Koroni, Damascus and Karaburnu on the Aegean coast of Asia Minor. The peasants of Aydonat supplemented their income with bees, the cultivation of silk worms and exports of *prinokok* (kermes oak, bot. *Quercus coccifera*), a highly prized dye procured from the forested regions of the kaza. The 20,000 aspers paid in tax to the sultan on pasture land clearly suggests that their flocks were prodigious. The area is known to have supported not only local flocks, but also those of semi-nomadic shepherds, the Sarakatsani and Vlachs, who pastured their animals in the grasslands and moved on in pursuit of ever more favourable conditions for the breeding of their livestock. In the villages, swine and fowl were kept.

On the basis of tax register *TT* 608, we observe that fifty years later the population of the villages in the kaza of Aydonat had experienced a perceptible increase (approximately 25%). There were many villages (87) and their number remained the same. Aydonat and Ozdina reached as many as 750 and 432 houses, respectively. In the last decades of the seventeenth century, Evliya Çelebi estimated that there were 800 houses in Aydonat.<sup>52</sup> The other settlements also witnessed a spectacular increase in population. In some, Muslims from elsewhere or local converts to Islam had settled during the intervening years, if we judge by the appearance of *resm-çift* and *resm-i bennak* taxes in the 1613 register. We find these taxes recorded in the settlements of Aydonat, Glyki, Souli, Dragoumi, Pradala, Gardiki, Zotiko, Liviachova, Nimonia (?), Psareza Küçük, Stanovo and Zaravoutsı Büzürk. With regard to the last, tradition relates that its inhabitants, who took part in the uprising led by the Dionysios Skylosophos, slaughtered their Muslim neighbours.<sup>53</sup> And there is also a tradition that after this movement was suppressed, the population of Gardiki was forcibly converted to Islam.<sup>54</sup> However, register *TT* 608, dated 1613, does not corroborate this tradition, as the majority of Gardiki's population remains

<sup>48</sup> On fish-farming at Sagiada, see Ploumidis 2002, 9-15.

<sup>49</sup> Tax on sheep was not included among those levied on the villages of the kaza, as that tax belonged to the sultan.

<sup>50</sup> We find similar production in the neighbouring sancak of Ioannina; see Delilbaşı 1991, 57-62.

<sup>51</sup> Evliya Çelebi 2003, 293a.

<sup>52</sup> Evliya Çelebi 2003, 293a.

<sup>53</sup> Papadopoulos 1974, 326-328 and Chassiotis 2002-2003, 13-27.

<sup>54</sup> Karkaletsis 2005.

Christian (96 *hane*, 4 *mücerred*).<sup>55</sup> To judge from the amount of tax (47 aspers in total) described as *resm-i çift* and *resm-i bennak*, there must have been only two or three Muslim inhabitants in the village.

Taxation of the villages in the nahiye did not, in the seventeenth century, undergo an increase similar to the population's. Whenever we do notice an increase, which is rare, it is very small. New taxes were imposed on the production of walnuts and reeds. The latter constituted an indispensable raw material for the construction and maintenance of the region's fisheries, and its usefulness caused it to be the object of taxation. The tax on walnuts, which in the past had belonged to the sultan's landholdings, was assigned in 1613 to the villages' *sipahis*.<sup>56</sup> Also, in addition to the tithe in must, a tax on table grapes (*resm-i sepet*) was added. The tax on fowl was increased by a significant percentage, since it was accounted together with the tax on the production of maize, which had not appeared in the previous tax register. The taxes levied at Aydonat belonged to the *has* of the beylerbey of Delvine and those at Ozdina to the *zeamet* of *kapudan Paşa Piyale Paşa* (1515-1578),<sup>57</sup> which had previously belonged to Sinan Paşa, who was *kapudan Paşa* in 1550-1553.<sup>58</sup> The sultan's income from Aydonat remained the same as it had been in the mid-sixteenth century, except that the aforementioned oak tax was assigned to the *sipahi*. The fifteen *müsellem* of Ozdina who continued to offer their services at the castle of Riza were again recorded separately from the rest of the inhabitants. They were obliged to pay tax since, as we noted earlier, they failed to produce the relevant documents to exonerate them.<sup>59</sup> For the same reason the *müsellem* of the Dragoumi had to pay tax, and the same amount as their fellow villagers. Lefterochori, classified as a *derbent*, was taxed more lightly, as it had been half a century earlier as well. The households paid ten aspers *ispence* and a *kile* of wheat and barley.

The inhabitants of Vromopigadi had become agricultural workers in other villages (*perekende*); however, the registrar noted in the register of 1613 that they were recorded according to their place of origin.<sup>60</sup> The village was not recorded in the nineteenth century. Its absence in later years can be linked to the information provided in *TT* 608 that the inhabitants of Vromopigadi had scattered and taken up residence in neighbouring villages by 1613, thereby providing evidence for the process of the settlement's abandonment.

Tax register *TT* 608 includes on its first page the *kanunname* of Delvine, in other words the legislation regulating the collection of taxes in the sancak. Here was specified the capacity of measure by which the tithes of grain should be reckoned. Usage continued

<sup>55</sup> *TT* 608, pp. 188-189.

<sup>56</sup> "Livâ-i mezburda vâkı' olan palamud bundan akdem mîri için zabt olunup havâss-ı humâyuna münâsib olmayup erbâb-ı tımara yazılması fermân olmağın fermân-ı şerif mücebine her sipâhiye kendü karyesi sınırında hâsıl olan palamud kendülerine mahsûl kayd olundu" (*TT* 608, p. 143).

<sup>57</sup> *Sicill-i Osmani* IV, 1336. Babinger 1995, 316-317.

<sup>58</sup> *Sicill-i Osmani* V, 1511. Sinan paşa was the brother of Rustem paşa, who married Mihrimah sultan, the daughter of Sultan Süleyman I.

<sup>59</sup> "Müsellemân-ı kal'a-i Rinâse ki mütemakinân end der nefs-i özdine tâbi'-i Aydonat, zeâmet-i Piyale merhûm hazret-i Sinan Paşa. Mezkûrlar sâbıkâ müsellem olup hâliyâ hukûk-ı şer'iyye ve rûsûm-ı örfiyyelerini sâir reâyâ gibi edâ etmek üzere bâb-ı ... fermân olunmağın defter-i cedide ra'îyyet kayd olundılar, deyü defter-i atikde mastûr ve mukayyed olmağın defter-i cedide dahı ra'îyyet kayd olundu" (*TT* 608, p. 165).

<sup>60</sup> "Karye-i mezbûre ahâlisi perâkende olmuşlardır. Etrafında olan karyelerde perakende olmuşlardır. Mütemekkin oldukları karyelerde yazılmayup yine karâr-ı sâbık karyelerine kayd olundılar" (*TT* 608, pp. 173-174).

as in the old tax record, *TT* 273 (1551): a load (*yük/hıml*) corresponded to 6 kile of Istanbul (where 1 kile of Istanbul = 20 okas).<sup>61</sup> A load of wheat or a load of pulses was worth 45 aspers; and respectively, a load of barley, rye, or vetch was worth 29 aspers, and finally oats, merlin etc. were worth 19 aspers. A measure of must (*medre*) was worth 13 aspers, a litre of oil took 12 aspers, and a load of olives 36 aspers. The *hane* paid 2 aspers in garden tax (*resm-i bostan*) and 5 aspers in fodder tax (*resm-i giyah*). Some households were obliged also to pay a protection tax (*resm-i koruculuk*) of one or two *dağars* (leather skin made into a bag which was a measure of grains)<sup>62</sup> of wheat.

The owner of animals which had damaged property in the village paid a fine of 5 aspers per beast (*resm-i deştibâni*). In the nahiyes of Aydonat and Mazaraki, as in the sancak of Yanya, reayas with a *çift*<sup>63</sup> paid 4 aspers in protection tax (*resm-i koruculuk*) and for half of a *çift* (*nim çift*) 2 aspers. At harvest-time, reayas continued to give to their *sipahi* the ispençe and tithe of one chicken and half a *dağar* of wheat. The final sentence of the *kanunname* notes that the oak tax ceased to belong to the sultan's holding and was assigned instead to the state. The *timar*-holders thenceforth would collect the oak tax within the boundaries of their own *timars*.

## The nahiye of Parakalamo

In 1551, the nahiye of Parakalamo – as Filyat would be known in subsequent centuries – included 48 villages,<sup>64</sup> whereas in 1613 it had 53,<sup>65</sup> since the settlements of Karyani, Kızılkaya (modern Kokkinolithari), Lista, Konispoli, Rizona and Sopolia were added to it. In register *TT* 608 the village of Markati is not mentioned. The villages included in the kaza of Parakalamo and located today in Albania are Verva, Giannari, Konispoli and Markati.<sup>66</sup> In the nineteenth century, Varphani, Benteleni, Salitsa, Dramesi and Retzati were included in the kaza of Margariti.

To judge by the number of individuals taxed, the largest settlements in demographic terms (+200 *neferan*) were: Agios Vlasis (later Souvliasi), Dramesi, Plisibitsa and Mengoulati (Mengoulates). The last should be identified with Menguli (modern Peristeri), a settlement which in the nineteenth century belonged to the kaza of Pogoni. Near Mengoulati was located the monastery known as 'Paliokastro', as we learn from a note in the register and from the tax described as *bâc-ı بازار-ı panayır-ı*

<sup>61</sup> In the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the weight of a load in the region of Paramythia was 78 okas in mountainous areas and 88 in the plain; see Pavlidis 1962, 635-636, who attributes the difference in reckoning to the well-fed livestock in the plains, which could bear heavier burdens. The reckoning of a load for grain and pulses differed between plain and mountain simply because, as was logical, production in the plain was more efficient. Consequently, the tax paid to the state, or the part of the harvest paid to the landowner, varied accordingly. The unit of measure remained the same; only its capacity changed.

<sup>62</sup> The *dağar* was the usual measure of weight until the 1930s in the area of Paramythia. In Epirus two types of *dağars* were in use, each with a different capacity. The *dağar* of Paramythia held 100 liters or 33 okas and one litre, while the other *tagari* held 60 liters or 20 okas, which was more widely used. See Pavlidis 1962, 636-638. It is not coincidental that the Paramythia measure was greater, since the villages were located in the plain where production was also greater.

<sup>63</sup> *Çift* = land workable by a pair of oxen.

