

## "AÇIL SUSAM, AÇIL"

*Evangelia BALTA*

*To the memory of İsrail Dađlı  
twenty years of age,  
whose loss shattered me*

I chose the spell from the *Thousand and One Nights* as the title of this paper because I feel that the charming story from which it hails in one sense describes perfectly the historiographical problem presented by the deserted (?) island of Samos. In another, it betrays the course taken by my research both in locating the Ottoman archive material for the first centuries of the island's occupation, and during the processing of the sources which I present below. Let, then, the story's magic phrase "Open Sesame" serve as a spell, a prayer to summarise this attempt to use the tools of research to move, even by a few centimetres, the rock blocking the way to a knowledge of the history of Samos, the *Susam adası* of the Ottomans.

Presented below are two poll tax registers of the first half of the 17th century which record the names of the taxed population of 20 villages on Samos. The registers of the years 1633 and 1642 were found in the collection *Maliyeden Müdevver* of the *Başbakanlık Arşivi* in Istanbul. These constitute the only Ottoman records for Samos known to refer to a period earlier than that described in the book by Joseph Georgirenes<sup>1</sup>. For this reason their publication

<sup>1</sup> J. Georgirenes, *A Description of the Present State of Samos, Nicaria, Patmos and Mount Athos*, London 1678 (photographic reproduction 1967), p. 1-53.

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is vital, given that the information for the early period of the Ottoman conquest of Samos is quite limited. I should note here that until now I have not been able to locate other Ottoman registers for Samos in the Turkish archives, despite my investigations having been devoted to that objective<sup>2</sup>.

Only very few studies present new data "on the pre-Georgirenes period in the recent bibliography, if one excludes the many studies which were based by his book still the starting point for the more recent history of Samos"<sup>3</sup>. On the whole, information for the 15th, 16th and first half of the 17th century comes from travellers' accounts, a survey of which was published by Manolis Vourliotis and Rania Polykandrioti<sup>4</sup>. The first overview of travellers' accounts of Samos was made by Epameinondas Stamatiadis who provided detailed commentary on the reliability of the information therein<sup>5</sup>. Alongside this rare information must be set whatever data are available from translations of Ottoman documents and marginal reminiscences in monastic and church codices, which Stamatiadis included in his book. Nevertheless, in recent years certain studies have been published dealing with the history of Samos from the end of the 15th century until the middle of the 17th.

N. Vatin, using the Ottoman chronographers and Piri Re'is, attempted to unravel the mystery of the abandonment of Samos first formulated by Jerosme

<sup>2</sup> Presently, I hope to publish the record of my investigations in the Turkish archives aimed at locating and microfilming Ottoman documents on the history of the island during the first years of occupation by the Ottomans. This project was realised in 1994-95 thanks to the generosity of the Cultural Foundation of Samos "Nikolaos Dimitriou".

<sup>3</sup> This assertion has been made often in the Samian bibliography. For example, see M. Vourliotis, "Contribution to the history of Samos during the first years of the Turkish period" [in Greek], *Samiaki Epitheorisi* 7 (1980), p. 49 and Sophia Laïou, "Dedicatory documents of the monasteries of Samos (17th-18th century)" [in Greek], in: *14th Panhellenic Historical Conference (28-30 May 1993)*, Thessaloniki 1994, p. 203.

<sup>4</sup> M. Vourliotis, "Geographers and travellers in Samos in the 15th and 16th century" [in Greek], *Samiaki Epitheorisi* 9 (1987), p. 37-45 and Rania Polykandrioti, "Notes on Samos in travellers' texts of the 17th century" [in Greek], in: *Samos from Byzantine times until today*, Acts of the conference, vol. 1, published by the Samos Cultural Foundation "Nikolaos Dimitriou", Athens 1998, p. 261-270. I warmly thank my colleague and friend Rania Polykandrioti who made available to me most generously the material drawn from travellers' texts on Samos, which she has collected during library research.

<sup>5</sup> E. Stamatiadis, *Year-book of the principality of Samos for the leap year 1876* [in Greek], Samos 1876, p. 25-66.

Justinian and subsequently adopted by scholars of the island's history. Vatin came to the conclusion that Samos had already been conquered by the reign of Mehmed II and attempts at colonisation go back to 1479. The island was abandoned in 1483 by Bayezit II for purely political reasons during the negotiations he had with the Knights of St. John on the matter of his brother, Djem. Vatin, therefore, considers that throughout the 16th century Samos constituted an Ottoman domain and its abandonment by the Ottomans should be interpreted as an act of demilitarisation. Thus does he interpret the information provided by Piri Re'is that Bayezit II pulled down the castle built by Mehmed the Conqueror when the latter captured the island<sup>6</sup>. Vatin's schema is extremely interesting since his hypothesis for what transpired in Samos between 1475 and 1572 ingeniously combines the information from the chronographers and the travellers' accounts, which at first glance appear contradictory.

Machi Païzi-Apostolopoulou's study of ecclesiastical sources proves that during the period 1565-1680 the island had already been inhabited by Christians and the churches functioning to meet their needs were administered as a Patriarchal exarchate since the population appears to have been too small "to be able to maintain a bishop"<sup>7</sup>. Previously, Kolodny had maintained that the Church played a role in the colonisation of the Aegean and he used Samos as an

<sup>6</sup> N. Vatin, "Deux îles à la dérive: Samos et Icaria entre 1475-1572", *Studies in Ottoman History in Honour of Professor V. L. Ménage*, eds C. Heywood-C. Imber, Isis editions, Istanbul 1994, p. 339-349. In both this and other studies, Vatin correctly claims that the Sultan Mehmet II systematically concentrated his efforts to control the eastern Mediterranean. See idem, *L'Ordre de Saint-Jean-de Jérusalem, l'empire ottoman et la Méditerranée orientale entre les deux sièges de Rhodes (1480-1522)*, Peeters editions, Paris 1994, p. 4, 5 and 378. The keenness shown by Mehmet II in conquering the islands of the eastern Aegean are confirmed by extant Ottoman sources, see Elisabeth Zachariadou, "Contribution to the history of the south-eastern Aegean (based on the Patmian firmans of the years 1454-1522)" [in Greek], *Symmeikta* 1 (1966), p. 184-230; Evangelia Balta, "Recensements ottomans de Patmos (XVe-XVIIe s.)", *Arab Historical Review For Ottoman Studies*, 15-16 (Octobre-Novembre 1997), *Mélanges Halil Sahillioğlu*, vol. II, ed. A. Temimi (Fondation Temimi pour la Recherche Scientifique et l'information), p. 63-74. For the situation in the south eastern Aegean in the first half of the 16th century see, N. Vatin - G. Veinstein, "Trois documents du şehzâde Mustafa b. Süleyman conservés au Monastère de Patmos", *Symmeikta* 12 (1998), p. 237-269.

<sup>7</sup> Machi Païzi-Apostolopoulou, "Christians ...took the islands. Ecclesiastical sources for Samos in the 16th century" [in Greek], in : *Samos from Byzantine times until today*, Acts of the conference, vol. 1, published by Samos Cultural Foundation "Nikolaos Dimitriou", Athens 1998, p. 209-219.

example, where the monasteries of the Megali Panagia and the Timiou Stavrou had been founded in about 1580. He states characteristically, "La recolonisation de l'Archipel est une époque de renforcement de l'emprise monastique; l'instrument colonisateur de l'Empire pallie l'absence de ressources de colons laïcs et la faiblesse des effectifs disponibles"<sup>8</sup>.

Sophia Laiou has presented aspects of economic and social life on the island during the period 1581-1648. Her information was culled from 90 Ottoman documents held in the archive of the Holy Metropolitan See of Samos, and dealing with property transfers<sup>9</sup>. Amongst the data presented for these obscure years of Samos' history is information on the existence of certain villages which are not mentioned in sources from later periods. These are the villages Morfa, Büyük Kestanlik (Kastania?) and Tounda. The latter is also recorded in the registers of the poll tax in the first half of the 17th century.

#### Description of the Sources

The sources discussed here consist of two analytic registers of the first half of the 17th century which record, village by village, the names of the heads of those families which were obliged to pay the poll tax. Not recorded in the register are the amounts submitted, which were paid to the Public Treasury. Notes which appear at the beginning of both registers state that these are *defter-i ziyâde-i cizye*, namely that they record an increase in the poll tax in comparison to the amount levied when the previous register was drawn up<sup>10</sup>.

According to Joseph Georgirenes, the poll tax was the only tax levied on Samos that went directly to the Sultan's coffers. All other taxes on the island were allocated for the upkeep of the Tophane mosque founded by the kapudan

<sup>8</sup> E. Y. Kolodny, *La population des îles de la Grèce. Essai de géographie insulaire en Méditerranée Orientale*, Aix-en-Provence 1974, t. I, p. 181.

<sup>9</sup> Sophia Laiou, "Ottoman documents on the history of Samos 1581-1648" [in Greek], in : *Samos from Byzantine times until today*, Acts of the conference, vol. 1, published by Samos Cultural Foundation "Nikolaos Dimitriou", Athens 1998, p. 195-208.

<sup>10</sup> Such readjustments of the poll tax usually took place on the accession of a new Sultan. I thank Nejat Göyünç and Halil Sahillioğlu who solved certain questions I had pertaining to the term *ziyade* in the registers of the poll tax. Their experience and wisdom was greatly valued. On the increases in the tax in the 16th and 17th century, see Linda Darling, *Revenue-Raising and Legitimacy. Tax Collection and Finance Administration in the Ottoman Empire 1560-1660*, publ. E. J. Brill, Leiden-New York-Cologne 1996, p. 110 ff.

pasha Kilidj Ali Pasha<sup>11</sup>. Samos, which was a *mülk* of Kilidj Ali Pasha, passed on his death to the *vakıf* of Tophane. In the archival group of documents at the *Başbakanlık Arşivi*, where the *vakfiye* (dedicatory decrees) are held, I was unable to locate any of these belonging to the kapudan pasha. The author of a rare publication on Kilidj Ali Pasha which I examined in the Süleymaniye Library in Istanbul relates that he saw in the "Istanbul Evkaf Müdürlüğü" two *vakfiyes* of Kilidj Ali Pasha but provides no specific information as to where these were kept<sup>12</sup>.

MAD 14916 (14 pages\*). Two dates appear on the register: one at the beginning of the document records 1041 (1632) and the second at the end records the 17th of Zilkade 1042 (26.5.1633). On the first page there appears the *tuğra* of the Sultan Murad IV (1623-1640). The register was drawn up by a certain Mehmed. This appears to be the same person, the steward of the *vakıf* of Kilidj Ali Pasha, who signs himself as *Mehmed ağa al-mütevelli* or *Mehmed çavuş al-mütevelli* in the *temessük* of 1635 referring to the monasteries of Timiou Stavrou and Profitis Ilias<sup>13</sup>.

MAD 14822 (14 pages\*). Two dates appear on the register: one at the beginning records the year 1052 (1642) and the other at the end gives 26 of Ramazan 1052 (18.12.1642). The register was compiled by 'Ömer Avni. In reality, however, 'Ömer Avni appears only to have recorded the tax payers of the village of Punda adası and its dependent tenants since all the previous pages of the register judging from the script which is startlingly similar to that of MAD 14916 must have been compiled by Mehmed. The register also contains 165 itinerants established on Samos during the period that elapsed from the compilation of the previous register<sup>14</sup>.

<sup>11</sup> J. Georgirenes, *op. cit.* p. 8-9.

<sup>12</sup> Ali Haydar Emir, *Kılıç Ali ve Lepanto. Lepanto deniz muharebesinin üçyüz altmışın yıl dönümü dolayısıyla ve resmi vesikalara göre yazılmıştır*, Istanbul 1931, p. 2.

<sup>13</sup> Sophia Laïou, "Ottoman documents", *op. cit.* p. 201. The names of the scribes in question, possibly managers employed by the *vakıf*, are not included amongst the 14 collected by Stamatiadis from documents in the Profitis Ilias monastery, see E. Stamatiadis, *Samos: the History of the island of Samos from the most ancient times till our day*. vol. 2, Samos 1881, p. 22-23 (henceforth *Samiaka*).

<sup>14</sup> In October 1998, I located, in the archival collection Ali Emiri, a firman of H. 1051 which refers to the poll tax on Samos. I was not able, however, to examine the

In both registers, divided by a decade, the 20 villages are recorded in the same series and with the same number of taxable units, as one can ascertain from the table below. Despite the fact that only ten years divide the two registers, one differs from the other in the exceptionally high percentage of names given for heads of families.

VILLAGES	MAD 14916	MAD 14822
Sisam	215 families	215 families
Midillu	102	102
Ahırlası	56	56
Palyokastro	20	20
Urla	34	34
Komar/Kokar	8	8
Değirmen	44	44
Tunda	65	65
Ispatari	14	14
Pirgos	33	33
Gika	8	8
Karlovasi	123	123
Lika	8	8
Ana Güşa	28	28
Kato Güşa	25	25
Furna	76	76
Platanoz	52	52
Ereza ovası	73	73
Kalabaka	8	8
Punda adası	73	73
newcomers	-	165
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>1065</b>	<b>1230</b>

document as the archive had been withdrawn to be checked. The archive catalogue describes the archive as follows: "Tophane'de merhum kapudan Kılıç Ali paşa gebran cizyesi ziyadesini mübeyyin evraklar", *Başbakanlık Arşivi, Ali Emiri, Sultan İbrahim, no 470 (1051)*. In the same archive collection, furthermore, there is an analogous firman for the poll tax of H. 1087. (*Ali Emiri, Sultan Mehmed IV, no 17*).

The later register of 1642, MAD 14822, adds the figure of 165 itinerants (*haymenegân*) who evidently had been installed on the island only recently. The taxable inhabitants 1,065 families in 1632 and 1,230 in 1642 are not much different in number from that described by the travellers. Joseph P. de Tournefort stated that in 1702 the island paid 1,290 units of poll tax<sup>15</sup> and the Englishman Richard Pococke in 1739 gave the figure as 1,260<sup>16</sup>. The closeness of the numbers given by the registers and Tournefort underscores the reliability of his sources. Evidently, he gleaned this information from an official or lord on the island<sup>17</sup>. I refer only to Tournefort because he was the first to submit this type of information and his work was read by and influenced later commentators. It is quite possible that Pococke drew his own information from Tournefort. Below we shall discuss the demographic value of the numbers noted in the poll tax registers.

### Settlements

Both poll tax registers record 20 settlements. For 1666-71, Georgirenes<sup>18</sup> records 16 while Tournefort 20 in 1702. On first glance, 12 settlements appear in all three of these 17th-century sources. The registers do not record the settlements of Kastania and Pagontas which are encountered in Georgirenes and Tournefort. The registers also fail to mention the villages of Esoreo, Gueitani, Neocorio, and Sureca mentioned by Tournefort, while other settlements are mentioned that appear in neither Georgirenes or Tournefort. The question immediately arises, firstly, of whether the settlements that fail to appear in the registers had been recently founded between 1642-1702, or, whether they were noted with another name? Secondly, does the presence of certain villages in the

<sup>15</sup> J. P. Tournefort, *Voyage d'un botaniste, I. L'Archipel grec*, introduction, commentary and bibliography by St. Gerasimos, publ. François Maspero, Paris 1982, p. 323.

<sup>16</sup> E. Stamatiadis, *Samiaka*, vol. 4, p. 25 and N. Zapheiriou, "Settlement of Samos by Kilidj Ali Pasha" [in Greek], *Archeion Samou* 4 (1955), p. 25.

<sup>17</sup> On Tournefort's testimony, Rania Polykandrioti notes: "It is a fact that the text by Tournefort, a former the product of tireless and exhaustive research, is richer in information and more verified than anything he had yet written on the island", see Rania Polykandrioti, *op. cit.* p. 269.

<sup>18</sup> The sequence in which Georgirenes lists the settlement of the islands scribes a circle with its pole at Chora, going west.

registers and their absence in Georgirenes' and Tournefort's descriptions of the island denote their abandonment?

The difficulties outlined above are exacerbated by the *siyakat* script used in the registers, which raises problems in the rendition of the toponyms. A typical trait of this script, in which tax registers were normally written, is the absence of *nokta* accompanying the letters of the Ottoman alphabet. This gives rise to a variety of possible readings. Certain toponyms recorded in the registers under examination here can, from a palaeographical perspective, have double readings according to how the individual person transliterating the document renders the non-existent *nokta* on the letters. This confusion is compounded by the exceptionally careless handwriting of the Ottoman scribe which makes it impossible to use internal comparison of letters under dispute as a control. To give the reader some idea of these difficulties, I provide the example of the toponym Kokar, which may indeed be read as Komar. In Samos, the villages of Koumari (Koumaradaioi) and Kokkari exist. Which of the two is referred to in the register? It is not easy to give a precise answer given the very few sources available and the paucity of the extant bibliography.

Given the various problems I faced in identifying Samian toponyms with specific sites, I deemed it appropriate to make an analytic presentation of the course my research took in the form of an analytic list in the form of entries for each settlement. I hope thus to formulate questions or, even better, hypotheses in the hope that definitive answers will one day be found in archive material yet to be discovered. Valuable help in the study of the Samian toponyms were provided by published collections of the same made by local savants<sup>19</sup>.

**Sisam.** This is to be identified with Chora, the island's capital<sup>20</sup>. Georgirenes records it as *Megale Chore* or *New Samos*, while Tournefort refers to it simply as *Cora*. Piri Re'is in the map which accompanied the second "edition" of his book *Kitab-i Bahriye* notes the settlement *kale-i Susam cezire-i*

<sup>19</sup> N. Zapeiriou, "Toponyms of Samos" [in Greek], *Archeion Samou* 1, fasc. 3-4 (1946), p. 176-234 and 2 (1947), p. 49-104. N. Dimitriou, *Folklore of Samos*, ed. A. N. Dimitriou, vol. 4, Athens 1987. M. P. Zapeiriou, *The spoken dialect of Samos. Phonetics-Morphology-Toponymns. Terminological in images, glossary with etymological observations*, Athens 1995, p. 151-202.

<sup>20</sup> I. Papalis (metropolitan of Siderokastron), *The Church of Samos from its foundation until today* [in Greek], Samos 1967, p. 354 note 161.

*mezkur* (Samos Castle, of the aforesaid island) and draws its houses. The three columns depicted next to the illustration evidently suggest the site of the Heraeon<sup>21</sup>. It is the only settlement on the island illustrated by Piri Re'is in such a manner, a fact which undoubtedly proves that during his time the settlement was of greater administrative and demographic importance than the other locations.

*Midillu*, as Mytilini was named and written down in Ottoman Turkish. The origin-denoting epithet *Midillucu* which accompanies certain names in the tax register MAD 14822 leaves no doubt that the village of Mytilenioi consisted of settlers from Mytilini. The comments by Victor Guérin are interesting in this respect: "Les habitants de Chora ont déjà perdu le souvenir de leur première origine, mais ceux de Mytilini l'ont conservé, grâce au nom de leur village qui leur rappellera toujours leur ancienne patrie"<sup>22</sup>. In the bibliography, the village is said to have been created by immigrants from Mytilini<sup>23</sup>, although N. I.

