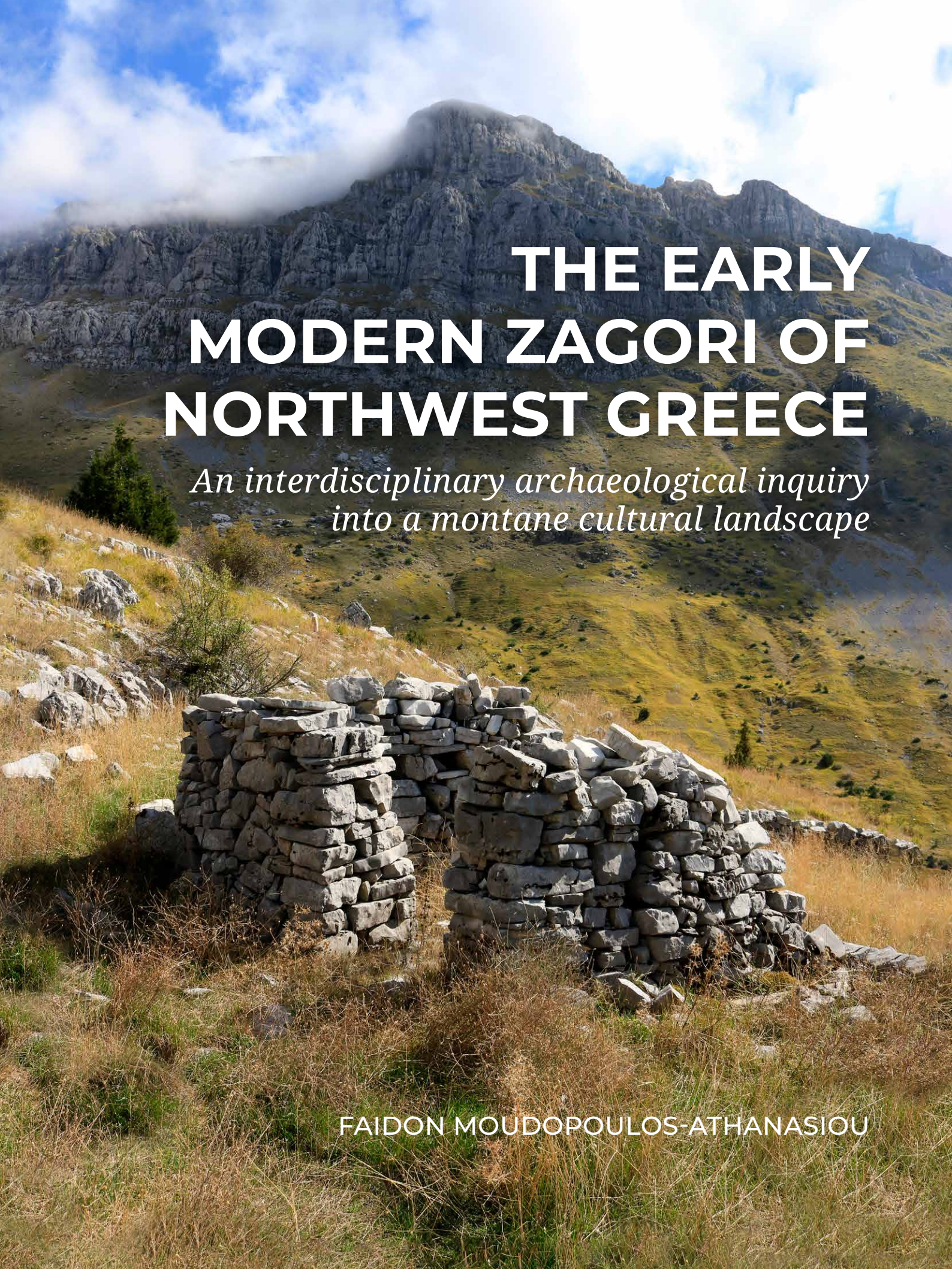


THE EARLY MODERN ZAGORI OF NORTHWEST GREECE

An interdisciplinary archaeological inquiry into a montane cultural landscape

FAIDON MOUDOPOULOS-ATHANASIOU



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Abstract

Over the past century landscape-archaeology projects have had a significant impact on understanding the deep history of the Greek countryside, but have overwhelmingly been limited to the plains and have rarely placed the Ottoman period at the core of investigations. The Zagori of NW Greece, offers insights into the archaeology and cultural history of a mountainous area that thrived in the Ottoman period. This engagement with an upland region in the post-Medieval past sheds light on an aspect of Greek landscape history that has rarely been at the core of such studies.

A central theme of this monograph is the attempt to understand the montane Zagori through a combination of methodologies combining cultural history, archival research, ethnography, and landscape archaeology. This combination enabled a contextualised extensive survey that has provided insights into a variety of issues from changing settlement patterns in the *longue durée* from the "Despotate" of Epirus to the end of Ottoman rule (1913) to the active roles of local elites and non-elites in these processes. This approach, linking the final decades of the "Despotate" with the Ottoman Empire, calls into question one main axiomatic belief of modern Greek national historiography, namely that the mountains were populated after the Ottoman conquest, as Greek peasants fled to the highlands to protect themselves from the "Turks". Moreover, the extensive survey enabled observations on changes to this cultural landscape on the microscale, challenging a second axiomatic belief, that the dominant characteristic of the mountains is pastoralism.

The inclusive methodology used in this research offers a different potential for the study of montane landscapes beyond the limitations of past paradigms, combining critical historiography, archival research, oral history and landscape-archaeological survey.

Acknowledgements

This monograph presents the outcomes of my doctoral research, undertaken at the Department of Archaeology of the University of Sheffield between 2017 and 2021. It was supported by the A.G. Leventis Foundation and the Arts and Humanities Research Council (grant number AH/L503848/1) through the White Rose College of the Arts & Humanities (WRoCAH). The Rizareios Foundation has kindly agreed to cover the author's contribution towards the publication of this monograph with Sidestone Press. I thank all these bodies for supporting this research financially at different stages.

The second half of this research was undertaken in a period of uncertainty, following the COVID-19 outbreak. On top of the necessary and extensive adjustments we were all forced to endure, the University of Sheffield Executive Board decided, in effect, to shut down the Department of Archaeology, leaving the postgraduate research community out of the review process, while we received no support from our funders (WRoCAH). In contrast to these grim managerial practices,[1] the support I received from my supervisors, Prof. Paul Halstead and Prof. John Bennet, was continuous and beyond description. I consider myself blessed for having this collaboration, I express my deepest gratitude and I am happy that they (re)discovered Zagori in these four years.

Many people assisted this research in various ways. Dr Eleni Kotjabopoulou, Dr Dimitris Kontogiorgos and Dr Ioulia Katsadima from the Archaeological Service at Ioannina, and the research team of Boulouki (at the time including Mina Kouvara, Panagiotis Kostoulas, Ionas Sklavounos, Grigoris Koutropoulos and Christophoros Theocharis) improved my understanding of the landscape at its many scales. The same applies to Dr Christos Zampakolas.

My interlocutors, discussants, and friends who assisted in this research also shaped its outcome. This monograph would have been poorer without the input of Christos Tziompos, a tireless companion during fieldwork. Through Christos, I met Napoleo Kalogirou and his family and Kostas Gkerekas. They all helped me advance my understanding of Zagori. Nikos and †Andreas Kougoulis, in Klithonia and Hagios Minas respectively, as well as †Kostas Zygos from Koukouli, were also trusted interlocutors throughout the process. Michalis Kallimanis assisted in surveying some challenging landscapes, adapting his fast-paced mountain running routine to the slow walking of archaeological survey. I would also like to thank Dimitrios Ioannidis for his hospitality in Tsepelovo while surveying Koziako.

I want to express my gratitude to Assoc. Prof. Elias Kolovos for deciphering the Ottoman sources used in this research, and for teaching me how to navigate through their taxable resources and production rates. In the field of Ottoman Studies, my enjoyable discussions with my dear friends Efthimios Maheras and Thanassis Papadimitriou helped shape this research, while I also received great assistance from Assoc. Prof. Athanasios Vionis.

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1 These practices have their place in the contemporary understanding of the evolution of management through the 20th century. See Johann Chapoutot, *Libres d'obéir: Le management, du nazisme à aujourd'hui* (2020, Paris: Gallimard).

The *International Konitsa Summer School in Anthropology, Ethnography and Comparative Folklore of the Balkans* offered me the chance to investigate my subject from different angles. I want to thank Prof. Vassilis Nitsiakos, Assoc. Prof. Vassilis Dalkavoukis, Dr Kalliopi Stara, Dr Rhigas Tsiakiris and Dr Paris Potiropoulos for all their help and our discussions both within and outside the Summer School.

I am grateful to the Joukowsky Institute for Archaeology and the Ancient World at Brown University, which hosted me for three months through a *Research Employability Project*. I thank in particular Prof. Yannis Hamilakis, Prof. John Cherry and Prof. Peter Van Dommelen for giving me space to present my research and for constructive feedback.

While writing about my place of origin, my mind was going back to my grandparents, whom I never had the chance to talk to as an adult. My grandfather, Nekoklis, worked this land in the afternoons, during the tormented period of the 1940s, while teaching in the school at Perama. In the absence of modern roads, he travelled daily by bicycle from Janina to the school and the fields of Perama and Zagori to provide for his family. My grandmother, Lola, maintained a household of six people singlehandedly between Janina and Vezitsa. I wonder about all the potential insights they would have to offer and how much of my research would have been self-explanatory to them, having dwelled in a different Zagori than the one I inhabited. While elaborating this research further, I was constantly reminded of the admonishments of †Nitsa Dagli and †Avrilia Zaïmi, who always claimed that Hagios Minas in the past was a more important settlement than Aristi. Also, I recollected childhood memories of *θείες* †Thaleia and †Aspasia Svolou, about discoveries of Byzantine coins in the village gardens they tended by hand well into their eighth decade. The stories of these four women bring forward the marginalised narratives of Zagori, the engendered peasant labour beyond the luxuries of its mobile elites. *Shadows, in short, have the advantage of making us think*, and I believe this work would please them.

Note on the toponyms

Appendix 1 presents the village names as they appear in the 16th-century Ottoman registers, as they were known until the Hellenisation of the toponyms in the 20th century, and finally their contemporary names. In the text, I have opted for the historical names, unless I am referring to the cadastres themselves, or issues of contemporary history.

The contemporary administrative name for the regional capital of Epirus is Ioannina, a form of debatable etymology that has been dominant since the incorporation of Epirus into the Greek Kingdom (1913). Locals, myself included, refer to the town as Γιάννινα or Γιάννενα, which is better transcribed as Yannina or Yannena, while the Ottoman administration recorded the city as Yanya. I have opted for Janina, as this was the preferred version of merchants from Zagori in the 19th century, as research in local archives has shown. The term Ioannina is used only when referring to contemporary officials or services (*e.g.* Archaeological Service of Ioannina).