<sup>64</sup> *TT* 273, pp. 65-109.

<sup>65</sup> *TT* 608, pp. 61-116.

<sup>66</sup> Kokolakis 2003, 248-249.

*Palyokastri*, which was included in the taxes levied on the village. From this it is clear that the village hosted a commercial fair. In Epirus, the fair at Pogoniani was well-known and had been transferred there in the seventeenth century from Dipalitsa after conflicts had arisen between its patrons, the Lialatoi and Karamouratatoi.<sup>67</sup> We may suppose that we are dealing with the same fair. It should be noted that the tax on the fair at Mengoulati fell from 400 aspers in 1551 to 50 in 1613. Consequently, this reduction must have coincided with the period of conflicts between the Albanian clan leaders for control of the fair.

Besides the four large settlements already mentioned, there were already in the nahiye of Parakalamo in the mid-sixteenth century ten other settlements with more than 100 taxpayers. These settlements grew demographically in the early seventeenth century (Appendix IIb). Filyat, once the administrative centre of the kaza, was in these centuries a small, insignificant settlement. In 1551, the taxes of the villages of Salesi and Plisivitsa belonged to the sultan's holding, which is no surprise since their incomes were the highest in the whole nahiye, as can be seen from the taxes they paid. In 1613, the most vibrant villages both economically and demographically belonged either to the sultan's holding (such as the villages of Kotsika, Giromero, Konispoli), or to the holdings of Sinan Paşa (İstefanat, Varphani, Dramesi, Liopsi), which were later transferred to his successor, Piyale Paşa.

In 1613, the 235 tax-paying inhabitants of Sagiada did not pay tax because the entire population was forced to work in the salinas. 'In the older tax register', notes the registrar, 'only 70 inhabitants were workers in the salinas and they were exempt from all taxes except the head tax'.<sup>68</sup>

In the half century following the census of 1551 (*TT* 273), we may observe, in 1613, that a Muslim population appeared in 38 villages in Parakalamo. Only 15 villages of the 53 in the nahiye had an unmixed Christian population.<sup>69</sup> Evliya Çelebi described Liopsi as a Muslim village.<sup>70</sup> Let us return to the period we have been investigating to ask the following question: should the above situation be described in terms of colonization by a Muslim population or conversion to Islam by the local population? The answer to this question cannot be found through the study of tax registers. Answers to such questions are more likely to emerge from the kadi registers, which usually note conversions of Christians to Islam. But such documents have not been preserved. The published *Muhimme Defterleri* to which we have turned did not offer information relevant to this subject, but we did find exceptionally interesting material concerning revolutionary movements in villages of the Parakalamo nahiye which may help us interpret the appearance of a Muslim population. In March 1560, the inhabitants of the villages of Varphani, Agios Vlas and Dramesi revolted. They burned houses, looted and refused to pay the head tax and all other taxes levied. The sultan ordered the arrest of the trouble-makers and their transfer to Istanbul to labour in the galleys.<sup>71</sup> This disobedience in the face of Ottoman authority was fuelled and supported by the Venetian presence in the region. We know, furthermore, that in the same year, 1560, it was deemed necessary to reinforce the guard

<sup>67</sup> Gatsopoulos 1960, 142-147, 220-227 and Karanatsis 1994, 320.

<sup>68</sup> *TT* 608, p. 63 and *MAD* 18042.

<sup>69</sup> The fully Christian villages were Tzamanta, Keramitsa, Phaneromeni, Elya, Isbovik, Iskefarik, Kartesi, Lista, Orthopistya, Palamba, Plisiviça, Sulupi, Ulaç, Viranya and Verva, see Appendix IIa.

<sup>70</sup> Evliya Çelebi 2003, 2935b.

<sup>71</sup> *3 Numaralı*, no. 845.



at the citadel of Margariti with men from other citadels in the sancak of Yanya as they were threatened by the Venetians and their allies.<sup>72</sup> A few years later, in 1565 to 1566, the inhabitants of Parakalamo took up arms and refused to hand over their own offspring in the levy on children (*acemi oğlan*).<sup>73</sup>

Rich material concerning the situation prevailing in this area during the period between 1498 and 1673 can also be found in the Venetian archive, as can be seen in the publications of K. Mertzios.<sup>74</sup> The bailo of Corfu mentioned that ‘some wretched Albanian women appeared before me with a heap of small children... and wept and lamented in fear lest their husbands would be forced to become Turks’. On 10 June 1562, a decree had been issued for the deportation from Corfu, on grounds of animal theft, of forty Albanians who had migrated to the island with their families from the regions of Igoumenitsa and Paramythia. These men and their families appealed to the Venetian authorities claiming that ‘we wish to die in the shadow of Venice’. They accepted forced labour ‘taking stones from the mountain [to build] citadels’ rather than endure ‘the unspeakable tyranny of the faithless conquerors’. The archival source offers certain information about the situation on the mainland, even if the protagonists in the story were condemned for criminal behaviour. Their flight itself indicates the hard times, both economic and social, that led them to abandon their homeland in search of a better fortune in Venetian territory, and it also reveals their fear of forced conversion which would await them if they returned.<sup>75</sup>

The close proximity of Venetian territory to the mainland coast and Ionian islands, as well as the European powers’ incitement of revolutionary movements in this corner of the Ottoman Empire, created a continuous and widespread climate of unrest which made necessary the strong and constant presence of Ottoman forces both in order to protect the empire’s frontiers against the Venetians and other Europeans, and to suppress uprisings of the local populations. It is natural in such critical periods for there to be changes both in settlement patterns and in the region’s demographic traits: the local population’s flight resulted in abandoned villages; villagers moved temporarily, or eventually permanently, to neighbouring villages that may have been safer; new people settled, and some people converted to Islam, either voluntarily or by force. In any case, the evidence in tax register *TT* 608 relating to the presence of Muslims in the villages of the kaza of Parapotamos foreshadows what would transpire elsewhere in the following centuries. For example, in the nineteenth century the villages in Philiates (as the administrative district of Parakalamo had by then been renamed) were either partly or entirely Muslim.<sup>76</sup>

One would expect that the armed conflicts, the attacks by the Ottoman fleet on the area and the widespread political anarchy would have led to the decimation of the population and left its mark in the tax records we are investigating. In the early seventeenth century we observe a 30% increase in the tax-paying population. It should be noted that this amount does not include the five villages which were transferred to the nahiye of Parakalamo in 1613. The considerable increase may be attributed either to settlers from other regions of the empire, or to a possible change in the way in which the census was

<sup>72</sup> 3 *Numaralı*, no. 462.

<sup>73</sup> 5 *Numaralı*, no. 1197. For repercussions in the area of the levy on children carried out by Sultan Murat III (1546-1595), see Aravantinos 1957, I, 218.

<sup>74</sup> Mertzios 1940, 22-58.

<sup>75</sup> Mertzios 1940, 31-32.

<sup>76</sup> Kokolakis 2003a, 228.

taken – it may have included as permanent inhabitants nomadic or semi-nomadic groups who moved about the Pindos range with their flocks. The appearance of Muslims in the villages of Parakalamo cannot be attributed exclusively to newly settled Muslims who came to the region as part of the army or as fortress guards, and subsequently settled in the fertile plains which offered them opportunities to increase their fortunes. There were, of course, local people who converted to Islam, and neighbouring regions preserve examples of this phenomenon. The Venetian archive contains an interesting account of the conversion of a man who was in all likelihood a Christian *sipahi* by the name of Ahmet Proniari of Agia, who organized in June 1558 incursions against Parga undertaken with the help of other men from the same village.<sup>77</sup> It is worth noting that Proniari was the name of a large family of Albanian notables and agas with a strong presence in Paramythia at the end of the eighteenth century.

We do not find an increase in taxes in the same kaza in the early seventeenth century. The total tax levied in 1551 was greater than in 1613 because it included the taxes from the five newly absorbed villages. The register of the villages of the nahiye of Parakalamo in 1613 begins by quoting the taxes owed to the sultan's holding, and in particular, the taxes from the harbour and salinas of Sagiada which corresponded, respectively, to 12,000 and 214,000 aspers. Reference was made to the duties collected by the sultan from the harbour at Sagiada by Evliya Çelebi, who also noted that products from Yanya, Trikala, Yenişehir (Larissa), Salonica and Serres were shipped from that same harbour.<sup>78</sup>

In addition, the sultan's holding earned tax revenues worth 104,000 aspers from the harbour at Douviani and 5,000 from that at Doxati,<sup>79</sup> as well as another 5,000 aspers from the harbour at Saranta (Agioli Saranta), not to mention the tax of 2,100 aspers from the five fisheries in the area. The total income from taxes owed to the sultan's holdings from the nahiye of Parakalamo reached 343,534 aspers, whereas that directed to the state was on the order of 442,534 aspers; in other words, almost half of the taxes levied in this region went to the sultan. The salinas and fisheries around the sandy coastline had provided an important income for local rulers already in the middle ages. After his conquest of Epirus, Charles Tocco controlled all the income derived from the salinas and fisheries, his brother Leandros had a share from the salinas of Lefkada, and Ioannis Presas, the administrator of Vonitsa, collected the revenues from the region's fisheries.<sup>80</sup> It was, then, only logical that the taxes of these industries fell to the sultan after the Ottoman conquest. The exploitation of the salinas and fisheries bears witness to significant economic activity along the Epirote coast which continued from the late medieval through the Ottoman period despite the succession of rulers.

In the nahiye of Parakalamo two monasteries are recorded:

A) The monastery of the Dormition of the Theotokos was characterized as a *vakıf*. This must be the monastery of Geromerion which still stands today on the western slopes

<sup>77</sup> K. Mertzios 1940, 30-31 and Hakkarainen 2009, 227, n. 26. Psimoulis connects the surname 'Proniari' with the Byzantine *pronoia*, the grant of a certain number of tax revenues, suggesting that the Ahmet Proniari in question was descended from the soldier pronoiers of the Tocco family who eventually evolved into Christian *sipahis*; see Psimouli 2006, 78-79. All the residents of Agia in register TT 608, pp. 220-22, have Albanian names and are Christians.

<sup>78</sup> Evliya Çelebi 2003, 2935b.

<sup>79</sup> Douviani and Doxati belong to the sancak of Argyrokastrò.

