

VENETIANS AND OTTOMANS IN THE SOUTHEAST
PELOPONNESE
(15th-18th century)



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The study gives an insight into the historical and economic geography of the Southeast Peloponnese from the mid-fifteenth century until the morrow of the second Ottoman conquest in 1715. It necessarily covers also the period of Venetian rule, which was the intermezzo between the first and second periods of Ottoman rule. By utilizing the data of an Ottoman archival material, I try to compose, as far as possible, the picture of that part of the Peloponnese occupied by Mount Parnon, which begins to the south of the District of Mantinea, extends throughout the District of Kynouria (in the Prefecture of Arcadia), includes the east part of the District of Lacedaimon and the entire District of Epidaurus Limira

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(in the Prefecture of Laconia), and ends at Cape Malea.¹ The Ottoman archival material available to me for this particular area comprises certain unpublished fiscal registers of the Morea, deposited in the *Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi* in Istanbul, which I have gathered together over the last decade, in the course of collecting testimonies on the Ottoman Peloponnese. The material I have gleaned is very fragmentary in relation to what exists and I therefore wish to stress that the information presented here for the first time does not derive from an exhaustive archival study for the area. Nonetheless, despite the fact that the material at my disposal covers the region neither spatially nor temporarily, in regard to the protracted period of Ottoman rule, I have decided to discuss it here for two reasons:

1. The Ottoman tax registers provide valuable historical data to fill the lacuna in our knowledge of the region's history. Although they are documentation of fiscal character, they permit the reconstruction – to a degree – of the settlement pattern of a region, indicate the population magnitudes of the settlements, sketch the productive activities of the inhabitants and offer the possibility of estimating the volume of yields of cultivated crops, while concurrently furnishing information on the administrative dependency of the region.²

¹ Th. Vagenas, "Parnon, to thaumasto vouno" [Parnon, the wondrous mountain], *Peloponnesiake Protohronia* [Peloponnesian New Year] vol. IX (1965), 240.

² For the informative potential of the Ottoman registers, see H. Lowry, "The Ottoman Tahrir Defterleri as a Source for Social and Economic History: Pitfalls and Limitations", in the volume *Studies in Defterology. Ottoman Society in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries*, foreword N. Göyünç (Analecta Isisiana IV), Istanbul 1992, 3-18. For studies that have relied on Ottoman registers of the Peloponnese see J. Ch. Alexander, "Two Ottoman registers of the Morea (1460-1463). Information on the nahiye of Arcadia: preliminary announcement", *Praktika tou I Synedriou Messiniakon Spoudon* (2-4 Dec. 1977), [Proceedings of the Ist Conference of Messenian Studies], 398-407; P. Asenova, R. Stojkov, T. Kacori, "Prénoms, noms de famille et noms de localité dans le Nord-Ouest du Peloponnèse vers la moitié du XVe siècle", *Annuaire de l'Université de Sofia, Faculté des Philologies Slaves* 68/3 (1975), 69-72. N. Göyünç, "XVIII. Yüzyılda Türk İdaresinde Nauplia (Anabolu) ve Yapıları", *Ord.*

2. I consider that this kind of negotiation of the subject, that is, the presentation of some primary data, can be a stimulus for systematic researches in this direction. If we have an idea of the settlement pattern and the population of the Peloponnese prior to the Greek War of Independence, we owe this to the published Venetian registers of the late seventeenth century. I believe it is imperative that the corresponding Ottoman registers be published and studied if we wish to know the history of Greek lands in the “dark years” of Ottoman rule, always on the condition, of course, that we wish these to stop being “dark”.³

Prof. İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı'ya Armağan, Ankara 1976, 461-485; N. Beldiceanu – Irène Beldiceanu-Steinherr, “Recherches sur la Morée 1461-1512”, *Südost Forschungen* 39 (1980), 26-58; N. Göyünc, “Osmanisch-Türkische Bautätigkeit Auf Morea”, *Actes du IIe Congrès International des Études du Sud-Est Européen* (Athènes, 7-13 mai 1970), t. V, Athènes 1981, 370-375, using BOA, TT 10, 80, 446, 560; N. Beldiceanu – Irène Beldiceanu-Steinherr, “Corinth et sa région en 1461 d’après le register TT 10”, *Südost Forschungen* 45 (1986), 37-61; Evangelia Balta, “Oi kanounnamedes tou Moria” [The kanunnames of the Morea], *Istor* 6 (1993), 29-70; L. Kayapınar, *Osmanlı Klasik Dönemi Mora Tarihi*, unpublished PhD thesis in the University of Ankara, Ankara 1999. J. Bennet *et al.*, “Pylos Regional Archaeological Project, Part II: Sir William Gell’s Itinerary in the Pylos and Regional Landscapes in the Morea in the Second Ottoman Period”, *Hesperia* 69/3 (2000), 343-380, using BOA TT 880; Stefka Pareva, “Agrarian Land and Harvest in South-West Peloponnese in the Early 18th Century”, *Études Balkaniques* 2003:1, 83-123; Evangelia Balta, “Settlements and Population in the Morea in 1645”, *Osmanlı Araştırmaları / The Journal of Ottoman Studies* XXIV (2004), 53-63 using BOA, MAD 561. J. C. Alexander, “Conquest and Assimilation: Urban and Rural Real Estate in the Town of Tripolitsa, 1698-1716”, *Archivum Ottomanicum* 23 (2005/6) [Mélanges en l’honneur d’Elizabeth A. Zachariadou], 29-46, using BOA TT 876; Evangelia Balta, “He ampelokalliergeia ston kaza tes Tripolitsas (16os-18os aionas)” [Viticulture in the Kaza of Tripolitsa (16th-18th century)], 125-143 using BOA, TT 605, TT 876.

³ I developed these viewpoints of mine in a lecture I delivered on the occasion of the presentation of the ‘research programme’ of the National Hellenic Research Foundation, ‘Electronic Thesaurus of Thrace’. This lecture, entitled “He Thrake stes othomanikes katastihoseis (15os-16os

The study which follows presents evidences from eight unpublished fiscal registers relating to the Southeast Peloponnese, four for each period of Ottoman rule, the first and the second. Two of these are presented in their entirety, intact; these are TT 883, a tax register of Monemvasia, and MAD 22219, an undated head-tax register of the *nahiye* of Aghios Petros. The sporadic information from the eight Ottoman censuses enables us to form a picture, first of the demographic and economic development of the villages in the area bounded by Mount Parnon, over the 150 years of the first period of Ottoman rule, a period almost totally unknown in Greek historiography, and second to have some conception, albeit partial, of the area immediately after its capture by the Ottomans for a second time, in 1715.

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THE PERIOD OF CONQUEST

I. 1460-1540. LATE BYZANTINE TIMES OR FIRST PERIOD OF VENETIAN RULE?

There is very little information on this transitional period. We know that in 1463 among the castles captured by the Venetians struggling for control of the Peloponnese were those of Kynouria, Astro, Astrizi, Parusco, Limbia, Asopo, as well as the small towns of Thyrea, Tsakonia and Limira Epidavros.⁴ According to Laonicus Chalcocondyles, in the face of the threat of Ottoman invasion, Laconia, Tainar, the areas around Epidavros, Arkades and Pellineis,

aionas)" [Thrace in the Ottoman registers (15th-16th century)] is published in the collective volume *He Thrake. Historikes kai Geographikes Proseggiseis* [Thrace. Historical and Geographical Approaches], Athens 2000, 107-116.

⁴ C. Hoph, *Chroniques Greco-Romanes inédites ou peu connues publiées avec notes et tables généalogiques*, Berlin 1873 (photographic reproduction 1961), 202. See also Th. Vagenas, *Historika Tsakonias kai Leonidiou* [Historical Informations on Tsakonia and Leonidion], Athens 1971, 129. For the toponyms Astro and Astrici in the Middle Ages, see N. A. Bees, "Mneiai tou Astrous kata tous Mesous aionas kai ta par'auto kastro" [Mentions of Astro during the Middle Ages and the castles beside it. The toponym 'Aria'], *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 17 (1908), 97-98.

called upon the Venetians to occupy their land.⁵ One year later, in 1464, it is attested that the Ottomans, in a skirmish with the Venetians in Tsakonia, slew 200 people and took captive as many again.⁶ It is not exactly clear where the battle was fought, but it is described that the Turks laid ambush in a defile, at one end of which was the sea and at the other a high mountain. In 1476 Tsakonia had not yet passed into Ottoman hands, but Aghios Leonidis (Leonidi) had been destroyed. It is not clear, however, whether Tsakonia and Kynouria were continuing to hold out, with Venetian support, or whether they had capitulated to the Ottomans. What is certain is that in Ottoman taxation registers preserved in the Prime Ministerial Archive in Istanbul,⁷ the villages of Tsakonia and Kynouria, as well as Monemvasia, are recorded for the first time in the reign of Süleyman the Magnificent. “*Andan bundukanî Venedik’i elinde iken Ebü’l-feth ve Bâyezîd-i Velî bu kal’a üzre berren ve bahren sefer edüp bu kal’a-i Benefşe ve kal’a-i Anapolya ve kal’a-i Termiş’in fethi müyesser olmayup cümle cezîre-i Mora Al-i Osmân hükmünde olup Ebü’l-feth’den tâ Sultân Süleyman Hân’a gelince mezkûr üç aded kılâ’-i metînler sene (...)*” With these words Evliya Çelebi comments on the unsuccessful efforts of sultans Mehmed the Conqueror and Bayezid II to conquer the whole of the Morea.⁸ It is very possible that the Southeast Peloponnese, that is north of the Arcadian part of the district of Kynouria and south of the Laconian part of Epidavros Limira, as far as Cape Malea, did not pass to Ottoman sovereignty before 1540. Normally, these regions must have been included in the

⁵ E. Darkó, *Laonici Chalcocondylae, Historiarum demonstrationes*, Budapest, Academia Litterarum Hungarica, vol. 2, page 299, line 8.