<sup>21</sup> On the two versions of the manuscript, see S. Soucek, "A propos du livre d'instruction nautiques de Piri Re'is", *Revue des Études Islamiques* 41 (1973), p. 241-255. See the latest article of Th. D. Goodrich, "Supplemental maps in the *Kitab-i Bahriye* of Piri Reis", *Archivum Ottomanicum* 13 (1993-94), p. 117-141. On the editions of the *Kitab-i Bahriye*: the edition of P. Kahle, *Piri Reis Bahriye. Das türkisches Segelhandbuch für das Mitteländische Meer von Jahre 1521*, Band I Text, Band II. Übersetzung, Berlin-Leipzig 1926 includes a quarter of a copy (1544) which is kept in Dresden. The edition by H. Alpagut and F. Kurtoglu, *Mukaddime I-LV. Piri Pe'is Kitabı Bahriye*, publ. Türk Tarih Kurumu, Istanbul 1935, is based on a manuscript of the Second Aya Sofia 2612 of the Süleymaniye Library (Istanbul). The second edition of this version was published in 1966 by the Hydrographic and Oceanographic Service of the Turkish Navy, and a third, four-volume with English translation and commentary by the Historical Research Foundation in 1988. The Greek edition *Piri Reis, Victorious Voyage in the Aegean (1521). Strategic information for the preparation of the violent conquest of the Greek Aegean by the Turks in the 16th century in the context of Turkish expansionism*. Introduction Pavlos Chidiroglou, translation - commentary Maria Pharantou, Athens 1984 is based on the edition by P. Kahle, without this being stated. See a critique of this unfortunate edition in Greek, Evangelia Balta, "A sense of national debt and linguistic flatfootedness" [in Greek], *Dekapenthimeros Politis* 33 (8 Feb. 1985), p. 42-44. Presentation of the edition, see G. C. Savvides, "An Important Recent Contribution to 16th-Century Navigation The Greek Translation of Piri Reis' Bahriye", *Journal of Oriental and African Studies* 7 (1989), p. 207-214. M. Vourliotis used for his Greek translation the German edition of Kahle. The map, however, that he cites is that of the 1935 edition, see M. Vourliotis, "Geographers and travellers", *op. cit.*

<sup>22</sup> V. Guérin, *Description de l'île de Patmos et de l'île de Samos*, Paris 1856, p. 241-242.

<sup>23</sup> E. Kritikidis, *Ancient and modern topography of Samos* [in Greek], Hermoupoli 1986, p. 76. E. Stamatiadis, *Samiaka*, vol. 2, p. 8 and vol. 4, p. 73. I. Papalis, *op. cit.*, p. 354 note 161.

Zapheiriou considers that colonisation of the island by people from Mytilini is a local myth, given that Mytilini came under the rule of the Sultan a century before the Samian settlement<sup>24</sup>. Clearly his argument cannot stand since in the Ottoman empire the relocation and settlement of populations was a very common phenomenon.

*Ahirlasi*. Piri Re'is records a harbour in Samos by the name of Ahirli where Rhodian ships docked to load timber before Rhodes was conquered by the Ottomans<sup>25</sup>. In the text of the second manuscript, mention is made of the gulf Ahirli (*körfez Ahirli*) as well as the port (*Ahirli liman*). In the map of Samos accompanying the second version of the manuscript, the toponym "Ahirli liman" is located in the position of Bathy, and thus the editors of Piri Re'is identify Ahirli with Bathy<sup>26</sup>. In the map published by P. Kahle, the same location, namely Bathy, is marked by a river called Ahirli (*Ahirli çayı*) and a port of the same name (*Ahirli liman*)<sup>27</sup>. There is no doubt that the Ahirlasi of the poll tax registers should be associated with the said Ahirli of Piri Re'is. Bathy, as recorded at the end of the 17th century by Georgirenes and Tournefort and as established over time as a toponym, originally had a second name<sup>28</sup>. Other findings back this conclusion. In the registers discussed here, no toponym exists which either phonetically or in the Ottoman script bears any resemblance to "Bathy". On the other hand, the sequence in which the settlements are recorded supports the identification of "Bathy's" location. The scribe begins from Chora and Mytilenioi, passes from the northern part of the

<sup>24</sup> N. Zapheiriou, "Settlement of Samos by Kılıdj Ali Pasha", *op. cit.* p. 14.

<sup>25</sup> "Feth-i Rodos'dan evvel mezkûr Rodos bârçaları ve kadırgaları gelürler cezire-i mezbûrûn yılduz tarafında Ahırlı nâm limanda bir niçe gün yatub ağaçlar keserler ve tahtalar kaçururlar ve direkliği ve serenliği ve top kundağı bunlara misal niçe pâre ağaçlar kesüb gemilerin yükledüb Rodôsa aldırurlardı ve Rodôs'u ganî eyledüklerinden etrâfa gemiler ile illedüb satarlardı" see, Piri Re'is, *Kitab-i Bahriye*, t. 1. Istanbul 1988, p. 393.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid*, p. 393 note 338.

<sup>27</sup> See also P Kahle, *op. cit.*, p. 57 note 12 and 60.

<sup>28</sup> I wonder whether the names Ahirli and Ahirlasi may be associated with the Ahigria of Ikaria in the Ottoman period recorded Ahikerye by Piri Re'is (see C. Mostras, *Dictionnaire géographique de l'empire ottoman*, St. Petersburg 1873, p. 3. 187). Investigation in the area around Samos for the presence of analogous toponyms found a village called Ahirli on the Çeşme peninsula, near Smyrna. I cannot say whether this can be linked to the Ahirli Piri Reis mentions as having been on Samos. Such information is useful, however, given the relations between the islands and Asia Minor.

island and records Ahirli (i.e. Bathy) first before listing Paliokastro and Vourliotes.

It should be noted that a village named "Ahirli" exists on the Asia Minor coast, in the *vilayet* of Smyrna, in the *kaza* of Karaburun<sup>29</sup>. The existence of such a toponym in Asia Minor suggests once again that the settlement on Samos may have been founded by newcomers from across the water.

As for the name "Bathy", Stamatidis claims that "the majority of the Peloponnesian colonists located their settlements in the valley ('vathy') between the mountains of Koutzomylos and Varelas"<sup>30</sup>.

**Palyokastro.** According to Kritikidis "[the settlement] took its name from the ancient fortifications (*kastron*), the western extent of whose cyclopean walls are still standing, where the chapel of the dependant monastery of St. Tryphon exists, which came under the jurisdiction of the Iveron monastery on Mont. Athos"<sup>31</sup>. Stamatidis, concluded from the extant ruins of ancient Greek and Byzantine buildings as well as from the "uncovered marble [architectural members], clay tiles and omifarious pottery" in the fields that the site was occupied from an early date<sup>32</sup>.

**Urla.** Both poll tax registers record this settlement with the same spelling as the Asia Minor settlement of Urla/Vourla, no doubt because the settlement of Urla/Vourliotes on Samos was founded by migrants from that area in Asia Minor. This opinion is found in Georgirenes and Tournefort and was supported by the later writers Kritikidis and Stamatidis<sup>33</sup>. Lekatis had his own

<sup>29</sup> *Köylerimiz Köy kanunu tatbik olunan ve olunmayan köy isimlerini alfabe sırasile gösterir*, Istanbul 1933, p. 19.

<sup>30</sup> E. Stamatidis, *Samiaka*, vol. 4, p. 9. Zaphairiou, "Toponyms of Samos", *op. cit.*, fasc. 3-4 (1946), p. 194-195. N. Dimitriou, *Folklore of Samos*, *op. cit.*, vol. 4, p. 153. V. Guérin, *op. cit.*, p. 252 considers the inhabitants of Vathy as Peloponnesians originally.

<sup>31</sup> E. Kritikidis, *Topography*, *op. cit.*, p. 51, 67. Cf. H. Hauttecoeur, "La principauté de Samos", *Extrait du Bulletin de la Société Royale Belge de Géographie*, Bruxelles 1901, p. 55

<sup>32</sup> E. Stamatidis, *Samiaka*, vol. 4, p. 12.

<sup>33</sup> J. Georgirenes, *op. cit.*, p. 22 and J. P. de Tournefort, *op. cit.*, vol. I, *op. cit.*, p. 336. E. Kritikidis, *Topography*, *op. cit.*, p. 67. See also I. Papalis, *op. cit.*, p. 335 and note 38 and K. Komis, "Population and settlements of Samos, First Contribution: Ottoman

etymology: "All the valley facing the sea was full of juniper bushes (*vryoula*, commonly *bourla*) which were used to make brooms. Thus the inhabitants of this area were named Bourliotai"<sup>34</sup>.

In my opinion the name of "Vourliotes" which finally predominated, just as with the name Mytilenioi, was used by the island's inhabitants because in the case of both villages, the plural of the place of origin was used as an epithet to differentiate them from the rest of the Samos' population. The Ottoman scribe, however, officially recorded the village in the registers with the name of its inhabitants' place of origin.

**Komar/Kokar.** As I stated above, the toponym in question may be read as Kokar given that the initial letter of the second syllable may be 'k' but also an 'h', 'ç', 'c', 'f', or 'v'. The latter possibilities were ruled out since there are no villages of the name Koumvari, Koutsari etc. Comparison with the form of the initial letter of the second syllable with other 'k' or 'm' letters in words transcribed with certainty in the text produced no results. In contrast, they confirmed that a palaeographical reading could transliterate into both '*kaf*' and '*mim*'. Scholars of Ottoman script will note in the photographic copies of the registers published with this article that the shape of the contested letter greatly resembles the 'k' in the toponym Palyokastro.

What are the criteria which allow us to choose one of the two toponyms? One logical solution would be to establish an overriding criterion of whether the toponym is mentioned in Georgirenes and Tournefort. Consequently, the reading "Kokari" is ruled out, since the village is not recorded by either of these authors. Thus "Komar" must be chosen, since a settlement called Comarea is mentioned in Tournefort<sup>35</sup>. The name is attributed to the "many koumaries (pyrokanthia) that grow there"<sup>36</sup> and is today identified with the present settlement of Koumaradaioi.

period" [in Greek], in : Antipelargise. Honorary tome for N. Dimitriou, Athens 1992, p. 176 note 37, with bibliography.

<sup>34</sup> M. Vourliotis, "Ioannis Lekatis, Synoptic description of the island of Samos" [in Greek], *Samiaki Epitheorisi* 10/37-38 (1989), p. 28.

<sup>35</sup> J. P. Tournefort, *op. cit.*, p. 321, and K. Komis, "Population and settlements of Samos", *op. cit.*, p. 194.

<sup>36</sup> E. Kritikidis, *Topography, op. cit.*, p. 80 and I. Papalis, *op. cit.*, p. 346, note 114.

It should be noted here that the village Krokari/Kokari existed at the end of the 16th century, when it was mentioned in a sigillion of the Patriarch Jeremiah issued in 1593 for the Vronda monastery<sup>37</sup>. Why, then, is it not mentioned by Georgirenes and Tournefort? Had it been abandoned in the meantime or, more probably, was it considered an insignificant settlement?

I was not able, furthermore, to choose one of these two names on the basis of geographical criteria. I ascertained that the poll tax registers maintain an elementary geographical sequence when recording the villages; a characteristic of the 1828 register which was made according to prefectures. I noted that the sequence in which the village Komar/Kokar is recorded does not solve the problem at all since in the registers it appears between Vourla and the villages Myloi, Tounda, Spatharaioi, and Pyrgos on the West side of the island. If read "Kokari" it could constitute (along with Vourla which immediately precedes it in the record) the prefecture of villages in the North of the island. Inserted into a group with the next villages (Myloi, Tounda, Spatharaioi, Pyrgos) in the west, it may be considered to be Koumari/Koumarai. Any final solution can only be given with the discovery of more archive material that can furnish evidence for both villages in the period before the end of the 16th century to the middle of the 17th.

*Değirmen*. Interestingly, the poll tax registers do not mention the village by its Greek name "Myloi", as it is preserved by Georgirenes and Tournefort, but instead provide the Turkish name (Değirmen, i.e., mill). V. Guérin regarded this as one of the first settlements to be founded on Samos in the Ottoman period, and that it was built by people from Patmos in around 1580. He mentions, however, another tradition according to which the first inhabitants of Myloi came from the island of Melos. He makes the following

<sup>37</sup> E. Stamatiadis, *Samiaka*, vol. 4, p. 282-283. The date of the sigillion was published incorrectly by Stamatiadis (p. 238). In a document of 1733, the scribe in full script dates the issue of the sigillion of Jeremiah to 1694 (op. cit. p. 286). I. Papalis republished this information from Stamatiadis (See I. Papalis, *op. cit.*, p. 131-132. In the original, which I have studied, there exists the date: *in the year 7102, month of October, 8th indiction*. I thank warmly my colleague and friend Panagiotis Michailaris for checking my interpretation. Vourliotis publishes the date as 1594, either correcting Stamatiadis in silence, or by typographical mistake. See M. Vourliotis, "Contribution to the history of Samos", *op. cit.*, p. 50. Also gives 1594 as the date K. I. Ptinis, *History of Samos. From mythical times to the 17th century A.C.* [in Greek], Samos 1992, p. 124.

observation: "mais le dénomination de Myli, qui aura sans doute donné lieu à cette croyance, a pour étymologie véritable le mot *μύλος* qui signifie meule, et par extension moulin et non celui de *Μήλος* (île de Milo)."<sup>38</sup> It is clear that this tradition developed because the island of Melos itself was called Değirmen in the Ottoman period.

Stamatiadis records a tradition related to the settlement's founding: "Returning to Samos, [Sarakinis] brought together a second village in a location where the inhabitants would be hidden from the seafarers [i.e. pirates], and where trees and water were in good supply. This was not far from the sea and lay beside the river Imbraso. It is now the town of Myloi. This town served for a few years as the capital of Samos, being named the *Village of Kilidj Ali Pasha* in ancient documents".<sup>39</sup> Stamatiadis does not tell us which ancient documents state that Myloi was the *Village of Kilidj Ali Pasha*. According to Kritikidis, "[the village] was first formed by potters from Patmos, who inhabited a small village on the Imbrasios river and whose descendants are till today potters. Labourers and farmers from Patmos also help found the village. They built the tower next to the Heraeon, the chapel of St. John the Theologian and the storehouses, and they tilled the land donated by Kilidj Ali Pasha to the Patmiote N. Sarakinis".<sup>40</sup>

Ioannis Lekatis also mentions the settlement as being the "second village" founded on the island. Indeed, he adds, "and this was so because being close to the sea it later became a metropolis for many years", meaning that the inhabitants of Myloi moved and created the settlement of Chora<sup>41</sup>. Stamatiadis also considers it the island's first capital, and he attributes the name to the many windmills in the vicinity<sup>42</sup>.

<sup>38</sup> V. Guérin, *op. cit.*, p. 246. Cf. H. Hauteceur, *op. cit.*, p. 59.

<sup>39</sup> E. Stamatiadis, *Samiaka*, vol. 2, p. 8. See also N. Zapheiriou, "Toponyms of Samos", *op. cit.*, p. 65.

<sup>40</sup> E. Kritikidis, *Topography, op. cit.*, p. 83.

<sup>41</sup> M. Vourliotis, "Ioannis Lekatis", *op. cit.* p. 24.

<sup>42</sup> E. Stamatiadis, *Samiaka*, vol. 4, p. 75.

*Tounda*. The settlement is already mentioned by the end of the 16th century in two Ottoman documents published by Stamatiadis in Greek translation. These concern land transfers of residents of the village Tounda<sup>43</sup>.

The first is dated 1581 and refers to the transfer of the landed property of Nikolas Kaparilis to his daughters Kyranna and Theodora, who had previously deposited the sum of 1,500 aspers as tax (*resm-i tapu*). This document appears to be preserved, since part of it is reproduced in the text by Sophia Laiou<sup>44</sup>.

The second document, dated at the end of Djemazi-ül-evvel 990 (13-22 May 1582), also concerns the transfer of landed property made by a resident of Tounda, whose name is not mentioned in Stamatiadis' Greek translation.

Both these documents are mentioned by K. Komis, who notes that Tounda is located near the settlement of Leka, evidently using as evidence the description of the sites in the second document where we read, "... and then a field on the boundary [of the] Tounda site; another located at the Kalyvia site; another field located on the boundary of [the] Benaki [site]; a field is located on the border [of the] Leka [site]; another field on the border of the Stamatouti [site]; another field next to the village, all of whose boundaries are known by the locals"<sup>45</sup>. I do not know how positive we can be in saying with certainty that the village of Tounda was located near Leka, since the other farming communities noted in the Ottoman document in question are difficult to identify. Kalyvia, of course, is another name for Mesaio Karlovasi, but is a very common toponym. There are sites called "Kalyvia" in the vicinity of the village of Leka, at Mytilenioi, Kokkari and elsewhere<sup>46</sup>. Komis, basing himself on this document, in which Leka is mentioned, identifies Kalyvia with Mesaio Karlovasi, and hypothesises that the village of Tounda could be the "village of the Arvanites in Karlovasi" which is mentioned in a document of 1761.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid., vol. 5, p. 691-92. See also M. G. Varvounis, "The contribution of folk-lore data in the investigation of the problem of the desertion of Samos" [in Greek], *14th Panhellenic Historical Conference (28-30 May 1993)*, Thessaloniki 1994, p. 155.

<sup>44</sup> Sophia Laiou, "Ottoman documents", *op. cit.*, p. 198 note 14 where the date of its compilation is given: the third group of ten days in the month of Seval (18-26 November 1581). Stamatiadis notes in his edition, the year 985. It should be said that this must be a typographical error.

<sup>45</sup> K. Komis, "Population and Settlements of Samos", *op. cit.*, p. 174 and 210.

<sup>46</sup> N. I. Zapheiriou, "Toponyms of Samos", *op. cit.*, p. 216.

Evidently, he was drawn to this hypothesis by the Arvanite surname "Toundas". In a document of 1602, located by Vourliotis in the monastery of St. John on Patmos, the monastery's estates at the village of Tounda are recorded, but this source does not establish the settlement's location<sup>47</sup>.

The archive of the monastery of St. John on Patmos<sup>48</sup> includes documents concerning the management of the monastery's estates on Samos<sup>49</sup>. In these, the village Tounda is mentioned in the 18th century<sup>50</sup>.

Judging from the sequence in which Tounda is recorded in the poll tax registers, where it is recorded alongside the villages Myloi, Spatharaioi, and Pyrgos, I came to the conclusion that Tounda should therefore be located in the western part of Samos, as defined by the 1828 survey. There we find the village of Pagondas which is recorded in the later half of the 17th century both

<sup>47</sup> "+ by this letter I confirm that I, papa Frangos of Mastronikolas, tailor, that I went to the monastery of patmos and worshiped there. And I vowed that from my mill which I have on Samos in the region of Tounda, I will give each year wheat to the amount of two tallers, along with my children, for as long as the will might stand. For the salvation of us and our parent in the year 1602, in the month of August 6. + I papa Frangos of Nikolaos the tailor by my own will give two loads of wheat a year to the [monastery of] the Theologian" Patmos, Monastery of St. John the Theologian, folder 56, doc. 143. I warmly thank Manolis Vourliotis who passed this information my way, which Komis also seems to be aware of. See K. Komis, "Population and Settlements of Samos", *op. cit.*, p. 210.

<sup>48</sup> The archive was photographed by colleagues at the National Modern Greek Centre of Research of the National Research Foundation in 1963 and the microfilms are held in the Centre's microfilm archive (no 1963/45), see V. Panagiotopoulos, "Archive of the Monastery of St. John the Theologian on Patmos (classification and photographic reproduction)" [in Greek], *Eranistis* 3 (1965), p. 145-56 and T. Sklavenitis, "Microfilm Catalogue. Photographed documents, registers, manuscripts, printed papers and personal papers 1960-1980" [in Greek], *Tetradia Ergasias* 1 (1982), p. 22-26.

<sup>49</sup> P. D. Michailaris, "Agios Ioannis (Kolona): Dependency of the monastery of Patmos on Samos (16th to 19th century)" [in Greek], in *Samos from Byzantine times until today*, Acts of the conference, vol. 1, published by Samos Cultural Foundation "Nikolaos Dimitriou", Athens 1998, p. 181-194.

<sup>50</sup> The documents related to estates of the Theologos monastery at Tounda are included in the microfilm 1963/46 held at the Centre for Neo-hellenic Studies of Foundation for Scientific Research. Also see documents 46/10 (1161/1748), 46/18 (1164/1750), 46/12 (1166/1752), 46/19 (1173/1760), 46/17 (1177/1763), 46/20 (1181/1767). The same microfilm as well as no. 1963/45 contains hüccets, temessüks for estates of the monastery in the fields of Marathokambos, Myloi, Kalambachtasi, Pagonda, Niochori (Yeni köy). This work will undoubtedly be investigated in depth by Sophia Laiou, so my comments here are limited.

by Georgirenes and Tournefort. Did Tounda, perhaps, take the name Pagondas following settlement by immigrants from the village of Pagondas in Euboea? Archival material held in the historical archive and by the Metropolitan See of Samos may yet shed some light on the problem of the settlement's location and the possibility that it had a double name.