<sup>80</sup> Asonitis and Sygkellou 2010, 73-75.

of Mt. Pharmakovouni.<sup>81</sup> The monastery was built by the blessed Neilos Erichiotes in the early fourteenth century, was made stavropegic and later, in 1533, was recognized as a patriarchal exarchate by means of patriarchal and synodal sigillia.

The taxes levied on the monastery – 375 aspers in 1551 and 45 in 1613 – were included together with those of the village of Geromerion in the sultan's *has*.<sup>82</sup> In a note penned by the Ottoman registrar, we read that the monastery of Geromerion possessed the following metochia (dependencies): Martyritsa in the village of Vryselas, Saint John the Theologian near Sagiada, and another dedicated to Saint John the Theologian near Martziani, a village located today in Albania.<sup>83</sup> Also recorded in 1613 was the church of the Virgin at Kokkinolithari which paid an annual 90 aspers in tax.<sup>84</sup> This village was considered a settlement belonging to the exarchate of Geromerion.

B) The monastery known as 'Paliokastro' near the village of Mengoulates (Mengouli, modern Peristeri) was taxed at a flat rate on agricultural production: 100 aspers in 1551 and 150 in 1613. At the southwest end of the village of Peristeri is preserved the main church of the old monastery of Mengouli, dedicated to the Presentation of the Theotokos in the Temple. This is probably the same monastery as that noted in our Ottoman source. On the basis of the date inscribed on the only window in the north side of the church, the monastery preserved at Peristeri is considered to have been built in 1587 to 1588. But the fact that the monastery is mentioned in the record dated 1551 – if indeed we are speaking about the same monastery – implies that it must have been founded at least 30 or 40 years earlier than was believed on the basis of the inscription.<sup>85</sup>

## The nahiye of Mazaraki

In 1551, the nahiye of Mazaraki, which was later renamed the nahiye of Margariti, included 38 villages, whereas in 1613 it had 35.<sup>86</sup> Evliya Çelebi noted that in 1670 the nahiye had 40 villages and that the region was conquered by Gedik Ahmed Paşa in the reign of Sultan Beyazıt II Veli (1481-1512).<sup>87</sup> In 1551, the census taken (*TT* 273) of the tax-paying population recorded in a special category the *müselleme*, that is, peasants exempt from tax on account of their military service, in 20 villages in the nahiye. The record of these persons was always accompanied by a standard note of their privileged status.<sup>88</sup> The names of the *müselleme* are Gin, Gön, Leka, Andriya, Buya, Ilya, Bali, Bola, Giorgio and others. Without a doubt, these men were members of local Albanian tribes who continued after the Ottoman conquest to serve as supplementary military corps. They do not appear, however, in the register for 1613.

<sup>81</sup> The history of the Monastery of Geromerion is examined by Evangelou 2010.

<sup>82</sup> "Manastır-ı Panaya der karye-i mezbure ma'a kilise-i Maric der sınır-ı karye-i Virsila ve kilise-i Teologa der sınır-ı karye-i Sayada ve bağ der sınır-ı karye-i Marcyan ve öşr-i gallât ve öşr-i zeytün ve şıra ve ipek ve [...] el-meşhur vakf-ı manastır-ı elmezbûr. Hasıl ber-vech-i maktû' fî sene 45 [akçe]" (*TT* 608, pp. 76).

<sup>83</sup> Oikonomou 1964, 72-73.

<sup>84</sup> "Kilise-i Panaya der karye-i mezbure tabi'-i Manastır-ı Panaya der karye-i Yeromer an öşr-i gallât 90 [akçe]"; see *TT* 608, pp. 92.

<sup>85</sup> Kamaroulas 1996, 237-240.

<sup>86</sup> *TT* 273, pp. 213-250; *TT* 608, pp. 215-240.

<sup>87</sup> Evliya Çelebi 2003, 294b.

<sup>88</sup> "Mezkûrûn müsellemler mâ dâme ki, istikamet üzere hizmet edeler, hukûk-ı ser'iyye ve rûsûm-ı örfiyyeden

It is also striking that Mazaraki (modern Mazarakia), the seat of the most powerful tribe of the Mazarakaioi, does not appear in the two tax registers *TT* 273 and *TT* 608, although it appeared in the registers of the head tax which we investigated and was even categorized as a town (*nefs-i Mazarak*).<sup>89</sup> The fact that Mazaraki is not recorded in the tax registers should not be attributed to the inhabitants' tax-exempt status since in such a case this status would be noted in the register, as we confirm in the case, for example, of Sagiada and other villages. Probably Mazaraki's tax revenues had been granted as a *timar* for officials in another kaza. We should also note the striking fact that Margariti (Margiliç) was recorded in both registers as possessing a minute population (17 households in 1551 and 20 in 1613). In 1571 its citadel was besieged and destroyed by Venetian forces and inhabitants from the Ionian islands, Parga and Paramythia.<sup>90</sup> P. Oikonomou notes that Venier destroyed the citadel of Margariti 'because it had become a stronghold for elements threatening the Venetian possessions. The Venetians ascribed such importance to the fall of Margariti that a painting of the occasion was commissioned for the ducal palace in Venice'.<sup>91</sup>

The name of the Margariti citadel is thought to refer to 'Margaritos', a pirate and emir of the Sicilian fleet, known from late twelfth-century chronicles for his involvement in the affairs of the Crusader state in Jerusalem. The Normans surrendered their territories in the Ionian Sea to him in the twelfth century.<sup>92</sup> According to Evliya Çelebi, the citadel of Margariti in circa 1670 enclosed 200 houses and the town outside the walls, the *varoş*, had 1,200 houses. The Ottoman traveller also mentions the highly important piece of information that the citadel of Margariti had been built by an 'infidel fisherman'. Behind the word *balıkçı* ('fisherman') lies, without a doubt, the name of the great Byzantine family, the Apsarada. Evliya also praises the figs of a settlement called Agriyomasa, which should be connected with the village of Smokovina, a toponym of Slavic origin which means 'fig village', or Sykochori, the village's modern name. Evliya celebrates this local variety of fig – it is large, five or six making an oka, thin-skinned and as sweet as honey, and he adds that one can consume three or four okas without any accompanying discomfort.<sup>93</sup>

We may add the following information gleaned from tax registers *TT* 273 and *TT* 603 about the villages of the nahiye:

1. Kourtesi (modern Mesovouni) was in the pass on the road between Agios Donatos and Margariti. Its inhabitants were charged with the task of safeguarding the passage of travellers and the goods they transported, and for this they received more favourable terms of taxation. They paid only 10 aspers ispence and the households paid one kile of wheat and barley as well as the *cürm-i cinâyet ve bâdiheva* taxes. They did not pay exceptional taxes.<sup>94</sup> In 1613 the village of Kourtesi was absorbed into the *has*

mu'âf ve müsellemler olmak üzere hükm-i şerif irad eylemeğin defter- cedid-i Hâkani'ye kaydedildiler. Sâh."

<sup>89</sup> *MAD* 14635; *MAD* 18242; *MAD* 15210; *MAD* 1451.

<sup>90</sup> Chassiotis 1974, 320. Now see also Hakkarainen, this volume.

<sup>91</sup> Oikonomou 1979, 47, ascribes the painting to Antonios Vasilakis, but in reality it was painted by Domenico Tintoretto and later copied by Pietro Bellotti as shown by Hakkarainen, this volume.

<sup>92</sup> Maltezou 1979, 260.

<sup>93</sup> Evliya Çelebi 2003, 294a.

<sup>94</sup> "Mezkûr karye, Aydonat'dan Margiliç kal'asına varır mahall-i mahûf yolu beklerler. Tîmar erine neferden nefere onar akçe ispence ve evlülerinden birer kile buğday ve birer kile arpa ve cürm-i cinâyet ve bâdihevaların verirler. Tekâlif-i örfiyeden mu'âf ve müsellemler olmak üzere derbend hizmetin ederler" (see *TT* 273, pp. 220-221).



of Sinan Paşa and the 152 recorded tax-paying inhabitants paid the usual amount of 25 aspers ispence, but a very small amount on their agricultural production,<sup>95</sup> obviously on account of their continuous service in guarding the pass.

2. The inhabitants of the village of Nista (modern Phaskomilia) worked as miners in the salinas and, in return for this service, paid no tax other than the head tax.<sup>96</sup> In 1613 the village's inhabitants, who had stopped working in the mines, lost their privileged status and were inscribed in the tax register like the other *reayas*.<sup>97</sup>

In the nahiye of Mazaraki, compared with the other nahiyes in the sancak of Delvine, we found a smaller increase (only 5%) in the numbers of tax-payers over the 50 years between the censuses of 1551 and 1613. In the population of the villages noted in *TT* 273 (1551), we also found *müsellems*, who were not included in the number of tax-payers, precisely because they did not pay tax. We have already mentioned that this part of the population did not appear in *TT* 608 of 1613, except as the Muslim population of certain villages in the nahiye, as can be concluded from the record of the *resm-i bennak* and *resm-i çift* taxes.

Muslim inhabitants existed, in particular, in the villages of Arvenitsa, Grikohor, Koritani, Margiliç (Margarit), Nihor Kokali, Nihor Nista and Yunus. Seven of the 35 villages in Mazaraki had Muslim inhabitants, whether local converts such as Ahmet Proniaris from Agia, or foreigners. It is also worth noting that in some villages we find a large number of unmarried individuals (*mücerred*) who constitute up to approximately one half of the tax-paying population, as in the villages of Arvenitsa, Ayalar, Kondo Isari and others. The tax classification of these unmarried persons included in some villages payment of the ispence as normal households (25 aspers), while others were exempted. The different treatment leads us to surmise that some of the unmarried persons served the Ottoman state in some capacity. In any case, the high percentage of unmarried individuals is observable in certain settlements not only in the nahiye of Mazaraki, but also in the other sancaks of Delvine and was clearly associated with the loss in population from death as well as migration during the course of the various armed conflicts and popular revolts. In terms of demographics, we see in this situation the consequences of the political conflicts, as well as flight triggered by the predatory violence of Ottoman officials and Albanian converts which had intensified in the absence of centralized control.