⁶ G. Th. Zoras, *Hronikon peri ton Tourkon soultanon (kata ton Varverinon hellinikon kodika 111* [Chronicles concerning the Turkish Sultans (according to the Barberini Codex gr. 111)], Athens 1958, 115-116.

⁷ The Morean registers in the *Tapu ve Kadastro Kuyud-i Kadim* Archive in Ankara are from the second period of Ottoman rule. These are *Tapu Tahrir Defterleri* no 20, 24, 15, 251, which were compiled during the reign of Sultan Ahmed III.

⁸ *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, 8. Kitap, (eds) S. A. Kahraman, Y. Dağlı, R. Dankoff, Istanbul 2003, Yapı Kredi Bankası, 158.

Ottoman Empire at the same time as Nafplion⁹ and Monemvasia,¹⁰ which surrendered by treaty in 1540. Evliya Çelebi, in his *Travels*, refers to the “tahrir of Süleyman Khan”, that is to the given census.¹¹ If this is not due to some discontinuity in the surviving archival material, then the fact that the revenues from Tsakonia and the wider area of the Southeast Peloponnese are distributed for the first time as timars in the reign of Süleyman the Magnificent means that it was only then that the region of Parnon came under the jurisdiction of the Ottoman Empire. So, on the basis of the testimony of the extant Ottoman registers, it can be argued that the geographical region of Mount Parnon passed to Ottoman sovereignty contemporaneously with Monemvasia and Nafplion. Consequently, Thanos Vagenas’s hypothesis that the hazardous and precipitous Kynourian coast of the Argolic Gulf, opposite Nafplion, was most probably under Venetian rule until 1540, gains credence. The arguments on which this proposition rests are that in 1540, first the then Bishop of Rheon and Prastos, Ioannikios Markopoulos, was removed from his episcopal see and sought refuge in Zante (Zakynthos), and second the Elona monastery was destroyed, which tradition has it was attacked by Turks 50 years after its founding – estimated as around 1500 – and its founders Kallinikos and Dositheos were then slain.¹² Vagenas associates these two historical events with the process of conquering the region. As we shall see, this is affirmed by the existing Ottoman sources.

⁹ M. G. Lambrynides, *He Nauplia apo ton arhaiotaton hronon mehri ton kath’imas* [Nafplia from Most Ancient Times to the Present Day], Nafplion 1975, 83 and A. Savvides, “Nafplion”, *Ef.*, vol. VII, 1037-1039.

¹⁰ P. Wittek, “The Castle of Violets. From Greek Monemvasi to Turkish Menekshe”, *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 20 (1957), 601-613. See also M. Kiel, “Menekshe”, *Ef.*, vol. VII, 1005-1008.

¹¹ “*dest-i küffârda kalup âhır-ı kâr sene (...) târihinde Süleyman Hân vüzcâlarından Kapudan Vezîr Kâsım Paşa serdâr-ı mu’azzam olup berren ve bahren deryâ-misâl asker ile bu kal’a-i Benefşe’yi muhâsara edüp Venedik elinden feth edüp Süleymân Hân tahrîri üzre hâlâ kapudan paşa eyâletinde Mora sancağı hükmünde voyvodalık*”, see, *Evliya Çelebi*, op. cit. 158.

¹² Th. Vagenas, *Historika tis Tsakonias*, op. cit., 132-133.

2. FIRST PERIOD OF OTTOMAN: 1540-1685

The scant material available to us on this period comes from ecclesiastical documents concerning transfers of land-holdings, inventories of sacred vessels in monasteries and churches, contracts of villagers for farming monastic estates, and so on, offering indirect information on the region. The meagre data obtained from Ottoman registers come to fill in albeit tiny parts in the chaotic void of information for this period, at the same time pointing out the informative potential of these sources in the event that they are investigated systematically and exhaustively per se, as well as in comparison with earlier and later ones.

Fiscal registers of the Morea, deposited in the *Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi* in Istanbul, are the source of the data in the tables that follow. I stress again that they do not depict the total of settlements of Southeast Peloponnese but represent a sample of material available in four timar registers and one head-tax register. They span about one hundred years, from the mid-sixteenth to the mid-seventeenth century. As I have said already, the areas of Kynouria, Tsakonia, Epidavros Limira and Monemvasia, that is those constituting the region of Mount Parnon, appear in a census for the first time in the reign of Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent (1502-1566). There follow the censuses of sultans Selim II (1566-1574), Murad III (1583) and Ahmed I (1613/4). Last, information on certain villages in the region is taken from a head-tax register of 1645. Until the early decades of the seventeenth century, the geographical region bounded by Mount Parnon belonged administratively to the liva of Mezistre.¹³ This at least is declared in the afore-mentioned Ottoman sources. In a later Ottoman register, of 1668/9, in the Oriental Archive of the "Cyril and Methodius"

¹³ A. G. C. Savvides, "From Latin and Late Byzantine Mistra/Mystras to Ottoman Mezistre/Mizistre. Some Notes", *Praktika tou V Diethnous Synedriou Peloponnesiakon Spoudon* (Argos-Nafplion 6-10 September 1995), [Proceedings of the V International Conference of Peloponnesian Studies], vol. IV (1998), 387-398. In most of the Ottoman registers of the Morea, for both the first and the second period of Ottoman rule, the district of Mystras is denoted as a liva. It is not fortuitous that Evliya Çelebi too in referring to Mystras qualifies it as a *vilayet* or *sandjak*.

National Library of Sofia, which has been published by R. Stojikov,¹⁴ the Morea is divided into 22 kazas, listed among which is the kaza of Aya Petra, that is of Aghios Petros.¹⁵ This kaza does not appear in the earlier registers spoken of. In comparing the Ottoman census of 1668-1660 with the Venetian one of 1700, Vasilis Panayotopoulos¹⁶ makes the following observation with regard to the administrative division of the region in which we are interested: "Chrysapha (no. 22) and Elos (no. 24), together with Mystras (no. 23)¹⁷ seem to make up the kaza of Mystras, which is referred to in the Turkish document [that is, the Ottoman census published by R. Stojikov]. This identification is based on many arguments, the most convincing of which are the following: a) the area of the *kaza* of Mystras, as presented in the Turkish document; with 1,970 *hane* (taxation units) represents the largest kaza in the Peloponnese, something which is impossible unless it included the other two *territorii* as well, and b) even in the period of Venetian rule the region of Mystras was not always divided into three *territorii*. Even though in all the documents of the 1700 census (see the lists of the *territorii* and the collective

¹⁴ R. Stojikov, "La division administrative de l'eyalet de Roumélie pendant les années soixante du XVIIe siècle, selon un registre turc-ottoman de 1668-1669", *Studia Balkanica* 1 (1970), 205-227. This source is used in the study by V. Panayotopoulos, *Plethysmos kai oikismoï tes Peloponnesou, 13os-18os aïonas* [Population and Settlements in the Peloponnese, 13th-18th Century], Athens 1985, 161-162, who did not manage to identify the kazas which R. Stojikov transcribed as Tana, Fonita, Nebikşa, reading them incorrectly because of palaeographical problems of *siyakat* script. Personal inspection of the register has shown that these are the kazas of Tana, Fonya and Benefşe, that is Monemvasia.

¹⁵ Kaza of Aghios Petros is recorded in documents and registers of the second period of Ottoman rule. See e.g. *BOA, Cevdet Maliye*, no 24512 (H. 1153/1740-1), no 23262 (H. 1208/1793-4), no 15064 (H. 1212/1797-8) and no 17909 (H. 1244/1828-9).

¹⁶ V. Panayotopoulos, *op. cit.*, 162. *Idem*, "He venetike apografe tes Peloponnesou tou 1700" [The Venetian census of the Peloponnese of 1700], *Praktika tou I Diethnous Synedriou Peloponnesiakon Spoudon* [Proceedings of the 1st International Conference of Peloponnesian Studies] (Sparta 7-14 September 1974), 203-21.

¹⁷ The numbers refer to the order in which the *territorii* are recorded in the Venetian census, see V. Panayotopoulos, *op. cit.*, 163.

table of the *provincia di Laconia*) Chrysapha and Elos are considered as *territorii*, in other contemporary texts they are not encountered separately and only one large *territorio* exists, that of Mystras". Indeed, in a document of 1699, entered in which are the sums of tithe owed, we observe that the villages of Parnon are recorded in the region of Mystras.¹⁸ The same holds for the Ottoman sources we examined, which attest, as said, that after Ottoman conquest Kynouria, Tsakonia and the area of Elos were included in the liva of Mystras, in which Monemvasia had been included initially. Later, as time passed, the kaza of Aghios Petros and of Monemvasia (Benefşe) were created, which are recorded in the 1668-1669 census. They were kazas that were subject administratively to the liva of Mystras.