Introduction

The nature of the research

This monograph investigates the montane cultural landscape of Zagori in northwest Greece, focussing on the cultural and archaeological remains of the early modern period. On another level, it is also an exploration of my family heritage and, if Zagori had not been my place of origin and if I had not had a family house in Aristi, one of its 46 traditional settlements, this research would not have occurred, at least in its present form. The COVID-19 outbreak, the related social-distancing and prolonged lockdowns while I was conducting fieldwork, as well as the process of living in the countryside, within my study area, intensified a profound quest for knowledge. This was fuelled by a desire to unlearn the stories I had internalised as a child, visiting the mountains from Athens for holidays, and to immerse myself in a dynamic cultural landscape that exceeded my initial expectations.

Due to this personal involvement and the constant rediscovering of the place of my childhood memories from different, academic, perspectives, this monograph follows a particular structure. That is why this introduction takes the form of a preliminary methodological statement. I was raised with the idea that the history of Zagori developed along the lines outlined in Chapter One, a story of excellence and *Greekness*, of Zagori as an island of Greek Orthodox communities within an Ottoman sea. This argument, exaggerated here (developed further in subsequent chapters), forms a background narrative for contemporary understanding of the region that developed in the 19th century within the context of the Enlightenment.

To interpret this cultural landscape beyond the tropes of modernity (cf., González-Ruibal, 2013) we first need to highlight all the "biases" that would hinder the interpretation of the early modern material remains of this region. Such "biases" emerge broadly from the context of 19th-century Enlightenment-inspired (national) historiography (cf., Kitromilides, 2013), the selective reading of folkloric primary sources and narratives to fit the national imagination (cf., Herzfeld, 1982), the periodisation of Greek history, its reflections in archaeology (cf. Davis, 1991; Le Goff, 2015; Lucas, 2018; Orser, 2013), and the formation of the nation-state (cf. Hamilakis, 2009).

The aforementioned narratives are understood, and referred to, throughout this monograph as "biases". However, they have to an extent shaped both the landscape and the way people have dwelled in it. Consequently, they are in fact accumulated layers of epistemological paradigms (Kuhn, 1962), coexisting to various extents in the present. And in relationship to critical analyses utilising frameworks such as *dwelling* (esp. influenced by the writings of Ingold, 1993; 2013), they are treated as important layers of the cultural landscape, discussed and evaluated in the three first chapters, before reaching the exposition of fieldwork methodology (Chapter Four).

Monograph outline

Due to the above, the monograph is divided into two main parts. The first part, comprising Chapters One – Four, offers a critical evaluation of the present state of research regarding early modern cultural landscapes in Greece, shifting the focus of archaeological research to the Ottoman period. The second part comes in response to this discussion, offering

insights from original fieldwork, through a synthetic archival, ethnographic and landscape-archaeological methodology. Chapters Five and Six reveal the ways local elites adapted to this mountainous landscape from the early 15th century to the 19th century, while Chapters Seven and Eight focus on transformations affecting the non-elites of Zagori. Through diverse case studies, the agency of local communities in this *longue durée* is foregrounded, to support an interpretation of Zagori from within.

The scales of analysis

In doing so, the analysis mediates between the conjunctural elements of Ottoman history, especially the broad changes occurring progressively from the 17th century, and events, as these appear in archives related to internal transformations of this cultural landscape. Level 1 archaeological survey served as a tool to understand the early-modern forms of *dwelling* (*sensu* Ingold, 1993).

Dwelling, and related elite and non-elite agencies shaping this cultural landscape, are the main objects of this research. However, they are ultimately filtered through my personal history, descended from Zagori, but raised in Athens. In that sense, at the beginning of this research, I was by no means a dweller in the cultural landscape. Rather, I was an inhabitant, as Casey (2001) uses the term *inhabiting* to describe an intermediate ground between *dwelling* and *gazing* (cf., Urry, 2002). I was aware of the popular narratives, knew my way around the river Voïdomatis and the chapels beyond the limits of the village, but I had no idea of the scale and complexity of the agropastoral taskscapes or of peasant labour, despite having written an MA thesis on the ethnoarchaeology of the region (Moudopoulos-Athanasiou, 2014).

As the last dwellers of the early modern cultural landscape pass away, cultural memory is changing and forms of *gazing* are gaining ground in the appreciation and understanding of place. That is why I considered it necessary to mediate between these three perspectives (*dwelling* – *inhabiting* – *gazing*) in the first part of the monograph, before moving to the presentation of fieldwork results.

The same applies to the different scales of geographical analysis employed in the second part of the monograph ranging from the microscale of a site to the proposal of new models for the understanding of the cultural landscape on a regional scale. Albeit different, they share the common perspective of a local scholar seeking to interpret the cultural landscape of his origins, emphasising dwelling and agency, moving beyond colonial, national, and other interpretations introduced from the external sociocultural context.

Chapter 1

Zagori today

A brief introduction to Zagori

The Zagori occupies the southwestern-most edge of the Pindos mountain range, situated in the Janina (Ioannina) district of the region of Epirus. As the name indicates (Slav. Zagorъje < za gora, 'behind the mountain'. Oikonomou, 1991: 634) the region is surrounded by mountains. Gamila, the district's highest peak (2,497 masl), overlooks the upland meadows of the rectangular-shaped Tymphi mountain, of which the 46 villages of Zagori occupy the foothills, mostly on its eastern, southern, and western margins. The median altitude for these villages is approximately 900 masl. Hagios Minas is the lowest, situated at 580 masl, and Vradeto the highest, at 1,340 masl. The municipality of Zagori spans an area of 1000 km^2, roughly defined by natural geographical features: the confluence of the Voïdomatis and Aoos (Vjose) rivers to the north; the Aoos river to the east; the Arachthos river, separating Zagori from Metsovo to the southeast; and Mt. Mitsikeli, between Zagori and the city of Janina, to the southwest. However, these limits were fluid through time, and the district included a larger area in the 16th century (Figure 1).

In recent years, the area has received a lot of publicity. CNN voted Zagori the third most beautiful place in Europe.[2] Many of its hotels, located inside the traditional and protected settlements,[3] receive international advertising and National Geographic named one of them as the top worldwide "hideout resort" for 2017.[4] The area is part of the Vikos – Aoos UNESCO Global Geopark (hereafter UGG, Theodosiou et al., 2009) and will soon be rebranded, to meet the requirements of inclusion in the UNESCO World Heritage List, as a cultural landscape (initial declaration 16 January 2014, submission for review January 2022). Given that Greece has no listed cultural landscape, the significance of this application is obvious: the current Greek Prime Minister, Kyriakos Mitsotakis, announced that he will oversee the process personally, making the nomination a (pre-COVID 19) political goal for his cabinet (Moudopoulos-Athanasiou, 2022b).

Although Zagori is loaded with cultural significance and touristic economic value, heritage (historical, archaeological, and architectural) plays an important but also marginal role in contemporary life. It forms a sort of background narrative to generate added value for touristic or institutional (UGG) branding (Dalkavoukis, 2015a; Moudopoulos-Athanasiou, 2020b; Nitsiakos, 2003). This background narrative is based mostly on traditional folklore, assembled meticulously by local amateurs in the 19th and 20th centuries (i.a. Aravantinos, 1856a; Fanitsios, 1966; 1968; Lambridis, 1870; 1889; Lazaridis, 1972; 1982).

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2 https://edition.cnn.com/travel/article/europe-beautiful-places/index.html (Accessed: 15.06.2020).

3 FEK: 615/Δ/1979: *Περί χαρακτηρισμού ως παραδοσιακών των υφισταμένων προ του έτους 1923 οικισμών της ευρύτερης περιοχής Ζαγορίου (Ηπείρου) και καθορισμού ειδικών όρων και περιορισμών δομήσεως των οικοπέδων αυτού* [For the characterisation of the settlements of Zagori (Epirus) established before 1923 as traditional and the establishment of special rules for the area's development].

4 https://www.nationalgeographiclodges.com/lodges/europe/aristi-mountain-resort/about-the-destination (Accessed: 28.03.2020).

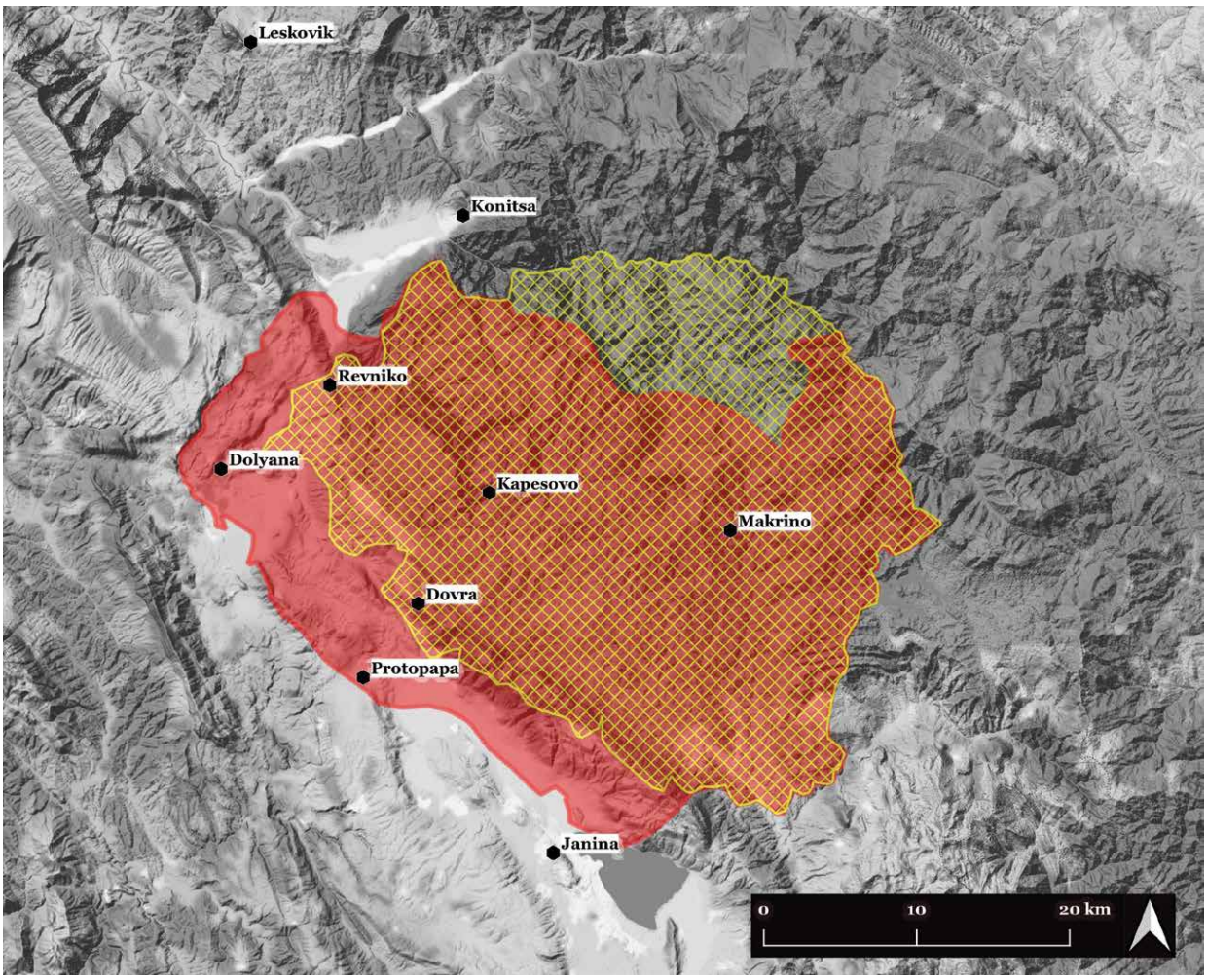


Figure 1: Map of Zagori and Papingo revealing different borders (16th century – red colour; present – yellow), including some key locations addressed in the text. We notice that the contemporary administrative borders have shifted towards the mountains, excluding the more low-lying areas. © Faidon Moudopoulos-Athanasiou.

