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# PAX OTTOMANA

STUDIES IN MEMORIAM  
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**THE REGION OF ATALANTI AND  
MOUDOUNITZA IN THE EARLY  
OTTOMAN PERIOD  
(15<sup>th</sup> - 16<sup>th</sup> c.)**

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**I**

**From the Frankish Occupation to the Ottoman Conquest**

The history of the region that now comprises the district of Lokris, from after the Fourth Crusade (1204), when the Marquisate of Boudonitza was instituted by Guido Pallavicini, until Ottoman sovereignty was established with the fall of Negreponite in 1470, was a checked one.<sup>1</sup>

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(1) The period is examined in detail in the study by W. Miller, "The Marquisate of Boudonitza (1204-1414)", *Journal of Hellenic Studies* XXVIII/ii (1908), 234-247; idem, *The History of Frankish Rule in Greece (1204-1566)*, Greek translation S. Lambrou, n.p., n.d. This classic monograph on the period is the source from which authors of local histories of the wider region of Phthiotis draw information. A. Bon, "Forteresses médiévales de la Grèce centrale", *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* 61 (1937), 148-163. Cf. also K.M. Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant (1207-1571)*, vol. 2, Philadelphia 1976 and M.S. Kordosis, "The Conquest of Southern Greece by the Franks. Historical and Topographical Problems", *Historikogeographika* 1 (1986), 67-75 (in Greek). For the historical geography of Medieval Central Greece, see J. Koder, *Negroponte. Untersuchungen zur Topographie und Siedlungsgeschichte der Insel Euboia während der Zeit der Nenezianerherrschaft*, *Tabula Imperii Byzantini*, Vienna 1973 and J. Koder - F. Hild, *Hellas und Thessalia*, *Tabula Imperii Byzantini* 1, Vienna 1976.

During this period, specifically in the late fourteenth century, the first *en masse* settlement of Albanians and Albanian Vlachs took place in the wider region of Attica-Boeotia and Phthiotis, at the invitation of local lords. The immigrants came from Thessaly, Epirus and Aitolokarnania, where these peoples had imposed their presence. Initially they settled only in the villages, but subsequently spread to urban centres too. They enjoyed exemption from taxes and other facilities, which were incentives for them to settle in deserted areas and thus reinforce their defences against the every growing threat of Ottoman raids and pillage, since the newcomers were often called upon to serve as mercenaries in the armies of Byzantine and Frankish lords.<sup>2</sup>

The Ottomans first appeared in eastern Central Greece during the reign of Sultan Murad I (1359-1389) and they conquered the region gradually over the course of about a century. Operations here were circumstantial, in the context of the Ottomans' major campaigns against the Duchy of Athens and the Despotate of the Morea, since the regions of Phthiotis and Lokris were the natural passage to the South. In 1392, after the capture of Thessaly, Gazi Evrenoz invaded Boeotia and Attica, and in 1393-1394, the Marquisate of Boudonitza became a vassal of Bayezid I the Yildirim, while Izdin (Zitouni, Lamia), Patratrik (Hypati) and the County of Salona (Amphissa) were captured. In the *Chronicle About the Turkish Sultans*, written between 1513 and 1532, there is reference to Bayezid I's campaign in Roumeli:<sup>3</sup> *'...and he passed into Europe, into Roumeli, with his troops. And he came into Epirus, to the Albanians, and he plundered them. And likewise in Bosna. And he declared that he wanted to go to Phokes in Thessaly. But his wish was to go Hellas and to enter the Morea. And he made John Palaiologos head of his army. And after fighting he took first the castle of Dometzia (Domokos), which is on the side of Thessaly. And from there he proceeded and took Farsala, home of Achilles, close to Larissa. And from there and proceeded and took Zitouni, a castle in Ther-*

(2) T.R. Jochalas, "Über die Einwanderung der Albaner in Griechenland", *Beiträge zur Kenntnis Südosteuropas und des nahen Orients* 13 (1971), 89-106. Cf. A.G.K. Savvidis, *The Ottoman Conquest of Thebes and Livadia*, Athens 1993, 41 (in Greek), with relevant bibliography.

(3) G.Th. Zoras, *Chronicle about the Turkish Sultans (After the Barberini Greek Codex 111)*, Athens 1958, 31 (in Greek). Cf. the comments by K.A. Papachristos, 'Greece' - *River Spercheos. Contribution to the Historical Geography of Phthiotis*, literary editor: G. Petalas, Athens 1997, 92-93 (in Greek).

*mopoli and Nea Patras (Patratzik) and other castles. And the villages also capitulated to Bayezid of their own free will and many other despicable Christians.'*

The times were turbulent and the events are recorded with considerable confusion in the sources. Nevertheless, it is considered certain that around 1411 there was a second, short-lived subjugation of the Marquisate of Boudonitza to the Ottomans, until it was finally captured on 20 June 1414. Evliya çelebi, in his travel narrative<sup>4</sup> mentions that in the siege of Boudonitza, which took place during Sultan Mehmed I's expedition against the Morea, a leading figure was the Gazi Ömer Bey, son of Turahan, sancakbey of Thessaly, scion of the famous family of Evrenoz. After the fall of the castle of Boudonitza, in the reign of Murad II, Salona (1435) and Zitouni (1446) were captured. Mehmed the Conqueror, in his turn, campaigned against the despots of the Moria, took Thebes in 1456 and the Duchy of Athens by 1458. At this time too, eastern Lokris with Atalanti, where the Acciajuolis -of Florentine origin<sup>5</sup>- were dominant, was subjugated to the Ottomans. The presence of the Ottomans in the region was consolidated with the capture of Negreponte in 1470, when the large sancak of Euripos was created, to which the whole of central and eastern Central Greece was administratively subject.

### Tahrir Registers

Of great help for the study of the Ottoman administration, the population and the economy of the areas of Moudounitza and Atalanti during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, is the archival material

(4) *Seyahatname*, vol. VIII, Istanbul 1928, 223-239. For the Greek translation, see I.G. Yannopoulos, "The Travels of Evliya çelebi in Central Greece", *Epeteris Hetaireias Stereoelladikon Meleton* 2 (1969-1970), 157ff. (in Greek). Also Evliya Çelebi, *Journey in Greece*, research - literary rendering by Nikos Cheiladakis, Athens 1991 (in Greek). Cf. M.G. Varvounis, "Evliya çelebi's narrative on the tomb of Veliullah at Mendenitsa", *Phthiotika Chronika* 13 (1992), 18-29. Ayverdi also relies on Evliya Çelebi's information for listing the Muslim monuments in Moudounitza, see E.H. Ayverdi, *Avrupa'da Osmanlı Mimârî Eserleri. Bulgaristan, Yunanistan, Arnavudluk*, vol. 4, İstanbul 1982, 181.

(5) For the Florentine banking family of Acciajuolis, see K. M. Setton, *Catalan Domination of Athens 1311-1388*, Cambridge Mass. 1948, revised ed. London 1975, p. 66-68.

-seven sixteenth-century registers- deposited in the Prime Minister's Archive of Istanbul (*Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi*).<sup>6</sup> Recorded in these surveys, by settlement unit (village or town), is the active population capable of paying taxes, on the basis of a fiscal system that is also written down. By using sources of this type -the detailed registers (*mufassal defters*)- it is possible to deduce population size and to investigate population composition, as well as to reconstruct -as far as possible- the settlement pattern of the region and to sketch the productive activities. The summary registers (*icmal defters*), in which the name of the settlement and the total of its fiscal obligation are recorded, permit us to follow the continuity of a settlement in space and time as well as to make some observations on the movement of villagers' incomes, on the basis of their recorded taxation obligations.

Before presenting these data in detail, however, I consider it useful to make some preliminary remarks that emanate from the peculiarity of the archival material, which also determines the formulation of the conclusions of the research. It was mentioned above that the sources consulted record the taxable population and not the actual population, yet they register indirectly the population size of the settlements.<sup>7</sup> Furthermore, in addition to giving a picture of the nature of the productive activities of a place, they permit deductions which, beginning from the recorded tithe, end in forming an indicative volume of products produced. There is, however, one other point that deser-

(6) The research in BOA of Istanbul (20 July-10 August 1999) was sponsored by the company 'Farma Atalantis Agrotiki S.A.' The archival sources used are the Tapu Tahris no 35, 367, 420, 196, 431, 484. Certain of these registers also used by M. Kiel and F. Sauerwein, who examine 28 settlements of eastern Lokris in their study: *Ost-Lokris in türkischer und neugriechischer Zeit (1460-1981). Persistenz und Zäsuren in der Siedlungsentwicklung und demographischen Geschichte Mittel-Griechenlands auf Grund osmanisch-türkischer und neugriechischer administrativer Quellen*, Passauer Mittelmeerstudien 6, 1994. (Review by K. Beydilli in: *Osmanlı Araştırmaları* 15 (1995)). The same sources are used by M. Kiel, "Central Greece in the Suleymanic Age. Preliminary Notes on Population Growth, Economic Expansion and its Influence on the Spread of Greek Christian Culture", in: *Soliman le Magnifique et son temps*, (ed.) G. Veinstein, Paris 1992, 408-409. My own research extended to all settlements of the kazas of Talanta and Moudouunitza, which belonged to the present region of Phthiotis.