Even from this limited sample of settlements, it is easily ascertained that there was a demographic burgeoning after the Ottoman conquest. This is at least indicated by the number of taxable units, which increase as the turn from the sixteenth to the seventeenth century approaches. The most populous villages in the region, on the basis of the data available to me, are Aghios Kosmas, Aghios Petros, Agrianoi, Arachova, Veria, Vrontamas, Kastanitsa, Libia, Paliochori, Molaoi, Prastos and Chrysapha. Noteworthy are Agrianoi, Veria, Kastanitsa, Monemvasia and Prastos, with over 450 taxable units.¹⁹ It should be stressed that the data in the last column of Table 1 (1645) are drawn from the head-tax register, which is governed by another rationale in the distribution of tax from that which governs the registers of timar revenues. As is well known, for example, the female population did not pay head tax, or the head tax was paid as a lump sum (*maktu*), regardless of the number of those obliged to pay tax. So, the population "shrinkage" observed in 1645 in most of the villages in our sample is due primarily to the difference in taxation practice.

¹⁸ K. Mertzios – Th. Papadopoulos, "O Mystras kai i periferia tou eis ta arheia tes Venetias kata ten Enetokratian (1687-1715)" [Mystras and its region in the Venice Archives during the period of Venetian rule (1687-1715)], *Lakonikai Spoudai* [Laconian Studies] 12 (1994), 259-264.

¹⁹ These villages, with the exception of Prastos, are shrunken in the Grimani census of 1700: Agrianoi 33 families, Veria 32 families, Kastanitsa 166 families.

Nonetheless, it is obvious that in the closing decades of the sixteenth century the region of Parnon had a sizeable population. Evliya Çelebi estimates the population of Tsakonia alone, in the final decades of the seventeenth century, as around ten thousand, a number which may seem excessive yet nevertheless indicates as a value the significant demographic growth in the region.²⁰ The sample of the settlements of Parnon points to anything but the possibility of a demographic crisis in the seventeenth century, such as that for which Vasilis Panayotopoulos argues in the Peloponnese. And, of course, I would agree with him that before we take decisions on the existence or not of a demographic crisis, it is essential that archival research should precede, which will lead to historiographic studies on firm bases.²¹

Evliya Çelebi describes the wonderful climate and abundant running water. The local people apparently had no wheat or barley and ate only millet and maize. They had a reputation for the great strength, being able to carry burdens of 200-400 okka. This reputation is confirmed by Bernard Randolph who says that: "The T'Zakonians are most in Towns, they are a very poor people, serving as porters, both men and women carrying very great Burthens"²².

In all the Ottoman sources of this period, Kastanitsa is noted by two names: Kastanitsa or Tsakonia, which fact generates the hypothesis that Kastanitsa was in all likelihood the administrative centre of Tsakonia, the castle of Tsakonia to which Evliya Çelebi refers shortly after the mid-seventeenth century. He qualifies Tsakonia as a nahiye subject to the kaza of Monemvasia. The Ottoman traveller devotes one chapter to the hardy Tsakonians, whom he likens to the Kalmuch Tartars. He records words in the Tsakonian dialect, distinguishing the Tsakonians by their linguistic idiom from the rest of the inhabitants of the Peloponnese.²³

²⁰ *Evliya Çelebi*, op. cit., 157.

²¹ V. Panayotopoulos, op. cit., 123ff.

²² Siriol Anne Davies, *The Fiscal System of the Venetian Peloponnese: The Province of Romania 1688-1715* (Unpublished PhD. the University of Birmingham, 1996), 32.

²³ See Th. P. Kostakis, "O Evliya Tchelebi sten Tsakonia" [Evliya Tchelebi in Tsakonia], *Peloponnesiake Protohronia 1960* [Peloponnesian New Year 1960], 33-333; idem, "O Evliya Tchelebi sten Peloponneso" [Evliya Çelebi

Leonidi is uninhabited until the early seventeenth century.²⁴ In register TT 715 (1613/14) it is in fact characterized as *mezra'a*, that is a cultivated area without a permanently settled population. So, after its destruction by the Ottomans in 1476, Leonidi continued to exist without permanent inhabitants until at least 1613. However, the fact that the settlement is entered in the register as owing 506 aspers in the mid-sixteenth century and correspondingly 5,000 aspers in 1613, means that some inhabitants of neighbouring settlements came here seasonally and tilled its lands.

During the half century of the first period of Ottoman rule, a significant increase in revenues is observed, as can be documented from the rise in taxes noted in the four registers. The tax paid by the villages was certainly greater than that written in the table, because the tax on sheep is never included among the taxes gathered by the spahi but, as we know, was collected exclusively by the sandjakbey. The sums of taxes noted in the table correspond to what the timarholder to whom each village belonged had benefit of. Because the three registers are analytical, that is they inventory the taxes on

in the Peloponnese], *Peloponnesiaka* 14 (1980-1981), 275-276, and Evliya Çelebi, op. cit. 157. See also U. Wolfart, *Die Reisen des Evliya Celebi Durch die Morea*, PhD der Philosophischen Fakultät der Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität, Munich 1966. There is a rich bibliography on the Tsakonians and the Tsakonian dialect. Studies began to be published from the mid-19th century. This bibliography is collected in the study by Ch.P. Symeonidis, *Oi Tsakones kai i Tsakonia. Symvole sten ermineia ton onomaton kai tou omonymou vyzantinou thesmou ton kastrofylakon* [The Tsakonians and Tsakonia. Contribution to the Interpretation of the name and of the Homonymous Byzantine Institution of Chatelains], Thessaloniki 1972; see also S. Caratzas, *Les Tzacones*, Berlin, New York 1976. Basic researcher on Tsakonia and its dialect, who located the Tsakonian villages in the Propontis and devoted a monograph to these is Th. P. Kostakis, *Lexicon tes taskonikes dialektou* [Dictionary of the Tsakonian Dialect], vols 1-3, Athens 1986; idem, *Vatika kai Havoutsis. Ta Tsakonohoria tes Propontidas* [Vatika and Chavoutsis. Tsakonian Villages of the Propontis], Athens 1976.

²⁴ For the etymology of the toponym, see Th. Vagenas, "To onoma tes poleos tou Leonidiou kai o Aghios Leonidis (16 Apriliou)" [The name of the town of 'Leonidio' and 'St Leonidis' (16 April)], *Hronika ton Tsakonon* [Chronicles of Tsakonians] 3 (1969), 33-40.

yields in detail, they give –with the exception of the first, that from the reign of Süleyman the Magnificent– a picture of the crops cultivated and the agricultural activities of the inhabitants in the second half of the sixteenth and the early seventeenth century. First of all, various kinds of cereals were grown –wheat, barley, rye, millet – as well as legumes, including vetch. There was viticulture in almost all the villages that are included in the tables, since a tithe on must is recorded in the registers. Cotton, flax and garden vegetables were cultivated too. Striking is the amount of tax levied on onions and garlic, because this is quite high and automatically infers a correspondingly high production. Concurrently, villagers were involved with apiculture and animal husbandry. Taxes were levied on silk, kermes, acorns, walnuts, chestnuts and fruits. Olive cultivation and olive-oil presses are noted in the following villages in Table 2: Geraki,²⁵ Paliochori, Chrysapha, Agrianoi, Potamia, Vatika, Karitsa, Voutianoï, Mari, Aghios Yannis Theologos, Charaka, Talanta and Vrontama. Noteworthy too is the number of watermills and fulling mills entered in the registers of the first period of Ottoman rule.²⁶

Comparison, where possible, with the amounts of tax the villages paid between 1540 and 1614, shows that taxation doubled everywhere in the late sixteenth and the early seventeenth century, in relation to the corresponding sums in the reign of Selim II (1566-1574). Undoubtedly this means an increase in incomes. However, it cannot be precluded that the doubling of taxation observed was due also to the abolition of a regime of special fiscal treatment with various reductions and exemptions, a practice frequently applied by the Ottoman Empire in recently conquered territories, in order to win over the inhabitants and to consolidate its presence. This is appropriate to the case of the Peloponnese, where the Ottomans

²⁵ Geraki is known to have been an export centre for large quantities of olive oil to Venice and France during the years 1734-1737. See K. Mertzios, "Lakonika. Ek ton Kratikon Arheion tes Venetias", [Laconian information. From the State Archives of Venice], *Lakonikai Spoudai* [Laconian Studies] 2 (1975), 202.

²⁶ Numerous watermills are encountered in all the highland areas of the Peloponnese. The miller's trade had a long tradition in Kynouria. For Kastritan millers, see V. G. Toyas, *Kastritika tis Kynourias* [On Kastro of Kynouria], vol. III, Athens 1997, 180-185.

succeeded the Venetians as new masters and had every reason to want to gain the trust of the populace. This, however, remains an unconfirmed hypothesis.