Prominent academics writing about the area in the mid-20th century (*e.g.* Campbell, 1964; Hammond, 1967) and a synthetic work on the history of the Mediterranean mountains (McNeill, 1992) offer insights into the archaeology and ethnography of Zagori, building on these folkloric foundations. And while significant contemporary ethnographic work (Dalkavoukis, 1999; 2005; 2015a; Stara, 2009) has shed new light on the recent cultural history of the region, the earlier limit of these approaches is the late 17th century.

On the other hand, the early Ottoman history of the region (15th-16th centuries) remains unexplored. Recent scholarship usually quotes earlier accounts about the emergence of Zagori, while focusing on the post-18th-century regional cultural history. Furthermore, although Papageorgiou (1995: 189 ff) made an effort to define the *League of Zagorisians* (*Κοινό των Ζαγορισίων*)[5] in terms of social and economic history, again he did not discuss the earlier Ottoman period in depth. This is largely due to the absence of contemporary historical, archaeological and social-geographical research on the Zagori.

The heritage that makes Zagori distinctive today has its roots in the later centuries of the Ottoman Empire (18th-19th c). Other such examples are the neighbouring Mastorochoria (craftsmen's villages) of Konitsa, or Metsovo, home to the well-known, mostly for their post-17th century wealth, Vlach transhumant pastoralists (Dasoulas, 2019). In the case of Zagori, it was the wealth that émigré Christian Orthodox male merchants and

5 For further information on these elites see Chapters Two and Five.



Figure 2: Map of the 19th-century mobility of travelling, based on mentions of destinations reached by Zagorisians in Dalkavoukis (1999) and Gouvis (2003). © Faidon Moudopoulos-Athanasiou.

craftsmen generated in the northern provinces of the Ottoman Balkans, especially Wallachia (Dalkavoukis, 1999; Papageorgiou, 1995), that created, together with the provincial notables (Adanir, 2006; Faroqhi, 2002; McGowan, 1994), the architecture admired today.[6] Since at least the first recorded case (1672 in Ottoman Crete; Anastasopoulos and Kyriakopoulos, 2019: 13), the seasonal, or longer-term mobility of these émigrés brought monetary surplus to the elite households of Zagori. The present research pushes this date back to the 16th century (Chapters Five and Six). Besides monetising the finances of elite households, this wealth was expressed in the building of two-storeyed, elite houses, but also of public works: infrastructure (cobbled paths, fountains and stone-arched bridges linking different communities with each other and with the outside world); churches; and endowments to sustain schools and provide dowries that would reproduce social stratification within the community structure (Dalkavoukis, 2005: 32-35).

The consolidation of this mobility (according to contemporary understanding, in the mid-18th century) coincides with the emergence of a form of education that moved away from the traditional model of church schooling with ecclesiastical priorities (Karpat, 1982), to follow the principles of the Enlightenment. Primary schools and libraries in Zagori, also a side-effect of the aforementioned mobility, led to a high level of literacy, almost eliminating illiteracy in the region (Dalkavoukis, 1999: 89-90). In 1886 Zagori had 98.8 students studying in primary schools per 1,000 inhabitants, while the numbers in the Ottoman region of Epirus were 44.2 per 1,000, in Ottoman Smyrna 40.5 per 1,000 and the Greek district of the Cyclades 60.8 per 1,000 (Dalkavoukis, 2015a: 68). This led some folklorists from Epirus and Zagori to the conclusion that the people of Zagori contributed to the Greek revolution not by armed struggle but with their

6 For the rich architectural heritage of Zagori, see Stamatopoulou (1999), Zissis (2006), and also https://costaszissis.com/gallery/zagori/ (Accessed: 19.02.2021).

Hellenic spirit. According to one of them, Zagori was the "spiritual Acropolis of Epirus" (Papakostas, 1966: 4-5). But such declarations mediating the spiritual values of Zagorisian communes through ancient material vestiges were never based on archaeological data.

Instead of archaeological investigations, the notion of a Greek past is the intellectual product of the Enlightenment. More than 27 Zagori entrepreneurs were initiated as members of the pro-independence Society of Friends (Φιλική Εταιρεία) during the years 1817-1821 (for the Society of Friends, see Beaton, 2020: 69 ff) and one of them, K. Rados, was among the founders of the society (Papakostas, 1966: 25). Extending the catalogue of "extraordinary" 19th-century Zagorisians, G. Radionov Rizaris donated 2,500 Austrian gold coins for the creation of the National Bank of Greece (Papakostas, 1966: 24), making him a main benefactor of the most important Greek national financial institution.[7] He and his brother endowed their fortunes, which were the product of mercantile activities in the Balkans within the Ottoman Empire, to create the prestigious Rizareios Ecclesiastical School. Furthermore, Zagorisians Ch. Klonaris and G. Tisamenos were respectively the first president of the Greek supreme court and the minister of the Greek Navy under King Otto's regime. The most prominent figure from Doliana, in Zagori, was George Gennadios. His teachings on ancient Greek culture in the School of Bucharest provided the intellectual background for the creation of the Sacred Battalion (Ιερός Λόχος) of 1821 (Kitromilides, 2021: 391), the first organised modern Greek army of volunteers (Papakostas, 1966). He organised and directed the first school of the independent Greek state (Aegina Central School), curated the first museum of the modern Greek state (in Aegina), taught in the Kapodistrian University of Athens and directed the First Gymnasium of Athens.

Within the above framework, local scholars of the 19th century interpreted the history of Zagori, based on its importance for the 19th-century Greek Cause. They developed a narrative of success based on special privileges, that went as far as to suggest that Zagori was an almost democratic polity (Hobhouse, 1813; Meletios, 1807), representative of the quality of its offspring. It is obvious that such approaches must be understood in the context of modern-Greek enlightenment, bearing a huge significance within the context of the production of knowledge, but reduced to the norms of nationalistic folklore (Herzfeld, 2003) as regards their historical and archaeological underpinnings.

7 Albeit not the subject of this research, it is worth stressing that such financial elites, operating in the imperial context, refused to move their business within the newly born Greek Kingdom, as their profits were derived from within the Ottoman Empire (Vergopoulos, 1975: 14).

An overview of the popular understanding of Zagori

One main aim of the present study is to provide alternative insights into the history of Zagori in the Ottoman era through a critical, archaeologically informed, investigation. Before doing so, it is essential to outline the existing narratives used to understand the regional history and geography in the contemporary context, because these are part of the cultural landscape, whether in accordance with scientific narratives or not. The following pages outline the cornerstones for the frameworks of Zagorisian "touristic excellence" and the bid for UNESCO World Heritage Listing (WHL).[8] The historical evolution of Zagori under Ottoman rule may be divided into two phases: an early stage (1430 – early 17th century), defined by the treaty of *Voinikio*; and a period (mid. 17th century – 1913), characterised by the seasonal mobility of *travels* under the provincial administration of the *League of Zagorisians* (Papageorgiou, 1995: 189 ff).

Voinikio

According to the local tradition documented for the first time by Aravantinos (1856a: 33-34), fourteen Zagori villages signed a separate agreement with the Ottomans in 1430. This local treaty was named *Voinikio,* and the villages included created an entity, analogous to a pre-modern "federation", under the same name. Several male individuals from each village were obliged to serve as military auxiliaries in the stables of the Sultan in Edirne, in return for tax-exemptions and autonomy. The people of *Voinikio* paid a per capita tax (in *akçe*) to avoid this auxiliary service (Aravantinos, 1856a: 33-34).

Ioannis Lambridis, a rare example of a 19th-century folklorist, evaluated and developed Aravantinos' narrative further. He used archival sources and created an important account for the reconstruction of local history.[9] Copying information from the now lost *Voutsa Chronicle*, a religious book dating to 1673, he reconstructed a set of privileges for Zagori. The folklorist suggested that autonomy and

8 The argument presented below has changed with the new effort to present Zagori as a *Cultural Landscape* and not as a *Mixed Site*. The author was part of the research committee which drafted and submitted the application to inscribe the Cultural Landscape of Zagori in UNESCO's World Heritage List in January 2022. The outline of the argument below is the product of earlier assumptions.

9 All documents used by Lambridis in his work were held in the house of the *General Dignitary* of Zagori in Janina. During the siege of the city by the Ottoman forces trying to overthrow Ali Pasha, the apostate ruler had set the fortress's suburb (*Varosi-varosh*) on fire (25/8/1820) (Kotzageorgis, 2019), to improve his defensive position. It was during this fire that the said house burned down, leaving no trace for modern researchers of the documents Lambridis had used. Hence, the work of Lambridis is extremely important as he had copied many of these primary sources into his account.

self-governance were extended immediately to all the villages of Zagori in 1430 (Lambridis, 1889: 7). He retained Aravantinos' idea of a collective privilege without internal social stratification.

The core privileges analysed by Lambridis (1889: 33-37) and codified by Lazaridis (Lazaridis, 1982: 21-23) evolved around the pillars of self-governance and freedom to perform Orthodox religious rites. The narrative regarding this semi-autonomous polity within a sea of Ottoman occupation also served the political needs of Greek expansionism when the struggle for the incorporation of Epirus into the Nation-State was intense. Since then, it has been repeatedly reproduced, in every publication regarding Zagori, from contemporary, accessible, digital sources, such as Wikipedia,[10] to recent academic publications (Dalkavoukis, 2015a: 107; Papagiannopoulos and Simoni, 2017b).

Even the draft document of the 2014 UNESCO World Heritage tentative list on the historical values of Zagori reproduced these statements (Permanent Delegation of Greece to UNESCO, 2014). According to this document:

> Zagori was never inhabited by occupying forces, but always remained a self-governing community (…) [which] established a special relationship with the ottoman administration: it was self-governed, autonomous and enjoyed tax exemptions in return for sending several youths (called voiniks) to Constantinople to work as grooms of the Sublime Porte. (…) Although they have always been **autonomous communities**, they are not protected by walls of any kind. The protection afforded by the natural boundaries surrounding them (rivers and steep mountainous ravines) was enough, together with the special relationships (…) [developed] with the ottoman overlords. (Permanent Delegation of Greece to UNESCO, 2014, emphasis added).

Chapter Five critically evaluates *Voinikio* in the light of unpublished Ottoman sources. But, for the present overview, it is important to point towards a fundamental misunderstanding emphasised in the UNESCO extract above. Since Aravantinos, any form of early Ottoman privilege has been interpreted through the lens of the *community* to serve the needs of local identity and the national narrative. It presupposes that all individual members of the villages enjoyed the same tax exemptions and benefited equally from the social contract of *autonomy* set against the Ottoman empire. A paradigm shift from the *community* to the *commune*, which presupposes internal hierarchies within each village that is to an extent administered from within (see Chapter Two), offers deeper, nuanced, insights into the nature of *Voinikio*.