(7) The usefulness of the fiscal defters for the study of Ottoman population depends on our understanding of how the figures in the registers were compiled. See Evangelia Balta, "Le rôle de l'institution communautaire dans la répartition verticale de l'impôt", in: *Problèmes et approches de l'histoire ottomane. Un itinéraire scientifique de Kayseri à Eğriboz*, Istanbul, Les éditions Isis, 1997, 97-113 and eadem, "Açıl Susam, açıl", in: *Peuple et population. Pour une interprétation des sources ottomanes*, Istanbul, Les éditions Isis, 1999, 11-59.

ved comment and which is related directly to the nature of the sources being examined. The Ottoman registers record the incomes of the timar-holders, whose timars comprise a whole village, or a part of a village, or several villages. In all these cases the settlements are recorded on the basis of their fiscal subordination and not on the criteria of geographical proximity or administrative unity. It is obvious that this complicates research into reconstructing the settlement pattern of a geographical region in these early periods. In the best of cases, we can list the settlements in one administrative district, which also define its approximate extent and its borders at a particular time, because the boundaries of the administrative districts in the Ottoman Empire were anything but static. They changed from survey to survey, since they were directly articulated with the realignments that took place in the timars, as we shall ascertain below by following the case of Lokris in the sixteenth century. As we shall see, many settlements that are included in the administrative district of Moudounitza and Atalanti, in the early centuries of Ottoman rule, were not subject to the district of Lokris as we know it today, but to Thebes, Livadia and Lamia.

### **The Kazas of Talanta and Moudounitza**

The geographical area of the present district of Lokris coincided in the Ottoman period with the territory that included the settlements around two small towns, Moudounitza and Talanta, and belonged administratively to the sancak of Euripos. The sancak of Eğriboz, as the Ottomans called it, was created after the fall of Negreponte in 1470 and to it were subject, until the late sixteenth century, not only Euboea but also the kazas of Athens, Thebes, Livadia, Salona, Boudonitza and Lamia.<sup>8</sup>

(8) For bibliography on the administrative division of the sancak of Euripos, see Evangelia Balta, "Rural and Urban Population in the sancak of Euripos in the early 16th century", *Archéion Evvoikon Meleton* 29 (1990-1991), 57 n. 1. (Reprinted in: Evangelia Balta, *Problèmes et approches de l'histoire ottomane. Une itinéraire scientifique de Kayseri à Eğriboz*, Les éditions Isis, Istanbul 1997, p. 20, n.1).

In the unpublished fifteenth- and sixteenth-century registers we studied, as well as in the corresponding published ones, no kaza of Talanta exists; all that is recorded in the area until the mid-sixteenth century is the kaza of Moudounitza.<sup>9</sup> In a published register of *cizye* for 1490-1491, only the vilayet of Moudounitza in the region is recorded; the content of the term 'vilayet' in this early period corresponds to a subdivision of the sancak, in other words it is identified with the kaza. In another published register from the reign of Sultan Suleyman the Magnificent (1520-1566), in the liva of Euripos the following towns, centres of corresponding administrative districts, the kazas, are recorded: Istefa (Thebes), Livadia, Izdin (Zitouni, Lamia), Athens, Salona (Amphissa), Eğriboz (Negroponte, Chalkida), Kızıl Hisar (Kastello Rosso, Karystos) and Moudounitza (Mendenitsa).<sup>10</sup> Talanta (Atalanti) is absent from the list, which fact confirms that in these years there was no corresponding kaza either, the capital of which would have been the town of Atalanti. It should be noted that Talanta was far more populous than Moudounitza. In the 1466 survey, however, a nahiye of Talanta<sup>11</sup> is recorded, which in this particular case was a dependency of the kaza of Livadia. So we ascertain yet again that the Ottomans did not overturn the *status quo* in the areas they conquered; in the case of Lokris, as elsewhere, they continued the tradition of the middle years of the Frankish Occupation, when the Marquisate of Boudonitza with its castle was foremost in the region. The Ottomans made Moudounitza seat of a kaza. Moreover, as we shall see below, in the early years of the sixteenth century there were numerous and populous villages around this town and its castle. In the first two centuries after the Ottoman conquest, Atalanti and its villages appear in the sources as subject to the kazas of Livadia, Thebes and Lamia, the large majority of them being linked administratively with Livadia.

A kaza of Atalanti is mentioned for the first time in the mid-seventeenth century, in the work '*Cihannümâ*' by the Ottoman chronicler Kâtip Çelebi.<sup>12</sup> Certainly in a *cizye* defter for the year 1668-1669, in

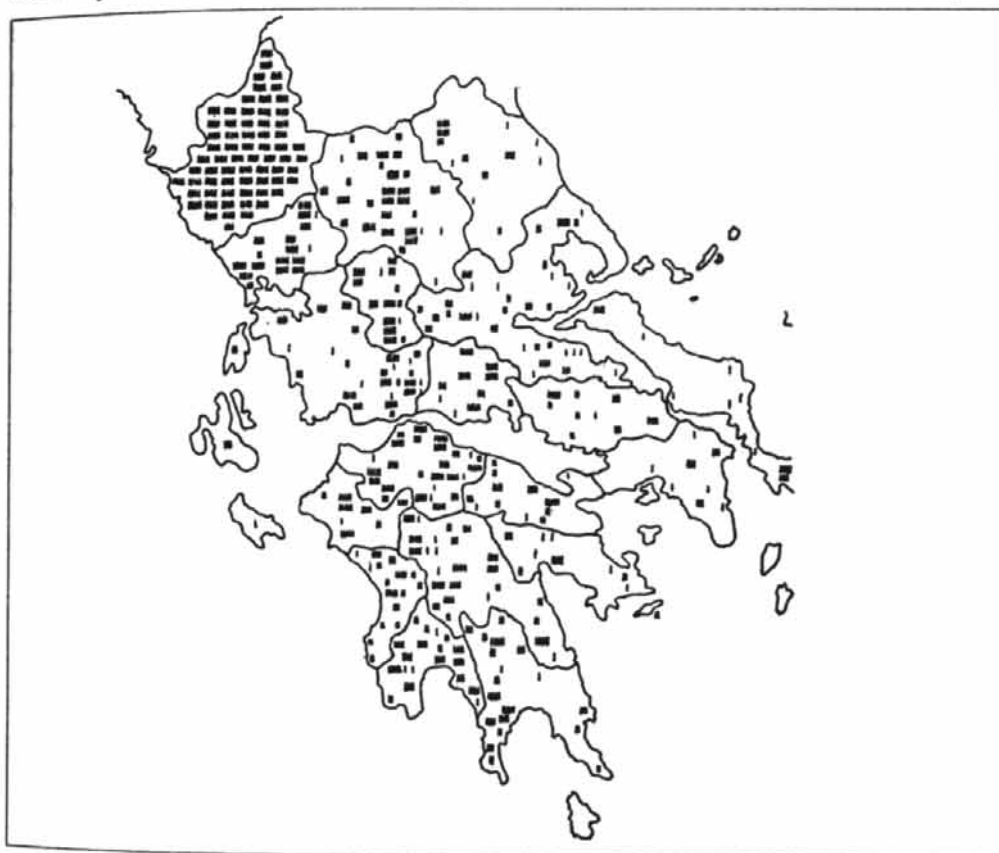
(9) N. Todorov - A. Velkov, *Situation démographique de la péninsule balkanique (fin du XVe s. début du XVIe s.)*, Sofia 1988, 273.

(10) M.T. Gökbilgin, "Kanunî Sultan Suleyman Devri Başlarında Rumeli Eyaleti, Livaları ve Şehir ve Kasabaları", *Belleten* XX (1956), 258.

(11) For the 1466 survey see below.

(12) See I.G. Yannopoulos, *The Administrative Organization of Central Greece During the Ottoman Period (1393-1821). Contribution to the Study of the Provincial Administration of the Sovereign Ottoman State*, Athens 1971, 133-134 (in Greek).

which are entered the provinces of the European section of the Ottoman Empire, of Roumeli, three kazas are noted in the region of Phthiotis, the kaza of Atalanti, of Moudounitza and of Esedabad (Turkocho-ri).<sup>13</sup> From the distribution of the cizye, however, it seems that Moudounitza continued to be the most important kaza in relation to the other two.<sup>14</sup> The districts of Atalanti and Esedabad were subjected administratively to Livadia until the early decades of the nineteenth century.<sup>15</sup>



The Albanian settlements in Mainland Greece [J. Koder, "Zur frage der slavischen siedlungsgebiete im mittelalterlichen Griechenland", *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 71 (1978), 328].

(13) This village existed until 1850 between the villages of Drachmani and Kiphissochori, when its Turkish inhabitants migrated to regions of the Ottoman Empire. See Ch.M. Enisleidis, *Amphikleia in Ancient (Medieval and Later) Times. Topography -Archaeology- History (Three lectures on Amphikleia)*, n.p. 1938-1939 (updated edition: *Amphikleia; the town and the region around Parnassos. History, Folklore, Topography, Tourist Geography, Archaeology*, Athens 21978, 202) (both books in Greek).

(14) R. Stojkov, "La division administrative de l'eyalet de Roumélie pendant les années soixante du XVII siècle", *Studia Balcanica* 1 (1970), 213-214.

(15) M. Kiel, "The Rise and Decline of Turkish Boeotia, 15th-19th Century. Remarks on the Settlement Pattern, Demography and Agricultural Production According to Unpublished Ottoman-Turkish Census and Taxation Records", in: John Bintliff (ed.) *Recent Developments in the History and Archaeology of Central Greece*, Proceedings of the 6th International Boeotian Conference, Oxford 1997, 351.