In all probability the economic heyday that we note in the late sixteenth and the early seventeenth century continued throughout the seventeenth century until the Venetian conquest, because, as T. A. Gritsopoulos argues, most of the monasteries in the Episcopal See of Rheon and Prastos, excepting those of Loukou and Orthokosta, date from the seventeenth century and became stauropegial immediately after their founding.²⁷ Perhaps the migratory movement and settlement of inhabitants from Kynouria and Tsakonia to Constantinople should be linked with the renewal of the stauropegiac rights (*stauropegion*) of many monasteries in the Mount Parnon region. As Kyriaki Mamoni notes: "Inhabitants of Prastos in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries went for a certain length of time to Constantinople, worked hard and returned home now well-off, to marry, to build and to furnish their own homes as well as to disburse sums for various public benefit works in their birthplace. Of them it was said characteristically:

²⁷ A stauropegial monastery was under jurisdiction of the Patriarchate and not under the local bishop. A list of the stauropegial monasteries and the relevant bibliography is given by T. A. Gritsopoulos, "He episkope Reontos kai Prastou kata ton 17o aiona" [The episcopal see of Rheon and Prastos during the 17th century], *Hronika ton Tsakonon* [Chronicles of Tsakonians] VI (1986), 38; idem, "Kleronomoi kai synehistes sten tourkokratia tes kallitehnikes paradoseos tou Mystra" [Inheritors and continuers of the artistic tradition of Mystras in the Ottoman period], Proceedings of the Symposium: *Από τη φωτεινή κληρονομιά του Μυστρά στην τουρκοκρατία* [From the Shining Heritage of Mystras in Ottoman Rule] (Sparta-Mystras 27-29 May 1988), Athens 1990, 81-116. Idem, "He peloponnesiake zografike meta ten Alosin" [Peloponnesian painting after the Fall of Constantinople], *Praktika tou IV Diethnous Synedriou Peloponnesiakon Spoudon* [Proceedings IV International Conference of Peloponnesian Studies] (Corinth 9-16 September 1990), Athens 1992-1993, 361ff. See also Voula Konti, "Kodikikes kai kodikografoi apo te Hrisapha Lacedaimonos (17os-18os ai.) [Codices and scripts from Chrysapha of Laconia], *Praktika II Synedriou Lakonikon Spoudon* (2004), t. I, 418-419.

'Constantinople produces cash and Prastos makes it into castles'.²⁸ The seventeenth century is also considered the period *par excellence* of religious painting in the region, where painters of repute were engaged, such as members of the Moschos family who historiated the Karyas monastery in 1638.²⁹ The founding of monasteries, the rebuilding of churches and the decoration of them with works of art clearly bespeak the affluence of the place.³⁰

²⁸ Kyriaki Mamoni, "Peloponnesioi sten Konstantinoupole kata tous hronous tes Tourkokratias" [Peloponnesians in Constantinople during the years of Ottoman rule], *Praktika tou IV Diethnous Synedriou Peloponnesiakon Spoudon* [Proceedings IV International Conference of Peloponnesian Studies] (Corinth 9-16 September 1990), vol. 3, Athens 1992-1993, 511. There is also the version 'Constantinople makes money and Prastos spends it', see N. Karamanos, "Prastos — Leonidion", *[Ironika ton Kynouriaton* [Chronicles of Kynourians] 1 (1951), 65. The wealth of the immigrants from Prastos in Constantinople in the 17th and 18th centuries was due to the butter trade. (F. C. H. L. Polqueville, *Voyage dans la Grèce*, Paris 1820, vol. 4, 174.) However, the immigration and the mercantile activity of Tsakonians in Constantinople has not been studied sufficiently. For the settlement of Tsakonians in the Propontis see the studies by Th. Kostakis. In the late 17th century Tsakonians had also settled in Candia on Crete, where they worked as dockers in the port and sought the protection of the Ottoman authorities, see N. Stavrinidis, *Metafraseis tourkikon eggrafon aforonton eis ten historian tes Kretes* [Translations of Turkish Documents Concerning the History of Crete], vol. II (1672-1694), Herakleion of Crete 1976, 270-271.

²⁹ T. A. Gritsopoulos, "Mone Aghiou Nikolaou Karyas Kynourias" [Monastery of St Nicholas Karyas, Kynouria], *Mnemosyne* 2 (1968-1969), 309-356. The Koulidades family of painters from Kynouria continued the artistic tradition in the region during the second half of the 18th century, see idem, "Kynouriates laikoi zografoi Koulidades" [Kynourian folk painters Koulidades], *Praktika tou Arkadikou Synedriou* [Proceedings of the Arcadian Conference 1992] (Leonidio 21-23 November 1992), 29-64.

³⁰ St. V. Mamaloukos stresses that the founding of monasteries, the building of important churches reveals already from the 17th century a zenith in the region and the existence of a quite economically robust local aristocracy, see St. Mamaloukos, "To arhontiko tou kyr-Manoli Karamanou ston Prasto Kynourias" [The mansion of Kyr-Manolis Karamanos in Prastos Kynouria], in the volume *Eponyma arhontika ton hronon tes Tourkokratias* [Eponymous Mansions from the Ottoman Period], Athens 1986, 125.

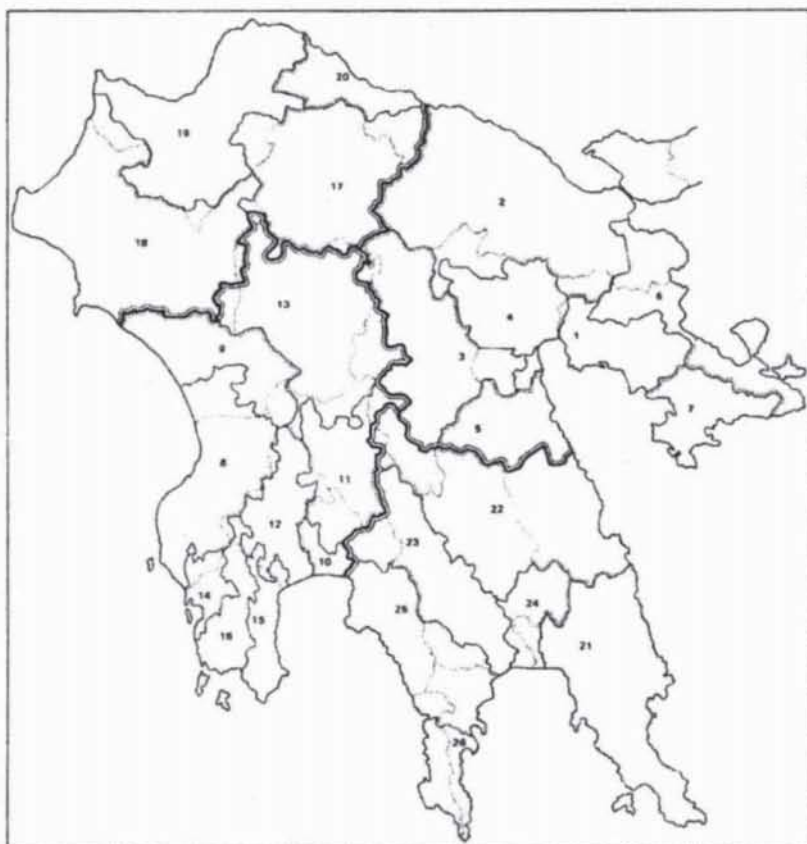
To conclude; during the course of about one century of Ottoman rule, on the basis of the numerical data recorded in the registers, the Southeast Peloponnese enjoyed a demographic and an economic flourish.

3. VENETIAN RULE (1685-1715)

The military operations that began in 1684 under the generalship of Francesco Morosini were crowned with success. By 1688 Venice controlled the entire Peloponnese and the southern regions of Central Greece, along the gulfs of Patras and Corinth. Monemvasia surrendered shortly afterwards, on 12 August 1690.³¹ The Venetians divided the Morea into 26 *territorii*.³² The map presented here sketches the boundaries of the districts. From the reports of the Venetian *sindico catasticatore* it seems that administratively the villages in the region of Parnon belonged mainly to the following four *territorii*: Monemvasia (Malavasia), Elous (Eleos), Chrysapha (Crisaffa) and Aghios Petros (S. Pietro di Zacugna). Nevertheless, several villages west of Mount Parnon belonged to the district of Mystras.

³¹ A. Pardos, "Sholia stes peges gia ten paradose tes Monemvasias stous Venetous (1690)" [Commentary on the sources and the surrender of Monemvasia to the Venetians (1690)], in the volume: *He ekstrateia tou Morosini kai to "Regno di Morea"* [Morosini's Campaign and the "Regno di Morea"], *Monemvasian Society III Symposium of History and Art* (20-22 July 1990), ed. Charis Kalliga, Athens 1998, 25-27.

³² D. Hadzopoulos, *O teleutaios Veneto-othomanikos polemos, (1714-1718)*, Athens 2002, 182 [La dernière guerre entre la République de Venise et l'Empire Ottoman (1714-1718, Montréal 1999)].



Bold lines mark the boundaries of the four districts with the corresponding *territori*:

Provincia di Romania: 1. Napoli di Romania, 2. Corinto, 3. Tripolizza, 4. Argos, 5. S. Pietro di Zacugna, 6. Porto Porro, 7. Termis.

Provincia di Messenia: 8. Arcadia, 9. Fanari, 10. Calamata, 11. Leondari, 12. Andrussa, 13. Caritena, 14. Navarino, 15. Coron, 16. Modon.

Provincia di Accaia: 17. Callavrita, 18. Gastugni, 19. Patrasso, 20. Vostizza.

Provincia di Laconia: 21. Malvasia, 22. Chrisaffa, 23. Mistra, 24. Eleos, 25. Alta Maina, 26. Bassa Maina.

(Source: V. Panayotopoulos, op. cit., 165).