*Ispatari*. The toponym derives from the Byzantine proper name Spatharis/Spatharos. Associated with this name is, according to K. Komis<sup>51</sup>, the Arvanite family name of Spatas/Spathas, but this can hardly be the root of the settlement's name since this would appear as Spata, like the homonymous village in Attica. Furthermore, it has been noted that at the settlement in Euboea of the same name, Spatharis/Spatharatoi, the majority of inhabitants in 1470 bore the name Spatharas, and not Spatas<sup>52</sup>. The archival record of the Samian village Spatharaioi rules out similar observations since only baptismal names and patronymics are given.

Nevertheless, Samian tradition relates that the name derives from a proper name and that it was first recorded long ago. Ioannis Lekatis states in his *Description of Samos*: "This village was settled and took the name of Papa Petros Spatharion, who had eighteen sons and lived till he saw them fathers and grandfathers of many children". The same tradition is recorded by Stamatiadis, although he gives the founder's name as Petros Spathas<sup>53</sup>. Kritikidis considers that the village was named "after the original settler, named Spatharis, exiled from Constantinople one and a half centuries previously", dating the foundation in his accustomed style to about 1714<sup>54</sup>.

<sup>51</sup> On this name see K. Komis, "Population and Settlements of Samos", *op. cit.*, p. 209. Komis recorded settlements and sites of Samos with names of Arvanite etymology, *idem*, Table I, 3. On the settlement of Albanians in the islands of the Aegean, see T. Jochalas, "Über die einwanderung der Albaner in Griechenland (Eine zusammenfassende Betrachtung)", *Beiträge zur Kenntnis Südosteuropas und des nahen Orients* 13 (1971), [Honorary tome for Valentini-E, Koliqi], p. 102-104.

<sup>52</sup> Evangelia Balta, *L'Eubée à la fin du XVe siècle. Économie et population. Les registres de l'année 1474*, Athènes 1989, p. 284.

<sup>53</sup> M. Vourliotis, "Ioannis Lekatis", *op. cit.*, p. 30 and E. Stamatiadis, *Samiaka*, vol. 4, p. 43.

<sup>54</sup> E. Kritikidis, *Topography*, *op. cit.*, p. 83-84.

**Pyrgos.** Kritikidis relates that the settlement took its name "not from the ruined towers [Greek *pyrgoi*]" which evidently once stood there "but from the settlers who had come there from Pyrgos in Sparta, or from Elis in the Peloponnese in about 1715"<sup>55</sup>. Georgirenes and Tournefort mention Pyrgos. Komis regards as mistaken Kritikidis association of the toponym with immigrants who came to Samos in about 1715 because the toponym 'Pyrgos' was so widely used in Greek lands. It is certain, however, that the testimony of the Ottoman registers discussed here indicates that the village existed in the first half of the 17th century.

**Gika.** Nikolaos Dimitriou noted the toponym "Lakka of Gkika" given to a small area in the Arvanite village of Mesogeio<sup>56</sup>. Komis correctly notes that the name is related to the well-known Arvanite surname<sup>57</sup>. Using as a criterion the sequence in which the registers are drawn up, two hypotheses may be made regarding the site of the Gkika settlement. It may well have been located in the western part of the island close to the villages of Myloi, Spathari, Pyrgos, but it may also have existed in the north, in the vicinity of Karlovasi.

**Karlovasi.** In a 1625 dedicatory document drawn up by Nikolaos Iakovou, ktetor of the monastery of Profitis Ilias, Karlovasi is referred to as the his place of origin<sup>58</sup>. According to Stamatiadis, "the name Karlovasi originates from the two Turkish words *karli ovasi*, which when interpreted together mean snow-covered valley. The Turks called the western part of the island by that name because in winter it was originally covered with snow, so that the many trees that grew there appeared white in winter, giving the impression from a distance of a plain covered in snow"<sup>59</sup>. Zapheriou rejects this interpretation since Old Karlovasi is not located in a valley and, he claims, the etymology of Karlovasi derives from the Kariotes whom he regards as the first settlers of the village. According to Zapheriou the original village name was Karyova, which

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 80. V. Guérin also believed the first inhabitants to have come from Elis, *op. cit.*, p. 248. Cf. H. Hauttecoeur, *op. cit.*, p. 59.

<sup>56</sup> N. Dimiriou, *Folklore, op. cit.*, vol. 4, p. 99 and 150.

<sup>57</sup> K. Komis, "Population and Settlements of Samos", *op. cit.*, p. 201.

<sup>58</sup> E. Stamatiadis, *Samiaka*, vol. 4, p. 324

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 17-18.

in time took a terminal 's' and the ending *-ion*<sup>60</sup>. Zaphairiou's etymology does not leave me convinced. The recent study by Sophia Laiïou informs us that the *temessük* of 1611 records the village of Karli<sup>61</sup>. So, does the name "Karli" bring Stamatiadis' view once again to the fore, or is this a proper name?

Any research into the name *Karli*, *Karlovasi*, should include the information that in his map, Piri Re'is depicts in the place of the village of Karlovasi a large river called the *Karkılık çayı* or, according to another manuscript, *Karıklık* and *Karanlık çayı*. In his text, he states that this river lay in the north-west part of the island<sup>62</sup>. Therefore, is the name Karlovasi formed from a reading of K r k l-ovasi?

*Lika*. This settlement is mentioned in the poll tax registers and Leka appears in both Georgirenes and Tournefort. The name comes from the Arvaniote proper name Lekas = Alexander<sup>63</sup>. Kritikidis considers that the name of the village came from a certain Lekkas, whose origins lay in the Peloponnese. Stamatiadis repeats this<sup>64</sup>. The village of Leka, as mentioned above in connection with the village of Tounda, is encountered in an Ottoman document of 1581<sup>65</sup>. In a *temessük* of 1627, mention is made that a certain Kostas Lekas, an inhabitant of the village Leka, had donated a plot of land to a monastery<sup>66</sup>. The appearance of the surname Lekas in the village, indeed in this early period, leaves no doubt that the name of the settlement derived from the surname.

<sup>60</sup> N. I. Zaphairiou, "Toponyms of Samos", *op. cit.*, p. 220.

<sup>61</sup> Sophia Laiïou, "Ottomans documents", *op. cit.*, p. 205-206.

<sup>62</sup> See P. Kahle, *op. cit.*, p. 58, 60. Piri Re'is, *op. cit.*, p. 398-399. M. Vourliotis suggests that Karkılık çayı must be a stream of Karlovasi or Phourna, see *Hidem*, "Geographers and travellers", *op. cit.*, p. 41.

<sup>63</sup> T. P. Jochalas, "Considerazioni sull'onomastica e toponomastica albanese in Grecia", *Balkan Studies* 17/2 (1977), p. 316, see also K. Komis, "Population and settlements of Samos", *op. cit.*, p. 205.

<sup>64</sup> E. Kritikidis, Topography, *op. cit.*, p. 104. J. Papalis, *op. cit.*, p. 348 note 121 and E. Stamatiadis, *Samiaka*, vol. 4, p. 25.

<sup>65</sup> E. Stamatiadis, *Samiaka*, vol. 5, p. 692. See above, note 44.

<sup>66</sup> Sophia Laiïou, "Ottomans documents", *op. cit.*, p. 199, note 17.

*Ana Güşa* and *Kato Güşa*. If I have been correct in transliterating the Ottoman script, the toponym appears to originate from the Albanian feminine noun *gush/ë, a* (the maw or gullet of a bird<sup>67</sup>) from which derives the surname Gousas, which is found on Samos<sup>68</sup>. The record in the registers of two villages of Gkiosa or Gousa automatically associates them with the double settlement of Ano (Upper) and Kato (Lower) Arvatines in the western part of the island<sup>69</sup>. If, however, the sequence in which the settlements are recorded in the registers really reflects their geographical location, then we should hypothesise that this was in the northern part of Samos since both these villages in the registers are inserted between the villages of Phourni and Leka. Thus, is the Arvaniote toponym Kiasides (< *qasë, a* = sheepfold) which Komis<sup>70</sup> located south of Kallithea related to the Ano and Kato Gousa or Gkiosa of our registers?

*Furna* is recorded in the poll tax registers in just the same way as the Ottomans wrote Phournoi, the islands close to Ikaria<sup>71</sup>. In the bibliography, the toponym's etymology is attributed to the presence of kilns (Greek *phournoi*) where the potter-inhabitants fired their clay vessels<sup>72</sup>. Stamatiadis provides a parallel version when he relates the tradition "that since the first inhabitants of the new village came from the opposite islands of Korsea, commonly known as Phournoi, so they gave the name to the village in Samos to which they had moved"<sup>73</sup>. I believe this to be the most possible explanation. The settlement's

<sup>67</sup> K. Christophoridis, *Albanian-Greek Lexicon*, Athens 1904, p. 69 and N. Ch. Gkinis, *Albanian-Greek Lexicon*, Ioannina 1993, p. 274. N. I. Dimitriou, *Folklore of Samos. Lexicon of the spoken dialect of Samos*, ed. A. N. Dimitriou, vol. 6, Athens 1993, p. 298.

<sup>68</sup> N. I. Zapheiriou, "Surnames of Samos", *Archeion Samou* 2 (1947), p. 119 and N. I. Dimitriou, *Folklore of Samos, op. cit.*, vol. 3, p. 93.

<sup>69</sup> K. Komis, "Population and settlements of Samos", *op. cit.*, p. 200.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 204.

<sup>71</sup> C. Mostras, *op. cit.*, p. 130.

<sup>72</sup> J. Georgirenes, *op. cit.*, p. 21 and E. Kritikidis, *Topography, op. cit.*, p. 100. E. Stamatiadis, *Samiaka*, vol. 4, p. 19, ingeniously connects the ancient city of Samos Hipnountas or Hipousia with the settlement of Phournoi via the word ipnos which means furnace.

<sup>73</sup> E. Stamatiadis, *Samiaka*, vol. 4, p. 19. Cf. H. Hauteceur, *op. cit.*, p. 61. M. Vourliotis, "Contribution to the research on the desertion of Samos", *Samiaki Epitheorisi* 6 (1975), p. 160-162.

existence is attested in 1625. In a dedicatory document of Nikolaos Iakovou, who was the founder of the monastery of Profitis Ilias, the witnesses who co-sign the document include a certain "geron [elder] Dimitrios from Phournoi"<sup>74</sup>.

*Platanoz.* Georgirenes attributes the name of the settlement to the existence of plane trees in the region. Kritikidis, not seeing plane trees in the vicinity, linked the name of the settlement to the origins of the settlers from Platanos in Kynouria in the Peloponnese or from Armyros in Thessaly. Stamatiadis, however, places the settlement's foundation by migrants from Euboia to the beginning of the 17th century and considers the name of the village to have originated from plane trees which once existed there<sup>75</sup>.

*Ereza ovasi.* It was a surprise for me when, taking the register for the first time in my hands, I ran my eye over the names of the settlements and did not encounter Marathokambos, a populous and flourishing settlement in the 17th century if Georgirenes and Tournefort are to be believed. This was all the more curious since Marathokambos appears to have been in existence by the second half of the 16th century, when it is mentioned in sources brought to light by Manolis Vourliotis. In his will of 27 March, 1624), Theodosios, the hegumen of the Hozoviotissa monastery, mentions that he had been born at Marathokambos. Based on this evidence, Vourliotis calculated that the village must have been in existence at least by 1594<sup>76</sup>. The same scholar published a document of 1598 recording the boundaries of the estates in Samos owned by the Monastery of the Theologian on Patmos. Amongst other things, this document clearly mentions the village of Marathokambos<sup>77</sup>. In a document of the 5th of March, 1607, Michael Roditis, who was located at Marathokambos, donated his house and two vineyards to the monastery on Patmos<sup>78</sup>. There is,

<sup>74</sup> E. Kritikidis, *Topography*, *op. cit.*, p. 100. The dedicatory document was published by E. Stamatiadis, *Samiaka*, vol. 4, p. 324-326.

<sup>75</sup> E. Kritikidis, *Topography*, *op. cit.*, p. 103 and J. Georgirenes, *op. cit.*, p. 16. E. Stamatiadis, *Year-book of the principality of Samos for the year 1875* [in Greek], Samos 1875, p. 47; *idem*, *Samiaka*, vol. 4, p. 21 and V. Guérin, *op. cit.*, p. 267.

<sup>76</sup> M. Vourliotis, "The local elders ("proestoi") of Samos. The case of the ancestors of kapetan Stamatis, in *Antipelargise*. Honorary tome for N. Dimitriou, Athens 1992, p. 317 note 6.

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 329.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 317 note 7.

then, no doubt that the village existed in the second half of the 16th century and the beginning of the 17th. The date of 1715 which Kritikidis gives as the founding date of the settlement does not stand.<sup>79</sup>

On the basis of above documents on the one hand, and on the other of the testimonies of Georgirenes and Tournefort who include Marathokambos in their descriptions of Samos in the second half of the 17th century, one may logically deduct that the settlement already existed in the middle of that century. Therefore, one of the large settlements recorded in the poll tax registers must be Marathokambos, hidden behind another name. Two settlements are recorded in my sources which contain the Turkish word *ova-si* (plane): Karlovasi and a settlement which I originally read to be Irdaovasi / Ireza ovasi / Areda ovasi / Areza ovasi. Naturally, I first looked up the Turkish word for the Greek *marathos* (fennel), which is *rezene*. The toponym, obviously, was not of Turkish origin even though the 'r' and the 'z' were common to both names. There was a second course of investigation to follow. Given that Samos was colonised by people of Albanian stock, I searched in Albanian-Greek dictionaries for the words *areza*, *ereda*, *ireda*, and *ireza*. The entry *erëza* in the dictionary compiled by N. Ch. Gkinis is interpreted as "frangrances, smells, fragrant herbs, such as fennel [*marathos* in Greek], mint, parsley etc. Spices, fragrant garnish". In the Greek-Albanian dictionary by the same author, the word *myrodika* (fragrant herbs) translates as Albanian *erëza*. A cross-reference with the dictionary of K. Christophorides left no doubt that the first part of the composite word of the toponym was Albanian<sup>80</sup>.

The toponym *Erëza ovasi* is Turkish-Albanian (*erëza* = fennel, *ova* = plane) corresponding to the Greek Marathokambos, the settlement's name before the compilation of the tax register but also in later years. Therefore, Stamatiadis refers to the Turkish-Albanian name when he insists that the name Marathokambos originates from "the many fennel plants which grow there". He backs his argument by stating that "this is supported by the Turkish name of the

<sup>79</sup> E. Kritikidis, *Topography*, *op. cit.*, p. 107 where he associates the name Marathokambos with Marathonisi, which he takes to be the place of origin of the settlements inhabitants.

<sup>80</sup> N. Ch. Gkinis, *Greek-Albanian Lexicon*, ed. G. D. Kapsalas, Ioannina 1998, p. 194; *idem*, *Albanian-Greek Lexicon*, *op. cit.*, p. 743 and K. Christophorides, *op. cit.*, p. 117.

town, Ayidovali, or *fennel-village*, as it is called"<sup>81</sup>. I regard this as being the most likely interpretation.

The origin of the name Marathokambos appears to have given rise to speculation amongst the historians of Samos and many theories have been put forward. Kritikidis associates it with Marathonisi (Gytheio), the place of origin of its first inhabitants<sup>82</sup>. Zappeiriou records the oral tradition which states that the first settler was a certain Maratos<sup>83</sup>. The variety of proposed etymologies led Nikolaos Dimitriou to regard all with suspicion<sup>84</sup>.

**Kalabaka.** The settlement is thus recorded in the register MAD 14916. In the later register MAD 14822, a lacuna exists at the point in the *defter* where the name should appear. One can discern only the last syllable 'lak', which is unrelated to the corresponding syllable of Kalabaka in MAD 14916. Since, however, the same settlements are recorded in both registers in the same sequence, I consider that the settlement of Kalabaka must have originally been recorded in the register MAD 14822. In the collections of Samian toponyms, we do not encounter the toponym "Kalabaka". The only hypothesis which can stand involves, I believe, associating the toponym with the *Kalabak kaya* marked on Piri Re's map in the north west of the island. This becomes the later homonym *Kalabachtasi* (or Kalamah tashi) where the Turkish word *taş* (= stone) replaces the corresponding *kaya* (= rock). Manolis Vourliotis noted the relationship of the *Kalabak kaya* mention by Piri Re's with the present settlement of Kallithea, a name which came to replace *Kalabachtasi*. He writes: "The area Qalabaq Qaya which means a rock in the shape of a cap, must have been located on the site of the modern Kallithea, since till recently the latter had preserved its old name of Kalabachtasi"<sup>85</sup>. Concerning *Kalabachtasi*, Kritikidis relates that this "is a Turkish name connoting a stone cap", evidently meaning

<sup>81</sup> E. Stamatiadis, *Year-book of the principality of Samos for the year 1875* [in Greek], Samos 1875, p. 47; idem, *Samiaka*, vol. 4, p. 29.

<sup>82</sup> E. Kritikidis, *Topography*, *op. cit.*, p. 107. Cf. G. Dimitriadis, *History of Samos...*, Chalkis 1866, p. 9.

<sup>83</sup> N. I. Zappeiriou, "Toponyms of Samos", *op. cit.*, p. 57.

<sup>84</sup> N. Dimitriou, *Folklore of Samos*, *op. cit.*, vol. 4, p. 161.

<sup>85</sup> M. Vourliotis, "Geographers and travellers", *op. cit.*, p. 41.

the word *kalpak*<sup>86</sup>. The bibliography on Samos records various versions of the etymology of the toponym Kalabachtasi / Kalabachtasia<sup>87</sup>, some of which are found to agree with the corresponding one proposed from time to time for the toponym Kalambaka, which is widely found in regions of Greece and Asia Minor<sup>88</sup>.

Given the close relationship of the islands of the south-eastern Aegean with Asia Minor, I felt it useful to note that on the coast of Asia Minor just opposite Samos, the bay formed by the NE coast of the gulf of Gül Bahçe and the western coast of the Urla peninsula is called Kalabak liman<sup>89</sup>. The location of this toponym in Asia Minor whence it can be shown that migrants came to settle on Samos in a manner reminiscent of the case of the settlement of Vourliotes

<sup>86</sup> E. Kritikidis, *Topography, op. cit.*, p. 110. The Turkish word kaplak is also used by N. Beldiceanu and P. Ş. Nasturel in their study of Ottoman Thessaly when discussing the etymology of Kalambakkaya, present-day Kalambaka: "le mot Qalabaqqaya est composé de deux vocables turcs et on peut le rendre par "le rocher aux calottes de moines". On sait que la calotte des moines grecs s'appelle depuis le Moyen Age κουκούλλα, autrefois κουκούλιον. Or, il n'est pas sans intérêt de remarquer qu'au siècle dernier Heuzey et Daumet, dressant la carte des rochers et couvents de Météores, ont enregistré le Mont Koukoula. C'est le rocher même sur lequel se dresse le monastère de Saint-Etienne! Il est évident, même en absence de sources byzantines écrites, que ce nom était celui que les Ottomans traduisirent par Qalabaqqaya". See N. Beldiceanu - P. Ş. Nasturel, "La Thessalie entre 1454-55 et 1506", *Byzantion* 53 (1983), p. 143 note 121. Of course, at a much earlier date the epic Digenis Akritas relates that the residents of Cappadocia were called κουκουλιθαριώται. See I. D. Wood, "The koukou-lithariotai in Digenis Akritas", *Byzantion* 28 (1958), p. 91-93.

<sup>87</sup> On the attempts to explain the etymology of Kalambachtasi, see V. Guérin, *op. cit.*, p. 281. E. Kritikidis, *Topography, op. cit.*, p. 110. E. Stamatidis, *Samiaka*, vol. 4, p. 31; idem, *Year-book of the principality of Samos for the leap year 1876*, *op. cit.* N. I. Zapheiriou, "Toponyms of Samos", *op. cit.*, p. 215 and N. Dimitriou, *Folklore of Samos.*, vol. 4, p. 155-156.