We are informed by Venetian documents and travellers' accounts, as well as documents from the early nineteenth-century archive of Ali Paşa, that from the late eighteenth century the entire Phanari plain belonged to Hasan Ağa Tsapari of Margariti and other beys in the region, just as whole villages belonged to leaders of the strong Albanian clans which had converted to Islam.<sup>98</sup> The same situation prevailed in the plain of Paramythia, which was controlled by the Proniatis clan. Eighteenth-century documents in

<sup>95</sup> *TT* 608, pp. 225-226: *İспенçe* 3.775, *Hinta*, *hıml-2* 90, *Şa'ir*, *hıml-10* 290, *Öşr-i sıra*, *medre-10* 120, *Öşr-i keten* 35, *Resm-i giyâh* 350, *Mâkiyan ve cev* 350, *Palamud* 10, *Öşr-i bostan* 15, *Resm-i sepet* 10, *Bâdihevâ [ve] cürm-i cinâyet ve resm-i arûs ve koruculuk* 50, *YEKÛN* 5.250.

<sup>96</sup> "Mezkûr karye ahalisi hâliya ihdâs olan nesneye memlehası ocaklarına tuzcu ta'yin olunup her senede tuz işleyüp vaz' olunan cizyelerini edâ ettiklerinden sonra zimmetleri mukabelesinde sayir hukûk-ı şer'iyye ve rûsûm-ı örfiyyeden mu'âf ve müsellemler olmak üzere defter-i cedîd; hâkanide kayd olundu. Sah." (see *TT* 273, pp. 228).

<sup>97</sup> "Karye-i mezbûre sâbık tuzcılar olmağın cemi'-î hukûk ve rûsûmdan muâflar tutulup hâlâ tuzculıktan ferâgat etmeğın sâir reâyâ gibi kayd olundu" (see *TT* 608, pp. 215).

<sup>98</sup> Hakkarainen 2009, 228; Leake 1835, IV, 49, 50, 53-54 and *Αρχαίον Αλή Πασά* 2009, 1408.

the *BOA* allow us to trace the process by which the land was privatized, a process which entailed a change in the status of the land's exploitation to the disadvantage of the agricultural population. A large number of peasants who had been free farmers became, in this process, tied to the land as share-croppers (*ortakci*) or simple agricultural workers.

Control of the region was lost when the sipahis gradually left their timars for what were basically economic reasons. The Ottoman archival material confirms that incomes from the *timars* had remained at exactly the same levels after one and a half centuries. For example, the value of a timar (6,000 aspers), which constituted the tax revenue from the village of Tourkopalouko, remained nominally the same from 1613 to 1809. The same was the case for the timar of Nikoliç (Fig. 3).<sup>99</sup> The timar-holder of the village of Muzakat in the nahiye of Aydonat sought in 1739 permission to abandon his timar, ceding half of its income to the sancakbey of Delvine and the other half to his brother on the precondition that he would live in the sancak of Delvine and fight under the command of its sancakbey.<sup>100</sup> Clearly, the abandonment of their land by the representatives of the central authority had assumed great proportions, a fact which in 1787 forced the sultan to request from the sancakbey of Delvine the timars of all those who did not live on their timar, or did not fight with their men on behalf of the empire, as they were obliged to do. Their timars were to be given to other *sipahis* who were willing to fulfil their obligations (Fig. 4).<sup>101</sup>

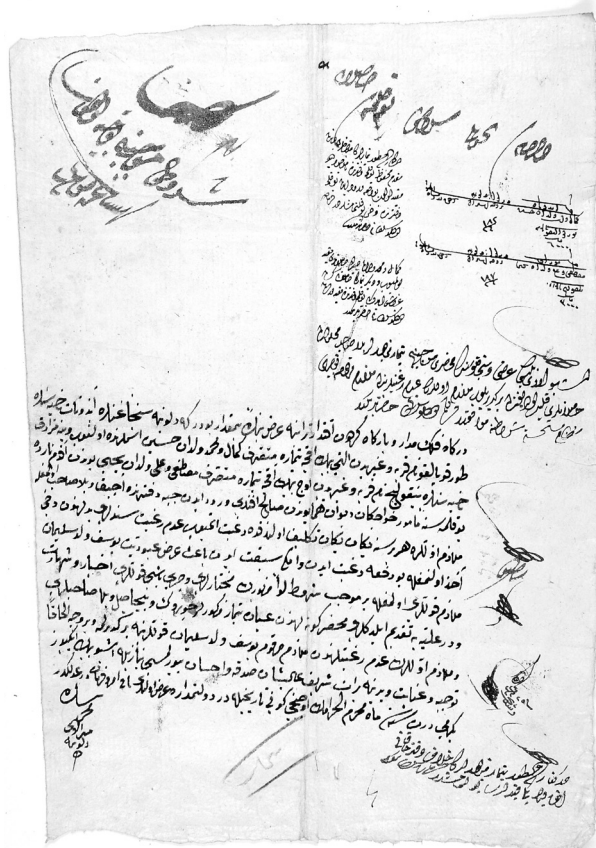


Fig. 3. *Cevdet Timar* 6788/2. A firman sent by the sultan to the sancak of Delvine to authorize the *sened* to Yusuf veled-i Süleyman of the *timar* belonging formerly to the sons of Hüseyin in the village of Turkopalouko, worth 6,000 aspers, as well as the *timar* belonging formerly to the sons of Yahya, Mustafa and Ali, in the village of Nikolitsi in the nahiye of Mazaraki, worth 3,000 aspers. The previous owners refused to be inscribed in the *cebe defter* and for this reason the titles of their *timars* (*sened*) were seized. Date of the firman: 3 Muharrem 1224/ 18 February 1809.

<sup>99</sup> *Cevdet Timar* 6788.

<sup>100</sup> *Cevdet Timar* 8021 and 4444.

<sup>101</sup> *Cevdet Timar* 6977.

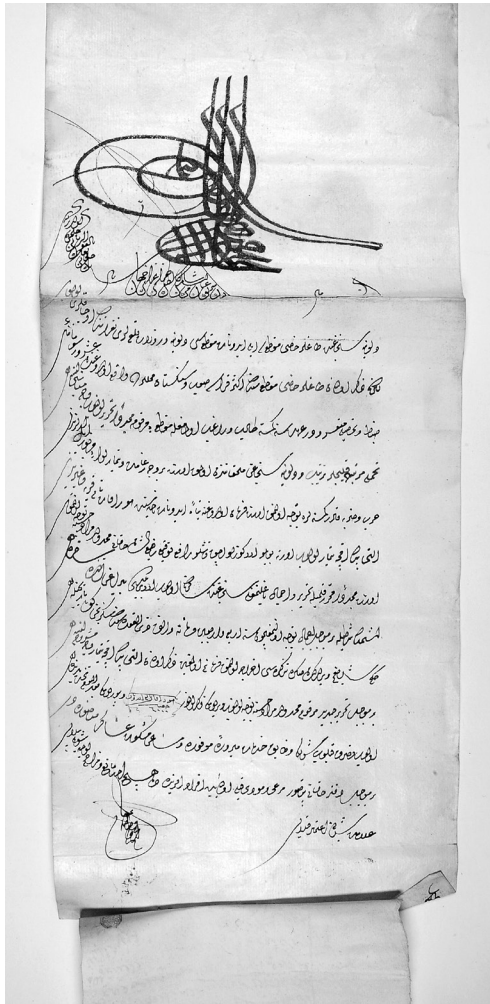


Fig. 4. Cevdet Timar 6977/1. The sultan authorized on 25 Muharrem 1202 (6.11.1787) by firman the possession of the *timar* of Ahmet pursuant to the request of the sancakbey of Delvine, submitted at the Sublime Porte on 11 Ramadan 1201 (27.6.1787). In his firman the sultan sets the following terms for the approval of the possession of the *timar*: firstly, the *sipahi* Ahmet must be an inhabitant of the sancak of Delvine and must engage in warfare as his services are required, and secondly, he must show an interest in and maintain his *timar*.

It would be natural to assume that the cavalries replaced their lost income directly from the producers themselves and by the arbitrary use of violence. Arbitrary tax-farming and the abuse of power at the expense of the rural population had also occurred in earlier periods. The Venetian archive provides illuminating information for the tour of Peri Mehmet Passopoulo, voivod of Paramythia, who, escorted by a strong corps of infantry, had in 1625 been plundered by the peasants 'as if he were their enemy and not their master'.<sup>102</sup> It is not by chance that the *kanunname* of the sancak of Delvine clearly underlines that the *sipahi* should not take more than one chicken and half a *tagari* of grain from the peasants and nothing more, when making his rounds to collect the tithe and the *ispence*,<sup>103</sup> thereby nipping in the bud, or even forbidding, arbitrariness in tax collection. And it seems to us no coincidence that in 1611, during the uprising led by the metropolitan of Larissa, Dionysios the Philosopher, the peasants who overran Ioannina brandishing farm tools shouted slogans against heavy taxation: '*haratzi, haratzopoulo, anazouli, anazoulopoulo*' (a play on words related to oppressive taxation: *haratzi* is the Greek form of *haraç*, head tax, and *anazouli* is the *nüzül*).<sup>104</sup> If the tradition conveys an accurate picture, then it is clear that the reason behind the Epirote peasant revolt was the intolerable tax burden.

In this frontier zone of the Ottoman Empire, acts of disobedience at the level of military officers and

<sup>102</sup> Mertziros 1940, 39-40.

<sup>103</sup> *TT* 608, p. 1.