## Location and Identification of the Settlements: Problems of Research

The fact that the villages of Atalanti are recorded as subject to the kazas of Thebes, Livadia and Lamia, without being associated with Atalanti in most registers, complicates the task of locating them. The situation is much simpler for the settlements of Moudounitza, because in their case the administrative district to which they belonged was identified with the geographical one. It is extremely difficult to distinguish among the villages of a timar that are said to be subject e.g. to the kaza of Livadia, whether the village 'x' belongs to the district of Atalanti, when we do not know of its existence from anywhere else. The existence of successive registers that permit crosschecking partially facilitates their location and limits the cases of error. Since the study of Greece in these unknown years of our history remains a major desideratum of historiography, we are obliged to resort to detective work in locating and identifying all the toponyms and cannot confine ourselves to the certainties of those that survived until the nineteenth century.

It is a commonplace, but one I stress again on this occasion, that we know very little about certain regions of Greece, such as Lokris, in the Ottoman period, discounting the testimony in the writings of foreign travellers. So, with the exception of a certain number of places names in Lokris that were kept until the early nineteenth century, we have very little evidence available for the settlements that were deserted, relocated or remained in the same place but changed name, in the course of the Ottoman Occupation.

The criteria for the attempted listing the settlements of Atalanti and Moudounitza in the sixteenth century (see Tables 1-5 below) were determined *a primo* by their 'survival' in the nineteenth century. We allude to the list of the villages of Boudonitza and Atalanti in Pouqueville's *Voyage*.<sup>16</sup> and Argyris Philippidis's *Geography*.<sup>17</sup> More exhaustive was the Royal Decree of 8 (20) April 1835, with which the seven

(16) F.C.H.L. Pouqueville, *Voyage de la Grèce*, vol. 4, Paris 1826, 150-151 and 154-155.

(17) Th.K. Sperantzas, *The Extant Works of Argyris Philippidis. Regional Geography-Moral Book*, foreword - editing: Ph.A. Vitalis, Athens 1978, 95-105 (in Greek).

municipalities that made up the district of Lokris were formed.<sup>18</sup> Few villages in this category can be followed over time. Some are mentioned in Turkish documents relating to the management of land properties of the monastery of Hosios Loukas the Steriotis,<sup>19</sup> or are recorded in the reports of Greek governors, which are kept in the General State Archives (Athens),<sup>20</sup> in which the ownership status of settlements in Lokris during the final years of Ottoman rule is presented.

For the identification of the 'unknown' settlements, I relied also on the few references to their presence in surveys from periods later than the one under consideration. Evliya Çelebi, who travelled in the seventeenth century, mentions a kasaba named *Mertzinos*, which the editor of the Greek translation of his text, being uncertain of the reading of the Ottoman script, denotes with a question mark.<sup>21</sup> In the sixteenth-century registers we located a populous settlement, sometimes written as *Mertzanos* and sometimes as *Bertzanos*, which was a true town, comparable in population to Moudounitza, to which it belonged administratively (see tables in the Appendix). Who knows what became of this flourishing settlement that Evliya Çelebi apparently visited in the closing decades of the seventeenth century? Christos Enisleidis records the minor place name '*ta bertzana*' close to Dadi. He writes: '*In Bertzana, which was a çiftlik, that is privately owned, the Turks had their mosque*'.<sup>22</sup> A settlement must, therefore, have existed. It also remains unknown whether the toponym is associated with the Mourtzinoi or

(18) For the location of the old names of villages I used the studies by M.F. Chouliarakis, *Geographical, Administrative and Demographic Developments in Greece, 1821-1971*, Athens 1973-1974 (in Greek) and E. Skiadas, *Historical Outline of the Municipalities of Greece, 1833-1912. Formation - Constitution - Development - Population - Emblems*, foreword: A. Makrydimitris, N. Karapidakis, Athens 1993, 152-161. Some changes in the names of settlements in Lokris are noted also by N.G. Politis, "Toponymika", *Laographia* 4 (1912-1913) 576-579, and 5 (1915) 256-257 (in Greek). For the study of the topography of the area we used the map by Lapie, geographer to the King of France.

(19) G.P. Kremos, *Phokika, Pilgrims' Shrine of the Monastery of Hosios Loukas Surnamed Steriotis, in Phokis*, vo. 3, Athens 1880 (in Greek), in which are published Greek translations of Turkish documents concerning the management of land-holdings of the monastery and economic affairs of the region in general, see p. 35 (a document of 1605 mentions the village of Lefta), p. 135 (of the year 1637 notes a village named Kerpesi in the district of Atalanti, this is surely Kyparissi), p. 147 (of 1667 records vineyards in the çiftlik of Molos in the district of Moudounitsa), pp. 160 and 170 (reference in the years 1719 and 1738 to the çiftlik of Tsaresi), p. 183 (the village of Dadi is recorded).

(20) M. Christophorou, *Opuntia Lokrida and Atalanti. Memories and Testimonies*, Part I, Athens<sup>2</sup> 1999, 253-255 (in Greek).

(21) I.G. Yannopoulos, "The Travels of Evliya Çelebi", op. cit., 156-157.

(22) Ch. Enisleidis, *Amphikleia*, op. cit., 202 and 212.

Mourginoi, descendants of the Palaiologoi who, as the same scholar mentions,<sup>23</sup> existed as a family in Dadi in the 1940s.

Metropolitan Meletios, in the second volume 'Phokika' of his four-volume *Geography*, published by Anthimos Gazis in Venice in 1807, writes that 'There was a small town with the name Megalokyri', until his day, that is 1700,<sup>24</sup> In the synoptic register Tapu Tahrir 196 we located in the kaza of Moudounitza a settlement named *Megalokyri*, which paid 100 aspers tax in 1540. Christos Enisleidis again notes that the extensive fertile valley between Kiphissos and Agoriani, from the locality *Komopyli* as far as Gravia, is traditionally called *Megalokyri* 'because presumably it was a possession of the Great Master [Megalos Kyris] of the Duchy of Athens-Thebes, that is of Otto de la Roche, his successors and his family. It is a rural settlement where the serfs of this dynasty lived and cultivated the estate for the benefit of the de la Roche',<sup>25</sup> The same author also locates the unidentified toponym 'Papavitsa' between Lefta and the north of Amphikleia (formerly Dadi), which however is noted as a settlement in all the registers we examined.<sup>26</sup>

To Meletios, Metropolitan of Athens, we owe the confirmation of the toponym 'Vedre', which is encountered in the registers we examined. He writes in his *Geography*, 'Lastly, that between Radou, Proskyna and Loukisi, villages of Talantion, is a metochion (dependency) of [the monastery] of St George in Malesinai, called St Athanasios in Vedra, where there was a sanctuary of Asklepios Soter ...'<sup>27</sup> Manthos Christophorou, native historian of Lokris, located some settlements which are recorded in the fiscal registers of 16<sup>th</sup> century, and they do not exist today.<sup>28</sup>

(23) Ibidem, 163.

(24) Meletios, *Geography Old and New, Collected from Diverse Authors ...*, the second already published by Anthimos Gazis, vol. II, Venice 1807, 322ff. (in Greek). In addition to the town of Megalokyri, there is mention of Souvala, Dadi, Velitsa, Aghia Marina, Tourkochori (Esed), Lefta, Modi, Rômani or Paliokastro, Môlo, Antera and on p. 346 the settlements of Radou, Proskyna, Loukisi. Cf. also the doctoral dissertation of K.Th. Kyriakopoulos, *Meletios (Metros) of Athens, the Geographer (1661-1714). Contribution to the Study of his Life and his Work, and in general to the period of the Early Enlightenment*, Athens 1990, vol. II, 722.

(25) Ch. Enisleidis, *Amphikleia*, op. cit., 173.

(26) Ibidem, see the map of Medieval Amphikleia (p. 91).

(27) Meletios, op. cit., 346.

(28) M. Christophorou, *Opuntia Lokrida*, op. cit., Part II, 165. He locates the village Kovilina/Kouvoulina, which in the ottoman sources is referred to as Kouvliana, between the villages Megaplatanos and Golemi. He locates also Tsaresi between Exarchos and Anthochori (Belesi).

I think it becomes clear from the examples I have presented, that careful reading of the existing sources and delving into studies of local history are demanded. The combination of the sources with the traditions and the information recorded in local history, that rich mine of knowledge, have yet again facilitated the identification of several settlements that appear in the registers of the early centuries of Ottoman rule.

### Settlement of Newcomers

In the surveys we examined there is mention of certain settlements with personal names. In the two earlier registers, of 1466 and 1506, alongside the entry of the name of the village, the 'ethnological' identity of the population is also noted. The *emin-i defter* specifies whether they are Albanians (*Arnavudan*); these are both the Albanians and the Albanian Vlachs that settled in the area in the late fourteenth century, organized in clans and creating settlements with names that were proonyms, such as Pavlo Mouzaki, Martin Mouzaki, Andrea Loutsi, Andrea Lykourezi etc.<sup>29</sup> Certainly the present villages of Pavlo, Martino, Loutsi, derive from these first settlements or from later settlement of their inhabitants in the surrounding area. Some place names that are located in Lokris, for example Golemi and Bouzi, are also encountered in the Peloponnese in the fifteenth century, which fact confirms that they were created the migration of tribes.<sup>30</sup>

Quite a few settlements also have names of Slavic provenance: Moudounitza, Bogdanos, Choubava, Palavitsa,<sup>31</sup> Dragan, Gardenitsa, Kovilina (Kouvliana), Belesi etc.<sup>32</sup> It should be noted however that the

(29) T.R. Jochalas, "Considerazioni sull'onomastica e toponomastica albanese in Grecia", *Balkan Studies* 17, fasc. 2 (1976), 313-329.