Travels and the League of Zagorisians

Around the mid-17th century, we encounter the first examples of Zagorisian individuals travelling within and outside the Ottoman world. The earliest documented examples of mobility are some individual cases of *Vikoyatroi* (physicians) from Dolyani, Papingo and Kapesovo, recorded in juridical (*kadi*) registers of Crete from 1670 onwards (Anastasopoulos and Kyriakopoulos, 2019). Besides physicians, early *travellers* were the product of mostly entrepreneurial activities (Dalkavoukis, 1999). This mode of mobility is known as *travels* in the ethnographic tradition highlighting the importance of mobility back and forth. The gradual growth of this mobile network is the reason behind the existence of the majestic architecture of Zagori, with its roots in the mid-18th century. The emergence of these activities is mistakenly attributed to the local population having exceeded the carrying capacity of this mountainous region, resulting in subsistence failure (McNeill, 1992). As these émigré male *travellers* (merchants, traders, doctors) channelled a large proportion of their surplus back to their households in Zagori, they supposedly enabled elite households to cope more easily with the "harsh winter" conditions. This model is critically evaluated in Chapter Seven.

Undoubtedly, social competition between the households of notables, situated well above the subsistence level, and the wider context of philanthropy led to the creation of majestic houses and communal infrastructure developments (such as schools, churches and bridges) (Dalkavoukis, 1999; 2015a: 105 ff; Papageorgiou, 1995: 89 ff). But these elite parameters are unrelated to the struggle of the peasantry to maintain their households against taxation and loans (Chapter Seven) and relate more to the realities of post-17th-century Ottoman provincial governance (Chapters Two and Five).

The *Voinikio* is to date the foundation story of Zagori, while in its subsequent history the narrative of *travels* replaces that of the Voinikio. The origins of the *travels* are no less uncertain. Only the post-17th century historical context has solid academic foundations (Dalkavoukis, 1999; 2005), aligned with the administrative model of the *League of Zagorisians*.

Geographical determinisms

Nicholas Hammond, whose walkover surveys in Epirus form an important archaeological legacy, described the SW Balkans as the Switzerland of the Balkans (Hammond, 1967). He felt that the mountainous terrain shared morphological characteristics with the Swiss Alps and assumed that it deterministically facilitated

10 https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Zagori#Early_history (Accessed: 25.03.2020).

transhumant pastoral economies and migrations, such as the supposed "Dorian invasion" (Hammond, 1932: 140). Although the period of cultural-historical archaeology and flat ethnographic analogies as means to approach the prehistoric past (Hammond, 1967; Higgs and Vita-Finzi, 1966) have given way to more considered ethnoarchaeological observation in the Pindos (Halstead, 1990; Kontogiorgos, 2009; Nitsiakos, 2015) and careful case-specific analyses,[11] some misconceptions still prevail in research on Epirus and more specifically the region of Janina.

Zagori is understood as a network of sedentary mixed-farming communes (Chapters Two and Six). Many of these have rented their summer pastures to transhumant or nomadic herders since the 17th century (Chapter Six, also Papageorgiou, 1995). In that sense, there exists a second twofold division: between the realm of mixed-farmers (below the tree-line) and the realm of pastoralists (in the "alpine" meadows of Tymphi). Acknowledging the existence in the highlands of "alpine meadows" (Vokou et al., 1993: 196), "alpine areas" (Hanlidou and Kokkini, 1997: 81), and "alpine lakes" (Theodosiou et al., 2009: no page) promotes a teleological ecological interpretation as if highlands were deterministically suited only for pastoralism (criticised in Halstead, 1987: 79).

Based on the altitude and latitude of Tymphi, only the peak of Gamila could be assigned to the Cryo-Mediterranean vegetational zones (Allen, 2009: 205). The rest of the region falls in the Alti-Mediterranean climatic zone, with sub-alpine grasslands, perennials and dwarf junipers (Allen, 2009: 205). Consequently, all grazing plateaus in Tymphi fall beneath the maximum elevation enabling tree growth (Nagy, 2006: 337). As a result, the treeline is depressed because of past land use (Halstead, 1990: 65-66; Nagy, 2006: 339), and human agency emerges to the fore as a transformative parameter, emphasising *dwelling* in this dynamic landscape. Furthermore, due to the low latitudes of Mediterranean landscapes, trees tend to grow in wet rather than warm locations (Halstead, 1987: 80), as the main difficulty in karstic massifs, such as Tymphi, is aridity. Consequently, the "alpine meadows" of Tymphi are located at sub-alpine altitudes as the product of drought rather than cold.

The belief that highlands in Epirus were analogous to the Alpine highlands and therefore deterministically suited for pastoralism has been broadly evaluated (Allen, 2009; Halstead, 1990; Nagy, 2006). Recently, such areas in Zagori were called "pseudo-alpine" (Stara et al., 2015b), unmasking the cultural bias beneath these layers of the landscape. Consequently, highland plateaux were not always the realm of transhumant and nomadic pastoralists. Nevertheless, under the framework of modern dichotomies (Dalkavoukis, 2015a; Latour, 1993; Nitsiakos, 2003), cultural sedentism is linked to mid-altitudes and the tree zone, while highlands with rough pasture are regarded as the realm of mobile pastoralists (esp. for Zagori, see Moudopoulos-Athanasiou, 2022b,a). Chapter Seven reveals that this polarised understanding hardly predates the 17th century, as transhumant pastoralism earlier coexisted with an internal management of the pastures on a commune scale.

Inserting doubt: on ecological overshoot and carrying capacity

As mentioned above, *travels* supposedly emerged as a response to the local population exceeding carrying capacity, which led to an ecological overshoot. McNeill (1992: 167), in his work *Mountains of the Mediterranean World*, suggested that ecological overshoot occurred in this part of the world during the 18th century. When human numbers rose and began to push against available resources, he argued, villagers began to roam further afield to make ends meet, as carrying capacity models might expect, in an *optimal zone exploitation* scheme (Zubrow, 1975: 29-30). Zagori and all the Pindos began to send out its "legions of masons, muleteers, beggars and doctors, a form of mobility that removed mouths from the villages and brought back money and wealth" (McNeill 1992: 167). He used the churches of Zagori, which are disproportionally large in comparison to the size of the villages, to strengthen the argument for population rise over carrying capacity. Calculating that the church of Negades could hold more than 700 people, he argued that the population of the village must have been substantial, in sharp contrast to his empirical observations while walking around the almost abandoned village in the late 20th century. McNeill's theory is that only the introduction of maize and the intensification of the gardens and terraced agriculture could lead to such exceeding of carrying capacity (McNeill, 1992: 91). Therefore, he pointed to the 18th century as the time when this occurred and when the resulting practice of mobility developed.

However, the manifestation of 18th-century architectural wealth in Zagori is the result of elite entrepreneurial activities in Wallachia and the wider Balkans, documented as early as the late 17th century. Therefore, mobility predates the alleged carrying capacity and ecological overshoot in McNeill's scheme. As the population has the potential to multiply exponentially, in contrast to subsistence resources, people tend to migrate and exploit various ecological niches to survive (Diachenko and Zubrow, 2015; Zubrow, 1975). This process, according to McNeill, is especially visible in the mountains, as "peasants desperately cleared and farmed slopes that, they well knew, could not hold soil" (McNeill, 1992: 3).

11 Paleolithic (Bailey, 1997); later prehistory (Vasileiou, 2018); historical periods (Pliakou, 2018).

Contrary to McNeill's argument, it is difficult to point to ecological overshoot within the last two hundred years, or any other time within the early modern period, given the scarcity of data available and the known historical circumstances. Furthermore, as Chapter Eight shows, terraced slopes could, and still do, hold soil. The economy of the Ottoman Balkans was monetised before the 18th century (Asdrachas, 1982; Pamuk, 2004) and the breaching of carrying capacity, to match the requirements of the *travels* narrative, should have occurred by the second half of the 17th century. But more importantly, to date, we lack the analytical tools even to attempt to calculate carrying capacity. The first systematic efforts to map the extent of land-use, to develop a periodisation in given catchments, and to document pre-18th-century abandoned settlements, which might form the basis for contrast with later settlements, are undertaken in the following chapters.[12] Therefore, any attempt to model carrying capacity and ecological overshoot must fall short for lack of any convincing relevant dataset.

Following a social-historical approach, the argument would be that elite households survived thanks to the surplus sent by male emigré notables, who prospered within the broader economic network of the Ottoman Balkans. In contrast, poorer families became indebted to tax-farmers (Papageorgiou, 1995) or their rich compatriots (Dalkavoukis, 2015b). Since we are unable to identify an overshoot based on archaeological, ecological, or historical records, we should be cautious regarding the validity of the two grand narratives of Zagori history outlined above. If the paradigmatic division between the *Voinikio* and the early years of *travelling* is to be sustained, then the shift from one to the other should have taken place in the 17th century.

This hypothesis thus collapses. To sustain it, we would have to assume that the population grew further than the already high number of households documented in the Ottoman Imperial Registers for the 16th century (see Chapter Seven), resulting in ecological overshoot. That would go against the broader historiographic literature suggesting population decline and impoverishment due to 17th-century inflation in the Ottoman Empire (İnalcık and Quataert, 1994). In a second hypothetical scenario of ecological overshoot, a 17th-century little ice age could have had a severe impact on agropastoral production and thereby reduced carrying capacity. In that case, limitations on agricultural production would have been responsible for *travelling*, acting as a push factor, in contrast to McNeill's argument that population increase laid the causal foundations for the development of *travelling*. Yet we lack the relevant ecological documentation for Zagori and the results of tree-ring analysis in the vicinity of Grammos argue against the generalisation of such a hypothesis (Hall, 2003: 301).[13] The argument for a little ice age effect appeals to broader regions and if it does not show on Grammos, it is unlikely to have been devastating in Zagori. Furthermore, evidence from Pamvotis, the lake of Janina, revealed only two major incident years: 1686/7, when the lake remained frozen for 3 months and 1708/9, one of the "most severe winters of the last 500 years" (Hughes and Woodward, 2009: 362). Caution regarding generalised interpretations of social change, based on large scale climate change and the little ice age, was also recently advised by Ottoman historians (Kolovos and Kotzageorgis, 2019: 30-31).

Therefore, even this preliminary discussion reveals the need to question the monolithic explanations of traditional historiography regarding the origins and apogee of Zagori. These are based on assumptions regarding carrying capacity without relevant evidence and on the use of literature forged within a 19th-century folkloric environment.

12 With the exception of the quest to discover the roots of Apano and Kato Soudena villages (Papagiannopoulos and Simoni, 2017b), but see also a critical evaluation of the said project (Moudopoulos-Athanasiou, 2018).