According to the first Venetian censuses, utter confusion reigned, primarily with regard to Tsakonia but also the entire region nowadays defined as Kynouria. In Pacifico's list, villages of Tsakonia are recorded as being in the *Territorio di Romania pertinenze di Tripolizza*, while there is a special *territorio di Tzacogna*, in which Tsakonian villages are entered along with Lacedaemonian and Mantineian ones.⁵⁵ Tsakonia appears as extending from southern

⁵⁵ The first scholar to deal with the administrative induction of Tsakonia and Kynouria to Venetian rule was Th. Vagenas, see Th. Vagenas,

Mantineia as far as western and southern Kynouria, including part of Lacedaimon as far as the plain of Elous. Panayotopoulos attributes the confusion in the Venetian list to the fact that its author, Pacifico, wrote the relevant chapter at a time when the Venetian presence had not yet been sufficiently consolidated and he did not have access to administrative documents that seem to have been used in the second edition of 1704.³⁴ The name of the *territorio di S. Piero di Zacugna* creates certain problems. Although the 11 villages in the *territorio* have been identified,³⁵ the exact area of the region known by the name Tsakonia is not known. "The boundaries of this part of the Peloponnese are not clear geographically nor are they clarified in the textual sources, as a result of which we sometimes find ourselves faced by contradictions which are misleading", the same scholar notes. "In the first edition of Pacifico, the 34 villages in this *territoria* form part of the administrative subdivision of Lacedaimon, Epidavros Limira, Mantineia and Kynouria, whereas with the name *territorio di Tzacogna* appears

"Dioiketike ypagoge tes Tsakonias mesa sta hronia tes Enetokratias" [Administrative induction of Tsakonia during the years of Venetian rule], *Hronika ton Tsakonon* [Chronicles of Tsakonians] 3 (1969), 85-92. Various other local amateur historians who have dealt with the history of their villages included this chapter almost verbatim in their works. E.g. M. Drepanas, *Vrontamas Laonias. Historia-Laografia* [Vrontamas of Laconia, History-Folklore], Athens 1981, 56ff.

³⁴ P. A. Pacifico, *Breve descrizione corografica del Peloponneso o Morea ... Aggiuntivi la notizia delle quarto provincie ... dal Sig. Giusto Alberghetti ingenero e spraintendente al catastico di Morea*, Venice ²1704. See V. Panayotopoulos, *op. cit.* 162 n. 1.

³⁵ These are the settlements Aghios Petros, Aghios Ioannis, Meligou, Vervena, Platano, Karakovouni, Kastri, Doliana, Vourvoura, Koutroufa and Sitaina. Noted too is the existence of four monasteries, without their names being recorded. In the view of Th. Vagenas, these monasteries must have been the following: 1) Maleve at Aghios Petros, 2) St John the Baptist (Prodromos) of the Kastrochorians, 3) Loukou at Thyrea, 4) Paliopanaghia at Thyrea, see Th. Vagenas, *Historika Tsakonias*, *op. cit.*, 141. In the Grimani census (1700), 12 towns (*ville*) are recorded in the *Territorio di S. Pietro di Zacugna*; to those mentioned above from the Pacifico census the village of Fourdema is added, and one monastery is noted too. See V. Panayotopoulos, *op. cit.*, 246.

that which in the second edition of the same work, as well as in the Grimani census of 1700, is named *territorio di Chrisaffa*".³⁶ Yet another difficulty emerges in determining the borders between Chrysapha and Mezestre. In the Grimani census the villages of Kastanitsa and Palaiochori, which appear at the end of the list of the *territorio di Mistra*, belong in reality to the geographical ambit of Chrysapha. Since there is nothing to justify the existence of such an enclave in this period, Panayotopoulos believes that the two villages were added after the list of the *territorio di Mistra* had been compiled.³⁷

On observing the settlement pattern and the population of the four districts of Aghios Petros, Elos, Monemvasia and Chrysapha³⁸ in the Grimani census, we form a picture of the region of Parnon, even though, as mentioned, some basic settlements that were included in the district of Mystras are missing. The table below assembles the number of settlements and of inhabitants per district.

*Settlements and population in the Parnon region
during the Venetian period*

<i>Districts</i>	<i>Villages</i>	<i>Towns</i>	<i>Monasteries</i>	<i>Families</i>	<i>Males</i>	<i>Females</i>	<i>Total inhabitants</i>	<i>Inhabitants / km³⁹</i>
Ag. Petros	12		1	847	1,848	1,341	3,189	6.3
Elos	16			721	1,513	1,254	2,767	9.1
Malvasia	16	1	3	2,074	4,503	3,861	8,364	6.7
Chrysaph a	53			1,928	3,533	3,303	6,836	4.8
TOTAL	97	1	4	5,570	11,39 7	9,759	21,156	-

(Source: V. Panayotopoulos, op. cit., 246-247, 281-286)

³⁶ Ibidem, 166-167.

³⁷ Idem, 286 and 169.

³⁸ Ibidem, 246 (S. Pietro), 281 (Malvasia), 282-283 (Chrisaffa), 286 (Elos).

³⁹ The calculations of population density by *territorio* were made by V. Panayotopoulos, op. cit. 176-178.

It is worth mentioning that of the fifteen Peloponnesian settlements with over 1,000 inhabitants in the 1700 census, five are in the region of Mount Parnon. These are Monemvasia (1,622 inhabitants) – which is one of the only two cities (*città*), together with Mystras, in the Peloponnese at that time–, Kremasti (1,465 inhabitants), Prastos (1,230 inhabitants), Pharaklos (1,107 inhabitants) and Geraki (1,009 inhabitants).⁴⁰ Monemvasia and Geraki, castles that were created in Byzantine times and the period of Frankish rule, continued their historical tradition in the years that followed. Prastos, as we have seen, was already from the late sixteenth century a populous settlement with 200 houses and 261 unmarried males.⁴¹

In 1691, the *sindico catasticatore* Marin Michiel wrote of the area of Aghios Petros: “The area of Aghios Petros is small, all mountainous, but with abundant water which they use to drive many mills and which make it fertile in vines, mulberry, chestnut and all kinds of fruit trees. Its inhabitants apply themselves to cultivating fields, except for the inhabitants of Aghios Ioannis, who are cultured people and faithful. For the most part they are involved with trade, which during the Turkish period they practised as far as Constantinople and which they have not stopped even today”.⁴² Of the inhabitants of Ano Tsakonia, he says: “they are choice people, intelligent, loyal and accustomed to hardships. They are used as

⁴⁰ Ibidem, 184. See also J. M. Wagstaff, “The Population of Settlements in Laconia c. 1700”, in the volume *Morosini's Campaign and the 'Regno di Morea'*, *Monemvasian Society III Symposium of History and Art* (20-22 July 1990), ed. Charis Kalliga, Athens 1998, 106-108.

⁴¹ See TT 603, 6-3, 90-94. The large number of unmarried men denotes a special fiscal treatment, that is in all probability some of households (*hane*) were entered as unmarried males in return for some favours or privileges, so that they did not pay the highest taxation of the *hane*. Possibly this special fiscal treatment of Prastos by the Ottomans is linked with an intervention of Prastians settled in Constantinople, capital of the empire. These issues, which are proposed as hypotheses here, demand research in the Ottoman sources to be confirmed.

⁴² A. Tselikas, “Metafraseis venetikon ektheseon peri Peloponnesou II. He ekthese tou syndikou katastihotou Marinou Michiel [Translations of Venetian reports on the Peloponnese. II. The report of the *sindico Catasticatore* Marin Michiel], *Peloponnesiaka* 17 (1987-1988), 153.

postmen throughout the kingdom, because they run with unbelievable speed between the mountains from one place to another".⁴³

In the Venetian archives there are lists of inhabitants of the wider region of Mystras, who were conscripted in 1698 to work on the fortification works at the Isthmus of Corinth. These lists mention the number of persons that each village in the districts of Mystras, Elous and Chrysapha should provide for the *corvée*. In the event of someone escaping, the elders of the village were obliged to pay six reals for each person and to bring replacements, so that the work would proceed normally.⁴⁴ According to Siriol Anne Davies the tithe value in 1700-1705 represents mainly wine and oil which were plentiful, and only the twenty per cent of the total area of Kynouria is cultivated⁴⁵.

When the Venetians took the Peloponnese, they inventoried the ecclesiastical property. In the State Archive of Venice there are documents with the date 1699, in which are noted the parishes of the Bishopric of Rheon, Elous and Monemvasia, with their properties: "At the command of the most excellent and the most high Master Grimani Generale of the Regno di Morea, we write down the churches and the priests that are in each parish and whether any parish has incomes".⁴⁶

4. SECOND PERIOD OF OTTOMAN RULE (1715-1821)

The Ottoman Turks invaded the Peloponnese in late July 1715 and within one hundred days the peninsula was brought again under

⁴³ Ibidem, 152.

⁴⁴ G. V. Nikolaou, "Eideseis gia ten epivole angareion sten *provincia di Laconia* kata ten periodo tes defteras venetokratias" [Information on the imposition of *corvées* in the *provincia di Laconia* during the second period of Venetian Rule], *Laconikai Spoudai* [Laconian Studies] 13 (1996), 405-426.

⁴⁵ See Siriol Anne Davies, op. cit., 105.

⁴⁶ K. Dokos, "He en Peloponnesou ekklesiastike periousia kata ten periodon tes Venetokratias. Anekdoti eggrafa ek ton Arheion Enetias" [The ecclesiastical property in the Peloponnese during the period of Venetian rule. Unpublished documents from the Venice Archives], *Byzantinisch-Neugruechische Jahrbücher* 22 (1977-1984), 325ff.