<sup>104</sup> Papadopoulos 1974, 326-328. On the Venetian archives related to the uprising led by Dionysios, see Hakkarainen 2009, 231-232.

high administrative officials extended even to the withholding of state revenues. From a sultanic decree dated 1749 addressed to the vali of Rumeli, Ahmet Paşa, we learn that the state did not collect the head tax or the *avarız* and *nüzûl*<sup>105</sup> taxes, because the owner of estates in the kaza of Aydonat did not permit the reayas to pay these taxes to the state. The sultan's decree was exceedingly harsh: the vali was to ensure the collection of said taxes by threatening the landowners with the seizure of their land if they continued to obstruct the will of the central authority. The landowners were ordered to surrender to the mübaşir, who had arrived from the capital, in the presence of the *naib* (kadi's assistant) of the kaza of Aydonat, the tax revenues they had collected from their reayas.<sup>106</sup> There is archival evidence which also bears witness to arbitrary behaviour on the part of the highest officers, who withheld taxes belonging to the state. According to the accusation made by the sancakbey of Delvine to the Sublime Porte, Mehmet Paşa, who lived in Yanya, deferred paying the *emvâl-i miriye* taxes he collected from the landowners in both 1185 (1771-72) and 1190 (1776-77).<sup>107</sup>

On the other hand, the levying of local nomadic shepherds and landless peasants, as well as experienced Albanian fighters who had long served in mercenary corps to aid and assist the regular Ottoman army in guarding the citadels and frontiers, as also their use in raids on Parga and Preveza, gave power and wealth to this part of the population. Their organization into factions and clans gave them the shape of regular military corps in which, however, the role of the salaried soldier blurred and overlapped with that of the brigand. A significant number of such men eventually converted to Islam. Evliya Çelebi refers to one such instance in his writings, when the Christian Albanians from Kourbelesi who guarded the citadel at Zouliati converted en masse when Küçük Mehmet Paşa banned Christians from serving as guards in the region's citadels.<sup>108</sup>

Conversion to Islam and reconciliation with the conqueror simplified their incorporation into the Ottoman administration. Local converts became ağas, tax-farmers and large-scale landowners, thanks to farmers' debts as well as the exercise of violence.<sup>109</sup> In their accumulation of wealth and power, they often developed antagonistic relations with the Ottomans. Documents refer to the auction of 29 estates in Agios Donatos and Margariti in March, 1844, which ended up in the hands of wealthy Chams (*Çamlık hanedân*) who were already in possession of enormous land holdings.<sup>110</sup>

With the help of the Ottoman sources, we have followed the development of the area and population of Chamouria from the mid-fifteenth until the seventeenth century when, gradually, it passed into Ottoman domination. The settlements of the three kazas of Aydonat (Paramythia), Parakalamo (Filyat) and Mazaraki (Margariti) constituted, during this period, a dense and, by and large, highly populated network, as shown by the numbers of recorded tax-payers. The taxable inhabitants of the towns and villages recorded in the older records were exclusively Christian until the early sixteenth century when Muslims appeared in some of the settlements. The origin of these Muslims should be attributed

<sup>105</sup> Avarız and nüzûl, extraordinary dues, originally collected in wartime in order to cover extraordinary needs arising for the state machine to operate under such conditions, but later collected on an annual basis.

<sup>106</sup> *Cevdet Maliye* 13224.

<sup>107</sup> *Cevdet Maliye* 15357.

<sup>108</sup> Evliya Çelebi 2003, 298b-299a.

<sup>109</sup> Psimouli 2006, 86-111.

<sup>110</sup> *Cevdet Maliye* 6581 and 27645.



to conversions, but also to the settlement of Muslim Albanian nomadic tribes, as well as Christian nomadic tribes, because otherwise it is not possible to explain the continuation of either the region's urban density or the demographic size of the settlements, since there was at the same time a strong wave of Christian inhabitants migrating to Venetian territory.

It is nearly impossible to attain a clear understanding from the Ottoman tax registers of the ethnic and cultural groups which constituted the region's population, in other words to distinguish the Albanians, Sarakatsani and Vlachs. By studying the personal names from some settlements, such as Agia, we have confirmed that already in the early seventeenth century the population was densely Albanian. The picture which emerges from the tax registers of the fifteenth, sixteenth and seventeenth centuries complements evidence from eighteenth-century Ottoman documents, as well as material from Venetian and Greek sources. Furthermore, it also indicates the imposition of leaders from clans of Albanian converts to Islam and the process by which land was divided up into private estates, the typical land arrangement of the nineteenth century.

Appendix Ia - Demographic size and productive activities of the villages of Aydonat in TT 273 (1551)

No.	Name of village	Neferan	Ispace	Taxes	Grains etc	Olives	Fruits	Wine	Cotton/Silk	Prinokok	Mills	Beehives	Chickens	Pigs	TOTAL	TOTAL in TT 273
1	Anemica (Nemitsa, pr.															
	Vouvopotamos)	24	600	186	1186		13		95		60	23	20	17	2200	2200
2	Arces (Narkissos)	217	5325	1612	14506	300		1200	663		30	278	212	261	24387	24387
3	Ayo Zaniko	32	800	236	394			120				10	30	10	1600	1600
4	Ayo Zaniko Büzülg ve															
	küçük	49	1225	300	720			120				95	40		2500	2500
5	Belesi	46	1150	262	352			120		27		18	37	10	2000	2024
6	Belesi nam-ı diğer Sevasto	10	250	108	536				49			40	8		991	991
7	Borovar (Kıra-Panagia)	8	200	66	4530	30		24	64	20	30	10	6	26	5006	1091
8	Çurili (Kallitheia)	317	7925	2390	3250	450	25	1200	350		150		260		16000	5000
9	Dolani (Geroplatanos)	19	475	152	1196	500		600	50			50	17	60	3100	5725
10	Domolesa	33	825	320	1352		56	624	280		15	53	25		3550	3550
11	Dovla	16	400	134	1616			240	55			30	14	11	2500	2500
12	Dragani (Ampelia)	116	2775	820	5172	266		480	241		30	150	85	138	10157	10157
13	Dragumi (Zervochori)	62	1550	412	1952		50	1764	108		30	81	52		5999	10247
14	Eflahohor (Vlachor, pr.															
	Polydrosos)	13	325	135	1236			300					11	17	2024	2024
15	Elesna (Artopoula)	27	675	211	2526		60	156	232		15	87	22		3984	3984
16	Gardiki	94	2350	200	3380	500		1500	300	250		25	80	81	8666	8666
17	Grajdan (Katamachi)	49	1225	364	1440			1200	195		15	50	44		4533	9136
18	Gramatiko nam-ı diğer															
	Kukuli	60	1500	368	2960			180	202			134	51	105	5500	4532
19	Grañica	25	625	375	2296		25	600	257		30	106	23	100	4437	4437
20	Haikades	33	825	248	1512			240	18			129	28		3000	4500
21	Hoyka	128	3200	1160	20260	142		600	420		90		110		25982	25982
22	İğliki (Glyki)	23	575	1720	2140	140	39	66			30	12	20		4742	4742
23	İksenopulo	28	700	202	1424				43		90	38	24	45	2566	2566
24	İpsareza-yi Büzülg	102	2550	790	2684	450		1320	632				85	65	8576	8576
25	İpsarez-yi Küçük	91	2275	633	2830			240	23	81	30	26	78		6216	8579
26	İskandili (Skandalo)	42	1050	270	1710	310		720	140	50		70	40	40	4400	4400
27	İsterganeci (Dichouni)	15	375	117	324			156				16	12		1000	1000



No. Name of village	Neferan	Isperence	Taxes	Grains etc	Olives	Fruits	Wine	Cotton/Silk	Prinokok	Mills	Beehives	Chickens	Pigs	TOTAL	TOTAL in 77/273
49 Maji (Polydoro)	18	450	139	782			240					15		1626	6859
50 Maluni	50	1250	315	3110			1200				100	40	100	6115	1266
51 Markopoulo	96	2400	733	1580		75	2760				200	84	168	8000	6055
52 Muzakat (Mouzakeika)	82	2050	544	5056				100				74		7824	
53 Nefs-i Aydonat	538	13450	7795	10000	2454	391	4800		181	884	175	480	155	40765	7825
54 Nefs-i Ozdina (Pente Eklisies)	331	8400	5696	7640	10392	25	4200	1011		225	466	302	46	38403	38403
55 Nehor Revani	46	1150	308	2098			1104	114		15	26	40	35	4890	4890
56 Nimonya /Timonya	27	675	244	1192	150	125			90			24		2500	2500
57 Paskal Selyani (Ag. Mavra)	125	3125	900	2868			2165		500				85	9835	38500
58 Petroviça	54	1350	382	454	60		226	41			50	47		2610	9825
59 Petusi	41	1025	284	1144			720			30	160	35	60	3458	3458
60 Popovo (Ag. Kyriaki)	90	2250	630	2610			1200		75	15	170	80		7030	7030
61 Pradala (Pardalitsa)	71	1775	504	748			816	62		15	20	60		4000	4000
62 Radoviz	56	1400	346	444		10	192	15		30	10	41	12	2500	2500
63 Rominyat (Romanos)	23	575	158	1240		30	600	68	66	15		18	50	2820	2820
64 Ropalon /Zupalyot/ Rumelyot (?)	2	50	22	36			48	9			18	2		185	185
65 Selanik (Saloniki)	25	625	216	1418			120				99	22		2500	180
66 Sendeli nam-i diger														894	894
67 Lefterohori (Lefterochori)	27	270	102	522											
67 Sergopuli nam-i diger															
İspatarat	24	600	195	1416				20				23		2254	1020
68 Sistrun Küçük	25	625	183	704			240		128	60	40	20		2000	2000
69 Sistrun Büzüğü	82	2075	537	3020	100	34		219		150	130	71		6336	6336
70 Suli	244	6100	1522	2048			660					210		10540	10540
71 Şaleşi	34	650	186	700			300	117	40		30	21		2044	10550
72 Turkopaluko (Kypseli)	59	1475	688	8892				346	200	120	250	50	25	12046	12046
73 Usteniki nam-i diger															
Pisulka	13	325	108	632				6		60	20	10	10	1171	1171
74 Valanidya	27	675	184	460			144					18		1481	2287

No. Name of village	Neferan	İspence	Taxes	Grains etc	Olives	Fruits	Wine	Cotton/Silk	Prinokok	Mills	Beehives	Chickens	Pigs	TOTAL	TOTAL in TT 273
75 Varibob (Phteri)	11	275	106	720			300	88		15	50	9		1563	1563
76 Veliani (Chrysavgi)	71	1775	532	2986	102		1860	125	50	210	48	56	46	7790	8000
77 Vinuka nam-ı diğer İpsadara (Voinikou, pr. Prodromi)	38	200	127	1400			300	46			20	7		2100	2100
78 Vromopigadi	20	500	224	2100				415				13		3252	3252
79 Vrusina	120	3000	870	5276			3000	678			45	110		12979	12979
80 Zagorya	23	575	138	216	40		72			15	34	20		1110	1110
81 Zalango Epiano	24	600	176	764	70	25	300	24			25	20	21	2025	2025
82 Zalango Kato	44	1100	292	2608			1320	155		15	36	35	75	5636	5636
83 Zaravuçi Buzürg (Ag. Nikolas)	28	700	203	1828		10	360	129			20	22	21	3293	3293
84 Zaravuçi Küçük (Ag. Nikolas)	11	275	114	1152			360	76			76	8	30	2091	2055
85 Zeleso (Xirolophos)	74	1850	560	6938	150		600	395		75	200	60	192	11020	11020
86 Zemisi / Renisi (?)	5	125	54	762				19		30	9	4	5	1008	1008
87 Zotiko	24	600	204	1922			660	90			30	19		3525	3525
TOTAL	5411	133870	47412	207292	16991	1368	57974	11341	2252	3134	5028	4576	2421	494213	488426