13 Regarding the village of Gorgopotamos on Mt Grammos, Hall (2003) suggested that there is no evidence to support a radical temperature drop during the 17th century, based on her tree-ring analysis. According to the narrow rings within oak core sequences she identifies the following years as *event years* (some of which would be due to cutting of branches as leafy hay, rather than to severe weather): 1683; 1752; 1800 (?); 1810 (?); 1829; 1849; 1862; 1866 (?); 1880; 1917; 1928; 1932 (?); 1936 (?); 1946 (?); 1951 (?); 1966; 1988 (?); 1991; 1994 (Hall, 2003: 301).

Chapter 2

An alternative version of history

As already hinted in the preceding chapter, the current understanding of the cultural landscape under study is embedded in historical assumptions that emerged within the nation-building processes of the 19th century. The first step is to enforce a paradigm shift and offer an alternative historical synthesis before any further interpretive initiative is undertaken regarding this cultural landscape. This historical synthesis starts with the century before the onset of Ottoman rule (14th century) and ends in the 20th century when the Zagori of today was shaped. I use local sources and references from the wider academic literature to counter the biases that may arise from reliance on either in isolation. The emerging broad regional dynamics will allow a nuanced approach to the history of Zagori beyond the assumptions that: a) there is a clear gap between the final centuries of the "Despotate" of Epirus and the Ottoman period; b) Zagori grew demographically in the 17th-century, under the Ottoman occupation, which resulted in the travels; and c) regional autonomy from the oriental overlords (*Voinikio*) is necessary for a network of Orthodox communities to thrive within the Ottoman world. Without a shift in this historical paradigm, any landscape or archaeological investigations would be mere repetitions of a narrative that is scientifically marginalised but culturally significant.

Prelude: the 14th and 15th centuries

The nobles of Janina signed the capitulation agreement with Sinan Pasha after the death of Despot Carlo I Tocco, in 1430 when the town and its region became officially part of the Ottoman administration (e.g., Delilbasi, 2012). The century preceding this event, and especially the reigns of Thomas II Preloumbovic Palaeologos (1366-1384), Esau de Buondelmonti (1385-1411) and Carlo I Tocco (1411-1429), were recorded in the *Chronicle of Janina* and the *Chronicle of Tocco* as a precarious period for both ruling elites and peasantry.

According to these Chronicles (Sansaridou Hendrickx, 2008; Vranousis, 1962), in 1380 Thomas II Prelumbovic, despot of Janina, asked for the help of the Ottomans against long-standing Albanian assaults, undertaken mainly by the kin of Spata. Şahin Pasha, *subashi* of Leskovik (opposite Konitsa on the Albanian side of the modern Greek-Albanian border), aided the city of Janina against the threats from the south. At this time, the Albanian Gin Boua Spata had established his rule in Arta (1374-1399), the former capital of the Despotate of Epirus, while other warlords led assaults on Janina and the regions of Southern Albania. Two years later (1382), Şahin Pasha was raiding south of Konitsa, stealing livestock and money from the peasantry. Reportedly, on May 5th 1382, Şahin Pasha destroyed the fort of Revnikon (Nicol, 1957: 214). This event is also recorded by Lambridis (1870), who argues that Revnikon was destroyed by Isaim who did not believe in Christ.[14]

14 The Chronicles and Lambridis provide different names for the Ottoman notable campaigning both as an ally and against Thomas II Prelumbovic. The *Chronicle of Janina* refer to him as Kasim Pasha, while Lambridis refers to him as Isaim, the infidel. Şahin Pasha makes absolute sense, both historically and geographically, as the figure behind these names (Kiliç, 2016: 148; Osswald, 2006).

Thomas II Prelumbovic's successor, Esau de Buondelmonti, faced the same danger from Albanian warlords threatening Janina from their base in Arta. In 1389 he allied with Sultan Bayezid II and, according to the Chronicle, travelled to Istanbul to pay his tribute. In the same year, Esau returned to Janina with Gazi Evrenos Bey, an Ottoman general entrusted with protecting the town from the Albanian chieftain Spata. Fourteen months later (4th of December 1390), Esau with the assistance of Gazi Evrenos and his army won the battle of Acheloos near the city of Arta and returned to Janina as the victor. By that time, Ottoman influence in the region of Janina, under the leadership of Evrenos, a "warrior of the faith" (Gazi), was profound. Evliya Çelebi, the 16th-century Ottoman traveller, writes that Gazi Evrenos was the conqueror of the region. This mirrors a reality of profound imperial influence in the shrinking "Despotate", albeit before the official conquest (1430). This series of events align with the suggested current model of Ottoman conquest, according to which they gradually established sovereignty over neighbouring states, assimilating or eliminating the local elites (İnalcık, 1954: 103). The last despot of Janina, Carlo I Tocco, faced Albanian threats from the south and increased Ottoman penetration in the southern Balkans.

Zagori in this *histoire événementielle*

Although the first sporadic mentions of villages in Zagori appear in a *chrysobull* of Andronikos Palaiologos dating to 1319 (Miklosich and Müller, 2012 [1887]: 83)[15] and in another document of 1321 (Miklosich and Müller, 2012 [1887]: 85),[16] the first spatial references to the region emerge in the second half of the 14th-century and the aforementioned precarious era.

Revnikon, destroyed according to the sources by Şahin Pasha in 1382, remained undiscovered until the current research on the slopes of Mount Tzoufatrahi (Petsas and Saralis, 1982), near the village of Artsista in the western part of Zagori. Şahin Pasha's raid against the peasants south of Konitsa that same year occurred in the region of Papingo. The *Chronicle of Tocco* provides further information. The people of Papingo and Zagori were summoned from their "castles" to defend Janina (line 1454 Sansaridou Hendrickx, 2008: 87) in the event of a siege by the Albanian chieftains Spatas Mourikis and Zenevesis. Fighters from Zagori also appear in line 1515 (Sansaridou Hendrickx, 2008: 89), indicating that the region was able to assemble an autonomous military force from its villages, and therefore had a substantial population in the final centuries of the "Despotate". The existence of such an autonomous military force during the final period of the "Despotate" opens a question regarding the nature of the 15th-century Voinikio treaty – a thread to be unravelled in Chapter Five.

The *Chronicle of Tocco* suggests that Papingo (present-day Western Zagori) played a more critical role than the rest of the region. When the Ottomans besieged Argyrokastro (1417/8), the Megas Kontostaulos (Grand Constable)[17] began preparations to defend Janina. His first strategic move was to march to Papingo and examine the harvest. The region supplied Janina with wheat, and, in fear of a siege, the administration took the necessary measures to secure grain for the town, in fear of a bad harvest.[18] When the Ottoman army marched into Papingo, the armies of Megas Kontostaulos defeated the intruders.

These events arguably did not take place in the remote mountains of Tymphi, where the village of Papingo is based, but in its wider region. In light of the unpublished Ottoman analytical registers TT 350 (1564/5) and TTK 28 (1583/4),[19] we are aware that what is today considered Western Zagori[20] belonged to the district of Papingo (*nahiye-i Papinkoz*, sic) together with the villages of the plains of Doliana and Klithonia (see Figure 3).

As fieldwork revealed, Revnikon was based in a naturally defended location with privileged access to both

15 Reference to the village Tristeanikon (Ott. Drestenik; Gr. Tristeno). There is a potential earlier reference to Vovousa and Kavallari, in the 11th century *Alexiad* of Anna Komnene (Book 10, Chapter 8): "ὁ δέ γε Βαϊμοῦντος, (…) διεπέρασεν εἰς τὴν ἀκτὴν τοῦ Καβαλίωνος μετὰ κομήτων διαφόρων καὶ στρατεύματος ἀριθμὸν ὑπερβαίνοντος ἅπαντα. Τόπος δὲ οὗτος ἐγγὺς τῆς Βοούσης· ὀνόματα δὲ ταῦτα τῶν ἐν τοῖς μέρεσιν ἐκείνοις τόπων" [Boemund traversed the shore of Kavalionos with counts and a great army. This place is close to Vovousa· these are the names of those regions]. Nevertheless, this text describes Boemund's march to conquer Janina, therefore the toponyms Kavalionos and Voousa should not be conflated with the villages Kavallari and Vovousa. Most probably they refer to the rivers (shore of Kavalionos-contemporary Zagoritikos; Voousa-river Vjose / Aoos).

16 Zagori appears as one of the four parishes of the *Theme* of Janina.

17 According to Pachymeres, Grand Constable is the commander of Italian mercenaries. From the 13th to the 15th century, members of notable families carried the title of Megas Kontostaulos as did Italian seigneurs that of *comes stabuli* (count of the stable) (Kazhdan 1991: 1147).

18 verses 3229-3234; Sansaridou Hendrickx 2008: 153
"και εξέβην εις το Μπάμπιγκο ο μέγας κοντοστάβλος
να επιβλέπουν τον λαόν, όπως να εσοδιάζουν·
ότι ήτον εις την έμπασιν απάνω του ψωμιού
και είχον φόβον δυνατόν και απόφασιν ο τόπος
ότι ήτον άκρη του καιρού και λείψι του ψωμιού"
The Grand Constable reached [the region of] Papingo to oversee the folk during harvest; because it was time to store the bread [in town] and the elites [= τόπος *contra* λαόν – folk] had great fear because it was the end of the harvest [and they thought they might be] left without bread.

19 These documents are presented for the first time in the subsequent chapters. Their contents were translated by Associate Professor Elias Kolovos, of the University of Crete, whom I wholeheartedly thank for his help throughout this research.

20 The villages of Mesovouni, Hagios Minas, Aristi, Megalo Papingo, Mikro Papingo, Vikos and Klithonia.

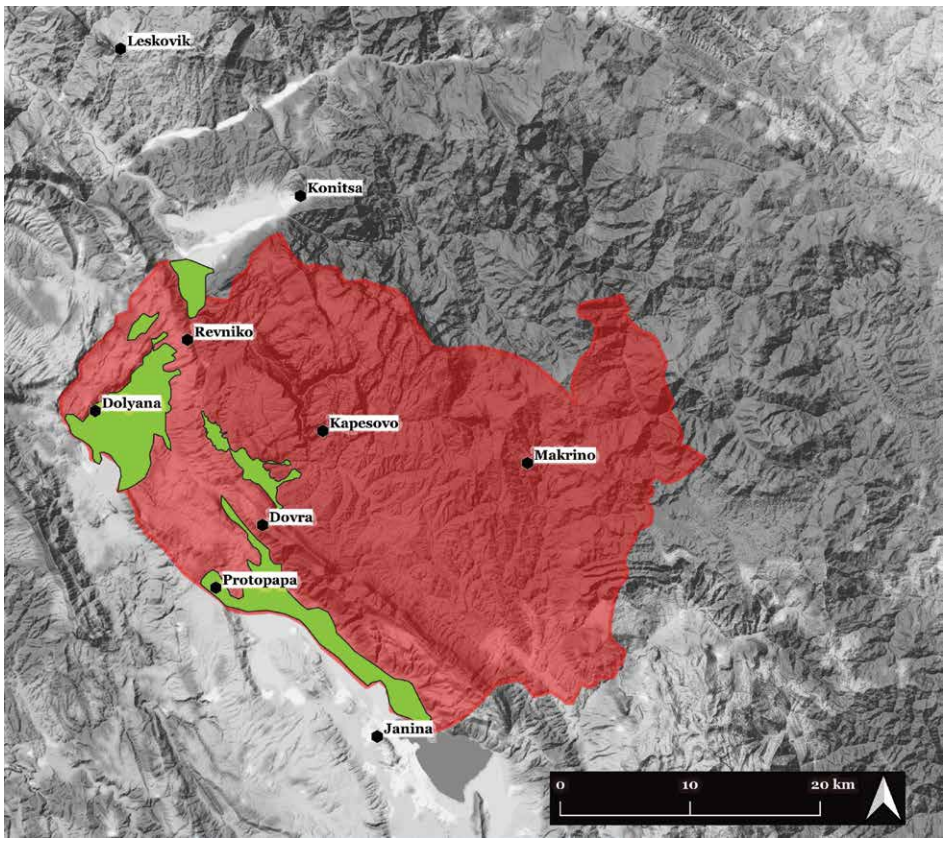


Figure 3: 16th-century borders of Zagori and Papingo (red), highlighting the plains (green) cited in the Chronicle. © Faidon Moudopoulos-Athanasiou.

plains. Therefore, it was of crucial strategic significance, for which reason Şahin Pasha mounted his attack in 1382. This also explains the efforts of Megas Kontostaulos to defend the grain-producing plains of Doliana and Klithonia (belonging to the district of Papingo) and secure the harvest for the town of Janina. It becomes clear that these lowlands were affiliated to the region of Papingo and played a critical role in the turbulent events of that period, being the final frontier between the late "Despotate" and the advancing Ottoman Empire (Figure 1, 3 between Leskovik and Revniko).