Ottoman domination, since the inhabitants of the countryside sped to submit to the Turks, whereas those who were still under the control of the Venetians refused to serve them.⁴⁷ “First consequence of the Ottoman recovery was the imposition of the state institutions *in toto* upon the Peloponnese. Paramount among these institutions were those that regulated the relationship of each of the two sides, conquerors and conquered, to the land, their economic obligations, the administration of the territory and the self-government conceded to the vassals”, writes M. V. Sakellariou.⁴⁸ So, it is not coincidental that in the Ottoman Archives of Turkey there is a plethora of registers dated 1715.⁴⁹ The information presented below for the region was gathered from certain registers of this kind.

Firstly, it should be mentioned that in a list describing the contents of the registers of the *Tapu ve Kadastro* in Ankara, a nahiye of Aghios Petros is encountered.⁵⁰ Specifically, in the analytical register no. 24, the nahiye of Aghios Petros is noted along with the kazas of Nafplion, Corinth, Tripolitsa, Kalavryta and Chlomoutsis. As we shall see below, in other Ottoman sources from the second period of Ottoman rule, the region of Tsakonia, Kynouria is declared as the nahiye of Aghios Petros. Indeed in the register TT 884 of the year 1715, the nahiye of Aghios Petros is subject administratively to the kaza of Tripolitsa.⁵¹

⁴⁷ M.V. Sakellariou, “He anakatalepsis tes Peloponnesou ypo ton Tourkon en etei 1715” [The recapture of the Peloponnese by the Turks in the year 1715], *Hellenika* 9 (1936), 241-260.

⁴⁸ Idem, *He Peloponnesos kata ten defteran Tourkokratian (1715-1821)* [The Peloponnese During the Second Period of Ottoman Rule (1715-1821)], Athens 1939 (photographic reprint Hermes 1978), 41.

⁴⁹ In the Ottoman Prime Ministerial Archive alone, there are the following *Tapu Tahrir Defterleri* of various regions of the Morea: TT 882, TT 883, TT 884, TT 879, TT 876, TT 878, TT 880, TT 881 with the date 1715 (Hegire 1128). In the *Tapu de Kadastro* of Ankara there are the numbers TD 15, TD 24, TD 20 and TD 251 with the date of compilation 1715.

⁵⁰ Aslihan Doğan, *Tapu Kadastro Kuyud-i Kadim Arşivi, Mufassal, İcmal, Evkaf ve Derdest Defterlerinin Toplu Kataloğu*, Ankara 1993, 200 (unpublished Master dissertation at the University of Ankara).

⁵¹ TT 884, 117ff, where the following villages are noted: Nikor, Sulu Sipahi, Yeni Çiftlik, Istenos Muhli, Ayo Petro, Petrokastri, Ayo Yani, Meligu, Ahladokampos, Andrucci, Vervena, Kutrufa.

From the registers of the second period of Ottoman rule, we present first the register *Kâmil Kepeci* no. 2855 (H 1128 / 1715), in which are entered the *avarız-i divaniye*⁵² paid by the villages in the *vilayet* of the Morea. The inhabitants of the settlements are recorded by name and the number of *avarızhane* they paid, which is also identified with the number of family heads entered in the register, is noted at the end.⁵³ The numbers of tax-payers presented in Table 3

⁵² This is a series of taxes (*avarız-ı divaniye*) which the sultan levied on the inhabitants of the Ottoman Empire in order to deal with emergency situations in wartime. Very soon, however, its was levied as a regular tax which the community was obliged to pay (*avarızhane*). The *avarızhane* of a community are not identified with the *hane*, that is the number of its households. The relationship between *avarızhane* and population varies, according to the centuries, the ethnicity of the community, the region, etc. See L. T. Darling, *Revenue-Raising and Legitimacy. Tax Collection and Finance Administration in the Ottoman Empire, 1560-1660*, Leiden 1996 and see O. Oktay, "Avarız ve Cizye Defterleri", in the volume H. Inalcık, Ş. Pamuk (ed.), *Osmanlı Devleti'nda Bilgi ve İstatistik*, Ankara, Başbakanlık Devlet İstatistik Enstitüsü, 2001, 35-50.

⁵³ I cite by *kaza* the *avarızhanes* paid by the tax-payers of the Morea, on the basis of the census carried out in 1715. The numbers, although referring to a tax-paying population, give us an idea of the minimum population size in the Peloponnese in the years just after its conquest by the Ottomans for a second time.

<u>Kaza</u>	<u>avarızhanes</u>	
Anapoli	1,661	
Arhos	891	
Kördös	4,198	
Fonya	523	
Kalavrita	4,001	
Vostiça	432	
Moton	591	
Koron	1,401	
Tripoliça		1,535
Ayo Petro	1,560	
Tana	818	
Benefşe	2,099	
Fanar	1,169	
Karitena	2,293	
Palya Patra	2,199	
Anavarin Atik ve Cedid	281	
Arkadya	2,074	
Londari	1,346	
Kalamata		898
Andruşa	1,574	
Holomiç	2,613	

(see Appendix) point to the demographic magnitudes of the villages of the Southeast Peloponnese in 1715, which converge comparatively with the numbers in the other registers of the corresponding period.

In the above sample the most populous settlements, with over 150 families, are: Arachova (284 taxable units), Barbitsa (105 t. u.), Vambakou (147 t. u.), Kastanitsa (192 t. u.), Chrysapha (175 t. u.), Geraki (291 t. u.), Kosmas (192 t. u.) and the most populous of all, Prastos (362 t. u.). These same villages did not present notable deviations fifteen years earlier, in the Grimani census, except for Barbitsa and Vambakou, which had a smaller population in 1700: Arachova (101 families), Barbitsa (45 families), Vambakou (85 families), Kastanitsa (166 families), Chrysapha (134 families), Geraki (241 families), Kosmas (170 families), Prastos (373 families). This ascertainment encourages us to suppose that the number of tax-payers who paid the *avarızhane* tax in 1715 most probably converges with the actual number of household heads in the villages. This hypothesis is confirmed by the census TT 883 (1715), which we present below. We observe that common villages in both registers are recorded with the same population figures. Consequently, the register BOA, *Kâmil Kepeci* no 2855 may render with considerable fidelity the demographic magnitude of the Morea in 1715, since this huge, voluminous source records the whole of the Morea.

Another dimension that emerges from Table 4 (see Appendix) is the existence of a large number of monasteries on Mount Parnon, which Vagenas rightly dubs the "Holy Mountain of southern Greece".⁵⁴ Even in just the few pages of the register *Kâmil Kepeci* 2855 I had at my disposal, some ten monasteries, in which numerous monks were residing, are recorded in this period. For many of the monasteries entered in the register, as the existing bibliography shows, there is no information on their history, since

Mezestre		7,040
Vardunya	294	
Kale-i Pasava	618	
Kale-i Kelefa	1,013	
Zarnata	2,033	
TOTAL	45,155	

⁵⁴ Th. Vagenas, "Parnon", op. cit., 245.

there are almost no surviving archives – most were destroyed in times of war in the Independence of 1821. So, the Ottoman registers, in which the monasteries are entered too, since they pay taxes, are an invaluable testimony for their historical past.

I now go on to present the data from the whole of register TT 883, in which are entered about 30 villages in the *kaza* of Monemvasia and 11 monasteries in the environs of Prastos, with the names of their inhabitants, the areas under cultivation (fields, vineyards, meadows), the trees (olive, fruit as well as oak), the sheep and beehives, and last the watermills. The register is inscribed by the registrar himself, “register of the *kaza* of Benefse which belongs to the *kaza* of Mystras”. Striking is the large number of Muslim inhabitants of the town of Monemvasia; 497 Muslim families are recorded and 144 Christian ones. It is very possibly that these are Christians who converted to Islam, a common phenomenon in the Morea, which we know prevailed in the region of Mystras and Monemvasia, as well as of Gastouni.⁵⁵ It should be noted that registers similar to TT 883 also exist for the other regions of the Morea. These were compiled immediately after the Ottoman conquest⁵⁶ and are extremely interesting because, since they record in detail the crops grown and the buildings, they permit comparisons with the corresponding data from the time of Capodistrias, one hundred years later.⁵⁷

⁵⁵ G. Nikolaou, “Conversions to Islam and to Christianity in the Peloponnese from the mid-17th century to 1716 (Problems of research – Preliminary results)”, *Balkan Miscellanea* 7 (1995), 37-60; idem, *Islamisations et christianisations dans le Peloponnèse (1715-ca 1832)*, Strasbourg 1997 (unpublished doctoral thesis); idem, *Exislamismoj sten Peloponneso: apo ta mesa tou 17ou aiona eos to 1821* [Conversions to Islam in the Peloponnese: from the mid-17th century to 1821], Athens 2006.

⁵⁶ TT 876, TT 879, TT 880, TT 881, TT 882, TT 884. Όλα χρονολογούνται το 1715 (Hegire 1127).