<sup>88</sup> D. Georgacas, "On the toponym "Kalambaka", *Epetiris Etaireias Byzantinon Spoudon* 14 (1938), p. 262-266, collates the views on the root. It is noteworthy that there is a well-known variety of grape known as "kalambaki" in both Thessaly and in the Sporadic Islands, a fact which must be taken into consideration as far as Samos is concerned.

<sup>89</sup> K. Amantos interesting assertion that the surname Kalambakis is strengthened by two toponyms in Samos and the opposite shore of Asia Minor when during the Palaiologian era, a certain Duke Manuel Kalambakis appears, see Hélène Ahrweiler, "L'histoire et la géographie de la région de Smyrne entre les deux occupations turques (1081-1317) particulièrement au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle", *Travaux et Mémoires du Centre de Recherche d'Histoire et Civilisation Byzantines* I (1965), p. 138, 165.

more or less confirms that an analogous situation exist here in the case of Kalabaka.

*Punda*. In the register MAD 14916, we find mention of the settlement *karye-i Punda*, while in MAD 14822 this is recorded as *nefs-i Punda adası*. This is the only settlement in the later register which is specifically identified as a town. Evidently, administrative changes had been undertaken in the years between 1632 and 1642. It is certain, however, that this was indeed a large settlement if one judges by the 73 families which paid the poll tax there. It is also certain, based on the family names, that this is a coastal settlement<sup>90</sup>. The question thus arises: what is the name of this mid-17th century, populated settlement recorded in the tax registers which Georgirenes and Tournefort failed to mention?

In a codex kept in the monastery of St. John the Theologian on Patmos, entitled "Documents of Samos" and containing 80 documents relative to the management of the metochia of the monastery on Samos, the 24th document is describes as: "Turkish. *Hüccet* concerning the field in Punda [Pounta] on Samos". The date is not provided. Since, however, the other documents mentioned on same page of the codex refer to documents of the 18th century, I assume that it also was issued in the 18th century. Consequently, the settlement of Punda where the Patmos monastery had a field was evidently in existence in the 18th century.

In the published archival material, the toponym Pountes, in the plural, appears in a deed of sale of 1785 kept in the archive of the monastery of the Zoodochou Pege<sup>91</sup>. In the Samian bibliography, we find the following mentions of the toponym Punda: "In Samos", writes Zapheiriou, "one finds the toponym in the singular, namely E of the port of Tiganio and E of *Makrya*

<sup>90</sup> The Venetian word "punta" means edge, cape. We have mentioned that in the register of 1642, the settlement is recorded as Punda adası, just as the Ottomans frequently named the islands, e.g. Taşoz adası, Batnoz adası etc. I do not think that Punda adası suggests the name Samiopoula, to Ayi Adası (=Arkoudonisi) in Piri Re'is, for which we have no testimony that it was inhabited. Perhaps it should be considered that the settlement of Punda adası took its name because of its location on a cape of the island (compare the Turkish word *yarımada*= peninsula).

<sup>91</sup> Tatiana Georgaki-Ioannou, "Archive of the Zoodochou Pege monastery on Samos", *Deltio tou Historikou kai Palaio-graphikou Archeiou* 6 (1994), p. 199, document 39.

*Pounta*, where the name *poundes* is given to two capes which form the small gulf of the Marathokambos harbour; and another to the W of this<sup>92</sup>. Kritikidis lists *Makrya Pounta* amongst the island's harbours<sup>93</sup> and, according to Stamatiadis, ships berthed here in times of violent weather. Its coast sheltered some 50 storehouses, a sanitation office, a port authority, customs house, and the bay proper contained the commercial quarters<sup>94</sup>. Dimitriou, apart from *Makrya Pounta* at Marathokambos, also refers to the toponym *Punda* at Pythagoreion, Drakaioi, Kallithea and Palio Karlovasi<sup>95</sup>.

In the maps published by G. F. Camocio and S. Pinargenti in the 16th century<sup>96</sup>, the toponym *Ponta Provenciala* appears in the north-west of the island, named after the provenza wind<sup>97</sup>, while the map supplied by P. A. M. Myller in his work *Pelegrinus in Jerusalem* (1729, 1735) it is noted as *Punta Piccola*<sup>98</sup>. Judging from the extant locations named *Punda* on Samos, and by

<sup>92</sup> N. I. Zapheiriou, "Toponyms of Samos", *op. cit.*, p. 78, 102, 55. In more recent maps of Samos, the toponym *Makrya Pounta* and *Pounta Kambou* appear in the gulf of Marathokambos.

<sup>93</sup> E. Kritikides, *Topography*, *op. cit.*, p. 116.

<sup>94</sup> E. Stamatiadis, *Samiaka*, vol. 4, p. 30.

<sup>95</sup> N. Dimitriou, *Folklore of Samos*, *op. cit.*, vol. 4, p. 85, 126, 47, 51 and 57. The toponym "Makrya Pounta" is recorded also by K. Tzanettis, *Glossary of Marathokambos, Samos. Introduction, linguistic observations*, ed. M. Margariti-Roga, Thessaloniki 1996, p. 96.

<sup>96</sup> [G.F. Camocio], *Isole famose porti, fortesse, e terre maritime sottoposte/ alla Ser<sup>ma</sup> Sig<sup>ria</sup> di Venetia, ad altri Principi / Christiani, et al Sig<sup>or</sup> Turco, novamente poste in Luce / in Venetia alla libreria del segno di S. Marco, Venetia, 1571-1574* (Marcian Library Rari 25957. Samos is the number 55 engraving, and (Simon Pinargenti), *ISOLE Che son da Venetia nella Dalmatia et per tutto l'Arcipelago, fino à Constantinopoli, con le loro Fortezze, e con le terre pivot notabili di Dalmatia; nuouamente poste in disegno a beneficio de gli studiosi di Geografia. IN VINEGIA MDLXXIII Apresso Simon Pinargenti et compagni* (National Library of France, Ge FF Res 9373 Samos is the number 19 engraving). My warm thanks to my colleague George Tolia who conveyed the existence of these maps to me, and allowed me to inspect his copies.

<sup>97</sup> See the entry *provenza* in the work by H. et René Kahane - A. Tietze, *The Lingua Franca in the Levant. Turkish Nautical Terms of Italian and Greek Origin*, Istanbul 1988, p. 361-362.

<sup>98</sup> C. C. Zacharakis, *A Catalogue of Printed Maps of Greece 1477-1800*, Athens 21992, pl. 329, no 1594. In a map of 1685 (M. Stavrinou collection) the toponym is recorded as *Petite Pointe*, see in insert "Seven Days" of the Greek newspaper *Kathimerini* (9.8.1998), p. 12.

the position of the settlement of the same name in the sequence of place names given in the poll tax registers (where it is recorded after Erezaovasi (Marathokambos) and Kalabaka (Kalabachtasi - Kallithea), I consider it quite probable that the settlement existed on the western part of the island.

The above commentary on the toponyms of Samos indicates that the place names of a portion of the island's settlements, such as Mytilenaioi, Vourla, and Phournoi, indicate without doubt the presence of migrant populations from the surrounding islands and Asia Minor. With this as given, and pursuing the argument that the names of the taxed populations of Samos betray an origin in Asia Minor (e.g. Balad from Palatia - Miletus) the settlements of Achirlasi and Kalabaka may also be incorporated into the above category given that since corresponding toponyms appear on the Asia Minor coast. A second category is encountered in the settlements of Tounda, Spathari, Leka, Gkikas, and Ano and Kato Gousa where the toponyms denote surnames of Albanian origin. In these cases, also, migrant settlements are evinced.

### Population

A highly valuable control in establishing the readings of the personal names in the registers, at times exceptionally difficult to transcribe because of the *siyakat* script used therein, was provided by published material such as wills, dowry agreements, dedicatory documents etc<sup>99</sup>. Likewise of decisive

<sup>99</sup> By way of example, I mention here the works by N. I. Stamatiades, *Collection of official documents dealing with the political history of Samos from 1829-1835, to which have been added the speeches made on the death of L. Lykourgos* [in Greek], Samos 1893, where a list of residents of various settlements of the island is given. Tatiana Gerorgaki-Ioannou, "Fourteen testaments from the monastery archives on Samos (1692-1799)" [in Greek], in *Antipelargisi. Honorary tome for N. Dimitriou*, ed. Cultural Institute of Samos "Nikolaos Dimitriou", Athens 1992, p. 449-478. Idem, "Archive of the monastery of Zoodochos Pege, *op. cit.*, p. 181-312. Idem, "Names and their development in Ottoman Samos from the monastery archives (17th-18th c.)" [in Greek], in *Samos from Byzantine times until today*, Acts of the Congress (Samos 28-30 April 1995), vol. 2, Athens 1998, p. 367-376. A. Sebastakis, *Historical notes on Neo Karlovasi, Samos 1768-1840* [in Greek], ed. Cultural Institute of Samos "Nikolaos Dimitriou", Athens 1995. Idem, *The movement of the "Karmaniols to Samos, 1805-1812"*. With unpublished documents [in Greek], ed. Cultural Institute of Samos "Nikolaos Dimitriou", Athens 1996. Idem, "Penal authority of the Megas Proestos on pre-Revolutionary Samos: the case of a collection of transaction documents" [in Greek], *Samiakes Meletes* 2 (1995-1996), p. 43-75. M. Zapheiriou, "Dedicatory acts and illustrated sales posters in Hagia "Pelaitsa in Kalybes" [in Greek], *Samiakes Meletes* 1 (1993-

help were the collections of Samiote names made by local savants<sup>100</sup>. In transliteration, I often preferred the most common and simple form of a name. For example, "Michalis" was used for a name which could be read "Mitzelis" –the latter attested on Samos<sup>101</sup>. In certain instances, I have footnoted other possible readings of a name, and comment on its development over time. I therefore deem it necessary that transliterations should accompany the facsimiles of the registers<sup>102</sup>.

Taxpayers normally were recorded by baptismal name and the patronymic, and only rarely by a name recording origin (e.g. Laz, Midillicu), profession (*kasab, çankar, re'is*)<sup>103</sup>, or some family name. Regarding this practice, N. Dimitriou notes: "it remained the practice even till lately to take as a surname the name of the father in the genitive *ñ* and in some villages that of the mother. Names thus abound such as: Antoniou, Basileiou, Georgiou, Demetriou,

1994), p. 53-80. N. Andriotis, "A new description of the monks of Samos in 1830" [in Greek], *Samiakes Meletes* 2 (1995-1996), p. 287-302. M. G. Varvounis, "The traditional dedicatory act on Samos. Observations based on the book of dedications of the H.C. Hagios Nikolaos on Samos (1834)" [in Greek], *Samiakes Meletes* 1 (1993-1994), p. 53-80. K. Komis, "Samian emigration to Euboea (1834)" [in Greek], *Samiakes Meletes* 1 (1993-1994), p. 81-96. Ch. Landros, "Catalogue of the names of priests, priest-monks and monks on Samos. A census of the clergy on Samos in 1830" [in Greek], *Antipelargisi. Honorary tome for Nikolaos A. Dimitriou*, ed. Cultural Institute of Samos "Nikolaos Dimitriou", Athens 1992, p. 375-448. M. Vourliotis, "The local elders ("proestoi") of Samos, *op. cit.*, p. 315-366.

<sup>100</sup> N. Zapheiriou, "Proper (baptismal) names on Samos" [in Greek], *Archeion Samou* 1/fasc. 1 (1946), p. 90-111. Idem, "The surnames of Samos" [in Greek], *Archeion Samou* 2 (1947), p. 110-141. N. Dimitriou, "The proper names of Samos" [in Greek], *Samiake Epitheorisi* 4 (1964), p. 180-184. Idem, *Folklore of Samos*, *op. cit.*, vol. 3, p. 15-145. Finally, mention should be made of the contribution of my colleague Helen Karanastassi which was decisive in the final comparison and checking of the transliteration of the taxpayers recorded in the registers of the poll tax. I warmly thank her here for her patience but, of course, any mistakes made are my own.

<sup>101</sup> N. Dimitriou, *Folklore of Samos*, *op. cit.*, vol. 3, p. 108 and A. Petronotis, "At the "Kandili" (or the Black Hole of Kerke of Samos, 1986" [in Greek], in *Antipelargisi. Honorary tome for Nikolaos A. Dimitriou*, ed. Cultural Institute of Samos "Nikolaos Dimitriou", Athens 1992, p. 43, note 1.

<sup>102</sup> The registers have been damaged at certain places. Due to these defects, lacunae are noted with three dots in parentheses (...). Uncertain readings are accompanied by a question mark, thus (?).

<sup>103</sup> The priests and monks were recorded by their baptismal name (or that taken on ordination or tonsure) and the title *papas*.

Eleutheriou, Theodorou, Ioannou"<sup>104</sup>. In the register MAD 14822, I ascertained that the inhabitants of Pounda and newcomers are recorded with surnames, ethnic names or professional names. While the taxpayers in the registers are recorded with their baptismal names and patronymics, this practice does not seem to have been followed in other documents of the Ottoman administration on the island, where surnames were given<sup>105</sup>.

Of great interest is the repetition of names in the context of the same village: taxpayers were recorded with common baptismal name and common patronymics. I calculated that in certain villages, mostly those with over 50 taxpaying families, the majority of inhabitants belong to the five to 20 families bearing a certain baptismal name and a certain patronymic. Below, I present from each register the names of taxpayers, village by village, which are repeated more than five times. I have underlined the names of the taxpayers which reoccur, after ten years, in the second register of the village.

#### MAD 14916

<b>Sisam</b>	: <u>Beno Peri</u> (8), Dimo Beno (8), Mihaloyan Papa (6), Mihelida Papa (5), Padelako Peri (11), Padelako Yani (8), Peri Peraki (15), Petro Peraki (7), Todor Peri (16), Yanico Benti(?) (5)
<b>Midillu</b>	: Beno Peri (5), Dimo Beno (8), Padelake Yani (11), Peri Peraki (8), Yanaki Yani (9), Yorgi Peri (5).
<b>Ahirlasi</b>	: Paraskuli Papa (12), Todor Papa (11), Yanaki Yani (12), Yorgi Peri (7)
<b>Urla</b>	: Todor Papa (9), Yanaki Yani (9)
<b>Değirmen</b>	: <u>Mihalo Beno</u> (7), Yanaki Yani (5)
<b>Tunda</b>	: Aleksi Yanaki (5), Beno Balad (7), Mihalo Beno (9), Mihalo Petri (5), Petri Papa (8)
<b>Pirgos</b>	: Beno Balad (5), Petri Papa (5)
<b>Karlovasi</b>	: Aleksi Yanaki (5), Beno Balad (16), <u>Mihalo Beno</u> (14), Mihalo Petri (9), Petri Papa (15), Simo Beno (6), Todor Petri (8), Yanaki Todor (6)
<b>Ano Gūşa</b>	: Beno Balad (5)
<b>Furna</b>	: Paraskuli Papa (10), Todor Papa (13)
<b>Platanoz</b>	: Paraskuli Papa (9), Todor Papa (15)

<sup>104</sup> N. Dimitriou, *Folklore of Samos, op. cit.*, vol. 4, p. 21.

<sup>105</sup> Sophia Laïou, "Ottoman documents", *op. cit.* and E. Stamatiadis, *Samiaka*, vol. 5, p. 691-692.

- Ereza ovası** : Dimitri Peri (5), Pano Papa (6), Paraskuli Papa (11), Todor Papa (20), Yanaki Yani (9)  
**Punda** : Beno Peri (5), Padelako Yani (6), Yanaki Yani (5)

**MAD 14822**

- Sisam** : Beno Balad (5), Beno Petri (6), Kostadin Yani (7), Manol Petri (10), Mihalo Beno (35), Mihalo Petri (6), Nikoli Petri (12), Nikoli Yanaki (9), Petri Beno (7), Petri Papa (9), Todor Mihalo (7), Yanaki Petri (19), Yani Petri (10), Yorgi Petri (11).  
**Midillu** : Beno Balad (5), Mihalo Beno (16), Yanaki Petri (9)  
**Ahirlasi** : Yanaki Petri (5)  
**Urla** : Mihalo Beno (7)  
**Değirmen** : Mihalo Beno (5)  
**Pirgos** : Mihalo Beno (6)  
**Karlovasi** : Kostadin Papa (5), Mihalo Beno (11), Nikoli Petri (5), Petri Beno (7), Petri Papas (7), Yanaki Petri (5), Yani Petri (5), Yorgi Petri (6)  
**Kato Güşa** : Mihalo Beno (5)  
**Furna** : Kostadin Mihalo (5), Mihalo Beno (5), Nikoli Petri (5)  
**Platanoz** : Mihalo Beno (6), Nikoli Yanaki (5)  
**Ereza ovası** : Mihalo Balad (5), Mihalo Beno (5)

The names provided above allow certain observations to be made, presented synoptically below with a few examples. In 1632, 42 heads of families at Ahirlasi, with a total taxable population of 56 families, were recorded with four common names and patronymics, constituting 75% of the village's population. At Vourla, 18 heads of families bear two common names and patronymics, amounting to 53%, the total number of taxable families being 34. The same is observed in Marathokambos (69%), Karlovasi (64%) and Tounda (52%), to mention only the most prominent examples. A decade later, in the register MAD 14822, the names of certain heads of families are not recorded with such frequency<sup>106</sup>. An exception is provided by Chora, the capital of Samos, where in 1642 of a total of 215 taxpaying families, 153

<sup>106</sup> In MAD 14822 298 taxpayers are recorded in groups bearing a common name. In MAD 14916, these number 449.

(71%) were recorded in groups in which the instances of a shared common name and patronymic fluctuates between five to 35 per cent.

Another impressive feature is that the same names appear in different villages. The table below includes those taxpayers' names which appear in each register more than 20 times.

*Common names in the poll tax registers*

<b>MAD 14916</b>	<b>MAD 14822</b>
Todor Papa (80)	<u>Mihalo Beno</u> (146)
Yanaki Yani (62)	Nikoli Petri (59)
Paraskuli Papa (60)	Yanaki Petri (57)
<u>Mihalo Beno</u> (46)	<u>Petri Papa</u> (39)
<u>Beno Balad</u> (43)	<u>Yorgi Petri</u> (38)
<u>Petri Papa</u> (39)	Todor Mihalo (38)
<u>Todor Peri</u> (37)	Yani Petri (36)
<u>Yorgi Peri</u> (31)	Petri Beno (33)
<u>Beno Peri</u> (28)	Andrya Petri (31)
Padelako Yani (26)	Manol Petri (31)
<u>Mihalo Petri</u> (26)	<u>Beno Balad</u> (25)
Dimitri Peri (21)	<u>Todor Petri</u> (25)
Dimo Beno (21)	Kostadin Yani (24)
Peri Peraki (21)	<u>Mihalo Petri</u> (23)
	<u>Beno Petri</u> (21)

We note, therefore, that from a total of 1,065 taxpaying families on Samos in 1632, 541 (51%) heads of these families are grouped into 14 groups with a common baptismal name and patronymic. In the register MAD 14822 of 1642, out of a total of 1,230 heads of families, 626 (51%)<sup>107</sup> fall correspondingly into 15 groups.

These observations on the taxpayers' names allow certain basic observations to be made as to the logic which pervaded the structure of the source itself. It should be kept in mind that we observe an affinity in the numbers of the taxpaying population in the villages of Samos in the two registers, even though ten years separate them in time. This affinity argues in favour of the theory that the number of *hane* obliged to pay the poll tax had

<sup>107</sup> If in this comparison we do not take into account the 165 migrants who were recorded separately in MAD 14822 of 1642, then the percentage of names which are repeated is much higher, reaching 59% of the total.

been fixed on the basis of an arrangement dating back to the time when Samos was a *mülk* of the kapudan pasha.