These historical events do more than push back the active network of Zagori and Papingo villages to the 14th century. They provide insights into the land regime of the region under the final – and decentralised – "Byzantine" administration. The authority of Megas Kontostaulos appears for the first time in relation to Zagori in 1361. A chrysobull of Symeon Palaiologos stated that the region of Apano and Kato Soudena (Πεδινάτα), together with Tservari and Veitsa, was a property of Megas Kontostaulos *Ioannis Tsafas Oursinos*, who owned many fields (βαθυκτήμων) (cited in Lambridis, 1870: 31). Indeed, Ioannis Zaffa Orsini[21] (Trapp, 2001 inv. no. 27.818) held many valuable properties around Epirus in 1361, including the castles of Igoumenitsa and Rogo, together with other holdings in the *Themata* of Janina and Arta, only to lose them the next year to Spata, the Albanian ruler of Arta (Katsaropoulou, 1989: 126-137).[22]

Land regime, Zagorisian elites, and peasantry before the Ottoman conquest

For about a century before the Ottoman conquest of Janina (1430) the region witnessed constant fighting. Anna Palaeologina, who assassinated her husband, Ioannis II Orsini in 1325, inaugurated that precarious era. Andronikos III temporarily re-established imperial government, only to be overthrown by Dusan Prelumbovic (1348) (Ostrogorski, 1969: 508 ff.). The image we get is that of an unstable region, in which local nobles struggled to defend it from various forces and at the same time maintain the tribute from their fiefs.

21 Descendant of Guido, brother of John II Count of Cephalonia.

22 The originality of the chrysobull is questioned and some Byzantinists believe it was forged by Zaffa Orsini himself. Be that as it may, the originality is irrelevant to the nature of the information we here retain from this passage: that the region of the plain of Soudena with the villages around it was important enough to be included in such a list of properties.

At this time, at the very end of Byzantine administration, references to *Thema*, such as that in the chrysobull of Symeon Palaeologos to Ioannis Zaffa Orsini, imply only fiscal units in the territory of one or more former military *Themata* (Haldon, 2008: 557). From the 11th century and the advent of the *pronoia*[23] system, centralised imperial fiscal and juridical rights gave way to the privatisation and fragmentation of surplus appropriation by local elites at the state's expense (Haldon, 1989: 25). Local elites (in the form of either *Pronoiarioi*[24] or private landlords) had the right to receive revenue from public districts and their tenants along with the peasant's rents and taxes (Haldon, 1989: 22).

The Chronicles and the chrysobull analysed above, in the light of the information regarding *Themata* as fiscal units, and the decentralisation of the surplus appropriation system, allow us to reconstruct the realities of Janina and Zagori in the century before the Ottoman conquest. To begin with the microscale, in 1361 Megas Kontostaulos Orsini, duke of Lefkada and ruler of the region of Epirus, owned the most fertile part of Zagori, around the plains of Soudena and Vezitsa. Fifty-six years later, the anonymous Megas Kontostaulos of the *Chronicle of Tocco* inspected the harvest in the plains of Papingo (1417-1418). He oversaw an area of equal importance to the holding of Orsini; both Grand Constables exploited the only plains in Papingo and Zagori that could potentially generate a minor agricultural surplus (Figure 3).

The final information about a Byzantine notable in the region of Zagori comes from religious iconography. Michael Voevoda Theranos is depicted on the ktetor's fresco at the monastery of Hagia Paraskevi in Monodendri (1414, Acheimastou Potamianou, 2003). Until the 18th century, Monodendri formed part of the large village of Vezitsa (Vitsa). Therefore, Voevoda Therianos exercised some financial authority in the same area as Megas Kontostaulos Orsini in 1361: the most fertile part of this mountainous area. Therianos is depicted in western-influenced clothing (Acheimastou Potamianou, 2003), at the time when Carlo I Tocco reigned in Janina.

The two Grand Constables and Voevoda Therianos reveal a pattern of Italian-influenced nobles around the court of Tocco and his uncle and predecessor Esau de Buondelmonti, who ruled over Janina and Zagori during the century before the Ottoman conquest. The importance of Zagorisian notables is also attested in the *Chronicle of Janina*, where they participate in the military escort accompanying Carlo I Tocco from his residence in Leukas to the town (Nicol, 1957: 176).

These chronicles narrate stories of elite consumption and references to the mountains and peasantry are scarce. One of these, as already noted, describes the fear of the Janina administration that a bad harvest in Papingo would seal the fate of the town in a potential siege by the Ottomans. Other than that, the vital role of the peasantry at a time when peasants and rural artisans were the sole realistic source of surplus production (Haldon, 1989: 17) is lost in Chronicles describing a history of elite-related political events. However, one instance of peasant dissatisfaction is recorded in the *Chronicle of Janina*. Peasants from Revniko marched to the town demanding protection from Albanian and Ottoman raids.

It is curious, nonetheless, that the fragmentary *Chronicle of Georgios Tourtouris* (Sathas, 1864) is absent from all discussions regarding that century and the historiography of Janina. Georgios Tourtouris lived at the turn of the 18th century and was a member of the court of Ali Pasha Tepelenli (1788-1822). The *terminus ante quem* for that Chronicle is 1820 and it was based on 15th-century primary sources now lost.[25] Although it was published in 1864, Vranousis (1962) does not refer to it in his collection of the Chronicles of Epirus. It was rediscovered in 1995 by the late Spyros Asdrachas, who addressed it in one of his public seminars (Asdrachas, 1995). This Chronicle offers the only detailed description of the peasantry during this precarious period: a picture of unrest and revolt.[26] It also provides details shedding new light on the early Ottoman influence in the region.[27]

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23 *Pronoia* was established in the 11th century as an institution of temporary grants of land and tax revenue in return for military services. Only in the late period did holders have legal rights over their subordinate peasants, when *pronoiai* became lifelong and hereditary properties (Frankopan, 2009: 116; Haldon, 2008: 557; Laiou, 2008: 288). This resulted in the increasing subordination of the peasantry to both private landlords and *pronoia* holders (Haldon, 1989: 22).

24 Holders of *pronoia.*

25 The document begins with the phrase "Ως ιστορεί ο Ιωαννίτης κουβαράς" (as the document kouvaras [=chronicle] narrates), proof that Tourtouris copied his information from other documents.

26 "έμειναν οι Ιωαννίται δίχως αφέντη απειλούμενοι από μέν την θετταλία από τον στρατηγό των Οθωμανών Σινάν Πασά και από το μέρος της Άρτας από τον της αυτής δεσπότη Αλβανίτην Σπάτα (…) εν ακαταστασία και αναρχία ευρισκόμενοι και από τους φόβους των ρηθέντων δυο εχθρών και μάλλον από τους χωριάτας της επαρχίας ότι όσα χωρία ήταν της φαμελίας του δεσπότου, μη όντας αφέντης τους να δώσουν το εισόδημα το εκρατούσαν αυτοί και εκαλοκυβερνώνταν. Τούτο βλέποντες οι χωριάτες των αρχόντων (των Ιωαννίνων) αποστάτησαν και αυτοί και δεν ήθελαν να δώσουν το αυθεντόν τους των αρχόντων το απαρθενούν. Και θέλοντας να τους βιάσουν οι άρχοντες, ενώθησαν οι του δεσπότου χωριάτες με τους χωριάτες των αρχόντων και άρχισαν τον πόλεμο κατ' αυτών και τους πολιόρκησαν στο κάστρο" (after Asdrachas, 1995).

27 "(…) κατήντησαν οι δυστυχείς άρχοντες και οι λοιποί της πόλεως σε απελπησίαν και σκέψεως γενομένης παρ αυτών επρόκριναν να υποταχθούν στον δυνατότερο εχθρόν από τους δύο. Και ακούοντας ότι Θετταλία όπου προ ολίγου χρόνου είχε υποταχθεί στους Οθωμανούς επί συμφωνίαν να δώσει από ένα φλουρί το κάθε σπίτι, αποφάσισαν όλοι να παραδωθούν στους Τούρκους. Φθάσαντες ετούτοι εις Θεσσαλίαν επροσκύνουν τον Χαλίλ πασάν και υπετάχθησαν εις το Οθωμανικό κράτος με τις ίδιες συνθήκες των Θεσσαλών" (after Asdrachas, 1995).

Much could be said about the political and ideological significance of the silencing of this source, but this is beyond the scope of this account. According to the Chronicle (full relevant Greek text in footnotes 26 and 27), when the ruler of Janina died (1411), the peasants in his fiefs refused to pay tribute and taxes to the despot's widow and son. Subsequently, all peasants in the region followed this example in refusing tribute to the notable fief-holders. When the elite tried to extract the payments by force, the peasants rebelled and besieged the notables in the castle of Janina. According to Tourtouris, the notables decided to surrender to the Ottomans, as they heard that Thessaly had reached a favourable agreement with them. They went to Thessaloniki and pledged loyalty to the Ottomans.

The analysis of the 1411 revolution against Esau's widow Evdokia (Osswald, 2018) and Tourtouris' forgotten account complement each other. Osswald argued that Esau's death triggered a revolt, in which the Janina notables did not support the Despot's widow and underaged son to a hereditary ascent to the throne (Osswald, 2018: 25). He suggested that Simeon Stratigopoulos, the general of the town, promoted Carlo I Tocco of Cephalonia, Esau's nephew, as Despot. Indeed, twenty days after Esau's death (6th of February 1411), his widow and son were exiled (26th of February 1411), while Carlo Tocco became ruler on April 1st, 1411. Stratigopoulos retained his holdings and position during the Ottoman assimilation of 1430.