⁵⁷ See Eleni Belia, “Statistika stoiheia tes Laconias kata ten Kapodistriaken periodo” [Statistical data of Laconia during the Capodistrian period], *Lakonikai Spoudai* [Laconian Studies] 3 (1977), 417-448; idem, “Statistika stoiheia tes eparhias Epidaurou Limeras kata to 1828” [Statistical data of the district of Epidavros Limira in 1828], *Lakonikai*

The third register, MAD no 22219, is an undated head-tax register of 15 villages and 7 monasteries in the nahiye of Aghios Petros, in which are written the names of the tax-payers liable for haraç. In all, the nahiye pays 2,152 head taxes. The register was presumably compiled during the second period of Ottoman rule, because both the number of head taxes and the names of the villages converge with those given by Rigas Palamidis in his memorandum of 1828.⁵⁸ In this document, which was submitted to Capodistrias, are entered the following villages in the district of Aghios Petros, with their population at the time of Ibrahim Pasha's campaign: Aghios Petros, Ayannis, Meligou, Platanos, Karakovouni, Doliana, Vervena, Achladokampos, Kastri, Steno, Niochori, Samaraki, Zevgolateio, Pouloupasi. Noted too are the monasteries of Varsa, Aroma, Sela, Holy Trinity (Hagia Triada), Karakovouni, Malevi, St John the Baptist (Prodromos), St John the Theologian (Theologos), Old Virgin (Palaia Panaghia) and Loukou. On the basis of Rigas Palamidis' memorandum, the head taxes of the kaza of Aghios Petros and of Prastos in the early nineteenth century were 2,462.⁵⁹ Thus, both the convergence of the numbers of haraç-payers in MAD 22219 and the memorandum of 1828, and the common territorial delineation of the nahiye of Aghios Petros – both censuses include settlements of Tripolitsa – lead us to believe that they date from the same century.

Spoudai [Laconian Studies] 5 (1980) (=Proceedings of the Ist Conference of Laconian Studies, 7-11 October 1977), 60-117.

⁵⁸ A total of about 1850 Christian and 19 Turkish houses is noted. Recorded in detail in the memorandum are the sums of the various taxes paid by the inhabitants of Aghios Petros. See T. A. Gritsopoulos, "Statistikai eideseis peri tes Peloponnesou" [Statistical information on the Peloponnese], *Peloponnesiaka* 8 (1971), 424-430. For supplementary data on the statistics of the Registration Committee, see Eleni Belia, "He Laconia epi Kapodistria" [Laconia under Capodistrias. (Research problems)], *Proceedings of the IV International Conference of Peloponnesian Studies* (Corinth, 9-16 September 1990), vol. 3, 487 and also A.Th. Photopoulos, "Gaioktesia kai forologia sten eparhia tou Mystra epi tourkokratias" [Land-owning and taxation in the district of Mystras in the Ottoman period], *Lakonikai Spoudai* [Laconian Studies] 13 (1996), 481-489.

⁵⁹ They were analytically: 34 (1st class), 405 (2nd class), 2,023 (3rd class) and the total amount of their value was 12,577:17 guruh.

The sporadic data for the Southeast Peloponnese which are present from the three registers of the early years of the second period of Ottoman rule, are certainly not sufficient to sketch the picture of the region at this time, especially when we know of the existence of several registers which would enable us to give a much fuller picture. However, to the degree that they provide some information on villages in the districts of Epidavros Limira, Aghios Petros and Prastos, they allow us to conclude that at least just after their conquest by the Ottoman Turks, the flourishing villages of the preceding period were maintained in these regions and the various monasteries on the slopes of Mount Parnon continued to operate.

In closing this preliminary study, I consider it necessary to repeat that with full awareness of the lacunae, since no research specifically on the Southeast Peloponnese has preceded, I submit the information on the region I have available. Even this, as an initial contribution, helps to fill in, like pieces in a jigsaw puzzle, the great gap in our knowledge about this part of the Morea in the Ottoman period, and at the same time generates expectations and stimuli for further persistent studies of the rich Ottoman archival material.

APPENDIX

Table 1 : *Taxable Population in the villages of the Southeast Peloponnese in the First period of Ottoman Rule*

VILLAGES	1540	1566/74	1583	1613/14	1645
Ag. Dimitrios Skala			133	32	
Ag. Ioannis			203		
Ag. Ioannis Theologos				107	25
Ag. Kosmas	102			244	120
Ag. Leonidis					
Ag. Nikolaos			33	33	20
Ag. Petros			300		
Ag. Theodoroi			38	38	
Ag. Vasileios	22				
Ag. Yorgis		40	77	77	40
Agrianoi		20		449	
Achladokambos			77		
Aleporochori		11	33	33	10
Apidia		53	150	150	
Arachova	109	132	301	301	55
Barbitsa				93	
Charakas		16	68	68	6
Chrysapha			247	247	150
Doliana			49		
Filisi		18	62	62	
Finiki			35	35	
Geraki	31	53	127	127	160
Karitsa		50	83	83	84
Kastanitsa	158		494	494	500
Katavothra		53	102	102	
Kerasia		7	33	33	
Korakovouni			25		
Kounoupia Megali	32	31	56	56	20
Kounoupia Mikri	22	4	17	17	30
Koulendia		9	7	7	
Kremasti		113	10	256	200
Libia				342	

Mari	58	31	140	140	50
Meligu			210		
Molaoi	80		162	162	
Nefs-i Monemvasia			531	531	
Neochori			151	151	
Paliochori		174		315	
Perpeni				23	50
Platanos			57		
Potamia		30		33	25
Prastos			461	461	330
Rachova				301	
Sykia				35	
Talanta				7	
Trestena			84		
Tzitzina					170
Vamvakou				129	
Vasara					100
Vatika		27	56	55	
Veria	303		553	553	
Vervena			162		
Vourvoura			60		
Voutianoï				79	30
Vresthena				245	60
Vrontama		88		271	85
Vrysi-Megali				81	40
Zaraphona				88	100

Sources: Tapu ve Tahrir (= TT) 367 (1520-66), TT 560 (1566/74), TT 603 (1583), TT 715 (1613/14) and Maliyeden Müdevver (= MAD) 561.

Table 2: *Taxes in villages of the Southeast Peloponnese during the First Period of Ottoman Rule*

VILLAGES	1540	1566/74	1583	1613/4
Ag. Dimitrios Skala				4,000
Ag. Ioannis			13,160	
Ag. Ioannis Theologis				10,000
Ag. Kosmas	8,450			15,000
Ag. Leonidi	506			5,000
Ag. Nikolaos			966	966
Ag. Petro			12,190	
Ag. Theodoroi			1,083	1,083
Ag. Vasileios	1,767			
Ag. Yorgis		2,110		7,300
Agrianoi		2,779		40,000
Achladokambos			8,000	8,000
Alepochori	1,463	1,545	3,000	3,000
Apidia		13,000		17,100
Arachova	11,030	12,701	21,000	21,000
Barbitsa				7,000
Charakas		1,290	7,100	3,000
Chrysapha		13,214	22,000	22,000
Doliana			14,000	
Filisi		14,058	8,000	8,000
Finiki			9,000	
Geraki	6,913	7,059	15,900	16,000
Karitsa		6,582	5,000	5,000
Kastanitsa	15,407		34,800	35,000
Katavothra		6,407	12,800	
Kerasia		6,023	5,000	
Koulendia		2,400	2,500	
Kounoupia Megali	2,956	3,952	3,000	3,000
Kounoupia Mikri	1,915	1,640	2,000	2,000
Kremasti		6,044	7,000	7,000
Libia				19,690
Mari	5,124	2,040	5,000	5,000
Meligu			14,430	
Molaoi	22,626		37,900	37,900
Nefs-i Monemvasia			30,000	

Neochori			23,500	23,500
Paliochori		18,062		24,000
Perpeni				3,000
Platanos			10,500	
Potamia		2,695		5,000
Prastos			12,500	12,500
Rahova				
Sykia				9,000
Talanta				2,500
Trestena			7,750	
Tsasi ⁶⁰				400
Tzitzina				
Vamvakou			8,000	
Vatika		3,819	12,900	12,900
Veria	16,524		23,000	23,000
Vervena				8,000
Voutianoï				7,000
Vresthena				21,000
Vrontama		15,750	34,800	34,800
Vrysi Megali				6,000
Zaraphona				7,000

Sources: TT 367, TT 560, TT 603 and TT 715.

⁶⁰ In 1583, on the basis of TT 715, Tsasi is characterized as *mezraa* and does not have permanent inhabitants. The toponym appears also in the Venetian census taken by Francesco Grimani in the *territorio* of Eloi (1700). See V. Panayotopoulos, *op. cit.*, 286, 309. Th. Vagenas wonders whether the Casusi in the census taken by P. A. Pacifico, which was first published in 1700 (P. A. Pacifico, *Breve descrizione corografica del Peloponneso o' Morea, con l'origine de primi abitanti serie de Prencipi, titolo do ciascheduna prouincia, possessori di quelle, natura de paesi &c.*, Venice 1700), is Tsasi in the district of Epidavros Limira, or Tsasi of Mystras, see Th. Vagenas, *Historica Tsakonias*, *op. cit.*, 140, n. 2.