## Appendix Ib - Demographic size and productive activities of the villages of Aydonat in TT 608 (1613)

No. Name of village	Neferan	İspace	Taxes	Wine	Grains	Olives	Cotton/ Silk	Fruits/ Vegetables	Mills	Prinokok/ Oaks	Beehives	Chickens	Pigs	TOTAL	TOTAL in TT 608
1 Anemica (Nemitsa -Vouvopotamos)	26	650	435	10	1125	31	20	43	60			125	15	2545	2500
2 Arces (Narkissos)	170	4250	774	220	15370	70	300	100	45	20		500	70	21951	24387
3 Ayo Zaniko	32	832	225	13	68		7					125	5	1312	1200
4 Ayo Zaniko (Büzürg ve Küçük)	81	2015	400	120	595			20	30	50	20	300	15	3565	3400
5 Belesi	28	700	112	17	74		5			15	5	100	5	1033	800
6 Belesi nam-ı diğer Sevasto	17	425	10	30	422		10	10			15	70	10	1019	1000
7 Borovar	10	250	345	1800	2515	220	66	24	45	222	27	45	10	5569	6500
8 Çurila (Kallitheia)	361	9000	625	34	209	15	32	29	195		15	400	15	10930	10638
9 Dolani (Geroplatanos)	34	850	715	540	2690		150	28			45	125	45	5222	5280
10 Domolesa	45	1100	457	1324	1020		20	76	15		15	195	22	4289	4250
11 Dovla	31	775	382	382	1294	65	120	20	20		20	130	50	3269	3135
12 Dragani (Ampelia)	100	2481	520	324	882	540	510	30	30	55	30	410		5912	6003
13 Dragumi (Zervohori)	210	4750	1455	1991	8470	50	38	145	60		30	845	29	18073	13000
14 Eflahohor (Polydrosos)	46	1125	38	160	119		11	20			5	200	18	1742	1260
15 Elesna (Artopoula)	38	950	635	268	2295		84	133	30		60	165		4658	4700
16 Gardiki	112	2650	695	936	3384	840	360	55	75	150	10	45	40	9352	9136
17 Gramatiko nam-ı diğer Kukuli	112	2800	405	310	1257		80	50	30	5	45	405	35	5534	5500
18 Graniça	32	800	295	88	1428		47	49	15		54	95		2903	2890
19 Grazdani (Katamachi)	63	1575	520	1870	2249		260	120	15		60	200	40	6972	6879
20 Halkades	37	925	300	240	1480		118	50			10	175		3335	3000
21 Hoyka	177	4275	650	650	9605	400		895	120	270	150	650	50	17892	18000
22 İğliki (Glyki)	21	499	236		1700		30	216	30		130	80		2942	4744
23 İksenopulo	29	725	300		1030		60	24	90	20	72	100	25	2475	2566
24 İpsareza-yi Büzürg	110	2675	865	880	2092	480	710	130			5	515	50	8512	9000
25 İpsareza-yi Küçük	96	2387	1160	392	2461	110		140	45	185	20	410	25	7431	7865
26 İskandal (Skandalo)	76	1900	425	735	1737	120	128	20	15	100	20	315		5591	5571
27 İsterganeci (Dichoumi)	18	450	155	247	2925		10	25	45			60		3935	1800

No. Name of village	Neferan	İspence	Taxes	Wine	Grains	Olives	Cotton/ Silk	Fruits/ Vegetables	Mills	Prinokok/ Oaks	Beehives	Chickens	Pigs	TOTAL	TOTAL in TT 608
28 İronat nam-ı diğer Vranat	83	2025	740	1276	1499	4499	120	247	30	50	270	250	15	11104	10949
29 Karbunar nam-ı diğer İskura	35	350	359		1110									1854	1819
30 Karbunar nam-ı diğer Livigışta	121	3025	1460	1206	1728	840	150	160		360	70	500	18	9638	9500
31 Karbunar nam-ı diğer Mangal	29	725	280	26	245	172	30	14		57	65			1643	1676
32 Karyoti	104	2665	443	140	97	15	30	55	15	40	50	300	5	3959	3527
33 Katuna	114	2850	930	1000	2060		224	360	45	240	135	300		8258	7500
34 Kerasia der nefis-i Aydonat	4	100	40		1765		100					20		2029	2000
35 Kerasova (Kerasia)	74	1850	488	496	792		70	30	30		380	305	12	4527	4500
36 Kobro (Kobra, pr. Anthochori)	9	225	184	128	370		25	8			30	32		1011	999
37 Koluça nâm-ı diğer Pangrat Luca? (Pankrati)	10	250	60	60	249		18			5	5	45		702	700
38 Kondat/Kondara? Kodra	41	1025	307	610	963	60	60	70	90	50	13	185	10	3484	3796
39 Koprina (Kopra pr. Anthochori)	36	900	450	120	2429		18	18	15		55	150		4191	4114
40 Kõrfani / Gürkani (?)	29	725	385	36	996		6	31	30	10	5	125	40	2418	2379
41 Koristiyani (Phrosyni)	141	3525	1233	1270	1814			91	30	300	40	550		8994	9568
42 Kukuli nam-ı diğer Hotaçovo	39	975	1030	678	4600		148	24	15			180	15	7665	7860
43 Labaniçe (Elataria)	25	655	277	164	177		60	42	30		12	100	20	1562	1500
44 Laliza	20	500	200		1631		102	48	15		14	100	5	2635	2600
45 Libovikista (Zotiko)	100	2500	786	2410	5460		590	140	15	30	225	395		12651	12622
46 Livyahova	100	2475	636	480	3000		15	29	45		20	430		7230	8500
47 Longos nam-ı diğer Katuna Petro Kokali	50	1250	115	12	59		6	17	15	10	7	100		1641	1500
48 Majat nam-ı diğer İstanovo (Stanovo, pr. Mandrotopos)	48	1200	769	2654	3262	200	165	54	30	280	30	220	23	8935	9083

No. Name of village	Neferan	Ispace	Taxes	Wine	Grains	Olives	Cotton/ Silk	Fruits/ Vegetables	Mills	Prinokok/ Oaks	Beehives	Chickens	Pigs	TOTAL	TOTAL in 77 608
49 Maji (Polydoro)	42	950	114	20	67		5	12	15			75	5	1305	1200
50 Maluni	90	2250	258	80	1919	13	19	10	15	25	10	200		4889	3900
51 Markopulo nam-ı diğer Glaviça (Avlotos)	68	1700	360	2440	1930			100		60	30	300	20	7008	7000
52 Muzakat (Mouzakeika)	70	1750	407		5245		19	90		25	15	250	30	7901	7825
53 Nefs-i Aydonat	750	18800	7322	12400	5242	2000	375	750	900	200	75	3000	100	51914	50000
54 Nefs-i Ozdina (Pente Ekkisies)	432	10825	3909	2452	3410	4380	18	162	330		25	232	20	26195	21218
55 Nehor Revani	77	1925	638	1200	3890	15	570	85	60	50	9	370	90	8979	9000
56 Nimonya / Timonya	31	775	146		1279	40		55	90		5	125		2546	2500
57 Paskal Seliani (Ag. Mavra)	176	4400	1420	4210	8015		160	150	15	130	105	780		19561	19389
58 Petroviça	39	975	125	32	126	8	13	21			3	100	10	1452	1525
59 Petusi	78	1950	325	125	614		20	110	30		30	225	10	3517	3000
60 Popovo (Ag. Kyriaki)	110	2755	522	34	331			15	15	50	10	425		4267	4107
61 Pradala (Pardalitsa)	41	1012	215	298	295		22	20	15		10	155		2083	2000
62 Radoviz	60	1500	250	250	1480		19	37	30		15	150	15	3806	5380
63 Rominyat (Romanos)	37	925	255	374	1039		15	23	35	40	10	160	5	2918	2830
64 Ropaloni/Zupalyot/ Rumeliyot	3	75	20	36	50	4	5	6		2	10			211	170
65 Selanik (Saloniki)	22	550	121	240	2315		52	40		15	30	90	10	3485	3400
66 Sendeli nam-ı diğer Lefterohori	45	450	425		1125									2045	2000
67 Sergopuli nam-ı diğer İşpatarat	29	750	257		58		5			19	6	40	5	1169	977
68 Sestrün Bütürg	108	2700	745	250	1925	44	60	84		56	15	415		6402	6300
69 Sestrün Küçük	41	1025	200	530	945		60	100		82	600	150		3733	3200
70 Suli	238	5900	1307	1860	3279		20	120	60	50	58	905		13797	13500
71 Şaleşi	27	625	183	60	432		10	20		10	20	115	20	1495	1500
72 Turkopaluko (Kypseli)	138	3450	630		549		120	15		460	12	500	75	5949	6000
73 Ustinek/Evstinek nam-ı diğer Posolika	17	425	210		560		20	30	60		36	75	15	1448	1445

No. Name of village	Neferan	İspence	Taxes	Wine	Grains	Olives	Cotton/ Silk	Fruits/ Vegetables	Mills	Prinokok/ Oaks	Beehives	Chickens	Pigs	TOTAL	TOTAL in TT 608
74 Valanidyva	39	775	115	17	81		20	10			5	75	5	1142	1060
75 Varibob (Phteri)	17	425	90	367	312	16	10	7	15		5	60		1324	1260
76 Veliani (Chrysavgi)	81	2025	665	1840	3809	1380	620	160	210	150	38	315	7	11300	11400
77 Vinuka nam-i diger İpsarat (Voimiko, pr. Prodromi)	62	1550	734	560	862	182	170	69	15		130	190	40	4564	4526
78 Vromopigadi	15	375	110		1190		180					70		1940	2000
79 Vrusina	195	4900	969	720	2647		150	40	75		36	745	31	10508	10000
80 Zagorya	26	625	415	44	980	560	66	95	15		75	115	5	3021	3000
81 Zalongo Epano	26	650	179	126	1042	280	415	170			240	100	6	3234	3325
82 Zalongo Kato	57	1425	340	128	508		10	10	15		15	240	15	2763	2600
83 Zaravuçi Bützürg (Ag. Nikolas)	45	1025	438	382	1656		184	129			36	190	20	4105	4148
84 Zaravuçi Küçük (Ag. Nikolas)	6	150	180	383	463		46	25			40	30	30	1353	2212
85 Zeleso (Xirolophos)	86	2100	1105	2148	7130	240	360	144	75		76	360	191	14015	14211
86 Zenisi/Renisi	21	525	100	24	339		5	15	15	10	5	85	10	1154	1008
87 Zotiko	31	775	385	480	1583		50	60		40	38	140		3582	3500
TOTAL	6800	167376	50495	60457	171524	17889	9006	6879	3545	3998	4239	22624	1527	526359	515312