Osswald explained this change of rule in political terms: Esau's widow, of Serbian descent, was unable to forge a powerful alliance against Muriki Spata, the Albanian ruler of Arta. By contrast, Carlo I Tocco had already waged successful wars against Albanians on the Ionian coast (Osswald, 2018: 34), and that is why Stratigopoulos and the other nobles of Janina and Zagori opted for him.

During these months, a peasant rebellion took place according to Tourtouris' account that is obscured in the *Chronicle of Tocco*. However, Stratigopoulos, idealised by the Chronicle's author (Osswald, 2018: 43), appears to encourage peasants to pay their tithes. Would this be a necessary comment, had there not been a peasant rebellion, in an account praising the virtue of the rulers of Janina? I suggest that Tourtouris' fragmentary account does not contradict Osswald's interpretation of a rebellion of the notables. It just complements the picture, providing us with a rare example of a bottom-up perspective, recording a peasant uprising.

Furthermore, the second part of Tourtouris' account ties with Osswald's political hypothesis. The notables of Janina opted not to surrender to the Albanian rulers of Arta and installed Carlo I Tocco as ruler, to avoid such a turn of events. Although we share Osswald's suggestion, he fails to address the elephant in the room: the Ottomans, who were already allies of the late Esau Buondelmonti, fighting with him against the Albanians of Arta (see above). In that sense, Tourtouris' account offers a more comprehensive picture (footnote 26). It argues that, after Esau's death, Janina was threatened by Sinan Pasha in Thessalia and the Albanian Spata in Arta. Had the widow Eugenia remained in power, the city would have fallen into the hands of the Albanians, as Osswald suggested. Stratigopoulos and the other nobles opted for Carlo I Tocco, to prevent this scenario. The same Stratigopoulos is addressed as the head of the town in Sinan Pasha's letter (1430), inviting Janina to surrender to the Ottoman army under the process of accommodation. Based on this discussion, we have no reason to doubt that the *Chronicle of Tourtouris* offers a different insight into the same period and that the peasant rebellion took place. Osswald provided a forceful reminder that urban elites were often fragile (Buylaert et al., 2019) and Tourtouris offered another angle on these events.

To conclude the discussion on the land regime in the region around Janina before the Ottoman conquest, it is essential to consider the first part of Tourtouris' narrative – as it complements the picture obtained from other sources. In over a century of conflicts and elite clashes, the peasants of the villages around Janina, including Papingo and Zagori, lived under the constant threat of military operations, while the levels of the regional surplus extracted were enough to be onerous.

When the opportunity arose, they rebelled and rejected the payment of the levies. Under these circumstances, the notables of Janina decided to collaborate with Ottoman interests to retain their privileges. In 1411, Carlo I Tocco was installed as Despot of Janina with the aid of the Ottomans, and Papingo and Zagori notables escorted the ruler from his castle in Leukas to Janina. After his death, nineteen years later, the same elites surrendered to Sinan Pasha (1430), avoiding conflict, and retaining their privileges. Indeed, notables in the court of Tocco held their fiefs under the new regime. Among them, Michael Voevoda Therianos (above) kept his position. His family legacy continued within the Ottoman administration and one of his descendants, another Michael Therianos, owned 6,000 animals from 1620 to 1635 around the same villages, Tservari and Vezitsa (Papageorgiou, 1995: 64). In the 18th century, the family changed their name to Missios (see, for example, the Missios Bridge in Zagori), a family of notables that exercised considerable influence on Janina politics from the 18th century onward.

We have demonstrated that immediately before the Ottoman conquest, the villages of Papingo and Zagori controlled substantial areas of arable land. Furthermore, some villages of the Papingo district were grain producers on a scale large enough for their surplus to have fed Janina. Zagori could muster a decent military force, as the *Chronicle of Tocco* suggested. This confirms the existence of a substantial population already in the

late 14th and early 15th centuries. Moreover, we have presented a picture of significant local hierarchical organisation, including military bands,[28] that contradicts the idealised vision of egalitarian communities, as the traditional paradigm suggested.

Ottoman conquest and the *timar* system

The conquest from an Ottomanist perspective

Recent interpretations of the Ottoman conquest of the Balkans suggest that it was based on the concept of "accommodation" (*istimalet*). This means that the Ottomans negotiated for the loyalty of local authorities and were willing to incorporate regional institutions to suit their imperial needs (Pamuk, 2004: 228). Under this perspective, the 15th-century Ottoman expansion in the Balkans is driven mostly by the needs of local societies (Lowry, 2003: 109) and, therefore, the requirements of their elites. This view is in tune with the outline presented above, fitting the description of the capitulation of Janina.

Janina was assimilated in 1430, following an invitation to surrender without a fight in return for local privileges (Delilbasi, 2012), and the treaty between Sinan Pasha and the notables of Janina is the earliest example of the sort (*ahidnâme*). It is also written in Greek (Delilbasi, 2012: 39). One such copy is published by Aravantinos (1856a: 315-317), but here I present Delibasi's translation in English for the sake of scholarly consistency:

> I, Sinan Pasha, Beylerbeyi, Bey of all the west, command the most holy Metropolitan of Janina and its worthy rulers (…) and I greet them. Let it be known that the Great Lord [Sultan] has sent us to accept the surrender of the Duke's territory (…) let there be no fear that any stronghold or country that submits in good faith will be devastated. I have ordered that a stronghold and country that does not submit be destroyed and its foundations overturned, as I did in Thessalonica. For this reason, I swear to you (…) that there is no fear of captivity, of your children being taken, of churches being destroyed or of punishment. Your churches will ring their bells as is their custom. The Archbishop will have without condition the authority he had in Roman times to judge and all his rights in the church, as will the fief holders managers over their fiefs, their children, those subject to them and overall their property. If there are other things that you wish, we will grant them to you (…) (Delilbasi, 2012: 42-43).

The practice outlined in the letter is compatible with the Ottoman methods of conquest described by İnalcık (1954). Sinan Pasha's letter to the people of Janina addressed the ruling elite of the castle (Commander Simeon Stratigopoulos and his son) and the religious administration (Osswald, 2006: 354), ensuring the continuity of the secular and religious authorities: they would continue to manage their fiefs (levy taxes) and maintain their judicial rights. This general picture does not contradict the aforementioned *Chronicle of Georgios Tourtouris*. On the contrary, the events presented in the latter, forgotten, source align with contemporary research (İnalcık, 1954; Lowry, 2003) and offer a convincing account, also accommodating the context of a peasant rebellion.

The establishment of the timar

Until the mid-to-late-16th century, the Ottoman economy relied heavily on arable land, and imperial expansion was associated with military conquest. Military tenure was based on the *timar* land regime that supported the *sipahi* cavalry army (Pamuk, 2004: 229). Taxes on agriculture sustained both *sipahi* forces and the imperial treasury. The parts of the taxes collected in-kind allowed *sipahi*s to equip soldiers and support themselves (Pamuk, 2004: 230). Therefore, it was in the interest of the Ottoman administration to protect the peasantry from local clans and other threats, as this left more revenue for the treasury (İnalcık and Quataert, 1994: 132). Consequently, the assimilation of Janina into the Ottoman empire in 1430 meant stability and an increase of agricultural production, followed by a demographic expansion (15th-16th centuries), guaranteed by the most efficient military of the time.

The Ottomans established the *timar* system upon every conquest (İnalcık and Quataert, 1994: 132) and created detailed surveys to assess the new territories' fiscal potential (Pamuk, 2004: 229). The basic fiscal unit for the *timar* is the production of one household's fief, the *riayet çiftlik*. Over 90% of the population lived by agriculture and the basis of the *timar* is not the unit of the village but the number of households obliged to pay taxes to the *timariot*, a *sipahi* member of the cavalry (Pamuk, 2004: 230). This is an important point, as it identifies various groups that lived in the same villages as the other *reaya* (peasants) but were not taxed according to the *timar* system. These groups, such as the *voynuk* auxiliary military forces, paid fewer taxes in return for their services to the Sublime Porte (see Chapter Five). In contrast to the *timar*, abandoned fiefs and ruined settlements (*mezraa*), situated beyond the village limits with defined geographical borders, formed part of the *timar* only when cultivated from a distance by villagers belonging to the specific unit (Mutafchieva, 1990: 72). The *sipahi* collected taxes from the *timar* system and the *mezraa*. They delivered the sum to the imperial treasuries

28 See also Kordosis (2014) who stresses the importance of Papingo and Zagori during the final years of the "Despotate", from a different standpoint.

and kept an amount to sustain their military status and accompany the Sultan on military expeditions. Until the 17th century, the *sipahi* order formed the majority of the Ottoman army, responsible for the empire's expansion. Therefore, the success of the system and the maximisation of revenues were of fundamental importance to the Sublime Porte. That is why the authorities incentivised *sipahi* to force the cultivation of *mezraa*, and profit from its taxation.

To establish the *timar*, they conducted an initial survey upon conquest. They also wrote the *kanunname*, a set of rules to be applied and followed as a law within the region. As Lowry (2003) revealed, *kanunname* documents in the 14th and 15th centuries are case-specific and differ according to the needs of each district. This initial legislation was coupled with an intensive pedestrian survey, which assessed all potential taxable resources and other sources of revenue in every town and village. All the relevant information was kept in registers (*defters*), which were used as official land and population records, establishing legal claims on the land and the amount of tax to be applied to non-Muslim populations. This process presupposed a well-defined method of surveying according to which a supervisor (*emîn*) was appointed for the task, assisted by a clerk (*kâtib*) who recorded the data in the *defter* (İnalcık, 1954: 110). They collected data on population, arable land and abandoned agricultural areas, vineyards, orchards and domesticated animals. These emissaries walked from village to village, inspecting the data on the spot, providing, therefore, a certain level of accuracy – which will be discussed below. They divided the land into three categories by value: *has* (>100,000 *akçe*), *zeamet* (20,000 – 100,000 *akçe*), and *timar* (<20,000 *akçe*). *Has* and *zeamet* properties were handed over to leading members of the administration, such as the *sanjak-beği*[29] and *viziers*, and *timar*s to *sipahi*s, to sustain their horses and their groups of military men (İnalcık, 1973). Unfortunately, the *kanunname* of Janina, which must have been recorded in 1430, is lost, leaving us without the principal analytical tool to investigate the 15th-century Zagori. This lack of documentation prevents an analysis of the dynamics of peasant-state interaction immediately following the Ottoman conquest, before Bayezid II's (1481-1512) effort to turn his father's conquests into a centralised bureaucracy (Lowry, 2003: 113).

During the 15th and 16th centuries, the Ottomans imposed a more straightforward and lighter taxation system on the peasants than did the Byzantine administration in the Balkans (İnalcık and Quataert, 1994: 16). Furthermore, they offered a safer environment compared to the perils of the 14th and early 15th centuries. In this context, it is impossible to attribute the population rise only to wider 15th- and 16th-century Mediterranean trends (Matschke, 2002: 83), without taking into account the role of Ottoman institutions and the security they brought about, having in mind the previous regional *status quo*. It is in this context that the commercialisation of rural areas escalated in the 16th century. An intensive pattern of periodic markets and fairs is attested, especially in the Balkans, where peasants and landholders sold products to urban residents (Asdrachas, 1982: 1; Pamuk, 2004: 231).