The island, therefore, was obliged to pay a tax sum which corresponded to 1,065 and 1,230 *hane* recorded in the registers. This sum, however, had to be collected by the "proestoi" (leaders) from the members of their own communities<sup>108</sup>. The community as a consequence was obliged to redistribute responsibility for the tax within the village. The manner in which this redistribution was made, the criterion of choice is shown in the case of Samos by the frequency with which names appear. Evidently, the community obliged certain families to pay the tax designated for the village. Analysis of the names, therefore, indicates that in these two years, essentially 14-15 families paid half of the island's poll tax. These families must have been the wealthiest in the eyes of the community authorities. If this reasoning is correct, then the matching names in the two registers (see the underlined names above) suggest that these were, indeed, the wealthiest taxpayers. Only thus can I explain the total similarity of names amongst the taxpayers. In other words: the number of times a name appears denotes the number of receipts issued for payment of the poll tax by the wealthiest families of the village. The shared name betrays joint responsibility for the payment of the poll tax. I cannot otherwise find a logical explanation as to why half a village should bear the name "Michalis, son of Benos". Even if one were to suppose, quite correctly, that the actual population of the villages was much larger than the registers suggest, the presence of so many "matching persons" amongst the taxpayers is still not explained. Furthermore, I do not agree with the interpretation that would have the name of a head of a family used for families that come under his authority, as if he were some sort of patriarch. Nevertheless, any certain answer can only be provided by anthropological study on the articulation and structure of Samian families.

In the 1632 register, furthermore, we find that the recorded priests' names are also frequently identical in various villages, and likewise constitute two to

<sup>108</sup> "In every Village there is one called the *Proto*, or Chief, who oversees and gathers in the Tenth of their Crop, giving an exact account to the Turks...", see B. Randolph, *The Present State of the Islands in the Archipelago (or Arches) Sea of Constantinople, and Gulph of Smyrna; With the Islands of Candia, and Rhodes...*, Oxford 1687 (photographic reproduction), p. 55.

three groups with common baptismal names and patronymics. It is indeed strange that 15 of the 16 priests at Vourla in 1632 should be recorded with the name “Thodoros papas” and “Michelidas papas”. It should be noted that the priests constitute 47% of the total taxed population of Vourla. This high rate of priests in relation to the total of the taxed population leads me to conclude that these were in fact monks of the Vronta monastery<sup>109</sup>, who were registered as taxpayers in the village of Vourla. The same phenomenon is observed at Phourna, where of the 31 registered priests in the village - the total population is 76 families - ten are named “Paraschoulis papas” and 13 “Thodoros papas”. Here likewise it is logical to hypothesise that these instances refer to monks of the neighbouring monastery of Profitis Ilias<sup>110</sup> who were obliged to pay the poll tax to the village of Phournoi<sup>111</sup>.

Comparison of the names of the taxpaying population in the villages as recorded in the two registers shows that only a very small percentage match. In four settlements, there are no common names in the decade 1632-1642. In seven settlements, there are matching names only for ten per cent, in five the convergence is 25% and finally in four settlements it ranges between 30 to 40%. Analytically, these are as follows:

<sup>109</sup> The monastery was founded in 1566, see E. Stamatiadis, *Samiaka*, vol. 4, p. 278-297.

<sup>110</sup> Founded in 1625, see *ibid*, p. 324-328.

<sup>111</sup> In Vathy in 1632, of the 26 registered priests, twelve are named Paraschoulis papas and eleven Thodoros papas. It is possible that the twelve Paraschoulis priests and the eleven Thodoros priests represent the receipts for the poll tax paid by neighbouring dependencies and monasteries under the respective names, which logically must have been those of the hegumens. Perhaps the archives of the monasteries of Vronta, Megali Panagia, Timiou Stavrou and Profitis Ilias, all of which had been established by this time, may throw some light of the problem of the nomenclature of monks in the registers. On the foundation of the monasteries, see E. Stamatiadis, *Samiaka*, vol. 4, p. 278-338. It would be noted that the census of 1632 records 233 priests (22%) amongst a population of 1,065 taxpayers. More specifically, by settlement: Chora 27 (12%), Mytilenoi 9 (9.8%), Vathy 26 (46.4%), Paliokastro 7 (35%), Vourla 16 (47%), Kokari/Komaraioi (?) 3 (37.5%), Myloi 11 (25%), Tounda 8 (12.3%), Spatharaioi 2 (14.3%), Pyrgos 5 (15.1%), Gkika -, Karlovasi 15 (12.2%), Leka 2 (25%), Ano Gousha 3 (10.7%), Kato Gousha 3 (8%), Phourna 31 (40.8%), Platanos 29 (55.8%), Marathokambos 37 (50.7%).

*Common names by village*

Villages	common names	%
Sisam	13	6
Midillu	10	9,8
Ahirlasi	3	5,3
Palyokastro	2	10
Urla	1	3
Kokar	-	-
Değirmen	14	32
Tunda	10	15
Ispatari	3	21,4
Pirgos	8	24,2
Gika	1	12,5
Karlovasi	50	40,6
Lika	-	-
Ana Güşa	9	32
Kato Güşa	8	32
Furna	13	17
Platanoz	5	9,6
Ereza ovası	7	9,6
Kalabaka	-	-
Punda adası	-	-

The percentage of matching names of taxpayers in the two registers is very small. Using names as a criterion, we find that the two registers each record different populations in the majority of settlements on Samos; and this difference is in the region of 90%. Such a high rate of differentiation rules out the theories concerning death rates, epidemics, or emigration which have been conscripted to explain this phenomenon. In other words: it is impossible to consider that 75-90% of the taxed population of Samos died or resettled in this ten year period while in the meantime - and here is the most compelling point - this working population remained the same in number, replaced by other people. It is clear that any logical explanation must be sought elsewhere.

Each year, the village community imposed payment of the poll tax on different households. This was highlighted when, in order to investigate matching names, I drew up an alphabetical list of taxpayers of individual villagers as they appear in the two registers. For the large villages, the total of inhabitants in both registers indicate that some selection had been made of those to be taxed<sup>112</sup>. The groups of names which exist in the villages of the one register appear rarely or not at all in the other. On the island as a whole, however, the two registers contain matching names of seven heads of families, together with which the 1632 register records 250 families, and that of 1642, 317. I also observed that the 1642 register makes no references to the host of priests or monks recorded for the corresponding register of 1632. This obviously does not indicate that the monasteries or churches had ceased to exist or that the monks had left, since they are mentioned by travellers as being great in number<sup>113</sup>. Quite simply, in 1642 the community deemed that it was not their turn to pay<sup>114</sup>.

The observations made above lead me to think that the redistribution of the poll tax within the community was not a matter left only to the elders (*proestos*) of each community, but may have been decided during a gathering of all

<sup>112</sup> Of exceptional interests are the observations made by Ariel C. Salzmänn : "Previous to 1691 the *cizye* had not been a poll tax per se, but rather the collective obligation of the non-Muslim communities in a given town or village, except where it took the form of a land tax or *ispence*. This pseudo-poll tax had been internally administered by non-Muslim notables, usually religious leaders and clergy, within each community. Not only were these notables able to shield the poorest members of the community from continually escalating taxes, but the non-Muslim clergy were themselves able to enjoy immunities parallel to those of the *ulema*. With the 1691 reform this internal administration came to an end. A new effort to register non-Muslim males was carried out throughout the empire so that the tax could be administered by state agents". See Ariel C. Salzmänn, *Measures of Empire: Tax Farmers and the Ottoman Ancien Régime, 1695-1807*, Ph. D. Columbia University, 1995, p. 135-136.

<sup>113</sup> J. P. Tournefort, *op cit.*, p. 322; A. de la Mottraye, *Travels through Europe, Asia and into part of Africa with cuts and Maps ...*, Hague 1727, p. 195-197 and E. Stamatiadis, *Samiaka*, vol. 4, p. 269.

<sup>114</sup> The small number of priests per village in the second register of 1642 suggests that they were the parish priests. Their numbers are as follows: Chora (9), Mitylenoi (5), Vathy (2), Vourla (2), Myloi (5), Pyrgos (4), Karlovasi (14), Ano Gousha (3), Kato Gousha (1), Phourna (4), Platanos (1), Marathokambos (4), Kalambaka (1). If these numbers are compared with the number of churches in the settlements supplied by Georgirenes, I think that our theory is confirmed. See K. Komis, "Population and settlements of Samos", *op. cit.*, p. 211 (Table II).

household heads under the supervision of the Metropolitan. Such an occasion would have arisen when the *kadi* summoned the *proestoi* to the capital to announce the Sublime Porte's edict concerning the collection of the taxes<sup>115</sup>.

The manner in which I processed my data indicates that the population of Samos was clearly larger than the registers appear to indicate. This can be observed by comparing the population insinuated in the registers with the numbers given by Georgirenes<sup>116</sup>. The round figures of households per village given by the latter give a rough outline of the size of the settlements, a size backed by 17th-century travellers' estimates of the population of Samos as being between ten and twelve thousand souls<sup>117</sup>. The taxpayers recorded in the poll tax registers amount on average to 30% of the population as recorded by Georgirenes. This automatically means that tax concessions existed, and these must have been made when Samos was a *mülk* of Kilidj Ali pasha. This state of affairs continued in the following regime after his death, when the island became a *vakıf* and local taxes were assigned to maintain the mosque of Tophane.

*Comparison of population size in the registers and in Georgirenes*

Villages	number of families		%
	1632-42	1666-71	
Sisam	215	600*	35, 8
Midillu	102	200	51
Ahrilasi	56	400	14
Palyokastro	20	100	20
Urla	34	100	34
Kokar	8	—	—
Değirmen	44	200	22
Tunda	65	—	—

<sup>115</sup> J. Georgirenes, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

<sup>116</sup> E. Stamatiadis, *Year-book of the principality of Samos for the year 1875* [in Greek], Samos 1875, p. 53 where the settlements are arranged in the order given by Georgirenes. The total number of households in 3,400. See also K. Komis, "Population and settlements of Samos", *op. cit.*, p. 211-212.

<sup>117</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 178.

Ispatari	14	50	28
Pirgos	33	100	33
Gika	8	–	–
Karlovasi	123	500	24,6
Lika	8	50	16
Ana Gūsa	28	–	–
Kato Gūsa	25	–	–
Furna	76	200	38
Platanoz	52	300	17,3
Ereza ovasi	73	200	36,5
Kalabaka	8	–	–
Punda adası	73	–	–
new settlers	165	–	–

\* Georgirenes does not mention the number of households in Chora. The number in the chart is an estimation made by Tournefort. The dashes (-) indicate that the settlement in question was not recorded by Georgirenes.

Although the demographic size of the Samiote settlements of this period remains impossible to gauge from the poll tax registers, we may nevertheless arrive at some idea as to their lowest limit which can be roughly established by the total number of taxpayers recorded in the registers. This total does not include the taxpayers repeated in both registers. The size arrived at by such an estimation indicates that for most villages the number approaches the round numbers provided by Georgirenes.

Investigation of the numerical data of the two Samiote poll tax registers indicates that the latter cannot be used as demographic sources. No simple deductions can be made on the basis of family coefficients (*coefficient multiplicateur, demographic multipliers*) regarding population size for any particular area<sup>118</sup>. As we have seen, the registers do not even record the total

<sup>118</sup> G. Veinstein, "Les registres de recensements ottomans une source pour la démographie historique à l'époque moderne", *Annales de démographie historique* 1990, p. 365-378. B. K. Ataman, "Ottoman Demographic History (14th - 17th Centuries). Some considerations", *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* XXXV (1992), p. 187-198.

number of the working population obliged by the letter of Ottoman law to pay the poll tax<sup>119</sup>.

In an earlier study of mine, I analysed two registers of 1670 from Santorini: a *tahrir defteri* and a *cizye defteri*. I showed that 150 families in each register were not identical, from a total of 950 recorded in both as being obliged to pay the "tenth tax" and the *haraç*. Consequently, the taxpaying population of the island, based on the data of the same registers, amounted to at least 1,300 families. Since at a given moment, however, the taxpaying population of Santorini was determined at 950 taxable units, and appeared to have continued to be considered as such by the Sublime Porte, it was a matter of the communal authorities to apportion the tax to the islanders. The same registers indicate that the working population was much larger than that recorded<sup>120</sup>.

The same logic can be used to analyse the two Samiote poll tax registers, in which the names of the taxpayers between the intervening decade match only ten-25%. This indicates that the working population of Samos was undoubtedly greater than 1,065 taxable units, or 1,230 when the registration of newcomers is included.

Clearly, much care is needed in utilising the tax registers as a source for demographic information since the figures therein are undoubtedly "fabricated". This "fabrication" of the data is closely associated with the role the registers played in the administration of the Ottoman empire. The registers record a single reality: the tax obligation of a population—specifically at each instance—to the Sublime Porte. The logic pervading the structure of the register must be

<sup>119</sup> Another example may be given, once again from Samos. Some two centuries later, in 1810, a communal register of expenses notes that the island paid 30,020 grossia for 1,900 poll tax charges. "*1810 February 20 Samos, to guruh 15, maidia 32: We made an agreement and signed to collect the aspers of the haraç of that year. According to this agreement, understanding, 1,900 haraç receipts will be gathered, which are equal to 30,020 guruh...*", see A. Sevastakis, *The movement of the Karmaniols to Samos, op. cit.*, p. 185. We do not know the population of the island in 1810. In 1828, however, an official census shows that Samos had 27,125 inhabitants, 13,775 men and 13,350 women. cf. E. Stamatidis, *Year-book of the principality of Samos for the year 1875, op. cit.*, p. 41. We can ascertain, therefore, that even at the beginning of the 19th century, a small proportion of the population paid the tax.

<sup>120</sup> Evangelia Balta, "Le rôle de l'institution communautaire dans la répartition verticale de l'impôt: l'exemple de Santorin au XVIIe siècle", in *Problèmes et approches de l'histoire ottomane. Un itinéraire scientifique de Kayseri à Eğriboz*, Isis éditions (Analecta Isisiana XXVIII), Istanbul 1997, p. 97-114.

sought. It is not a demographic source which, in a mechanistic way, clarifies the size of a population in any particular place<sup>121</sup>. Only when this is understood can the register clarify as accurately as possible the reality which created it: namely the logic behind the Ottoman administration on the one hand and the elders of the villages on the other.

## APPENDIX

### I. Maliyeden Müdevver 14916

- (1) Tuğra
- (2) Defter-i  
ziyâde-i cizye-i gebrân-ı evkâf-ı merhum kapudân paşa Kılıç  
Ali paşa der Tophâne vâcib-i sene 1041

#### *Karye-i Sisam*

Todor (?) Peri, Mihal Yanali<sup>122</sup>, Todor Peri, Mihaloyan Papa, Dimo Mihal Mirko<sup>123</sup> Peri, Yanico<sup>124</sup> Peri, Todor Peri, Kiriko Peri, Todor Peri Mihaloyan Papa, Andon Papa, Mihaloyan Papa, Mihal Papa, Dimo Mihal Nikoli Papa, Yanico Peri, Andon Peri, Todor Peri, Mihal Yanali Dimitri Papa, Pano<sup>125</sup> Mihal, Todor Peri, Todor Peri, Todor Peri Andon Papa, Paraskeva Papa, Kaloyan Papa, Yanico Peri, Mihaloyan Papa

<sup>121</sup> Linda Darling expressed this as follows in her thesis : "the usefulness of cizye and avariz defters for the study of Ottoman population, like that of the traditional tahrir defters depends on our understanding of how the figures in the registers were compiled.. The question of the relationship between the number of names in the defters and the actual size of the population seems to have no single answer", see Linda Darling, *op. cit.*, p. 100-101.

<sup>122</sup> This may be read Bayali or Natali: the latter is encountered in the locality, see J. Z. Stefanopoli, *Les îles de l'Égée. Leurs privilèges avec documents et notes statistiques*, Athènes 1912, p. 192.

<sup>123</sup> See on the same page of the register, on the 8th, 11th and 14th rows of names, where the writing of the name is clearer. This is evidently the name Marko, without the elif with which it is usually written.

<sup>124</sup> The name Gianoutzos is found in transaction document of 1828, see M. G. Varvounis, "Local history and traditional polity of Samos", *op. cit.* p. 63.

<sup>125</sup> This may be read Yano.

- Mihalo Peri, Kaloyan Papa, Todor Peri, Mihal Yanaki<sup>126</sup>, Todor Peri  
 Mihalyan Papa, Mihal Yanali, Todor Peri, Yovan Vasil, Mirko Zotiri<sup>127</sup>  
 Yanico Peri, Petri Yanali, Kiriko Peri, Zotiri Papa, Vasil Peri  
 Mihelida Papa, Yanico Benti(?)<sup>128</sup>, Nikoli Yani, Todor Petri, Mihal Yanaki  
 Mihelida Papa, Zotiri Papa, Dimitri Yanali, Yanico Benti(?), Mirko Peri  
 Todor Peri, Kaloyan Papa, Aleksi Papa, Mihelida Papa, Yanico Zotiri  
 Nikoli Papa, Todor Luro<sup>129</sup>, Zotiri Peri, Petri Mihal, Petri Yanaki  
 Andon Papa, Yovan Mihal, Mirko Peri, Nikoli Papa, Mihelida Papa  
 Todor Mihal, Zotiri Vasil, Vasil Kiriko<sup>130</sup>, Dimo Peri, Yanico Benti(?)  
 Nikoli Papa, Mihalo Zotiri, Zotiri Peri, Kiriko Mihal, Todor Mihal  
 Mihalyan Papa, Yanico Benti(?), Nikoli Yani, Kiriko Peri, Todor Peri  
 Zotiri Papa, Yanico Benti(?), Yovan Peri, Mihelida Papa, Yanico Nikoli  
 (3) Kondara Kosta, Yani Peri, Pero<sup>131</sup> Peraki, Padelako<sup>132</sup> Yani, Peri Peraki  
 Dimo Dimo, Padelako Yani, Yovan Toma(?), Parasho Yani, Beno<sup>133</sup> Peri  
 Beno Peri, Petro Peraki, Padelako Toma, Padelako Yani, Toma Andrya  
 (...) Parasho, Toma Andrya, Manol Yani, Padelako Andon, Parasho Manol  
 Lehono Mitro, Valako<sup>134</sup> Yani, Mitro Yani, Mitro Valo<sup>135</sup>, Todor Yani  
 Padelako Peri, Petro Peraki, Padelako Yani, Dimo Yani, Dimo Beno

<sup>126</sup> Also reads as Benaki.

<sup>127</sup> This may be read as Zuberis or Dobri.

<sup>128</sup> Other possible readings: Pesati, Panisi (?).

<sup>129</sup> Tatiana Georgaki-Ioannou, "Archive of the Zoodochos Pege monastery", *op. cit.*, doc. 59.

<sup>130</sup> Also reads as Kirko.

<sup>131</sup> Tatiana Georgaki-Ioannou, "Archive of the Zoodochos Pege monastery", *op. cit.*, doc. 70. N. Dimitriou records the names Perros, Perris, Perrakis, which he regarded as of foreign origin, see N. Dimitriou, *Folklore of Samos*, vol. 3, *op. cit.*, p. 54.

<sup>132</sup> The same word may be read Parasko.

<sup>133</sup> This may be read as Bino. In a dedicatory document of 1625, the names of the witnesses include a certain Peros Binis, see E. Stamatidis, *Samiaka*, vol. 4, p. 326. N. Dimitriou records the name Benoutsos, see N. Dimitriou, *Folklore of Samos*, *op. cit.*, vol. 3, p. 10. In documents in the archive of the Holy Monastery of St. John the Theologian on Patmos, we find the name Christodoulos Benetos and Floreza Benia, see S. Papadopoulos-Ch. Florentis, *Modern Greek Archive of the Holy Monastery of St. John the Theologian, Patmos. Texts on technique and art* [in Greek], Cultural Technological Institute ETBA, Athens 1990, doc. 452.

<sup>134</sup> Vlaho (?).

<sup>135</sup> This also may read as Dano. A surname "Danos" is recorded by Zapheiriou, cf. N. Zapheiriou, "The surnames of Samos", *op. cit.*, p. 119.