## Appendix IIa - Demographic size and productive activities of the village of Parakalamo in TT 273 (1551)

No.	Name of villages	Neferan	Muslims	Ispace	Resm-i çift	Taxes	Grains	Beans	Olives	Wine	Fruits/ Gardens	Cotton	Honey	Mills	Animals	TOTAL	TOTAL in TT 273
1	Ayo Vlas (Souvliasi, pr. Ag. Vlasias)	217	5425			1015	888	44		60	334	20				7786	7790
2	Babur (Babouri pr. Vavouri)	50	1250			255	1684			240	80	52	55	30	34	3680	3680
3	Bedeleni	37	925			180	452		20	300	56	26	65		11	2035	1975
4	Çakarlaman	36	900			255	1178		272	624	58		150		95	3532	3532
5	Çamanta	88	2200			710	2340			1800	152	172	400	75	151	8000	13800
6	Çeramiça (Keramitsa)	40	1000			280	1262			120	99	160	28	15	35	2999	3000
7	Çukarat (Tsekuri)	12	300			95	1139	18	74	240	18	39	30	30	20	2003	2000
8	Dirmiça	75	1875			350	332	22		60	100	10	5		8	2762	2762
9	Dramesi	257	6425			1085	1940			60	314	30	30		25	9909	9904
10	Fanaromeni	15	375			90	968		20	60	24	30	20			1587	1587
11	Fatira (Kerasochori)	31	775			177	760			150	60	70	8			2000	2000
12	Filyat	22	450		72	110	1162		70	612	24	65			35	2600	2500
13	Finik	39	975			471	5078		104	120	62	100	34	15	30	6989	6989
14	Gardik	155	3875			1355	7286	88		1908	262	330	224			15328	15132
15	Gramos	19	450		12	760	1070		46	504	28	47	42		41	3000	3000
16	İliya (Lia)	44	1100			250	1328			480	76	150	61	15	40	3500	3500
17	İskefarik (Skefari, pr. Myloi)	17	425			150	1836				24					2435	2435
18	İstefanat	62	1550			615	4860	44	64		90	80	90	240	125	7758	7758
19	İşbovik (Sbokia)	21	525			163	1516		120	240	36	120	50		30	2800	2800
20	Kamicani (Kaminia )	15	375			110	720			240	49	60	26	15	15	1610	1610
21	Kartesi (Kurtesi, pr. Mesovouni)	8	200			171	2342		20	1188	14	20	14		35	4004	4004
22	Koşka (Kotsika)	161	4025			1009	3268			3340	294	153	81	135	99	12404	12400
23	Lopşi (Neo Asprokklisi)	161	4025			770	1810	44	300	600	204	200	76		35	8064	8000
24	Makri Todor	20	500			188	2390			912	36	300	81	15	54	4476	4476
25	Markati	60	1500			500	2794	44	150	720	96	50	11	45	89	5999	5999
26	Mengulat	239	5925		24	1970	8716	264	1500	4200	428	461	256	30	226	24000	24000



No. Name of village	Neferan Muslims	Ispace	Resm-i	Taxes	Grains	Beans	Olives	Wine	Fruits/ Gardens	Cotton	Honey	Mills	Animals	TOTAL	TOTAL in TT 273
			çift												
27 Mihalyani	55	1375		280	2074		157	240	76	91	60	30	100	4483	4483
28 Ortopışya (Pesiani)	86	2150		606	2192	264		480	156	152			50	6050	6000
29 Palampa	25	625		130	200		10	36	49	20	10			1080	1080
30 Piçar (Aetos)	125	2125		605	1680		65	240	218	22		45	50	5050	6000
31 Piğadulya	117	2925		615	1970		60	120	200	50	10		50	6000	6000
32 Plisivica (Plesivitsa pr.															
Plaisio)	233	5825		1468	6482	220		6000	504	622			149	21270	21270
33 Povla (Ambelonas)	13	325		94	854			240	22	60	25	15	15	1650	1650
34 Radostiva	30	750		205	1050		101	636	36	65	45		12	2900	2900
35 Rahova (Arachova pr.															
Rizo)	42	1050		260	1688		128	960	64	130	36		15	4331	4331
36 Reçat (Tropaïouchos)	34	850		345	304				40	20	30		10	1599	1579
37 Şalesi	159	3975		1050	10756		234	1024	260	431	242		50	18022	18022
38 Salıça (Lakka)	93	2325		500	1496		240	120	140	159				4980	5000
39 Sideri	81	2000		509	3876		150	420	134	200	20		41	7350	7350
40 Sipatari (Trikoropho)	140	2500		1622	3808		552	2580	550	289	295		353	12549	13450
41 Şalesi	159	3975		1050	10756		234	1024	260	431	242		50	18022	18022
42 Ulaç	30	750		175	810			360	46	63	19	15	28	2266	2177
43 Varfanovi (Varphani, pr.															
Parapotamos)	132	3200		800	3276	44		612	200	100	20		49	8301	8401
44 Viraniya (Brania, pr.															
Marina)	33	825		230	2096		111	480	52	20	56	30	9	3909	4000
45 Virsila (Vrysella)	131	3275		1274	5040		1240	1200	202	500	175		252	13158	12889
46 Virva	171	4275		1140	3054			2520	280			15	216	11500	11000
47 Yanyari	88	2200		477	1030		258	600	142	800	50	30	105	5692	5692
48 Yeromar (Giromeri)	169	4225		1300	3108		175	1812	240	133	42		135	11170	11175
TOTAL	4047	7	98875	108	27819	126719	1096	6475	40482	6889	7103	840	2972	322592	329104

## Appendix IIb - Demographic size and productive activities of the villages of Parakalamo in TT 608 (1613)

No. Name of village	Neferan	İspence	Resm-i	Taxes	Grains	Beans	Olives	Wine	Fruits / Vegetables	Cotton	Honey	Mills	Animals	Oaks	TOTAL	TOTAL in TT 608
			çift													
1 Ayo Vlaş (Suvlasi, pr. Ag. Vlasias)	273	6700	50	770	283	45		60	240	19	52	20	10	8522	8195	
2 Babur (Babouri pr. Vavouri)	84	2275	72	785	825	45		140	225	80	10	30	10	4509	4000	
3 Bedelen	47	1050	22	309	283	90	20	24	60	20	8	15		1998	1800	
4 Çakarlıman	51	1275		495	1307	509	100	396	88	60	100			4403	3532	
5 Çamanda	103	2575		757	893	90		490	196	12	90	120		5326	5000	
6 Çeramiça (Keramitsa)	63	1575	62	705	1496	45	55	1090	152	340	55	15		5591	5500	
7 Çukarat	25	500	90	127	128	45	16	12	39	8	10	60		1032	1000	
8 Diramesi	196	4965	52	2125	3005		1200	1692	346	545	6	15	80	14284	9904	
9 Drimiça	39	877		200	148	22		90	30	10	15		250	1733	1400	
10 Fanaromeni	39	975	36	233	1143	22	70	120	60	90	5	30		2787	2750	
11 Fatiri (Kerasochori)	45	1050	64	685	994	190		258	124	216	200			3798	3800	
12 Filyat	27	552	24	302	778	209	100	240	42	150				2464	2500	
13 Finiki	62	1425	24	756	1865	45	432	685	180	220		15		5709	5700	
14 Gardiki	232	5925		2210	5605	180		1880	510	840	60	45		17511	18499	
15 Garyani (Kariani, pr. Achladia)	52	575	254	435	1084	45	20	1212	92	126	10	45		3950	4000	
16 Gramos	35	775	34	844	785		100	120	135	240	48			3116	3000	
17 İlyā (Lia)	39	975		290	517	67		255	146	120	160	90		2659	2663	
18 İbovik (Sbokia)	37	925		1079	773	45	100	240	42	90	5			3336	3343	
19 İskefarik (Skephari, pr. Myloi)	28	653		272	3200	45	160	6	34	85	36			4519	4500	
20 İstefanat	77	1825	24	570	3254	90	100	144	216	140		405	600	7445	7758	
21 Kamıçani (Kaminia)	25	575	28	115	389			126	80	72	40	15		1465	1500	
22 Kartesi (Kourtesi ?, pr. Mesovoumi)	17	425		256	427	119	50	600	30	75	20			2019	2019	
23 Kızılkaya (Kokkinolithari)	593	15300	12	9116	24750		2560	13200	1072	282	430	130		67445	69100	
24 Konispoli	326	8000	36	2880	13350		300	2620	722	960	100	60	1790	31144	29000	
25 Koşika (Kotsika)	175	3725	346	1549	1658	135	350	2435	354	180	30	135		11072	11000	
26 Lista	83	2675		1167	1310			1808	154	84	30	60		7371	7000	