(30) See M.S. Kordossis, "The Slavic Incoming Settlement in the Peloponnese on the Basis of the Slavic Toponyms", *Dodoni* 10 (1981), 386 n. 1 (in Greek). Moreover, the place name Golemi is a family name of the historic Golemis family from Epirus, see D.G. Kambouroglou, *Monuments of the History of the Athenians*, in which 'Article by Tassos D. Neroutsos Athenian on the settlement of the Albanians in Greece during the mid-XIV century', vol. I, Athens 21891, 341-345.

(31) Enisleidis links the etymology of the toponym 'Palavitsa' with the marquesses Palavicini, see Ch.M. Enisleidis, *Amphikelia*, op. cit., 98.

(32) M. Vasmer, *Die Slaven in Griechenland*, reprint Leipsig 1970, 113-118. Cf. also J. Koder, "Zur frage der slavischen siedlungsgebiete im mittelalterlichen Griechenland", *Byzantische Zeitschrift* 71 (1978), 315-331.

extent to which many apparently Slavic or Slav-origin toponyms derive from Albanian immigrants who settled in Greece and were bearers of Slavic toponyms.<sup>33</sup> is a problem open to research. In legislative texts (*kanunnames*) of the sixteenth century, concerning the regions of Thebes, Livadia and Lamia, the existence of both Albanians and Vlachs is mentioned expressly, and information is also given on the taxes levied on their productive activities.<sup>34</sup>

## II.

In the second part of our paper we shall present each survey separately, since our aim is to follow the development of the region by period during the course of the first half of the fifteenth to the end of the sixteenth century. Any conclusions that emerge relating to the formation of the settlement pattern, the population size and the economy of the area will be presented briefly below.

We should keep in mind the following: a) The settlements, their taxable population and the total of their fiscal obligations, as these are recorded in the sources, are presented in chronological order. b) The tables in the appendix present those relevant data we managed to collect, both from our own research and from that of Kiel-Sauerwein. Denoted by asterisk are the data for the villages which we drew from these scholars who, since they dealt mainly with processing the demographic data of the settlements, present in tables only the population. Moreover, as taxable population they class only the tax units that are declared as households, families (*hane*) in the sources. They do not count together in the population of the villages the families whose head is a widow (*bive*), nor the unmarried (*mücerred*). They are consistent in this practice for all the surveys.

(33) On this issue see A. Vakalopoulos, *History of Modern Hellenism*, vol. I, Thessaloniki 21974, 25ff. (in Greek). Also J. Koder, "Problems of Slavic Incoming Settlement and Place Names in Medieval Epirus", *Epirotika Chronika* 24 (1982), 9-35 (in Greek) and cf. M.S. Kordossis, "The Slavic Incoming Settlement in the Peloponnese", *op.cit.*, 386.

(34) Evangelia - Balta M. Oğuz, "Le kanunname du sancak d'Eğriboz (milieu du XVIe siècle)", *Osmanlı Araştırmaları* 32 (1996-1997), 30, 33-34 (Reprinted in: Evangelia Balta, *Peuple et Production*, *op.cit.*, 162, 165).

## 1. The 1466 Survey (Table 1)

The first survey conducted by the Ottomans in the region of Lokris was in 1466. Data from the register of this are presented in the study by Machiel Kiel and Friederich Sauerwein.<sup>35</sup> who observe that the said census records which villages are Greek (*karye-i Rum*) and the semi-nomadic installations of the Albanian (*katuna Arnavudan*). So, on the basis of entries in the register, in eastern Lokris in the mid-fifteenth century they count 1,320 households, which they class as 738 Greek and 582 Albanian. They choose essentially 28 settlements, because this number in no way represents the total of the settlements existing in eastern Lokris in that period. This is obvious too from the facsimile of the page of the register that they present in their study, in which other villages are also included.<sup>36</sup> Consequently, the number of 1,320 households, as well as the evaluations of the ethnological composition of the population of the region can only be indicative in character too. Kiel-Sauerwein follow the development of these 28 settlements in eastern Lokris in the sixteenth century. Machiel Kiel notes in another of his studies the taxable population of Moudounitza and Atalanti in 1466. On the basis of the data he cites, Atalanti was inhabited exclusively by Christians (248 families, 18 unmarried and 22 widows). Moudounitza was inhabited by Muslims too (23 families and 2 unmarried), who must have been the garrison of its castle. Its Christian inhabitants were respectively 197 families, 11 unmarried and 39 widows.<sup>37</sup>

(35) This is the register Maliyeden Müdevver no. 66 (BOA). See M. Kiel - Friedrich Sauerwein, op. cit., 34-38 and 114-117. For the incoming settlement of Albanians in Boeotia see M. Kiel, "The Rise and Decline of Turkish Boeotia", op. cit., 321ff. Cf. also J. Bintliff, "The Two Transitions: Current Research on the Origins of the Traditional Village in Central Greece", J. Bintliff - Helena Hamerow (eds), *Europe Between late Antiquity and the Middle Ages. Recent archaeological and historical research in Western and Southern Europe*, BAR International Series 617, 1995, 115-116.

(36) Ibidem, 34, they note that they located in register MM 66 Atalanti and 29 villages, even though the tables on pp. 114-117 record 28 settlements, including Atalanti.

(37) D.N. Karydis - M. Kiel, "Sancak of Euripos, 15th-16th c. (Conditions and characteristics of the developmental process of the towns and villages)", *Tetramina* 28-29 (185), 1870, Table 4 (in Greek).

## 2. The 1506 Survey (Table 2)

In the survey conducted during the reign of Sultan Bayezid II we located a total of 61 settlements in the area of Lokris,<sup>38</sup> but there must surely have been more. The villages in Lokris that we located are distributed on the basis of administrative subordination to the four *kazas*, as follows,<sup>39</sup>

Livadia	Thebes	Moudounitza	Lamia
Valtetsi	Andreas Lountzis	Anivitsa	Agnanti
Longos	Monachos	Modi	Komnina
Andreas Lykoures	Manesi	Xylikoi	
Mitro Bouzourk	Malesina	Chondronikola	
Lefta	Pavlo Mouzaki	Mertzanos	
Beskini	Martino Mouzaki	Vounditsa	
Papaditsa		Skylochori	
Zeli		Pyrgokastri	
Haghia Marina		Moudounitza	
Exarcho		Haghios Yannis	
Neochori		Antrousa (Anteras?)	
Sourpi		Livadari/ Pachomi	
Papavitsa		Dernitsa	
		Drakospilia	
		Psomochalka	
		Tahtali	
		Dadi	
		Spilia	
		Aghios Giorgis/Katoumat	
		(Katoumates, Katmata?)	
		Markeli	
		Komanos	

Kiel-Sauerwein, following the 28 settlements of Lokris 40 years after the 1466 survey, ascertain that the taxable population has increased by 1,320 families to 2,356. Undoubtedly the sample of settlements (see Appendix, Table 2) confirms the dense habitation of the region

(38) During my brief stay in the Ottoman archives in Istanbul, I managed to see first-hand only the first 289 pages of this register, which comprises 544 pages in all. Kiel - Sauerwein follows in this survey, as mentioned above, the movement of the population of 28 settlements in eastern Lokris, in which they also include another 8.

(39) In Table 2 of the Appendix we placed the data for certain villages in square brackets, in order to indicate that the numbers of the population and the taxes are part of the total, since the incomes distributed to more than one timar-holder were recorded in Tapu Tahrir 35 in sections. The inclusion of the totals of population and the taxes of these villages, which constitute the majority, required a considerable amount of time for research in the Ottoman Archives of Istanbul. Nevertheless, I considered it pertinent to present their incomplete data in the table, in order to denote the existence of the settlements in 1506.

and indicates the increase in population, in relation to the previous survey. Perspicacious too is the observation of the two scholars that this should be attributed to the *Pax ottomanica*, the calm that prevailed in the region after its conquest by the Ottomans, when the incursions, hostilities and all the other menaces of the troubled century before ceased.

In agricultural production, as this appears with the recording of its taxation, cereals had the primary role, as was the norm in those years. Second in order as a source of income was viticulture, with the exception of a series of monetary taxes such as the *ispence*, the tax on hay (*resm-i otluk*), marriage etc. More will we said on viticulture below.