Table 3: *Tax-paying settlements of the Southeast Peloponnese in 1715*

<i>VILLAGES</i>	<i>TAXABLE UNITS</i>
Aghios Nikolas	117
Aghios Petros	309
Aghios Vasileios	36
Aghios Yannis Theologos	15
Aghios Yorgis	27
Agrianoi	24
Akria (?) near Potamia (deserted village)	-
Aleporochori	29
Angelona	8
Apidia	48
Arachova	284
Barbitsa	105
Bezani	30
Chrysapha	175
Geraki	291
Giotsali	59
Gouves	30
Karitsa	32
Kastanitsa or Tsakonia	192
Katavothra	29
Kosmas	193
Koulenti	69
Kounouphia	43
Koutroupa	19
Kremasti	491
Liria	199
Mari	17
Megali Vrysis	80
Molaoi	101
Mon. Ormeno (Idromeno) or St George ⁶¹	1

⁶¹ 'The small monastery of St George Dromeos seems to have known former days of glory, during the sixteenth century. It had its own properties and dedications, that is vineyards, fields, mills, sycamores, orchards, etc. The sovereign Metropolitan of Monemvasia gave the monastery of St George, which was subject to his jurisdiction, with all of this and with its annual patronal feast to the venerable monastery of the Forty Saints, which is adjacent to the municipality of Therapnoi in the See of the Bishop of Vresthena. Metropolitan of Monemvasia, the donor, was Gennadios and the dedication was made in the year 1592. We are informed of this on the one hand by the cut-down sigil, from the letter of this very Gennadios, in which he mentions that he dedicates "St George Dromeos between Olympia and

Mon. Prophet Elijah near Geraki ⁶²	4
Mon. Saviour near Molaoi	3
Mon. St Catherine near Chrysapha	5
Mon. St Demetrios at Prastos ⁶³	6
Mon. St Nicholas at Prastos ⁶⁴	12
Mon. St Nicholas Karyas at Prastos ⁶⁵	9
Mon. Virgin at Mari ⁶⁶	11
Mon. Virgin Eloni ⁶⁷	2

Aghios Kosmas" as a dependency (*metochion*) of the Forty Saints'. See T. A. Gritsopoulos, "Ta monasteria tou Mariou kai tou Aghiou Georgiou tou Dromea en Kynouria" [The monasteries of Mari and St George Dromeos in Kynouria], *Hronika ton Kynouriaton* [Chronicles of the Kynourians] 1 (1951), 44.

⁶² The monastery of Prophet Elijah Daphni lies one hour west of Geraki, upon a foothill of Parnon. Its katholikon still stands intact, in the midst of ruined cells, and is of the Athonite type of cross-in-square plan with dome and lateral conches on the long walls. See T. A. Gritsopoulos, *He Ekklesia tes Peloponnesou meta ten Alosin* [The Church of the Peloponnese after the Fall of Constantinople], Athens 1992, 445-446.

⁶³ This is the Rheontinos monastery, in the name of St Demetrios. See I. Yannaropoulos, "Dikaiopraktika eggrafa ek tes mones Rheontinou" [Judicial documents from the Rheontinos monastery], *Peloponnesiaka* 8 (1971), 201-238 and T. A. Gritsopoulos, "Hristianika mnemeia tou Prastou" [Christian monuments of Prastos], *Peloponnesiaka* 12 (1976-1977), 194-205.

⁶⁴ Th. Vagenas mentions a dissolved monastery of St Nicholas or otherwise of Fouska; it was situated between Prastos and Aghios Andreos. Another dissolved monastery with the eponym St Nicholas or of Syntza is located near Leonidion. See Th. Vagenas, "Dodeka palaia tsakonika monastiria" [Twelve old Tsakonian monasteries], *Hronika ton Tsakonon* [Chronicles of Tsakonians] 3 (1969), 130.

⁶⁵ A preserved monastery near Tyros, see *ibidem*, 130.

⁶⁶ 'The monastery of the Dormition of the Virgin, the surnamed Mari, located beside the village of Selinous, about which we know little except that straight after the War of Independence it had six monks, according to what was instituted under the Regency of Otto, it followed the fate of a host of other monasteries, was dissolved and the few inmates of it were ordered to coalesce in a neighbouring monastery'. See T. A. Gritsopoulos, "Ta monasteria tou Mariou kai tou Aghiou Georgiou tou Dromea en Kynouria", *op. cit.*, 43.

Mon. Virgin near Vresthena	-
Mon. Virgin of Paradise	7
Mon. Virgin Orthokostas at Prastos ⁶⁸	10
Monemvasia	183
Niata	34
Ochtoriza ⁶⁹ near Potamia	19
Paliochori or Limnios	42
Perpeni	102
Phoiniki	51
Platanos or Limpia	11
Potamia near Aghios Yannis	14
Prastos	362
Sitaina	34
Sykia	137
Tsilia	24
Tzitzina	51
Vambakou	147
Vatika	432
Veria	68
Vlachioti	23
Vourlias	51
Voutianoï	31
Vresthena	85
Vrontamas	54
Zaraphona	97

Source: Kamil Kepeci no 2855.

⁶⁷ Dormition of the Virgin or of Elon, see Th. Vagenas, "Dodeka palaia tsakonika monastiria", *op. cit.*, 129. There is a rich literature on the monastery, see Sources-Bibliography.

⁶⁸ Preserved monastery close to Aghios Andreas, see *ibidem*, 130. See also Maria Theochari, "He Panagia he Artokosta" [The Virgin Artokosta], *Praktika Arhaiologikes Etaireias* [Proceedings of the Archaeological Society 1953-1954], volume in memory of G.P. Oikonomou, 232-252.

⁶⁹ This is the Chrisorissa in Grimani's census, see V. Panayotopoulos, *op. cit.*, 307.

Table 5: Villages in the kaza of Monemvasia in 1715

Settlements	Population	Olive trees	Çifts	Fields	Fruit trees	Bee-hives	Vineyards	Sheeps	Pastures	Mills	Oak-trees
Monemvasia	497M +144 Ch	1,88 1		1,881.5	30 0	30	472. 5				
Vatika	429	1,59 0	77	830	67 4	28	241. 5	1,97 6	100	12	
Mon. Virgin of Paradise (Vatika)	7	10	1			6	2	100			
Lyra	191	1,13 1	30.5			138	149. 5	1,34 5	50	6	
Koulentia	69	1,22 0	8.5	243		20	138. 5	273	15		
Aghios Nikolas	114	1,19 4	17.5	467		19	114. 5	835	60	7	
Kerasia near Aghios Nikolas	32	227	10	118		4		50	10	2	
Phoiniki near Sykia	2M+5 1Ch	790	18.5	253					5		
Sikya	137	930	32.5	531	26 0		104. 5	990	30		
Aghioi Thodoroi	12	570	1.5	42		3	10	170	2		
Angelonas	8	71	2					60			
Katavothra	29	73	9	115		20	22	130	15		
Molaoi	1M+9 8Ch	303	26.5	1,295	10 0	39	143	410	30	4	500
Mon. Saviour	3	4	1.5		2	4	4	50			
Bezani	30	77	9.5	9.5			24.5	160			
Gouves	30	199	11	180		12	9.5	125	7		
Apidia	47	298	22.5	241	5	25	16	340	100		
Niata	34	726	8.5	152		10	15	265	50		
Kremasti	489	464	90.5	768	10 8	50	179. 5	4,30 0	110		
Chrysapha	175	772	30.5	30.5	44		145.	800			

					4		5			
Mon. St. Catherine (Chrysapha)	30	510	3		50	30	13.5	40		2
Perpeni	100	760	16	226	33	26	50	1,047	5	
Mon. Zachariah (Chrysapha)	5	200	2		25		21	50		
Malathries	8	126	2.5	69	10	5		105	3	
Geraki	290	2,791	86.5	1,157	154	50	186		30	
Mon. Prophet Elijah at Geraki	4	300	1	80		35		300		
Tsialalopisti(?)	24	480	9	143		7	11	255	3	
Aleporochori	29	300	13	73		12	11.5	555	8	4
Giotsali	56	330	20	155	35	17	24.5	1,160	10	1
Mari	17	7	4	30	51	5		20	6	
Mon. Virgin (Mari)	11	250	1		50	5	10	120	6	4
Kounoupia Megali and Mikri	43		14	17.5	99	9	20	1,013	6	
Aghios Yorgis, Kosmata	27		2.5	35	435	20	9.5	510	5	1
Prastos	363	100	50	50	50	20	100	6,000	150	6
Kosmas	193		33	233	99		62	1,086	100	2
Mon. Virgin at Kosmas	2			2		2		50		
Paliochori	42		12	101	78	34	22.5	730	55	5
Platanos (Platanaki)	11		5	5	25	22	7.5	185		1
Aghios Vasileios	36		14	80	76	59	16	580	30	3
Mon. St George (Aghios Yorgis, Kosmata)				4	4	10	1			
Mon. St	12	25	2			40	10			2

Nicholas (Prastos)											
Mon. St Demetrios (Prastos)	6		1		6		7	100			
Mon. St Nicholas (Prastos)	9	2				15	8.5	200		1	
Mon. Virgin Orthokosta (Prastos)	10	90		2	17	12	13.5	325			
Karitsa	32	31	7.5	35		17	7	1,00 5	5		

Source : TT 883.

M= Muslims, Ch. = Christians, Mon= Monastery

Table 6: *Villages in the nahiye of Aghios Petros*

<i>Settlements</i>	<i>Head-taxes</i>
Aghios Petros	360
Kastri	460
Aghios Ioannis	240
Meligou	84
Karakovouni	110
Platanos	142
Doliana	120
Vourvoura	180
Koutroupa	30
Stenos	120
Nichori	118
Soulou spai	25
Geni çiflik	44
Achladokampos	35
Andritsa	16
Mon. Varsa	8
Mon. Prodomos	9
Mon. Malevi	7
Mon. Loukou	5
Mon. Saroumas ⁷⁰	5
Mon. Karakovouni	9
Mon. Meligou	5
Perakende ⁷¹	20
TOTAL	2,152

Source: MAD 22219

⁷⁰ In all probability this is the monastery of the Taxiarch Michael at Moura in Paliochori, Kynouria, see I. Kakouris, "To monasteri tou Taxiarchi Mihael tes Mouras sto Paliochori Kynourias" [The monastery of Taxiarch Michael at Moura in Paliochori, Kynouria], *Peloponnesiaka* 16 (1985-1986), 305-332.

⁷¹ Dispersed, in the sense of newcomers who have not yet been incorporated in a community.