- Beno Nikoli, Dimo Toma, Andrya Yani, Beno Peri, Pero Peraki  
 Manol Toma, Andrya Yani, Dimo Beno, Peri Peraki, Padelako Peri  
 Peri Peraki, Padelako Miho, Valako Yani, Mitro Beno, Peri Peraki  
 Beno Peri, Beno Nikoli, Mitro Valo, Padelako Yani, Parasho Yovan  
 Yorgi Yani, Padelako Peri, Dimo Beno, Dimo Beno, Peri Peraki  
 (...) Peri, Dimo Toma, Andrya Yani, Dimo Beno, Peri Peraki  
 Padelako Peri, Padelako Peri, Todor Peri, Padelako Peri, Pero Peraki  
 Padelako Peri, Petro Beno, Beno Peri, Petro Peraki, Parasho Yovan  
 Yovan Lehono, Todor Peri, Todor Peri, Petro Peraki, Padelako Yovan  
 Manol Yani, Beno Peri, Petro Peraki, Padelako Yovan, Peri Peraki  
 Padelako Yani, Dimo Dimitri, Yovan Lehono, Yovan Manol, Yovan Lehono  
 Lehono Lehoyan, Toma Andrya, Andon Yani, Beno Yanaki, Padelako Peri  
 Padelako Toma, Andrya Yani, Padelako Parasho, Yovan Peri, Pero Peraki  
 Beno Peri, Peraki Pero, Apo<sup>136</sup> Yovan, Padelako Yani, Yani Beno  
 (4) Beno Peri, Padelako Peri, Parasho Mitro, Peri Peraki, Yovan Peri  
 Dimo Beno, Peri Peraki, Parasho Peri, Petri Peraki, (...) Peri  
 Yovan Peri, Petro Peraki, Parasho Yovan, Peri Peraki, Padelako Peri  
 Dimo Beno, Yovan Lehono, Yorgi Yani, Parasho Yani, Padelako Yani  
 Dimo Yani, Dimo Beno, Peri Peraki, Padelako Peri, Petro Peraki  
 Hane 215

*Karye-i Midillu*

- Toma Yani, Beno Peri, Petro Peraki, Padelako Yovan, Lehoyan Peri  
 Padelako Papa, Padelako Yani, Dimo Beno, Manol Beno, Peri Peraki  
 Padelako Peri, Petro Yani, Parasho Yani, Dimo Beno, Peri Peraki  
 Beno Peri, Padelako Yani, Dimo Beno, Peri Peraki, Padelako Yani  
 Dimo Beno, Peri Peraki, Padelako Yani, Dimo Yani, Dimo Yani  
 Dimo Beno, Nikoli Peri, Padelako Yani, Toma Andon, Ilâ(?) Yani  
 Beno Peri, Dimo Beno, Nikoli Yani, Peri Peraki, Padelako Yani  
 Yanaki Yani, Dimo Yani, Padelako Yani, Manol Yanaki, Padelako Yani  
 Beno Yani, Dimitri Yani, Dimo Beno, Peraki Yani, Padelako Yani  
 Dimo Petri, Peri Peraki, Padelako Yani, Padelako Beno, Peri Peraki  
 Padelako Beno, Beno Peri, Petro Peraki, Parasho Yani, Yanaki Yani  
 Yani Beno, Peri Peraki, Dimo Beno, Andon Bono, Mihal Istamad  
 Padelako Peri, Petro Peraki, Padelako Yani, Dimo Yanaki, Dimo Yani  
 Beno Peri, Padelako Peri, Padelako Peri, Petro Perak, Padelako Toma  
 (5) Mihal (...), Yanaki Yani, Pano Todor, Apo Peri, Todor Papa  
 Yanaki Yani, Yorgi Peri, Yanaki Yani, Dimitri Peri, Yanaki Yani  
 Dimitri Peri, Mihal Peri, Dimitri Todor, Paraskuli Papa, Peruli Papa

<sup>136</sup> This also reads as Reno or Zeno.

Paraskuli Papa, Andrya Peri, Dimitri Todor, Yorgi Peri, Yanaki Yani  
 Luro Peri, Yanaki Yani, Todor Papa, Paraskuli Papa, Yorgi Peri  
 Dimitri Peri, Yorgi Peri, Todor Papa, Paraskuli Papa, Pano Papa  
 Yorgi Peri, Yanaki Yani  
 Hane 102

***Karye-i Ahirlasi***

Dimo Peri, Yanaki Yani, Todor Papa, Paraskuli Papa, Pano Todor  
 Yanaki Yani, Todor Papa, Paraskuli Papa, Yanaki Yani, Todor Papa  
 Yorgi Peri, Kostadara Papa, Mihelida Papa, Paraskuli Papa, Yanaki Yani  
 Yanaki Yani, Pano Peri, Todor Papa, Paraskuli Papa, Pano Todor  
 Yorgi Peri, Paraskuli Papa, Yanaki Yani, Todor Papa, Paraskuli Papa  
 Dimitri Peri, Dimo Peri, Yorgi Peri, Todor Papa, Paraskuli Papa  
 Yorgi Peri, Paraskuli Papa, Yanaki Yani, Todor Papa, Paraskuli Papa  
 Dimitro Peri, Miheluli Papa, Paraskuli Papa, Yorgi Peri, Yanaki Yani  
 Paraskuli Papa, Dimitro Peri, Yorgi Peri, Pano Peri, Todor Papa  
 Dimitri Todor, Dimitri Todor, Yanaki Yani, Todor Papa, Paraskuli Papa  
 Yanaki Yani, Todor Papa, Yanaki Yani, Todor Papa, Yanaki Yani  
 Yorgi Peri  
 Hane 56

(6) ***Karye-i Palyokastro***

Dimitri Peri, Luro Peri, Todor Papa, Paraskuli Papa, Pano Peri  
 Yorgi Peri, Yanaki Yani, Yorgi Peri, Todor Papa, Paraskuli Papa  
 Yanaki Yani, Todor Yani, Paraskuli Papa, Andrya Peri, Yanaki Yani  
 Lura Peri, Yanaki Yani, Pano Todor, Todor Papa, Paraskuli Papa  
 Hane 20

***Karye-i Urla***

Yorgi Peri, Yanaki Yani, Todor Papa, Yanaki Yani, Todor Papa  
 Yanaki Yani, Todor Papa, Paraskuli Papa, Todor Papa, Yanaki Yani  
 Todor Papa, Kostadara Papa, Mihelida Papa, Paraskuli Papa, Todor Papa  
 Dimitri Peri, Todor Papa, Mihelida Papa, Yorgi Peri, Yanaki Yani  
 Yanaki Yani, Todor Papa, Yanaki Yani, Todor Papa, Paraskuli Papa  
 Dimitri Peri, Yorgi Peri, Andrya Peri, Dimitri Peri, Yanaki Yani  
 Dimitri Peri, Paraskuli Papa, Yanaki Yani, Yorgi Peri  
 Hane 34

***Karye-i Komar/Kokar***

Dimitri Peri, Todor Papa, Paraskuli Papa, Lura Peri, Yanaki Yani

Yorgi Peri, Todor Papa, Yorgi Lemna<sup>137</sup>  
Hane 8

***Karye-i Değirmen***

Yorgi Peri, Todor Papa, Paraskuli Papa, Yanaki Yani, Todor Papa  
Yanaki Yani, Paraskuli Papa, Paraskuli Papa, Pano Mihal, Yanaki Yani  
Todor Papa, Paraskuli Papa, Yanaki Yani, Todor Papa, Yanaki Yani  
(7) (...), Petri Papa, Mihalo Beno, Nikoli Yanaki, Mihalo Beno  
Mihalo Beno, Mihalo Beno, (...), Yanaki Petri, Beno Mihalo  
Yanaki Todor, Todor Petri, Mihalo Beno, Beno Balad<sup>138</sup>, Aleksis<sup>139</sup> Yanaki  
Yovan Petri, Petri Papa, Mihalo Beno, Beno Yani, Aleksis Yanaki  
Yanaki Todor, Todor Petri, Petri Papa, Vasil Beno, Beno Balad  
Mihalo Beno, Aleksis Yanaki, Yanaki Todor, Todor Petri  
Hane 44

***Karye-i Tunda***

Mihalo Balad, Beno Balad, Mihalo Petri, Petro Papa, Aleksis Yanaki  
(...) Petri, Petri Papa, Mihalo Beno, Vasil Todor, Todor Yanaki  
Yanaki Petri, Petri Beno, Yovan Beno, Aleksis Yanaki, Yanaki Petri  
Vasil Beno, Beno Balad, Mihalo Petri, Mihalo Beno, Aleksis Yanaki  
Yorgi Petri, Petri Papa, Vasil Beno, Dimitri Nikoli, Nikoli Yanaki  
Yanaki Petri, Mihalo Beno, Beno Balad, Mihalo Petri, Aleksis Yanaki  
Yorgi Petri, Mihalo Beno, Beno Balad, Mihalo Balad, Vasil Petri  
Petri Papa, Mihalo Beno, Dimo Petri, Mihalo Beno, Mano! Nikoli

<sup>137</sup> This may be a name of origin = from Limnos.

<sup>138</sup> In my opinion, this is the ethnic Balad (namely Palatine, he who comes from Palatia, or Miletus). Nevertheless, it should be noted that the last letter is de and not dal, as would be required for the spelling of the word Balad. Already by the 14th century, the residents of Palatia had fled to Samos, frightened by the Mongol armies, see Elizabeth Zachariadou, *Trade and Crusade. Venetian Crete and the Emirate of Menteshe and Aydin (1300-1415)*, Venice 1983, p. 81-82 note 357. In documents, we find the name Palatzis Dimitrios (see Tatiana Georgaki-Ioannou, "Archive of the Zoodochos Pege monastery", *op. cit.*, doc. 266) according to the Midilluci noted in MAD 14882 (Midillu and the ethnic Midilluci). N. Dimitriou records the surname Balantinis, see N. Dimitriou, *Folklore of Samos*, *op. cit.*, vol. 3, p. 110 and N. Zapheiriou, "The surnames of Samos", *op. cit.*, p. 128-129. In documents of the archive of the Holy Monastery of St. John the Theologian, we find the surnames Balantos and Balatos, see S. Papadopoulos-Ch. Florentis, *op. cit.*, docs. 18, 42, 43.

<sup>139</sup> This has been written with *ayin* and not *elif*, as it would normally have been written. At the beginning of the register it is found with *elif*, see p. 2, 12th row of names. In Ottoman land deeds in the Historical Archive of Thessaloniki we variously read the name "Alexis".

Nikoli Yanaki, Yanaki Todor, Todor Petri, Petri Papa, Manol Beno  
 Mihalo Petri, Petri Papa, Simo Beno, Beno Balad, Aleksii Yanaki  
 Mihal Petri, Mihal Todor, Todor Mihalo, Mihalo Beno, Beno Yani  
 Yanaki Petri, Petri Papa, Simo Beno, Beno Balad, Mihalo Beno  
 Yovan Todor, Todor Petri, Petri Papa, Mihalo Beno, Benò Balad  
 (8) Hane 65

***Karye-i Ispatari***

Pano Petri, Petri Papa, Nikoli Yanaki, Yanaki Todor, Todor Petri  
 Petri Yani, Mihalo Beno, Mihalo Beno, Vasil Yanaki, Yovan Todor  
 Todor Petri, Dimo Nikoli, Nikoli Petri, Petri Papa  
 Hane 14

***Karye-i Pirgos***

Mihalo Beno, Beno Balad, Mihalo Balad, Aleksii Simo, Simo Petri  
 Petri Papa, Mihal Todor, Todor Yanaki, Yanaki Petri, Petri Papa  
 Aleksii Todor, Mihalo Beno, Mihalo Balad, Mihalo Yani, Yanaki Petri  
 Simo Beno, Beno Balad, Manol Yanaki, Yanaki Todor, Todor Petri  
 Petri Papa, Mihalo Beno, Beno Balad, Yanaki Petri, Petri Papa  
 Mihal Beno, Beno Balad, Mihalo Petri, Petri Papa, Yorgi Beno  
 Beno Balad, Mihalo Petri, Petro Simo  
 Hane 33

***Karye-i Gika***

Yanaki Todor, Todor Petri, Andon Yanaki, Petro Beno, Beno Petri  
 Simo Beno, Beno Balad, Mihalo Petri  
 Hane 8

***Karye-i Karlovasi***

Nikoli Yanaki, Yanaki Todor, Todor Petro, Petri Papa, Mihalo Beno  
 Beno Petri, Aleksii Yanaki, Yanaki Mihalo, Mihalo Beno, Beno Balad  
 Mihalo Petri, Petri Papa, Simo Beno, Beno Petri, Aleksii Yanaki  
 Yanaki Mihalo, Mihalo Beno, Mihalo Petri, Petri Beno, Simo Beno  
 (9) Aleksii Todor, Todor Petri, Petri Papa, Mihalo Beno, Beno Petri  
 Mihalo Petri, Aleksii Yanaki, Yanaki Todor, Todor Petri, Petri Papa  
 Mihalo Beno, Beno Yani, Yani Mihalo, Mihalo Petri, Andon Yanaki  
 (...), Todor Petri, Petri Papa, Manol Todor, Todor Petri  
 Mihalo Beno, Beno Balad, Mihalo Petri, Petri Papa, Simo Beno  
 Beno Balad, Mihalo Petri, Nikoli Yanaki, Yovan Petri, Petri Papa  
 Andon Yanaki, Yanaki Todor, Atanas Petri, Petri Papa, Mihalo Beno  
 Beno Balad, Mihalo Yani, Simo Petri, Mihalo Beno, Beno Balad

- Mihalo Petri, Nikoli Manol, Manol Petri, Yovan Beno, Beno Balad  
 Nikoli Todor, Todor Petri, Atanas Yanaki, Andon Petri, Petro Papa  
 Mihalo Beno, Beno Balad, Yanaki Todor, Dimo Petri, Petri Beno  
 Simo Beno, Beno Balad, Yanaki Petri, Mihalo Beno, Beno Balad  
 Aleksii Petri, Petri Papa, Mihalo Beno, Beno Balad, Yorgi Petri  
 Petri Papa, Simo Beno, Beno Balad, Atanas Yanaki, Yanaki Todor  
 Todor Petri, Mihalo Beno, Beno Balad, Aleksii Yanaki, Yovan Petri  
 (...) Beno, Beno Balad, Yanaki Petri, Vasil Beno, Beno Balad  
 Mihalo Petri, Petri Papa, Dimo Beno, Nikoli Yanaki, Yanaki Petri  
 Aleksii Yanaki, Yanaki Todor, Todor Mihalo, Simo Beno, Beno Balad  
 Vasil Todor, Todor Petri, Petri Papa, Mihalo Beno, Beno Balad  
 (...), Nikoli Yanaki, Yanaki Petri, Petri Papa, Mihalo Beno  
 (10) Beno Petri, Petri Papa, Mihal Petri  
 Hane 123

*Karye-i Lika*

Yorgi Dimo, Dimo Petri, Petri Papa, Mihalo Beno, Beno Balad  
 Mihalo Beno, Petri Papa, Nikoli Todor  
 Hane 8

*Karye-i Ana Güşa*

Todor Petri, Petri Papa, Mihalo Beno, Beno Balad, Aleksii Yanaki  
 Yovan Petri, Mihalo Beno, Beno Balad, Mihalo Petri, Manol Petri  
 Petri Papa, Mihalo Balad, Beno Balad, Aleksii Todor, Todor Petri  
 Vasil Petri, Mihalo Balad, Mihalo Aleksii, Andon Todor, Mihal Petri  
 Yorgi Beno, Beno Balad, Mihalo Petri, Petri Papa, Nikoli Yanaki  
 Yanaki Petri, Petri Beno, Beno Balad  
 Hane 28

*Karye-i Kato Güşa*<sup>140</sup>

Mihalo Petri, Petri Beno, Beno Balad, Aleksii Yanaki, Yanaki Todor  
 Todor Petri, Mihalo Beno, Beno Balad, Mihalo Petri, Aleksii Yanaki  
 Yanaki Petri, Petri Papa, Mihalo Beno, Beno Balad, Mihalo Petri  
 Petri Papa, Mihalo Beno, Beno Balad, Aleksii Yanaki, Yanaki Petri  
 Mihalo Beno, Beno Balad, Yanaki Petri, Beno Balad, Mihalo Petri  
 Hane 25

<sup>140</sup> The reading "Kato Gkiousha" was assisted by the presence of the immediately previous toponym "Ano Gkiousha", because the first letter of the word "Kato" was illegible. Furthermore, the letter vav is missing from the word Güşa.

***Karye-i Furna***

- Mihalo Balad, Simo Petri, Nikoli Yanaki, Petri Papa, Mihalo Beno  
 Beno Petri, Yorgi Dimo, Dimitri Papa, Mihalo Beno. (...)  
 Beno Peri, Pero Peraki, Padelako Yani, Beno Peri, Nikoli.Peri  
 (11) Dimitri Peri, Lura Peri, Andrya Peri, Yanaki Yani, Todor Yani  
 Todor Papa, Kostadara Miha, Todor (...), Paraskuli Papa, Pano Papa  
 Yanaki Yani, Todor Papa, Paraskuli Papa, Dimitri Mihal, Yanaki Yani  
 (...), Todor Papa, Kostadara Peri, Yorgi Peri, Todor Papa  
 Mihalul Yani, Dimitri Mihal, Todor Papa, Paraskuli Papa, Pano Mihal  
 Dimitri Peri, Paraskuli Papa, Pano Papa, Paraskuli Papa, Pano Panud  
 Todor Papa, Paraskuli Papa, Pano Papa, Pano Todor, Dimitri Mihal  
 Dimitri Peri, Todor Papa, Paraskuli Papa, Pano Mihal, Todor Papa  
 Lura Peri, Toma Papa, Paraskuli Papa, Pano Papa, Todor Papa  
 Dimitri Peri, Todor Papa, Dimitri Mihal, Todor Papa, Paraskuli Papa  
 Yorgi Peri, Todor Papa, Andrya Peri, Todor Yani, Pano Yeradar<sup>141</sup>  
 Mihalul Papa, Kosdara Mihal, Todor Papa, Paraskuli Papa, Pano Peri  
 Pano Mihal  
 Hane 76

***Karye-i Platanoz***

- Yorgi Peri, Yanaki Yani, Toma Papa, Andrya Peri, Todor Papa  
 Todor Papa, Kostadara Peri, Todor Papa, Dimitri Mihal, Paraskuli Papa  
 Paraskuli Papa, Paraskuli Papa, Pano Todor, Dimitri Pera, Todor Yani  
 Dimitri Peri, Todor Papa, Paraskuli Papa, Paraskuli Papa, Pano Todor  
 Toma Papa, Pano Mihal, Todor Papa, Todor Papa, Pano Todor  
 Yanaki Yani, Todor Papa, Dimitri Mihal, Todor Papa, Pano Mihal  
 (12) Yorgi Peri, Todor Papa, Paraskuli Papa, Pano Papa, Todor Papa  
 Dimitri Mihal, Todor Papa, Paraskuli (...), Pano Papa, Paraskuli Papa  
 Yorgi Mihal, Todor Papa, Paraskuli Papa, Pano Papa, Paraskuli Papa  
 Dimitri Peri, Yorgi Peri, Todor Papa, Yanaki Yani, Todor Papa  
 Todor Papa, Yanaki Yani  
 Hane 52

***Karye-i Ereza ovası***

- Yorgi Peri, Todor Papa, Paraskuli Papa, Andrya Peri, Yorgi Peri  
 Dimitri Peri, Yanaki Yani, Pano Papa, Todor Papa, Dimitri Mihal  
 Lura Peri, Yorgi Peri, Todor Papa, Yanaki Yani, Todor Papa  
 Dimitri Peri, Todor Papa, Paraskuli Papa, Yanaki Yani, Todor Papa  
 Yanaki Yani, Todor Papa, Yanaki Yani, Todor Papa, Paraskuli Papa

<sup>141</sup> Also reads as Peradar.