### 3. The 1521 Surveys (Table 3)

Just one year after Sultan Suleyman the Magnificent (1520-1566) ascended the throne, he ordered a fiscal survey in the sancak of Euripos, which was imprinted in two summary registers, Tapu Tahrir 367 and Tapu Tahrir 420. TT 367, more analytical than the usual summary registers, records the taxable population and the overall sum of taxes submitted by the settlements; in TT 420 only the income of the timarholders is entered, that is the sum of the overall taxation. TT 367 also includes the first regulatory code (*kanunname*) of the taxation practices of the kazas in the sancak,<sup>40</sup> That same year (1521) the register D. 9578 (Archive of the Topkapı Sarayı), published by M.T. Gökbilgin, was compiled, in which the taxes of the town of Moudounitza, 35,000 aspers, are inscribed in the usufruct of the mirliva of Euripos.<sup>41</sup>

Kiel-Sauerwein ascertain that in the years intervening after 1506 the taxable population of the 28 settlements of eastern Lokris, whose progress they are monitoring, increased.<sup>42</sup> This ascertainment applies

(40) The kanunnames of TT 367 is published in the doctoral dissertation of J. Alexander, *Toward a History of Post-Byzantine Greece: The Ottoman Kanunnames for the Greek Lands, circa 1500-circa 1600*, Athens 1985, 50-56 and 304-334. Cf. M. Oğuz-Evangelia Balta, op. cit., 10-11.

(41) M.T. Gökbilgin, op. cit., 258.

(42) The population increased overall by 165 households, see M. Kiel - F. Sauerwein, op. cit., 38.

to the majority of the settlements in the sample (see Appendix Table 3), where the following ones are distinguished in terms of population: Atalanti, Valtetsi, Gardenitsa, Glouvitsa, Lefta, Livanates, Mertzanos, Modi, Mitro, Bouzourk (= Megalo Mitro).<sup>43</sup> Moudounitza and Tachtali. Muslim inhabitants are only recorded in the two towns, Atalanti and Moudounitza, the administrative centres of the region.

Among the quarters or neighbourhoods recorded in Atalanti is that of Aghioi Theodoroi. Should the position of the quarter of Aghioi Theodoroi mentioned in the Ottoman register be identified with the area around the present metropolis (Greek Orthodox cathedral) of the town? It is very possible that the present church of the Sts Theodore was built on the site of the early church, which M. Christophoros claims was built in 1855, on the basis of the plaque incorporated in the external conch of the sanctuary.<sup>44</sup> The Ottoman source confirms the existence of a church dedicated to the Sts Theodore from the early sixteenth century. Also noted in Atalanti is the *mahalle* of the Taxiarches,<sup>45</sup> which it is logical to associate in the topography of the town with the parish of the church of the Communion of the Incorporeal (Synaxis ton Asomaton), which also exists in Atalanti today. There is reference to two other quarters with the names of churches, of St Demetrios and of St Paraskevi, for which there is not information in other sources.<sup>46</sup>

In these years Atalanti belonged to the *hass-i hümayun* of the *kaza* of Livadia, which also claimed the income from the salt lakes and the harbours of the wider region of the towns of Central Greece and Euboea.<sup>47</sup> We learn from a note by the *kâtib* that the inhabitants of Atalanti did not pay *ispence*, *cizye* and various other monetary taxes; furt-

(43) The toponym bears witness to the existence of a double settlement. Indeed, in the 1571 survey the village Kioutsouk Mitro (= Mikro Mitro) is located, see below Table 5.

(44) For the metropolis of Sts Theodore see M.K. Christophorou, *Opuntia Lokrida and Atalanti. Memories and Testimonies*, vol. 2, Athens 1993, 154 and 222-228 (in Greek). T. Papapanayotou, *History and Monuments of Phthiotis*, Athens 1971, 253 (in Greek).

(45) According to the Ottoman survey, there was a church of the Taxiarches in Atalanti already from the sixteenth century. M. Christophorou mentions that the present church of the Communion of the Incorporeal (Synaxis Asomaton) was built in 1899, based on an inscription built into the wall, see *ibidem* 277.

(46) I do not think that the parish of St Paraskevi is associated with the homonymous chapel built by the Vassilis Kokoretsis family in 1900, see *ibidem* 222 and 238. The Ottoman source confirms the tradition of the honouring of St Paraskevi in Atalanti from early times.

(47) M.T. Gökbilgin, *op. cit.*, 275, n. 275.

hermore, they had the privilege of their children's exemption from the tribute of children. This favourable treatment was granted in exchange for their obligation to guard the sea straits; they surveyed and patrolled the coasts and gave forewarning of the approach of pirate and enemy ships.

The Muslim population in Moudounitza was twice the size of that in Atalanti. The Christians lived in five mahalles, one of which bore the name of the church of St Nicholas. There was also a mahalle called "Porta" and one called "Chalastra". I presume that the name Porta is due to the quarter's proximity to the gate (= *porta*) of the castle of Mendenitsa.

In the 1521 survey, the nahiye of Moudounitza appears to have extended southwards, to include several settlements in the modern Prefecture of Boeotia, such as Souvala, Aghios Dimitrios etc. So, once more we ascertain the frequent reallocations of the villages from one timar to another, which were effected in a short interval of time. This fact indicates how difficult it is to determine the boundaries of an administrative district in the Ottoman period. As mentioned above, in those years the mirliva of the sancak of Euripos was entitled to the usufruct of the villages of the nahiye of Moudounitza.

#### 4. The 1540 Survey (Table 4)

About twenty years intervened between the two surveys of the sancak of Euripos carried out in the reign of Sultan Suleyman the Magnificent. The 1540 survey was imprinted in two registers, the *mufassal Tapu Tahrir* 431 and the *icmal Tapu Tahrir* 196, from which we drew the data for Table 4. The population<sup>48</sup> continues to increase steadily - a tendency apparent already from the beginning of the century - but the incomes do not seem to follow this rising tendency, at least as can be seen from the taxation. Atalanti, Valtetsi, Dadi, Kamari, Lefta, Longos, Mertzanos, Mitro Mouzourk, Modi, Moudounitza, Tachtali and

(48) The 28 settlements of eastern Lokris followed by Kiel -Sauerwein had grown to 2.943 taxation units, see M. Kiel-F. Sauerwein, op. cit., 43.

Chondronikola are distinguished by population size. For some of these settlements the register notes the names of their mahalles, which are personal names, in all probability those of leading citizens (*protoyeroi*). In Dadi,<sup>49</sup> for example, four neighbourhoods are noted with the following names: Nikolas Raptis, Stamatis Sgouros, Yorgis Gerakaris, Androutsos Vasilis.

In 1540 Atalanti passed to the usufruct of Suleyman Pasha the Eunuch. The zeamet of Atalanti was inscribed in his has together with the rich zeamet of Livadia. The zeamet of Atalanti included not only the town but also 12 neighbouring villages with a total income of 63.600 aspers. The corresponding zeamet of Livadia included the homonymous town and 18 villages, with an overall income of 119,676 aspers. At that time there was another zeamet in the region, that of Lefta, to which the villages of Lefta and Longos belonged and whose taxes were collected by Hayreddin Paşa Barbarosa.<sup>50</sup>

Recorded separately for the town of Atalanti are 32 Christian families involved with the salines (*tuzciyan*).<sup>51</sup> Its taxation also included the tithes from two monasteries, of the Sts Anargyroi<sup>52</sup> and of St Basil. A monastery of St Blasios and one of the Virgin are mentioned in the village of Modi. Inscribed in the taxation portion of Gardenitsa is the monastery of St Nicholas<sup>53</sup> and in that of Livanates the monastery of Vilivos (*Viliovos*).<sup>54</sup> The same monasteries are also recorded in the register of 1571. In these years the inhabitants of both Atalanti and of Moudounitza were exempted from the levying of extraordinary taxes, since they were encharged with guarding the coasts.

(49) Sur le toponym "Dadi", see K. A. Papachristou, *Parnassiotika, Studies on the region of Parnassos*, Athens 1984, 65-70 (in Greek).

(50) TT 196, 12-16. Cf. also M.T. Gökbilgin, *op. cit.*, 276.

(51) On the salines of Tahtali and Talanta see BOA, Cevdet Maliye 11554 (H. 1200).

(52) Information on the monastery of the Sts Anargyroi was gathered from the General State Archives by M. Christophorou, *op. cit.*, 240 and 266ff. Cf. T. Papapanayotou, *op. cit.*, 253.

(53) Gardenitsa is modern Kyparissi, which is close to Larymna. It is therefore very possible that the monastery recorded in the 16th century in the portion of Gardenitsa is the old Byzantine building, ruins of which still survive, mentioned in the bibliography as St Nichols Larymnes, see T. Papapanayotou, *op. cit.*, 259-250.

(54) M. Christophorou, *op. cit.*, 266, 322; *idem*, *The Monastery of the Transfiguration of the Saviour at Livanates*, published by the Holy Metropolis of Phthiotis 1999 (in Greek).

## 5. The 1571 Survey (Table 5)

This was conducted at the behest of Sultan Selim II and survives in three mufassal registers, Tapu Tahrir no 484 in Istanbul, and Kuyudu Kadime nos 157 and 183 in Ankara.<sup>55</sup> The survey was completed in all probability in the last months of 1571. In Mühimme Defteri no 15 there are three documents which deal with the distribution of the timars in the areas of Talanta and Moudounitza and are dated in the months of Cemaziyelâhir and Recep of the year 979, that is November and December of 1571.<sup>56</sup>

In these years too, Atalanti continued to enjoy special fiscal treatment. Its Christian inhabitants, as well as those of the village of Livanates, were exempted from extraordinary taxes and *avariz* (levies).<sup>57</sup> The inhabitants of Atalanti and the village of Livanates were therefore obliged to maintain seven armed horsemen for the surveillance of the coasts, in which escape frequently the ships of pirates after their activities in Aegean.<sup>58</sup> Several other neighbouring settlements did not pay extraordinary taxes either. For those villages that were obliged to pay *avariz*, the number of *avariz hane* is written in the register after the ispençe.