No.	Name of village	Neferan	İspence	Resm-i çift	Taxes	Grains	Beans	Olives	Wine	Fruits / Vegetables	Cotton	Honey	Mills	Animals	Oaks	TOTAL	TOTAL in TT 608
27	Lopşi (Neo Asproklissi)	167	3914	89	665	1746	90	650	485	208	140	27		26		8207	8000
28	Makri Todor	36	900		331	1860		40	1458	164	244	130	15			5178	4976
29	Mengulat	282	5775	607	2982	8360	450		3136	570	964	96	130			23352	23600
30	Mihalyani	76	1850	141	1030	1720	22	1412	660	95	480	80	30			7596	7850
31	Ortopişya (Pesiani)	104	2774		680	2250	90	260	678	207	115	100		15		7273	7300
32	Palamba	39	975		160	75		25	34	45	15	14	30	22		1434	1366
33	Pıcar (Aetos)	138	3425	12	740	5505	90	600	240	227	200	120	45			11342	9904
34	Pigadul (Pigadoulia)	120	3250	167	695	836	90	250	152	164	236	20		50		6030	5000
35	Plasiviça (Plesivitsa pr. Plaisio)	178	4450		1000	3355	90	60	720	230	500			50		10633	12050
36	Povla	23	525	18	435	740		230	402	75	84	44	30			2606	3000
37	Rahova (Arachova pr. Rizo)	61	1525		710	2960		350	1574	196	240	40	60			7716	7650
38	Ravostiva	38	725	88	472	1025	45	340	38	98	242	22				3133	3097
39	Reçat (Tropaïouhos)	34	825	12	80	57		5	12	30	12	10			10	1087	1220
40	Rizona (Riziani)	205	4675	178	1682	2589			3080	296	125	40	15	200	40	12920	13300
41	Salesi	213	4150	225	2382	7780	125	2150	6010	408	440	200	30		40	24153	22356
42	Salıça (Lakka)	96	2275	78	206	36		7	17	65	6	10				2796	2690
43	Sayada	245												50		295	
44	Sideri	189	4575	18	1270	2849	45	2165	1252	385	120				10	12878	12800
45	Sipatari (Trikoryfo)	196	4775	18	3127	2990		700	1850	387	96	60				14199	14000
46	Solopi (Solopia)	21	525		359	609	64			89	99			50		1816	1500
47	Ulaç	35	875		229	560	45		128	50	120	80				2122	1912
48	Varfanovi (Varphani, pr. Parapotamos)	132	3125	78	920	2960	45		580	224	84	6		500	14	8668	8400
49	Viraniya (Brania, pr. Marina)	65	1598		1594	1285		512	270	220	540	90	15			6189	5026
50	Virsila (Vrysella)	175	4250	102	830	5340	225	1450	1370	263	240	45				14290	14000
51	Virva (Verva)	205	4853		1882	3079			3080	336	125	40	15			13615	13300
52	Yanyari	102	2375	82	252	862			255	70	124	40				4162	4590
53	Yeromer (Giromeri)	177	4425	22	929	3076		350	272	264		41				9556	9400
	TOTAL	6125	141536	3165	54674	134754	3599	17289	57696	10735	10655	2875	1700	3713	143	442534	436750

## Appendix IIIa - Demographic size and productive activities of the villages of Mazaraki in TT 273 (1551)

No. Name of village	Neferan	Muslims	İspence	Taxes	Grains/ Beans	Wine	Olives	Cotton	Honey	Vegetables	Chichen	Mills	Animals	TOTAL	TOTAL in TT 273
1 Arikla nam-ı diğer İstoyan	103	13	2575	619	1080	600			13		84		5	4976	5000
2 Arila	91	4	2750	602	1556	972					80	45		6005	6000
3 Arvenica (Argyrotopos)	76	8	1900	605	3380						65		50	6000	6000
4 Ayalar (Agia)	116		2900	725	3880	1260					100	135		9000	9000
5 Borodan ?	24		600	175	1208						17			2000	2000
6 Boyades ?	43	3	1075	351	2300	240					34			4000	4000
7 Dragani-i Büzürk	51	2	1275	331	1432						40			3078	3078
8 Dragani-i Küçük	39	3	975	354	1688	1260	297	209	100		34		82	4999	4999
9 Dubre ?	110	5	2750	735	420	408			12		100			4425	4500
10 Duka Varkari	27		675	248	3064						21			4008	4000
11 Fraglina ?	9		225	100	1440	228					7			2000	2000
12 Glopoçar (Globotsari, pr. Makrochora)	20		500	132	720	120					18			1490	1500
13 Gorone (Koroni)	40		1000	288	1440	240					32			3000	3000
14 İsmokovina (Smokovina, pr. Sykochori)	43	4	1075	365	2792	240					38			4510	4500
15 Kayıça	20		500	188	2996						16			3700	3700
16 Kolesti (Kolestati)	22		550	234	968	240	79				18			2010	2000
17 Kondo İşari	60	5	1500	404	2244	300					52			4500	4500
18 Koritani (Koritiani)	85		2125	714	704	252					76		50	4000	4000
19 Krosoviça (Kosovitsa, pr. Ag. Marina)	55	1	1375	387	2188	504								4454	4500
20 Kuçi (Polyneri)	35	8	875	349	3248						59			4531	4500
21 Kurtis (Mesovouni)	117	6	1170	166	2664									4000	4000
22 Livadar	32		800	268	1636	600			130		28		38	3500	3500
23 Margliç (Margariti)	17		425	129	432						14			1000	1000
24 Morfi (Morfati pr. Morfi)	5		125	59	1312						4			1500	1500
25 Nihor Fenar	7		171	70	1580						6		50	1877	1831

No.	Name of village	Neferan	Muslims	İspence	Taxes	Grains/ Beans	Wine	Olives	Cotton	Honey	Vegetables	Chichen	Mills	Animals	TOTAL	TOTAL in TT 273
26	Nihor Kokali	79		1975	575	1870						70			4490	5500
27	Nihor Nista (Faskomilia)	24														
28	Nikoliç	74	3	1850	445	1184	24					64			3567	3567
29	Niloç [Miloç]	13		325	126	1528						11		10	2000	2000
30	Paje / Bezere?	48		1200	308	808	144					40			2500	2500
31	Peştani (Kryovrysi)	50	2	1250	374	3632	1440		100	36	28	30	60	50	7000	7000
32	Rahoyana (Vrahona?)	137	8	3425	861	1124						108			5518	5500
33	Seniça (Eleftherio)	98		2450	647	2020	60					88	15		5280	6000
34	Simonacya ?	57	2	1425	341	1164						45			2975	3000
35	Vola (Viola, pr. Syvota)	87	3	2175	533	1220						72			4000	4000
36	Yunus (Giounousa, pr. Acherosia)	40	7	1000	304	1002	660					34			3000	3000
37	Zeferi (Skephari-Mylloi)	80		1975	569	2740	600					74			5958	6000
38	Zir	43	1	1075	433	1384	840			150		38		80	4000	4000
	TOTAL	2077	88	50016	14114	66048	11232	376	309	441	28	1617	255	415	144851	146675



## Appendix IIIb - Demographic size and productive activities of the villages of Mazaraki in TT 608 (1613)

No. Name of village	Neferan	Ispace	Taxes	Grains/ Beans	Vegetables/ Fruits	Wine	Mills	Olives	Cotton	Oaks/ Prinokok	Honey	Chickens	Pigs	TOTAL	TOTAL in TT 608
1 Arikla	150	3700	769	404		40				20	40	705	50	5728	6000
2 Arila	65	1625	535	498	8	738	75		30	95	10		8	3622	3500
3 Arveziça (Arvenitsa, pr. Argyrotopos)	85	2114	435	3250	90	5400	15		24	1070	18	250	150	12816	12957
4 Ayalar (Agia)	116	2900		1030		120	375		10	10				4445	5000
5 Boyades (?)	51	1275	306	752	36	920			66	100	20	200	22	3697	3000
6 Dragani-i Bozörk	67	1475	430	1518	24	92		15	15	16	14	250	85	3934	3000
7 Dragani-i Küçük	64	1600	325	498	10	82		20	105	80	60	305	30	3115	3000
8 Dubre (?)	90	250	650	12140	800	5440			100	270	70		20	19740	25500
9 Duka Varkari	42	1075	170	125	21	20	15	6		5	6	100	5	1548	1416
10 Glopocâr (Globotsari, pr. Makrochora)	30	750	160	335	15	124		12	66	57	60	110	15	1704	1712
11 Gorone (Koroni)	35	875	420	850	10	250			50	70	60		15	2600	2304
12 Grikohor	63	1587	704	3800	84	2520				100		250	25	9070	9000
13 İsmokovina (Smokovina, pr. Sykochori)	40	1000	635	1509	20	366			160	50	30	185	40	3995	4000
14 Kayiça	30	700	504	2150	24	136		95	98	32	90	135	30	3994	3700
15 Kolestâ (Kolestati)	25	625	331	119	20	30			24	100	34	120	10	1413	1500
16 Kondo İsari	62	1550	715	2605	62	598	40	15	280		7	200	42	6114	6000
17 Koritani (Koritiani)	112	2616	965	1158		726		90	156	20	9	365	20	6125	6000
18 Krosoviça (Kosovitsa pr. Ag. Marina)	39	975	346	1520	28	118	15		30	56	31	170	28	3317	2000
19 Kuçi (Polyneri)	110	2416	115	36	5	14			5	10	5	100	5	2711	2534
20 Kurtas (Mesovouni)	152	3775		380	15	130			35	10		350		4695	5250
21 Livadar	27	675	210	425	6	70			20	20	5		5	1436	1351
22 Marglic (Margariti)	20	487	60	89	80	128		100	20	20			10	994	1000
23 Miloç	17	425	85	94		12			5	5	5	35	5	671	510
24 Morfi (Morfati pr. Morfi)	5	125	90	235					10	14	10		10	494	571
25 Nihor Kokali	94	2275	640	2039	90	786			120	30	170	360	86	6596	6000
26 Nihor Nista (Phaskomilia)	32	750	200	1590	40				90	200	15	150	25	3060	3129

No. Name of village	Neferan	Ispace	Taxes	Grains/	Vegetables/	Wine	Mills	Olives	Cotton	Oaks/	Prinokok			Pigs	TOTAL	TOTAL in TT 608
				Beans	Fruits											
27 Nikoliç	86	2150	275	227	10	77		11	15	30		10	250	11	3066	3000
28 Paje [Beze]	51	1225	288	80	38	36		120	64	50		15	175	11	2102	2000
29 Pestani (Kryovrysi)	65	1625	166	36	5	17						5	150	5	2009	20000
30 Rakoyana (Vrachona)	91	2275	500	878	6	136			21	50				7	3873	3898
31 Seniça (Eleftherio)	129	3200	1197	1770	64	7200	30		25	30		30	500	200	14246	17500
32 Simonaçya (?)	68	1700	250	119	10	12	15		10	15		10	200	10	2351	2298
33 Vola (Syvota)	60	1675	50	55	143	68	90	80	12	10		10		5	2198	2206
34 Yunus (Giounousa, pr. Acherousia)	58	1437	470	1350	20	1368			120	106		37	270	30	5208	5000
35 Zir	46	1136	488	1190		252			16	10		100		7	3199	3276
TOTAL	2277	54043	13484	44854	1784		670	564	1802	2761		986	5885	1027	155886	179112

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