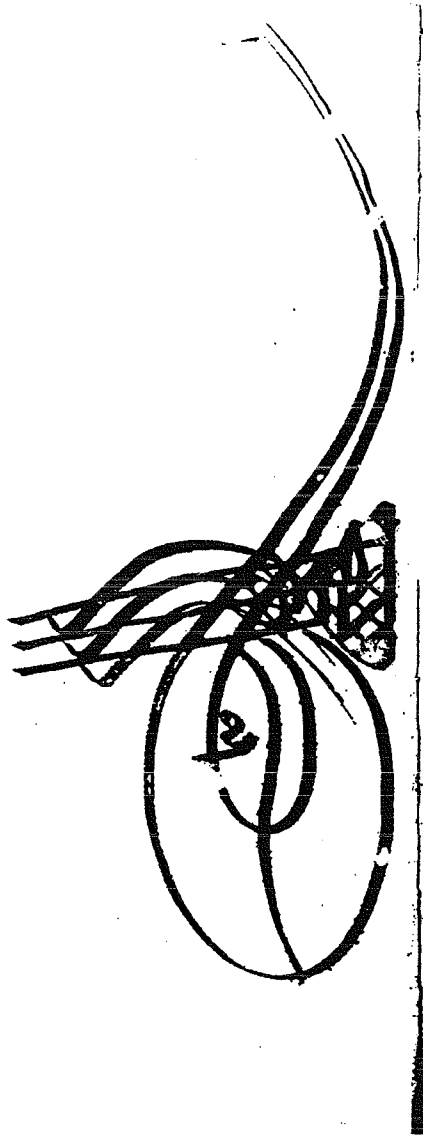
- Yanaki Yani, Todor Papa, Todor Papa, Paraskuli Papa, Pano Mihal  
 Todor Papa, Paraskuli Papa, Pano Papa, Todor Papa, Yanaki Yani  
 Yorgi Mihal, Todor Papa, Paraskuli Papa, Pano Papa, Todor Papa  
 Dimitri Peri, Yanaki Yani, Todor Papa, Paraskuli Papa, Pano Mihal  
 Lura Peri, Todor Papa, Paraskuli Papa, Pano Papa, Yanaki Yani  
 Yorgi Mihal, Todor Papa, Pano Papa, Paraskuli Papa, Pano Papa  
 Dimitri Peri, Yorgi Mihal, Todor Papa, Paraskuli Papa, Pano Mihal  
 Pano Mihal, Todor Papa, Andrya Peri, Dimitri Mihal, Beno Peri  
 Dimitri Petri, Todor Papa, Paraskuli Papa, Pano Peri, Pano Yani  
 (13) Beno (...), Padelako Andrya, Padelako Toma  
 Hane 73

***Karye-i Kalabaka***

Toma Andrya, Andon Manol, Yanaki Yani, Manol Yani, Beno Peri  
 Petro Peraki, Padelako Yovan, Andrya Yani  
 Hane 8

***Karye-i Punda***

- Kondara Kosta, Manol Yani, Yanaki Yani, Dimo Beno, Peri Peraki  
 Beno Peri, Petro Valako, Yanaki Yani, Dimo Dimitri, Yovan Yani  
 Dimo Yani, Panayi Yani, Dimo Kanaki, Dimo Yanaki, Mihal Istamad  
 Yorgi Yani, Dimo Mitro, Valo Valako, Padelako Parasho, Padelako Yovan  
 Leho Yani, Mitro Valako, Yovan Mihal, Lehoyan Paraskeva, Yanaki Yani  
 Mitro Dimo, Yovan Lehono, Todor Yani, Yanaki Yani, Padelako Yani  
 Dimo Simo, Mitro Mihal, Istamad Yovan, Padelako Yani, Dimo Mitro  
 Beno Manol, Yorgi Yani, Dimo Beno, Lehono Mitro, Valako Yani  
 Padelako Yani, Dimo Beno, Peri Peraki, Padelako Yani, Peri Pero  
 Valako Yani, Petro Beno, Nikoli Peri, Petro Peraki, Padelako Yani  
 Beno Yani, Yanaki Yani, Dimo Beno, Beno Peri, Beno Peri  
 Beno Peri, Petro Peraki, Padelako Yani, Yanaki Beno, Padelako Beno  
 Mitro Valo, Valo Yanaki, Mihal Istamad, Istamad Yani, Yanaki Beno  
 Mitro Valo, Yovan Lehoyan, Mitro Valo, Yovan Lehoyan, Todor Peri  
 (14) Kondara Kosta, Beno Petri, Toma Andrya  
 Hane 73





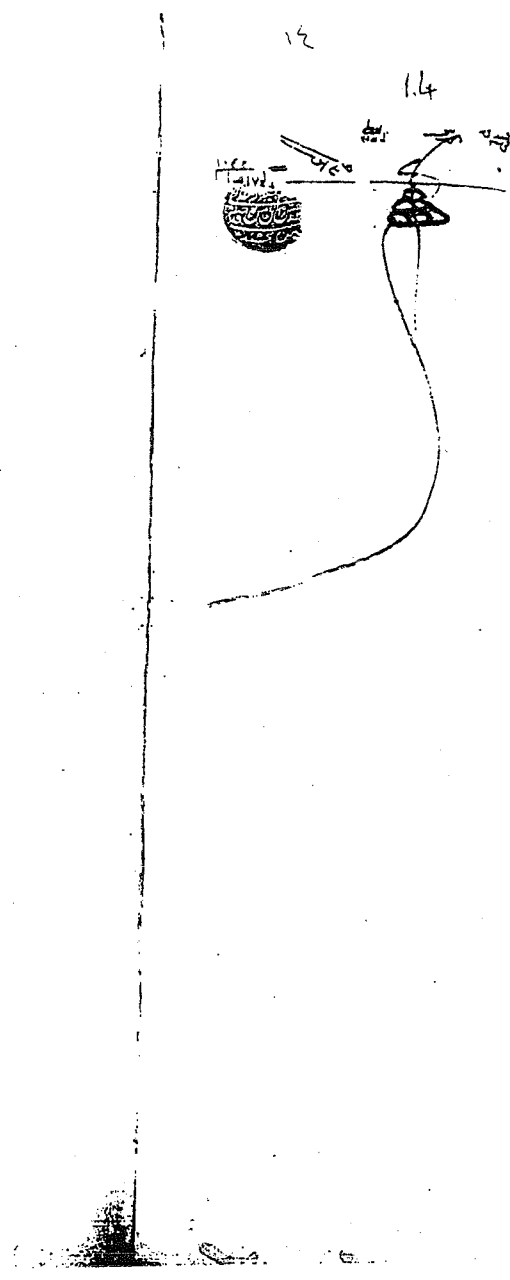
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## II. Maliyeden Müdevver 14822

- (1) Defter-i  
ziyâde-i cizye-i gebrân-ı evkâf-ı merhum kapudân paşa  
Kılıç Ali paşa der Tophâne ber vâcib-i sene 1052

Vakıf  
merhum kapudan Kılıç Ali paşa

### *Karye-i Sisam*

- Yani Petri, Mihalo Beno, Nikoli Petri, Mihalo Beno, Todor Petri  
Nikoli Yanaki, Yorgi Petri, Mihalo Beno, Yani Petri, Mihalo Nikoli  
Todor Petri, Manol Mihalo, Yani Petri, Petri Papa, Yanaki Petri  
Kostadin Mihalo, Mihalo Beno, Beno Petri, Mihalo Beno, Nikoli Petri  
Mihalo Beno, Petri Papa, Mihalo Petri, Todor Nikoli, Yanaki Petri  
Nikoli Petri, Mihalo Petri, Yanaki Petri, Dimitri Nikoli, Manol Petri  
Andrya Petri, Manol Petri, Mihalo Petri, Todor Mihalo, Yanaki Petri  
Petri Yanaki, Yorgi Petri, Manol Petri, Kostadin Yani, Yovan Petri  
Mihalo Beno, Nikoli Yanaki, Yanaki Petri, Mihalo Beno, Beno Petri  
Yorgi Petri, Mihalo Beno, Beno Todor, Todor Mihalo, Manol Petri  
Yani Beno, Beno Petri, Aleksi Petri, Manol Todor, Todor Mihalo  
Mihal Beno, Nikoli Petri, Mihalo Beno, Yani Petri, Petri Beno  
Yorgi Petri, Mihalo Beno, Kostadin Petri, Mihalo Petri, (...) Petri  
Nikoli Petri, Andrya Petri, Mihalo Beno, Beno Balad, Manol Petri  
Todor Mihalo, Mihalo Beno, Nikoli Yanaki, Yorgi Petri, Mihalo Balad  
Nikoli Petri, Manol Petri, Petri Beno, Kostadin Yani, Yani Petri  
Yanaki Petri, Todor Mihalo, Petri Beno, Beno Balad, Yanaki Petri  
(2) Yani Petri, Petri Papa, Mihalo Beno, Nikoli Yanaki, Yanaki Petri  
Yorgi Petri, Manol Petri, Mihalo Beno, Kostadin Yani, Yanaki Petri  
Yani Petri, Mihalo Petri, Yanaki Petri, Todor Mihalo, Mihalo Beno  
Kostadin Nikoli, Nikoli Petri, Manol Andrya, Petri Yanaki, Petri Beno  
Yani Petri, Petri Papa, Mihalo Beno, Dimo Yani, Dimitri Yanaki  
Yorgi Petri, Mihalo Beno, Aleksi Petri, Kostadin Yani, Yani Beno  
Mihalo Petri, Nikoli Yanaki, Yanaki Petri, Petri Papa, Mihalo Beno  
Yovan Todor, Todor Manol, Manol Petri, Kostadin Yani, Yani Petri  
Yorgi Petri, Petri Papa, Petri Beno, Beno Balad, Manol Nikoli  
Yorgi Todor, Mihalo Beno, Nikoli Yanaki, Yanaki Petri, Mihalo Beno  
Yovan Yanaki, Yanaki Petri, Mihalo Balad, Kostadin Yani, Yorgi Petri  
Manol Petri, Mihalo Beno, Beno Balad, Andrya Petri, Nikoli Yanaki  
Yanaki Todor, Todor Mihalo, Mihalo Beno, Nikoli Petri, Mihalo Beno  
Yovan Manol, Manol Dimitri, Nikoli Petri, Mihalo Beno, Beno Petri

- Mihalo Beno, Petri Papa, Petri Nikoli, Yanaki Todor, Todor Petri  
 Yani Beno, Beno Petri, Yanaki Todor, Todor Kostadin, Mihalo Beno  
 Yanaki Petri, Petri Yani, Kostandin Yani, Yorgi Petri, Manol Petri  
 Mihalo Beno, Nikoli Yanaki, Yanaki Petri, Dimitri Manol, Yani Kostadin  
 Nikoli Petri, Mihalo Beno, Dimo Manol, Yanaki Petri, Petri Todor  
 Todor Kostandin, Kostandin Mihalo, Mihalo Beno, Yanaki Ganas, Yani Petri  
 (3) Nikoli Yanaki, Yanaki Todor, Todor Petri, Mihalo Beno, Petri Yani  
 Yanaki Petri, Mihalo Beno, Beno Petri, Aleksi Yanaki, Yanaki Todor  
 Kostadin Nikoli, Nikoli Petri, Mihalo Balad, Vasil Todor, Todor Beno  
 Manol Nikoli, Yanaki Petri, Petri Beno, (...), Petri Papa  
 Andrya Petri, Petri Papa, Yanaki Petri, Mihalo Beno, Beno Balad  
 Yorgi Petri, Petri Beno, Nikoli Petri, Mihalo Beno, Beno Aleksi  
 Hane 215

*Karye-i Midillu*

- Andrya Petri, Nikoli Todor, Todor Petri, Petri Papa, Yorgi Petri  
 Mihalo Beno, Yanaki Petri, Mihalo Beno, Beno Petri, Kostadin Yani  
 Nikoli Andon, Anton Petri, Petri Papa, Yovan Petri, Todor Nikoli  
 Yanaki Beno, Beno Balad, Aleksi Petri, Yorgi Nikoli, Yanaki Petri  
 Mihalo Beno, Beno Balad, Yorgi Petri, Nikoli Petri, Mihalo Beno  
 Todor Nikoli, Yanaki Mihalo, Mihalo Beno, Yorgi Petri, Todor Mihalo  
 Mihalo Yani, Nikoli Benti (?), Kostadin Nikoli, Nikoli Papa, Kostadin Mihalo  
 Andrya Beno, Nikoli Aleksi, Mihalo Beno, Kosta Petri, Dimo Yani  
 Manol Todor, Todor Petri, Petri Papa, Yanaki Beno, Kostadi Mihalo  
 Mihalo Beno, Beno Balad, Yanaki Petri, Andrya Petri, Dimitri Petri  
 Dimitri Papa, Yanaki Todor, Todor Andrya, Mihalo Beno, Beno Petri  
 Vasil Nikoli, Yanaki Petri, Mihalo Beno, Beno Balad, Yani Nikoli  
 Yanaki Todor, Todor Petri, Mihalo Beno, Yanaki Kostadin, Mihalo Beno  
 (4) Yani Nikoli, Todor Mihalo, Mihalo Beno, Petri Petri, Yanaki Petri  
 Petri Todor, Kostadi Yani, Yani Petri, Dimitri Yani, Yani Todor  
 Kostadin Mihalo, Mihalo Beno, Beno Balad, Andrya Petri, Mihalo Beno  
 Yanaki Petri, Todor Mihalo, Petri Beno, Yani Petri, Manol Petri  
 Kostadin Yanaki, Yanaki Petri, Mihalo Beno, Beno Petri, Todor Mihalo  
 Manol Nikoli, Yanaki Petri, Beno Petri, Yanaki Petri, Nikoli Petri  
 Yani Petri, Mihalo Beno, Nikoli Petri, Petri Papa, Manol Todor  
 Andrya Petri, Dimo Beno  
 Hane 102<sup>142</sup>

<sup>142</sup> The scribe under the number 102, written in *siyakat rakamlari*, noted the number 101.

***Karye-i Ahirlasi***

Todor Mihalo, Mihalo Yani, Petri Beno, Kostadin Yani, Nikoli Petri  
 Petri Papa, Dimitri Yani, Kostadin Yani, Mihalo Petri, Todor Manol  
 Yorgi Petri, Mihalo Beno, Beno Petri, Yani Todor, Nikoli Yanaki  
 Kostadin Papa, Mihalo Balad, Yanaki Petri, Mihalo Beno, Beno Balad  
 Petri Yani, Yanaki Petri, Mihalo Balad, Beno Petri, Yanaki Petri  
 Petri Beno, Beno Balad, Yanaki Petri, Dimo Beno, Pero Niko  
 (...) Petro, Todor Beno, Yani Petro, Andrya Petri, Petri Simo  
 Yanaki Todor, Andrya Petri, Mihalo Balad, Kostadi Yani, Yorgi Petri  
 Mihalo Beno, Beno Balad, Todor Mihalo, Manol Petri, Kostadi Yani  
 Yorgi Petri, Manol Petri, Petri Todor, Yanaki Petri, Petri Beno  
 Todor Petri, Mihalo Balad, Yanaki Todor, Mihalo Beno, Beno Petri  
 Yani Petri  
 Hane 56

(5)

***Karye-i Palyokastro***

Petri Todor, Mihalo Beno, Nikoli Petri, Manol Petri, Nikoli Petri  
 Yanaki Petri, Petri Beno, Todor Petri, Mihalo (...), Andrya Petri  
 Kostadin Mihalo, Manol Petri, Mihalo Beno, Beno Balad, Yanaki Petri  
 Todor Mihalo, Mihalo Balad, Yanaki Petri, Yani Petri, Aleksii Petri  
 Hane 20

***Karye-i Urla***

Mihalo Beno, Todor Mihalo, Mihalo Beno, Beno Petri, Kostadin Papa  
 Petri Petri, Petri Papa, Yanaki Petri, Mihalo Beno, Petri Beno  
 Yani Petri, Nikoli Petri, Mihalo Beno, Yanaki Petri, Mihalo Beno  
 Yorgi Petri, Petri Todor, Todor Mihalo, Petri Papa, Kostadin Yani  
 Nikoli Petri, Mihalo Beno, Yani Todor, Todor Petri, Manol Petri  
 Mihalo Beno, Beno Balad, Nikoli Todor, Nikoli Manol, Petri Papa  
 Petri Beno, Beno Petri, Dimitri Yani, Yanaki Petri  
 Hane 34

***Karye-i Komar/Kokar***

Kostadin Yani, Mihalo Beno, Beno Petri, Todor Mihalo, Nikoli Petri  
 Petri Beno, Beno Balad, Todor Petri  
 Hane 8

***Karye-i Değirmen***

Yorgi Petri, Petri Papa, Manol Petri, Nikoli Petri, Mihalo Beno  
 Petri Beno, Mihalo Balad, Todor Petri, Andrya Petri, Petri Papa  
 Yani Petri, Manol Todor, Todor Mihalo, Mihalo (...), Kostadin Yani

(6)

Yani Mihalo, Todor Petri, Kostadin Yani, Yorgi Petri, Todor Mihalo  
 Petri Papa, Mihalo Balad, Yorgi Petri, Yanaki Petri, Mihalo Balad  
 Kostadin Papa, Nikoli Petri, Mihalo Beno, Beno Petri, Petri Yanaki  
 Petri Beno, Beno Balad, Nikoli Petri, Todor Petri, Mihalo Beno  
 Mihalo Petri, Nikoli Petri, Petri Papa, Manol Petri, Kostadin Yani  
 Petri Petri, Yanaki Petri, Mihalo Beno, Mihalo Beno  
 Hane 44

***Karye-i Tunda***

- Mirko Barisa<sup>143</sup>, Yanaki Dimo, Aleksi Marko, Dimitri Yorgi, Yorgi Makri  
 Mihal Kosma, Dimo Angeli, Yanaki Dimo, Angeli Barisa, Mihalaki Dimo  
 Barisa Dimo, Andrya Yanaki, Dimo Petrako, Yorgi Dimitri, Angeli Petrako  
 Mihalo Kosma, Yanaki Dimo, Angelo Petrako, Angelo Dimo, Andrya Yanaki  
 Marko Barisa, Petri Yani, Aleksi Petrako, Mihal Kosma, Andrya Yani  
 Yani Aleksi, Dimo Andrya, Yanuli Kosma, Yani Kiryako, Dimo Aleksi  
 Kiryako Kosta, Dimo Aleksi, Yani Petrako, Barisa Dimo, Mihal Kosma  
 (...) Yani, Petrako Barisa, Dimitri Aleksi, Yani Petrako, Yanuli Kosma  
 Petrako Yani, Dimo Aleksi, Yorgi Petro, Petri Todor, Mihalo Beno  
 Yanaki Angelo, Nikoli Petri, Mihalo Beno, Todor Mihalo, Yani Petri  
 Petri (...), Yanaki Todor, Todor Petri, Yanaki Mihalo, Petri Beno  
 Nikoli Petri, Mihalo Balad, Mihalo Beno, Petri Aleksi, Mihalo Beno  
 (7) Todor Mihalo, Kostadin Aleksi, Aleksi Petri, Nikoli Aleksi, Petri Beno  
 Hane 65

***Karye-i Ispatari***

Yorgi Petri, Mihalo Beno, Nikoli Petri, Yanaki Andrya, Manol Petri  
 Mihalo Beno, Beno Balad, Yanaki Dimitri, Kostadin (...), Mihalo Beno  
 Beno Balad, Manol Petri, Petri Nikoli, Yanaki Petri  
 Hane 14

***Karye-i Pirgos***

Petri Beno, Yanaki Petri, Mihalo Beno, Dimitri Manol, Kostadi Papa  
 Dimitri Manol, Nikoli Petri, Petri Papa, Petri Nikoli, Petri Yani  
 Todor Mihalo, Todor Mihalo, Manol Yani, Yanaki Petri, Mihalo Beno  
 Nikoli Petri, Kostadi Papa, Andrya Petri, Mihalo Beno, Beno Petri  
 Yani Petri, Mihalo Beno, Nikoli Petri, Mihalo Beno, Kostadin Mihalo  
 Yorgi Petri, Nikoli Manol, Todor Petri, Kostadin Papa, Petri Beno  
 Andrya Petri, Mihalo Beno, Kostadin Nikoli  
 Hane 33

<sup>143</sup> Dimitriou records the name Barisos, see N. Dimitriou, *Folklore of Samos, op. cit.*,  
 vol. 3, p. 110.