It should be noted that what particularly interested me from the source were the settlements in the nahiye of Atalanti, which, for the second time after 1466, is referred to as an independent district. So, Table 5 of the Appendix presents exclusively settlements that belonged

(55) For the description of the registers see D.N. Karydis-M. Kiel, op. cit., 1863. In their study of eastern Lokris, M. Kiel-F. Sauerweon use K.u.K. 183; we use TT 484.

(56) BOA, Mühimme Defteri 15, no 1395 (15/C/979), no 1400 (15/C/979) and 1588 (4/B/979).

(57) *Avariz* was the tax paid by Ottoman subjects in lieu of providing special services (corvée) on emergency situations, such as billeting troops on the move, victualling the navy, maintaining roads, bridges, castles etc., or instead of serving in various auxiliary corps of the army or the navy. The *avariz* was not imposed directly on individuals, but on taxation units (*avariz hane*), which comprised several families. Each kaza had a specific number of *avariz hane* and the kadi of the area was responsible for collecting this tax. See A. Suceca, "Die Entwicklung der Besteuerung durch die Avarizi-i divaniye und die tekalif-i örfiye im Osmanischen Reich während des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts", *Südost-Forschungen* XXVII 1968, 89-130. See also the study relating to this tax, by Linda Darling, *Revenue-Raising and Legitimacy. Tax Collection and Finance Administration in the Ottoman Empire, 1560-1660*, Leiden-New York-Cologne 1996, 87ff.

(58) D.N. Karydis-M. Kiel, op. cit., 1899.

administratively to the nahiye of Atalanti.<sup>59</sup> Atalanti appears as the most populous settlement in the region; it had 964 taxable units in all, that is about 3.000 inhabitants, which explains its promotion in the next century to capital of a homonymous kaza. Moudounitza had 81 Muslim hanes and 169 Christian, 37 unmarried and 51 households headed by a widow.<sup>60</sup> The largest number of Muslims continued to be concentrated in this town, precisely because it was the administrative centre of the wider region of Lokris. I cite as a measure for comparison that in the tables with 'statistical knowledge collected from reports to the Government from the Local Authorities and Special Commissions', prepared at the time of the founding of the Modern Greek state, Atalanti had 420 families in all and Mendenitsa 341.<sup>61</sup>

### Preliminary Conclusions

From the surveys examined above and according to the tables in the Appendix, some 80 settlements are recorded in Lokris in the sixteenth century. The number emerges by following the 'new' ones added to each register after 1506. This does not necessarily mean that in all cases the said villages did not exist previously and were created in the interim years between two surveys, just as it does not mean that those not repeated in the registers had been deserted. As we mentioned above, the Ottoman registers record the settlements on the basis of their subordination to the 'x' or 'y' timar. Consequently, it is logical that the same villages are not included in given sources for a specific period and for them to appear in earlier or later periods. Some of the villages presented in the tables do not belong to the geographical area of Lokris, such as the village of Souvala in Boeotia for example, but it should not be forgotten that we have opted to describe the present district of Lokris. In haraç registers for the seventeenth century, the villages of

(59) Certainly there were in 1571 far more villages than the 29 recorded in the beginning of 19<sup>th</sup> century by Pouqueville, *op. cit.*, 154.

(60) D.N Karydis-M. Kiel, *op. cit.*, 1871.

(61) Eleni Belia, "Statistics of the Greek State in 1830", *Mnemosyne* 7 (1978-1979), 307 (in Greek).

Exarchos and Bescheni/Beskini (today, Parori) in Lokris are ascribed to the kaza of Livadia.<sup>62</sup>

From a comparative examination of the surveys of the appendix with the first official census of the Greek State, we deduce that in the sixteenth century the majority of the villages ascribed in 1835 to the seven municipality of the district of Lokris existed,<sup>63</sup> in parallel with a host of others whose traces are lost in later periods. According to our estimates, the taxable population -despite the lacunae in the sources- ranged between 4.000 and 6.000 taxation units, that is it corresponded to 20.000-22.000 inhabitants. The 61 settlements noted in 1506 had 3.850 taxable households, the corresponding 66 in 1521 reached 4.954, the 59 in 1540 were 5.938 houses, and last, in 1571, the settlements in the district of Atalanti alone numbered 4,898 taxable units, including those of the Muslims. We give these numbers in order to show clearly both the density of the settled area and the size of the population. There is no doubt that the population of Lokris in the sixteenth century must have been larger than that noted in the censuses of the Greek State in the first half of the nineteenth century.<sup>64</sup> Kie-Sauerwein, who followed the movement of the taxable population over a period of 150 years, ascertain its increase, which they measure on a yearly basis,<sup>65</sup> in this way identifying the growth rates of the taxable population with corresponding demographic growth. The Ottoman registers, however, we repeat here, were compiled for reasons of taxation and as such record the population subject to taxation; only indirectly do they reflect -and indeed for the early centuries of Ottoman rule- the demographic size of a settlement or permit estimates relating to the demographic movement of the population.

Incomes do not seem to follow the same tendency to rise as the population, at least as ascertained from the fluctuation of tax revenue-

(62) M. Kiel, "The Rise and Decline of Turkish Boeotia", op. cit., 349 (Table VII). Cf also *idem*, "Remarks on the Administration of the Poll Tax (cizye) in the Ottoman Balkans and Value of Poll Tax Registers (cizye defterleri) for Demographic Research", *Etudes Balkaniques* (1990), 80 (pl. 1).

(63) E. Skiadas, op. cit., 152-161; Th. K. Sperantzas, op. cit., 95ff. Cf. also I.P. Rangavi, *Hellenica, that is a Geographical, Historical, Archaeological and Statistical Description of Ancient and Modern Greece ...*, published by Konstantinos Antoniadis, Athens 1853, vol. I, 612-618 (in Greek).

(64) Cf. E. Skiadas, op. cit., 152, who gives the population data for the years 1839-1907.

(65) See M. Kiel-F. Sauerwein, op. cit., 42-44.

es. However, this does not necessarily mean restriction of incomes. Taxation can present stagnation, small increase or even decrease, for many reasons, so giving the picture of the restriction of incomes, that is the shrinking of production. This can be due to the fact that part of the taxation of a settlement was collected in some period by another timar-holder, and consequently recorded elsewhere, possibly to tax exemptions or remissions, but equally possibly to reduction in production. On the basis of the evidence available, we observed that in 1506 the 2.715 taxable units for which there is information on the tax levied, paid on average 112.7 aspers. In 1571, 4369 taxable units paid respectively 83.1 aspers. This becomes more obvious when we follow the fluctuations of the taxable population and tax revenue in one settlement. For example, in 1540 the village of Aghia Marina had 136 taxable units and paid 17.800 aspers; in 1571 there were 187 taxable units and it paid 20.250 aspers. That is the taxable population increased by 37.5% but the taxation revenue by only 13.8%.

The revenues derived from agriculture and stock-raising. Cereals (wheat, barley, oats) were cultivated everywhere and were, as in most villages in Greece in those centuries, the primary crop as a source of income and a dietary staple. Second in order as a source of income were the vineyards, about which we shall speak specifically below, and these were followed by animal husbandry, with supplementary occupations apiary, vegetable gardening, cotton- and flax-growing.<sup>66</sup>

### III.

#### Viticulture

The Table that follows presents 51 settlements of Lokris which paid tax on vine-cultivation and wine-production, out of a total of 80 located in this period. Noted are the amount of tax and its proportion in relation to the total fiscal obligation in each survey, in order to point out the contribution of viticulture and viniculture to the villager's

(66) Kiel-Sauerwein give the development of the output of certain villages in the sixteenth century, such as Valtetsi, Tachtali, Lefta, Kamari, Pavlo and Loutsis. *Ibidem*, 71-81.

income. The number of settlements whose inhabitants tended vines is possibly larger. We would know this if we had the relevant information for those cases that Kiel-Sauerwein located. Nevertheless, it is quite clear -even with a limited sample of settlements for which there are data- that in the sixteenth century there was developed viticulture and significant viniculture in the region of Lokris.

It is worth stressing one observation: in settlements that are denoted as Albanian (*Arnavudan*), the tax collected from viticulture is per dönüm (*resm-i dönüm*), that is the Albanian peasants, like the Muslim, paid 5 aspers per dönüm.<sup>67</sup> On the contrary, the Christians villages were subject to heavier taxation, they paid a tithe, an 'inch' tax (*resm-i karış*) on the wine put in the barrels as well as a monopoly tax in addition (*monopolya*).<sup>68</sup> For example, the villages Monachos, Andreas Lountzis which are inhabited by Albanians in 1506, paid tax per dönüm. as in 1540 Livanates, also an Albanian village. In the contrary the villages Xylikoi, Chondronikola, with Greek inhabitants paid tithe on grape-must and a tax on wine (*resm-i karış*). In proximatively the same years, in the middle of 16<sup>th</sup> centuries, in the kanunname of Morea we read: 'And the Muslims in the entire vilâyet who possess vineyards give four akçe per dönüm as tithe substitute, if they themselves planted them and they were not acquired from the infidels; in some localities they give five akçe. It is encribed in the appropriate place in the registers. However, should they took grape-must and sell it, they pay the tithe. And if it is a vineyard acquired from an infidel, they give the tithe for the land'.<sup>69</sup> If I interpret correctly the law this means that both the Muslims of Morea and the Muslims and the Muslims and Albanians villagers of Atalanti and Moudounitza had a significant production of wine, which sufficed for their personal needs; that is to say they did not produce wine to sell or more probably they did not produce any wine at all and therefore they were taxed more lightly than the Christians.

(67) In 1506 Albanian and Muslim farmers paid 5 aspers per dönüm; in 1540 the Albanians paid 6 aspers and the Muslims only 4.

(68) J. Kabdra, "Contribution à l'étude de la rente féodale dans l'empire ottoman, I (Redevances féodales perçues sur le vin et le miel)", *Sbornik Praci Filosofické Fakulty Brneské Univerzity* 10 (1963), 33-53.

(69) J. Alexander, op. cit., p. 193 and 371.

The fiscal legislation of the sancak of Euripos contains some articles on the taxation of viticulture and on the differentiations relevant to ethnic groups, such as:

Table 6: *Taxes on Viticulture and Viniculture*

VILLAGES	1506		1540		1571	
	Aspers	%	Aspers	%	Aspers	%
Agh. Marina	285	8,1	2.000	11,2	2.150	10,6
Agh. Yanni	550	8,8				
Agnanti					395	13,2
Andrea Lountzi	45	1,6			360	5,7
Androusa	1.570	23,1				
Atalanti			4.576	13,4	422	1,4
Avraam					20	1,0
Belesi (Anthochori)					70	1,1
Beskini (Parori)	35	0,6	258	5,3	900	12,0
Bogdanos					600	8,3
Bouzi			26	5,0	35	6,7
Chondronikola	3.100	16,8	7.037	33,6		
Dadi	[2.220	24,8]	1.173	8,1		
Exarchos	80	2,0	55	2,5		
Gardenitsa			430	6,1	135	4,5
Golemi			30	0,5		
Kalamaki					120	2,7
Kioutsiouk Mitro					30	1,2
Kolaka			140	4,5		
Komanos	750	14,8				
Komnina	3.500	16,5				
Kouvliana			70	5,4	10	2,5
Lefta	1.775	7,9	1.288	7,3		
Livanates			361	5,1	260	3,7
Longos	3.074	19,1	1.211	11,4	1.838	13,9
Magoulitsa					709	5,2
Mazi					60	1,2
Markeli	200	4,5				
Martino Mouzaki/ Nikola Mouzaki			2.258	34,6	580	7,8
Mertzanos	950	6,3	5.800	20,7		
Mitro Bouzourk	390	3,9	2.060	17,2	1.400	7,0
Modi	[1.020	17,9]	1.420	4,9	1.800	5,1
Monachos	30	0,7			456	7,2
Moudounitza	11.902	22,2	6.084	21,3		
Mouzaki Bouzourk			34	2,4	25	3,4
Neochori			29	2,8		
Palavitsa			132	3,7	120	3,3
Papavitsa					80	2,6
Pavlo Mouzaki	60	2,3				
Pyrgokastri	[280	4,5]				
Skotiani			83	6,4		
Souvala			180	3,6		
Spilia	270	12,8				
Tachtali	[ 1.440	19,4]	1.150	7,3	5.875	16,8
Tsaresi					200	3,0
Valtetsi	4.240	16,1	7.055	22,8	11.304	24,2
Velitsa			464	10,6		
Virlovos					175	3,4
Vounditsa	552	9,2				
Xylikoi	660	11,1				
Zeli			838	6,6	660	9,4

*'The Muslims settled in the town of Thebes pay five aspers vine tax on the dönüm. The Greek infidels pay a two-measure must tithe<sup>70</sup> in fifteen, including the salarye. When the grape-must is put in the barrels, they measure it, and for each 'kariş' of grape-must 2 aspers 'kariş' tax is demanded. The Albanian infidels also pay five aspers vine tax for each dönüm but nothing further. It is a law in the villages in which a grape-must tithe is paid, that the timar-holders have the monopoly for two months, in order to sell the tithe they collected from the peasants. For the duration of the monopoly, the grape-must of the timar-holder is sold two aspers dearer than the current price. Before the period of the monopoly expires, the reaya are prohibited from selling grape-must'.<sup>71</sup> The same article occurs in the fiscal legislation of neighbouring Izdin.<sup>72</sup> There is another interesting article in the fiscal legislation of Istefe and Salona: 'If someone plants a vineyard, he pays five aspers tax per dönüm the first year. Later, if the vine does not bear fruit, he pays nothing'.<sup>73</sup> This indicates indirectly the Ottoman state's policy of encouraging the spread of viticulture.*

In the villages where the percentage of tax is greater than 7%, this means that they paid a tithe and not a tax per dönüm. The production in 1506 is particularly high in most of the villages in our sample, as indeed for the whole area of Thebes.<sup>74</sup> In the mid-sixteenth century high incomes from viticulture are noted in the villages of Chondronikola, Valtetsi and Martino Mouzaki, where the vine outstrips cereals. In Chondronikola the grain tax was 4,620 aspers and the wine tax 6,540; in Martino Mouzaki it was 1692 and 2,258 respectively. The tax value of wine in the first half of the sixteenth century was 20 aspers per medre and in the 1571 survey had become 25, in accordance with the corresponding increases which applied as well to the other product. In 1571 most of the villages paid tax per dönüm, this is in any case obvious from the low percentage of the tax of viticulture in the total tax-

(70) Medre= unit of measurement for wine, whose volume varies in the sancak of Euripos; in Negreponite it was 55, in Athens 32 and in Livadia 67 imperial okkas, see Evangelia Balta-M. Oğuz, op. cit., 21-7, 27-12 and 33-34-3.

(71) Ibidem, 30-3 and 35-13.

(72) See J. Kabdra, "Le code ottoman (kanunname) de Lamia. (Contribution à l'étude des sources historiques turques relatives à l'histoire de la Grèce", *Sbornik Praci Filosofické Fakulty Brněnské University VIII* (1961), 175-190 (translated into Greek by Stephanos Papadopoulos), *Elinika* 17 (1962), 202-218.

(73) Evangelia Balta-M. Oğuz, op. cit., 31-14 and 37-9.

(74) M. Kiel, "The Rise and Decline of Turkish Boeotia", op. cit., 327.

tion. Concurrently, in other settlements, such as Valtetsi, Tachtali and Longos, the production of wine is significant and the inhabitants of these villages paid tithe. The change in the method of taxing, that is the majority of the villages paid tax per dönüm (*resm-i dönüm*), is the consequence of a drop in production or a favourable fiscal policy of the Ottoman administration? Questions such as this cannot be answered for the present on the basis of the sources examined. However, the data of Table 6 indirectly can only inform us about the extent of the vineyards and also the sum of the wine production.

Unfortunately the *sicil defterleri* of Atalanti and Moudounitza have not been preserved which would clarify the production activities of the inhabitants as well as other examples of social life of region, about which the tahrir registers do not offer any material. The *kadı sicilleri* must have been destroyed during the years of Greek Revolution (1821-1828), as happened as well in all towns of the Mainland Greece and of the Morea. While consulting the Mühimme Defterleri of 16<sup>th</sup> century in the Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi I came across a document which was proclaimed both by the kadi of Eğriboz and Talanta, dated 18 November 1576. According to this source two janissaries were accused and tried, because they had invaded into the home of a Christian of Talanta and after they had consumed wine and became drunk and went out into the street and in a quarrel killed the son of Kamer Hatun. The fact should be interpreted very serious because is communicated to Sublime Porte and was registered in the Mühimme Defterleri of the Empire.<sup>75</sup>

## Instead of an Epilogue

From the data of unpublished tahrir registers of 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> Centuries we have tried as far as possible to compile the number of settlements in Lokris and to observe the movements of the population and their production activities. It has to do with a thickly settled region, with Albanian and Albanian-Vlach villages. We located with the most precise verifications 80 settlements in the area, which today cal-

(75) Mühimme defter 28, p. 355, no 901 (25/c/984).

led the province of Lokris. On the basis of recorded taxable population we estimate that the real population of the region in the first two centuries of the ottoman occupation must have oscillated between 20.000-24.000 inhabitants that is much more than the figure which is recorded in the first censuses of the Greek State. In all these settlements they cultivated grain, the base of the quotidian nourishment, which gave the highest incomes from the agriculture, as was true for the majority of the Greek lands during the ottoman period. Viticulture was the second source of incomes and as in the all villages there were supplementary agricultural activities, such as livestock, apiculture, cotton, fruits etc.

## APPENDIX

Table 1: Population of villages in Eastern Lokris (1466).