***Karye-i Gika***

Yorgi Todor, Andrya Petri, Mihalo Beno, Yani Petri, Mihalo Beno  
 Kostadin Yani, Mihalo Petri, Manol Todor  
 Hane 8

***Karye-i Karlovasi***

- (8) Yani Petri, Andrya Beno, Petri Beno, Kostadin Manol, Mihalo Petri  
 Yanaki Manol, Andrya Petri, Petri Papa, Yovan Nikoli, Nikoli Todor  
 Yani Petri, Mihalo Beno, Todor Petri, Kostadin Mihalo, Manol Petri  
 Dimo Petri, Manol Todor, Kostadin Manol, Mihalo (?), Nikoli Petri  
 Yani Beno, Beno Balad, Mihalo Petri, Petri Todor, Andrya Petri  
 Yanaki Mihalo, Mihalo Beno, Beno Balad, Andrya Petro, Petri Papa  
 Yorgi Petri, Mihalo Beno, Beno Petri, Petri Nikoli, Nikoli Yanaki  
 Yanaki Mihalo, Manol Todor, Todor Mihalo, Kostadin Mihalo, Petri Papas  
 Yorgi Petri, Petri Papa, Nikoli Manol, Aleksi Petri, Yanaki Petri  
 Mihalo Petri, Petri Kostadin, Kostadin Papa, Aleksi Mihalo, Kostadin Aleksi  
 Aleksi Petri, Yorgi Petri, Petri Beno, Kostadin Papa, Yani Petri  
 Dimitri Mihalo, Mihalo Beno, Kostadin Papa, Yorgi Petri, Petri Beno  
 Aleksi Petri, Nikoli Petri, Mihalo Petri, Petri Papa, Yani Mihalo,  
 Yorgi Petri, Todor Mihalo, Petri Beno, Yani Petri, Andon Papa  
 Anton Petri, Nikoli Manol, Petri Papa, Dimitri Manol, Mihalo Beno  
 Kostadin Nikoli, Yanaki Petri, Mihalo Beno, Beno Balad, Vasil Papa  
 Yorgi Petri, Petri Beno, Beno Balad, Todor Mihalo, Petri Nikoli  
 Yanaki Petri, Mihalo Beno, Yani Mihalo, Mihalo Beno, Kostadin Nikoli  
 (...) Petri, Manol Petri, Mihalo Todor, Todor Mihalo, Kostadin Nikoli  
 Nikoli Petri, Petri Papa, Dimitri Petri, Petri Beno, Nikoli Petri  
 Petri Todor, Mihalo Balad, Aleksi Todor, Todor Papa, Kostadin Papa  
 Nikoli Petri, Mihalo Beno, Manol Petri, Yanaki Petri, Mihalo Beno  
 Dimitri Petri, Andrya Mihalo, Kostadin Papa, Nikoli Todor, Todor Petri  
 (9) Todor Petri, Petri Beno, Yani Petri, Kostadin Mihalo, Manol Petri  
 Yanaki Petri, Mihalo Beno, Petri Petri  
 Hane 123

***Karye-i Lika***

Petri Aleksi, Petri Petri, Nikoli Petri, Mihalo (...), Yorgi Petri  
 Manol Petri, Manol Petri, Kostadin Yanaki  
 Hane 8

***Karye-i Ana Güşa***

Mihalo Petri, Petri Papa, Yanaki Mihalo, Mihalo Balad, Kostadin Papa  
 Andrya Petri, Mihal Nikoli, Yanaki Aleksi, Petri Beno, Yani Petri

Yorgi Todor, Todor Mihalo, Kostadin Aleks, Mihalo Petri, Yanaki Mihalo  
 Manol Nikoli, Nikoli Petri, Mihalo Beno, Andrya Petri, Kostadin Nikoli  
 Yanaki Petri, Mihalo Beno, Beno Balad, Mihalo Petri, Andrya Petri  
 Todor Petri, Mihalo Beno, Kostadin Papa  
 Hane 28

***Karye-i Kato Güşa***

Yorgi Petri, Mihalo Beno, Nikoli Petri, Petri Papa, Andrya Todor  
 Todor Kostadin, Petri Beno, Aleks Petri, Mihalo Beno, Yani Petri  
 Mihalo Todor, Todor Petri, Kostadin Aleks, Aleks Petri, Mihalo Beno  
 Andrya Petri, Mihalo Beno, Yanaki Todor, Todor Mihalo, Petri Kostadin  
 Andrya Petri, Petri Yanaki, Kostadin Aleks, Mihalo Beno, Yani Petri  
 Hane 25

***Karye-i Furna***

- (10) Aleks Petri, Mihalo Beno, Todor Kostadin, Petri Yani, Yorgi Petri  
 Yorgi Petri, Manol Petri, Kostadin Mihalo, Yanaki Petri, Mihalo Beno  
 Todor Mihalo, Petri Petri, Mihalo Beno, Nikoli Petri, Aleks Mihalo  
 Nikoli Petri, Mihalo Balad, Yani Petri, Todor Yanaki, Petri Beno  
 Yani Petri, Manol Petri, Nikoli Petri, Andrya Manol, Kostadin Mihalo  
 Yanaki Todor, Petri Petri, Kostadin Mihalo, Petri Papas, Andrya Mihalo  
 Atanas Nikoli, Yanaki Petri, Mihalo Balad, Nikoli Yanaki, Kostadin Mihalo  
 Yorgi Manol, Kostadin Todor, Todor Mihalo, Mihalo Petri, Mihalo Yani  
 Anton Petri, Mihalo Beno, Nikoli Aleks, Yani Andrya, Petri Dimo  
 Todor Manol, Petri Yani, Kostadin Aleks, Andrya Petri, Yovan Aleks  
 Kostadin Yani, Todor Petri, Andrya Mihalo, Petri Nikoli, Nikoli Petri  
 Anton Petri, Petri Nikoli, Yanaki Aleks, Petri Petri, Petri Papa  
 Todor Mihalo, Yani Nikoli, Nikoli Petri, Mihalo Beno, Todor Yani  
 Yanaki Kostadin, Kostadin Mihal, Mihalo Petri, Petri Papa, Yovan Manol  
 Andrya Petri, Dimitri Mihal, Manol Todor, Todor Kostadin, Mihalo Balad  
 Petri Papa  
 Hane 76

***Karye-i Platanoz***

- (11) Nikoli Yanaki, Yanaki Kostadin, Petri Beno, Beno Balad, Todor Mihalo  
 Yanaki Aleks, Yorgi Manol, Andrya Petri, Mihalo Beno, Yanaki Yovan  
 Yorgi Mihalo, Yanaki Petri, Mihalo Balad, Aleks Mihalo, Yani Petri  
 Kostadin Yani, Yorgi Petri, Nikoli Petri, Mihalo Balad, Yani Nikoli  
 Mihal Petri, Petri Nikoli, Yanaki Petri, Mihalo Petri, Nikoli Yanaki  
 Mihalo Beno, Beno Petri, Nikoli Yanaki, Mihalo Beno, Yanaki Todor  
 Todor Mihalo, Petri Petri, Dimo Yanaki, Yorgi Petri, Kostadin Yani

Mihalo Beno, Todor Yani, Mihalo Beno, Nikoli Petri, Yanaki Petri  
 Petri Papa, Nikoli Yanaki, Manol Petri, Nikoli Yani, Manol Beno  
 Todor Petri, Mihalo Beno, Nikoli Yanaki, Yanaki Petri, Manol Beno  
 Dimo Petri, Manol Petri  
 Hane 52

***Karye-i Ereza ovası***

Petri Papa, Dimitri Petri, Petri Yanaki, Andrya Petri, Mihal Nikoli  
 Yanaki Dimitri, Kostadin Yani, Mihalo Beno, Beno Petri, Mihalo Beno  
 Petri Beno, Nikoli Yanaki, Yanaki Petri, Mihalo Balad, Aleksı Petri  
 Mihal Petri, Todor Mihalo, Yorgi Petri, Mihalo Balad, Yani Petri  
 Aleksı Mihalo, Yani Todor, Mihalo Balad, Nikoli Yani, Todor Petri  
 Mihalo Petri, Mihalo Balad, Kostadin Mihalo, Kostadin Yani, Dimitri Papas  
 Manol Petri, Mihalo Balad, Dimitri Nikoli, Nikoli Petri, Manol Todor  
 Todor Mihalo, Mihal Petri, Yanak Petri, Aleksı Petri, Todor Mihalo  
 Kostadin Aleksı, Aleksı Mihalo, Nikoli Petri, Dimitri Manol, Kostadin Aleksı  
 Niko Dimo, Anton Manol, Kostadin Petri, Todor Mihalo, Mihal Nikoli  
 Andrya Petri, Petri Papa, Nikoli Yanaki, Yorgi Mihalo, Kostadin Nikoli  
 Yani Petri, Mihalo Beno, Petri Papa, Nikoli Petri, Mihalo Beno  
 Kostadin Yani, Andrya Petri, Petri Todor, Andrya Petri, Mihalo Beno  
 (12) Yani Petri, Petri Yani, Yorgi Kostadin, Petri Mihalo, Todor Petri  
 Manol Yani, Yorgi Petri, Nikoli Manol  
 Hane 73

***Karye-i...lak***

Yani Petri, Petri Yani, Kostadin Nikoli, Andrya Petri, Mihalo Beno  
 Todor Papa, Nikoli Mihal, Mihalo Beno  
 Hane 8

***Nefs-i Punda Adası***

Kalafat, Nikola Kosma, Petroduka Mihal, Deli Niko, Balafı Niko  
 Yani hamrıcı (?), Yani yağcı (?), Yorgi Arnavud, Koca Şıfa, Kostantin Farina  
 Dimitri Idrakona<sup>144</sup> ođlu, çangar Yani, Koca Duka, Dimitri Luka, Koca Laz  
 Paraşkeva Laz, Kacuradi Mihal, Cani, Nimura, Mihal Nikoli  
 Mihal Sakuli ođlu, Manol Sakuli ođlu, Nikola Sakuli ođlu, Garga<sup>145</sup> Dimitri,  
 Sevasto Istratili  
 Yani Sevasto, Paraşkeva Perdik, Yani Kandil, Yani Hacc, Kostantin Karava

<sup>144</sup> Also reads Ivrakona.

<sup>145</sup> Dimitriou preserved the name Kargas, see N. Dimitriou, *Folklore of Samos*, *op. cit.*, vol. 3, p. 98.

- Karayani Kostantin, Koca Nikola re'is<sup>146</sup>, Yorgi Koca Nikola, Koca Yani, Yorgi Duka  
 Emirza<sup>147</sup>, Kostantin Karanikola, kapudan Andrya, Panayot Andrya, Dimitri Ral  
 Yanaki Duka, Yorgi Permana oğlu, Yorgi (..)yacı<sup>148</sup>, Belalfoga<sup>149</sup> Kurina,  
 Toma çankar  
 Karula<sup>150</sup>, Vasil, Toma rakıcı<sup>151</sup>, Nikola, Kostantin Vazek  
 Manol Kostantin, Tepasti, Yorgi kasab, Andoni, Sari  
 Kokala, Yorgi, Paraşkeva Sari, Griva Yani, Yani Kalo  
 Kostandin Çakir, Sari Kosma Gongusi<sup>152</sup>, Ivraña Kosma, Kaço, Trecun  
 Belalfoga, Kacako, Yorgi Andrya, Cuka, Perto  
 (13) değirmenci<sup>153</sup>, Diyalidan oğlu üvey<sup>154</sup>, Nikoli Kostandin  
 Hane 73

*haymanegân cezire-i mezbûr*

Koca Andrya, Kusurla, Frangula, Duka Frangula, Kiryazi Drazi  
 Balafo Frangula, Yorgi Frangula, Duka Zika, Balafo (...), Farako Misyo  
 Paraşkeva Terzi, Dimo, Yani Sakuli, Manol Migda(?), Yani Amira  
 Yorgi Peranda, Lyura Tarina<sup>155</sup>, Kostandin Calik, Manol Kalfa, Cakaloğlu Yani

<sup>146</sup> *re'is* = captain. In documents of the monastery of the Zoodochos Pege (1865, 1870) it is found as a surname, see Tatiana Georgaki-Ioannou, "Archive of the Zoodochos Pege monastery", *op. cit.*, docs. 294, 298.

<sup>147</sup> Amirsas, maternal name from Amirisa, Amirsa, see N. Dimitriou, *Folklore of Samos*, *op. cit.*, vol. 3, p. 71. The name Amirsas, Amirsonis is noted by Zapheiriou, see N. Zapheiriou "The surnames of Samos", *op. cit.*, p. 116.

<sup>148</sup> This may be a trade of some kind. Despite our efforts and those of the specialists at the Başbakanlık Arşivi to whom I resorted, the word has not yet been identified.

<sup>149</sup> Tellal Foga = Phokas town crier.

<sup>150</sup> Dimitriou preserves the name Karoulias, see N. Dimitriou, *Folklore of Samos*, *op. cit.*, vol. 3, p. 98.

<sup>151</sup> *rakıcı* = producer or seller of raki. In a transaction document of 1835, it is listed as a surname. See M. G. Varvounis, "Local history and traditional polity of Samos", *op. cit.*, p. 69.

<sup>152</sup> Demetriou preserves the name Gkogkousis, see N. Demetriou, *Folklore of Samos*, vol. 3, *op. cit.*, p. 94. The same word, however, may be read Güveyisi.

<sup>153</sup> *değirmenci* = miller.

<sup>154</sup> This may be the word *üvey oğlu* = ancestor. It does not resemble a baptismal name.

<sup>155</sup> I would not rule out the reading Marina.

- Cakaloğlu Angeli, Yani Petaludi<sup>156</sup>, Arnavud Dimo, Andon Petaludi, Duka Petaludi
- Dimitri Perdala<sup>157</sup>, Papas Gölesi, Ilyo Sakuli, Arnavud, Arnavudoğlu Yani Midilluci Yani, Midilluci Dimo, Midilluci Dimo, Andrya Ilya, Manol Kalapila Yani Depurci, Papago, Karındaşi Yani, Arapaki Nikola, Krata Yani Krata, Nikola Krata, Krata Gongusi, Koca Ral, Dimo Rali, Koca Istamad, Dimo Istamad, Manol Istamad, Dimo Istamad, Koca Arapaki Yanara, Yorgi Pandazi, Arnavud<sup>158</sup>, Nikola, Koca Şoloz<sup>159</sup>
- Yani Şoloz, Gülepapa, Yorgi Kandil, Sofyana Kandili, Pandeli Simo Balafula Pandazi, Dimo Pandazi, Panayot Arkundela, Güle Andrya, Yani Sakuli oğlu
- Sevasto Pandazi, İşkafa, Yanakopandaşi Dimo, Lefteri, Kostanti Kocaka Kocaka Gongusi, Mihal Papanika, Sofyana, Kandil Mihal, Eliti Pariva Çakırci Yani, Yani Kandili, Kukuşi Yani, Kalafat Todori, Manol Kukuşi Karakalamo, Ligor Yorgi, Kuyumci<sup>160</sup>, Midilluci Paraşkeva, Kazi Midilluci Dimitri, Galyona, Panusi Polid, Dorina, Yani Kokalida
- (14) Yorgi Manolaki, Andoni Paraşkeva, Ligura Gemenci<sup>161</sup>, Datiça, Paraskeva Zafira
- Güle Kalafat, Kalafat Gongusi, Aviyoyura, Paraşkeva Midilluci, Pandazi Drazi Koca Panusi, Kiryazi Panusi, Paraşkeva Sakuli, Paraşkeva oğlu, Gota Istrati Gota, Yorgi Çakır, İşfaka Yorgi, Fotino, Franko (...), Yorgi Sotiri, Yanoftaki Pac, Yorgi Foskaki, Çankar Manol Kalfa Polid, Peruna Istadi, Manol Çankar, Floka, Arnavud Ispilad Pilana oğlu Kalir, Yorgi Buduri, Paric Kosma Gerali, Kosma oğlu, Gardara Nikola Gardara, Paraşkeva Gardara, Ligor oğlu Alacalı, Fokova Sevasto, Andrya

<sup>156</sup> A toponym "Petalouda" is recorded, south of the settlement of Kontaëika and Hydroussa, where the church of the Dormition of the Theotokos of Petalouda is located, see K. Papaioannou, *Churches and monasteries of Samos. A brief presentation of their architecture* [in Greek], Athens 1997, p. 43. See also M. P. Zapheiriou, *The language dialect of Samos, op. cit.*, p. 190.

<sup>157</sup> Also reads as Yerdala.

<sup>158</sup> Is this the ethnic Arnavud?

<sup>159</sup> Thus is the word *Theologos* normally written in Ottoman documents.

<sup>160</sup> *kuyumcu* = goldsmith. It is recorded as a surname in documents of 1718, 1813, see M. G. Varvounis, "Local history and traditional polity of Samos", *op. cit.*, p. 55, 57. It also appears as a surname in a document of the monastery of Zoodochos Pege (1805), see Tatiana Georgaki-Ioannou, "Archive of the Zoodochos Pege monastery", *op. cit.*, doc. 109. The surname Kougioumtzis is preserved in N. Demetriou, *Folklore of Samos, op. cit.*, vol. 3, p. 82.

<sup>161</sup> This is certainly not the word *gemici* = sailor.

Yorgi Andrya, Dimitri Midilluci, Todori, Koca Dyako, Kostantin Panusi  
 Andon Panusi, Panusi Andon, Sevasto Dorik, Yorgi re'is Doriki, Arslan usta<sup>162</sup>  
 Vrana  
 Hamopapa Istamad Gongusi, Perdik, Kostantin Perdik, Perdik Gongusi, Papaluko  
 Nikola, Yorgi Yani, KaraYorgi, Laskari, Petri Grivadi  
 Petri Luka, Yorgi Petaludi, Kostantin Altuparmak<sup>163</sup> Karındaşı, Kiryazi,  
 Kundura<sup>164</sup> Istradi  
 Anastaş, Dimitri Ivranaz, Yorgi Morayit<sup>165</sup>, Dimitri Morayit, Yalata Yani  
 Yani Ivret<sup>166</sup>, Kiryazi Ivret, Kiryazi Sevasto Gongusi, Pandazi, Yorgi  
 Bizani<sup>167</sup>  
 Hane 165

<sup>162</sup> *usta* = master craftsman, the highest position in the hierarchy of a guild.

<sup>163</sup> *Altuparmak* = six-fingered.

<sup>164</sup> From the medieval "kountouri" = shoe. The surname Kountouras is preserved in N. Demetriou, *Folklore of Samos, op. cit.*, vol. 3, p. 32.

<sup>165</sup> Perhaps these people had come as immigrants to Samos from the Peloponnese long before the island's second conquest, see remarks by Stamatiadis on the residential quarter of Moraïtochori at Vathy, E. Stamatiadis, *Samiaka*, vol. 4, p. 10.

<sup>166</sup> Is this Vretos?

<sup>167</sup> The presence on Samos of the family Pisani, quibus de jure spectat insula is attested from 1403, see Fr. Thiriet, *Duca di Candia. Ducali e lettere ricevute (1358-1360; 1401-1405)*, *Fonti per la storia di Venezia*, Venice 1978, p. 36-37. See also Catherine Otten-Froux, "Documents inédits sur les Pisans en Romanie aux XIIIe-XIVe siècles", in the volume *Les Italiens à Byzance*, (eds. M. Balard, Angeliki E. Laiou, Catherine Otten-Froux), *Byzantina Sorbonensia-6*, Paris 1987, p. 153-164. In 1833 a descendant of the Pisani family, Stephanos Pizanis, represented Great Britain on Samos, see K. Komis, "Immigration to Samos from Euboea", *op. cit.*, p. 81, note 4.