Villages	Population	Villages	Population
Agnanti	10	Longos	51
Andrea Loutsi	9	Magoulitsa	70
Andrea Lykouresi	31	Martino Mouzaki	13
Atalanti	248	Monacho	14
Bogdanos	32	Neochori	14
Bouzi	5	Papavitsa	20
Choubava	31	Pavlo Mouzaki	24
Exarchos	24	Proskynas	41
Gardenitsa	77	Radou	18
Kalamaki	20	Tachtali	119
Kamari	43	Tsaresi	45
Kolaka	47	Valtetsi <sup>76</sup>	102
Lefta	43	Vendere	11
Livanates	58	Zeli	53

Table 2: Population of and Revenues from Lokris in 1506

VILLAGES	CHRISTIANS			MUSLIMS	TAXATION
	Hane	Mücerred	Bive	Hane	Aspers
Agh. Marina	50	6	5		3,504
Agh. Gianni	71	2	13	2	6,250
Agh. Georgi / Katoumat	32		4		3,525
Agnanti	34		2		2,570
Andrea Loutzi	20		1		2,763
Andrea Lykouresi	16	2	1		2,715
Anivitsa	16		2		1,496
Androusa	31	3	3		6,791

(76) See M. Kiel - F. Sauerwein, *op.cit.*, 114, Table 1 of the Appendix, where Valtetsi is presented as a Muslim village. This is a printing error; the number of Christian households have been put in the place of the Muslim ones.

VILLAGES	CHRISTIANS			MUSLIMS Hane	TAXATION Aspers
	Hane	Mücerred	Bive		
* Atalanti	449			13	
* Belesi (Anthochori)	14				
Beskini (Parori)	43	4	1		5,834
* Bogdanos	39				
Bouzi	11				
Chondronikola	99	10	17		18,445
* Choubava	19				
Dadi	[102	2	3		8,965]
Dernitsa (Tithronio)	16	1	2		1,355
Drakospilia (Thermopyles)	22	1			2,726
* Dragani	8				
Exarchos	33	2	2		3,813
* Gardenitsa	105				
* Golemi	29				
* Kalamaki	28				
* Kamanitsa	7				
* Kamari	65				
* Kolaka	50				
Komanos	54	3	2		5,074
Komnina	129	10	22		21,225
Lefta	148	17	17		22,459
Livadari/Pachomi	20	1	3		2,856
* Livanates	121				
Longos	111	5	15		16,128
* Magoulitsa	60				
Malesina	14	1			1,880
Manesi (Lefkochori)	23	1	4		3,877
Markeli	66	6	11		4,434
Martino Mouzaki / Nikola Mouzaki	46		6		6,028
Mertzanos	119	10	24		15,114
Mitro Bouzourk	61	3	6		9,849
Modi	[59	4	1	3	5,683]
Monachos	30		3		4,417
Moudounitza	237	18	36	56	53,688
* Mouzaki Bouzourk	11				
Neochori					
Xylikoi	59	5	5		5,966
* Papavitsa	23				
Pavlo Mouzaki	18	1			2,591
Proskynas*	96				
Pyrgokastri	[15		1	1	6,239]
* Radou	24				
Skylochori	[6	2	5		8,629]
Sourpi	12				954
Spilia	11	1	3		2,114
Tachtali <sup>77</sup>	[69	9	5		7,400]
* Tsaresi	42				
Psomohalkia	14	2			1,105
Valtetsi	234	9	11		26,274
* Vendere	15				
* Virlongos	30				
Vounditsa	25	1	1		5,972
* Zeli	50				

(77) M. Kiel-F. Sauerwein give two numbers for the population of Tachtali: 291 families and 258, see pp. 74 and 114 respectively.

Table 3: Population and Incomes in Lokris in 1521

VILLAGES	CHRISTIANS			MUSLIMS	TAXES
	Hane	Mücerred	Bive	Hane	Akçe
Agh. Dimitri	17	1	1		1.259
Agh. Gianni	59	10	5		3.400
Agnanti	10	1	1		1.646
* Andrea Loutzi	46				
Andrea Lykouresi	33	3	5		2.500
Androusa	48	10			5.312
Anivista	39	9	5		3.000
Arkouda	5				192
Atalanti	435	39	22	30	33.541
Belesi	39				4.164
Beskini	47	2	4		6.600
Bogdanos	40				5.006
Bouzi	10	6	6		825
Chondronikola					10.000
Choubava	13				1.542
Dadi					13.893
Dimitraki	20	3	1		2.404
Dragani	11				625
Exarchos	25	4	2		2.951
Gardenitsa	126				8.503
Glouvitsa	154	91	1		15.241
Golemi	34	4	4		4.000
* Kalamaki	38				
* Kalamitsa	23				
* Kamari	52				
Kolaka	52				4.043
Lefta	153	13	2		17.600
Livadi/Pachomi	27	4	3		4.000
Livanates	133	5	19		14.390
Longos	77	15	5		10.000
* Magoulitsa	50				
* Malesina	33				
Manesi	7				1.469
Martino Mouzaki	67	7	7		11.473
Mertzanos	286	34	19		31.374
Mitro Bouzork	105	9	2		10.086
Modi	370	47	29		33.682
* Monacho	70				
Moudounitza	218	42	42	66	35.000
Mouzaka					5.864
Mouzaki <sup>78</sup>	17	2	1		1.820
* Mouzaki Bouzourk	33				
Neochori	10	2	2		1.000
Nichoraki	31	6	6		4.500
Palavitsa	35	6	2		2.529
Paliopyrgo	19	6	3		3.312
Papavitsa	31	7	4		3.438
* Pavlo Mouzaki	30				
Petri Pandi	8	2	1		2.030
* Proskynas	86				
* Radou	34				

(78) The existence immediately below of a settlement named Mouzaki Bouzourk (=Megalou Mouzaki) leads us to assume the settlement Mouzaki was Mikro Mouzaki (=Kioutsouk Mouzaki).

VILLAGES	CHRISTIANS			MUSLIMS	TAXES
	Hane	Mücerred	Bive	Hane	Akçe
Skotiani	14	1	1		1.259
Skylochori	38	4	5		6.543
Sourpi	16	1	1		1.069
Souvala	28	4	1		2.517
Spilia	62	11	11		7.200
Tachtali <sup>79</sup>	199	22	5		25.826
Tsaresi	39				4.164
Valtetzi	270	77	27		20.012
Velitsa	53	6	6		4.602
* Vendere	42				
* Virlovos	41				
Vounditsa					4.008
Xiropigadi	5				602
Xylikoi	85	7	2		6.087
Zeli	58	6	8		8.494

Table 4: *Population and Revenues of Settlements in Lokris in 1540*

VILLAGES	CHRISTIANS			MUSLIMS	TAXES
	Hane	Mücerred	Bive	Hane	Akçe
Agh. Gianni	54				3.514
Agh. Marina	100	30	6		17.800
* Agnanti	23				
* Andrea Loutsi	44				
Andrea Lykouresi	32	8	2		3.421
Androusa					7.225
Atalanti	459	118	47	50	34.000
Avraam	37	4	2		3.056
* Belesi	43				4.197
Belousa	10				600
Beskini	40	13	8		4.864
* Bogdanos	45				4.000
Bouzi	8	4	3		524
Chondronikola	175	36	22		20.921
Choubava	22				1.501
Dadi	211	45	9		14.509
Dimitraki	27	4	2		3.147
Dragani	8	1	1		531
Exarchos	22	6	5		2.209
Gardenitsa	96	26	12		7.030
Golemi	52	12	3		6.000
* Kalamaki	36				
* Kamanitsa	18				
* Kamari	105				
Kolaka	61	11	1		3.080
Kouvliana	11	2	3		1.290
Lefta	204	40	22		17.693
Livanates	81	22	7		7.003
Longos	135	36	15		10.631
* Magoulitsa	77				
* Malesina	32				

(79) The 119 hane noted as the population of Tachtali in Table 1 (p. 114) M. Kiel - F. Sauerwein is a printing error. The population of the village was 199 households.

VILLAGES	CHRISTIANS			MUSLIMS	TAXES
	Hane	Mücerred	Bive	Hane	Akçe
* Manesi	7				2.025
Martino Mouzaki	63	38			6.516
Martino	81	10	5		10.000
* Mazi	23				
Megalokyri					1.000
Mertzanos	297	46	29	10	28.000
Mitro Bouzourk	120	27	3		12.000
Modi	309	60	24		28.904
Molos					575
Monacho	45	25	3		5.027
Moudounitza	163	22		99	28.500
Mouzaki Bouzourk	21	2	3		1.430
Neochori	20	7	5		1.049
Palavitsa	43	8	2		3.594
Papavitsa	54	11	8		4.037
* Pavlo Mouzaki	37				
* Proskynas	46				
Petro Pandi					800
* Radou	22				
Skotiani	21				1.301
Sourpi	34	5	5		2.181
Souvala	48	18	6		5.000
Tachtali	255	47	23	2	15.677
Tsaresi	42				4.017
Valtetsi	352	100	41		30.896
Velitsa	65	11	7		4.391
* Vendere	19				
* Virlovos	37				
Zeli	76	12	8		12.713

Table 5: Population and Revenues in Lokris in 1571

VILLAGES	CHRISTIANS			MUSLIMS	TAXES
	Hane	Mücerred	Bive	Hane	Akçe
Agh. Marina	120	57	10		20.250
Agnanti	20	7	1		3.000
Andrea Lountzi	50	12	2		6.250
Andrea Lykouresi	21	5	2		4.200
Atalanti	622	200	65	77	30.000
Avraam	42	2			2.000
Belesi	47	10	7		6.500
Belousa	10				
Beskini	46	8	7		7.500
Bogdanos	42	14	2		7.255
Buzi	7	1			524
* Choubava	23				
Doriza	19	2	2		2.500
Dragan	12	1			530
* Exarchos	22				
Gardenitsa	66	5	2		3.000
Golemi	54	15	5		6.250
Kalamaki	32	6	4		4.500
* Kamanitsa	20				