The decline of the *timar* and the advent of tax-farming

By the second half of the 16th century, the *timar* system changed and, although *timar*s continued (İnalcık, 1980; Kolovos, 2007), later analytical registers were mere copies of the previous ones (Lowry, 2003: 112). During the 1580s, European (ultimately New World) silver flooded Ottoman markets resulting in the devaluation of silver coinage. By 1584, market prices had doubled and landed properties had been impoverished, while *sipahi*s began to abandon their *timar*s due to lack of revenue (İnalcık, 1973: 83). This is also the period when the military shifted from the use of *sipahi* cavalrymen to the more efficient Janissary units.

The system that replaced the *timar* was tax-farming (*iltizam*). The right to collect taxes on behalf of the Sublime Porte was auctioned to the highest bidder (*mültezim*). Taxes such as the state revenue (*mukata'a*), the poll tax (*cizye*) and the extraordinary levies (*avariz*) could be farmed out to different people, members of the local elite (Çakır, 2010). This action monetarised the economy intending to make the treasury's income predictable and secure, as tax-farmers supposedly guaranteed the timely payment of the designated amounts (Darling, 1996: 121).

Therefore, from the 17th-century onwards, bureaucrats and provincial groups began to share tax-farming revenues with the central government. This measure was designed to increase cash-flows to the imperial treasury since state power was in crisis (Pamuk, 2004: 240). In practice, however, tax-farming privileges were abused and led to hereditary positions (Çakır, 2010), while the measure did not produce the expected financial recovery (Pamuk, 2004: 240) but gave rise to more powerful local elites (Faroqhi, 2002). In 1695, *iltizam* was replaced by *malikane*, a system in which tax-farming rights were awarded to the highest bidder, for life (Darling, 1996: 239). The change was implemented to eliminate the insecurity (for the treasury) of *iltizam*, while the holder could collect state revenues himself or farm these out to a third party (Darling, 1996).

The period of tax-farming under the *iltizam* and *malikane* systems saw an increase of long-standing taxes and the regularisation of extraordinary levies. The new struggle of the centralised authorities was to ensure that local elites holding power sent a significant

29 The ruler (*beği*) of the province (*sancak*), subordinate to the general district governor (*begler beg*) (İnalcık and Quataert, 1994: 5).

share of the taxes to the capital (Faroqhi, 2002: 351). The central authorities gradually legitimised long-term tax-farming by individuals and this led to the rise of the *ayan*s (provincial notables). From 1690 onwards, the *ayan*s partook in the broader set of changes implemented to maximise revenues and control provincial subjects: instead of relying upon the low-income *timar* holders, the central authorities opted for these local elites (Faroqhi, 2002: 380). The latter built fortified *khans* to control the road networks and reorganised the privileged *derbend* passage guards. By the end of the 17th century, it was clear to the Sultan that control over provincial societies could only be maintained by seeking the cooperation of local *ayan*s (Faroqhi, 2002: 381). The Christian Orthodox elites also benefited in the same period, sub-farming taxation and acquiring the status of *kocabaşı*s (lit. "elder" in Turkish, Christian Orthodox notable in the Ottoman provinces, similar to a Muslim *ayan*).

As the period of relative stability (15th-16th centuries) gave way to a new cycle of increased peasant oppression and tax-farming led to increased taxation, the 1611 revolt of Bishop Dionysius the Philosopher (Skylosophos) spread through the Christian peasants of Western Epirus (for a recent analysis of Dionysius' rebellion, see Gara, 2019). The slogan of the uprising refers to the two central taxes on Christian populations, the *haraç* (poll-tax) and *bedel-i nüzul*,[30] and reflects the rise in taxation that followed the advent of the *malikane* and *iltizam* tax-farming system. From the 17th century onward, the extraordinary levies of the *timar* system became standardised yields to be collected annually by tax-farmers (Darling, 1996: 308). Partly because some villages became indebted and were bought by members of the elites and partly because influential notables claimed vast tracts of land, the land regime of the extended *çiftlik*[31] appeared (Hütteroth, 2006: 30). The large size of most *çiftlik*s promoted the strategy of bare-fallow cultivation. The increase of such estates in the 18th century facilitated the development of regional transhumant pastoralism in Epirus (Dasoulas, 2019: 92).

The evolving Ottoman context: a summary

At this stage, it is important to summarise the discussion of land regimes from the 14th to the 19th centuries and establish some principles as an informed basis for drilling down to the more local scale of the Zagori itself. This is necessary because such principles enable the researcher to focus on causal relationships in respect of both structures and events (Haldon, 1989: 6). In the final century before the Ottoman conquest, the central authorities in Constantinople had been alienated from the "Despotate's" fiscal and juridical system. The notables of Janina, either because of hereditary *pronoiai* or due to elite networks, had secured the privatisation and fragmentation of surplus appropriation by the ruling class at the state's expense.[32] The first 150 years after the Ottoman conquest saw a period of relative stability, while revenues from taxes imposed on peasants supported the *sipahi* or were delivered directly to the imperial treasury. The relationship between peasantry and the means of production (arable land) remained unchanged, as did the primary mode of surplus appropriation. The only thing that changed in economic terms was the institution that benefited from the surplus: from the local nobility to the central state apparatus of the *classical timar*.

The primary mode of surplus appropriation changed when, due to the devaluation of silver coinage (from the 1580s), many surplus-based taxes and other extraordinary levies were collected in cash. Moreover, this change coincided with the reversion of surplus appropriation to the hands of local elites with the introduction of *iltizam*. As *iltizam* gave way to *malikane*, *ayan*s obtained such power that they could convert bankrupt villages into private estates (*çiftlik*), changing the relationship of peasants to their land, from freehold cultivation to sharecropping. After 150 years of relative peasant prosperity, this paradigmatic shift changed both the mode of surplus appropriation and the relationship of primary producers to the means of production and their means of subsistence. Especially from the 18th century until 1825, the Ottoman provinces looked like "congeries of domains controlled by different powerholders" (Faroqhi, 2002: 336). The *League of Zagorisians* seems to be a local adaptation to these policies (see Chapter Five).

The rule of *ayan*s in Janina ended with the overthrow of Ali Pasha from his semi-autonomous polity in 1822, and the "Auspicious Incident" (disbanding of the Janissary corps in Constantinople) and banning of the Bektashi dervish order in 1826. Meanwhile, Zagorisian elites had been among those who influenced the decision of the Sultan to install Ali Pasha to the pashalik of Janina (Varzokas, 1988). However, the influence of Zagorisian notables predated Ali Pasha's rule and the *League* survived after his demise. Indeed, in 1774 the notables of Zagori ruled the region together with

30 Initially this constituted part of the *avariz* tax, an extraordinary levy in kind that could be requested by the sultan in times of war. By 1600 it had already taken the form of an annual payment in cash (Faroqhi 2004: 107). Therefore, by the time of the revolt, it had become a cash equivalent of a grain levy (Darling, 1996: 308).

31 Landholdings in the hands of provincial notables or high-level officials, often but not always exploited with a view to the market; the necessary labour obtained through sharecropping, tenants with heavy obligations, or servile dependants (Faroqhi, 2006: 522).

32 Here I follow the model of Haldon (1989: 25-27) in order to illustrate the dynamic relationship of central authorities and local elites with regard to surplus peasant production.

the nobles of the castle while deciding in common to lobby for Ali Pasha (Varzokas, 1988). The *League of Zagorisians* dissolved in 1852, and at that point, the mode of surplus distribution again shifted towards a centralised Istanbul-oriented model, under the provisions of the modernising Tanzimat reforms. By this time, however, the region of Janina has fallen into another cycle of violence by loosely controlled mercenary militias, very similar to the 14th-century military.

The present analysis situates Zagori within the broader historical framework of 14th-19th-century conjunctures. Together with the "new realities in the echo of the l*ongue durée*" (see below), it allows us to trace the history and archaeology of this early modern cultural landscape, from an informed and reflexive historical standpoint. Without doing so, it is impossible to go beyond folkloric and ethnographic interpretations of changes in settlement patterns, village abandonment, land management, agropastoral relationships and social structures.

The Zagori Cultural Landscape: new realities in the echo of the *longue durée*

The flourishing of Zagori was defined by the exogenous elite culture of this montane landscape. Today, the traditional villages are viewed as units of cultural heritage within a wider environment branded as virgin nature (Dalkavoukis, 2015a: 134-142; Moudopoulos-Athanasiou, 2020b: 76). The highlighted cultural assets are elite households with wall paintings (Tsiodoulos, 2009), disproportionally large 18th-century churches and gigantic plane trees situated in village squares (Stara et al., 2015b). Cultural heritage outside the village nuclei is limited to chapels, and stone-arched bridges, largely the product of the same economic activities of émigré elite males. This narrative of excellence creates a false dichotomy between the cultural and natural heritage of Zagori. Culture is understood as clusters of human-made ingenuity within the villages and in exceptional cases in the wider landscape, while nature is considered virgin, untouched by humans, whether it is a centuries-old Sacred Forest, Quaternary refugia of *Aesculus hippocastanum*, native to this ecosystem (Avtzis et al., 2007: 185-186),[33] or areas only recently forested with prickly oak scrub, as a result of the abandonment of hillside cultivation and grazing.

This polarised discourse is the product of a series of long-standing political and managerial decisions and research biases (see also Chapter Three). In a contemporary touristified context, it is useful to sustain this established branding, bringing visitors from urban centres to stay in numerous traditional boutique hotels, feeding the tourist gaze as it consumes the landscape from a detached platform (after Urry, 2002). Such an understanding of the history and heritage of Zagori, however, neglects the main drivers that shaped this montane cultural landscape: elite as well as peasant agency and engendered labour. In a direct analogy to the assumption that "tourists who seek the authentic in a Beijing *hutong* equipped with a Jacuzzi and electronic access are either deliberately or unconsciously impervious to the irony of what they are doing" (Herzfeld, 2017: 234), visitors looking for contact with a timeless cultural landscape in Zagori fall into the same fundamental trap of Modernity. Consequently, it is difficult to introduce landscape archaeology and survey in this mountainous area, without first laying out the parameters that have shaped it since the early 20th century and the 1913 incorporation of Epirus into the Greek nation-state.

The war on goats and land reform (1917-1940)

During its first decades as part of Greece, Epirus adapted to national agrarian reforms (Kontogiorgos, 2009: 4 ff.; Nitsiakos, 1997; 2015). Alterations affecting the Zagori cultural landscape occurred in the period of the Metaxas dictatorship (1936-1941) when reforestation and regeneration of the Greek countryside became priorities for the administration. The Leader of the State (Metaxas), modelling his rule on that of the German Führer, established the "day of the forest", a festival to celebrate forests, organised by the ministry of agriculture (Kyriakos, 1940: 1-2). On that day, the regime would arrange lectures from Metaxas himself, his ministers and specialised foresters to promote understanding of the value of woodlands and reforestation.

The argument in favour of reforestation was based on an evolutionary historical paradigm, influenced by Paparigopoulos' evolutionary history (cf. Liakos, 2008) and tied to narratives of a linear trajectory of the Greek nation and the three stages of Greek civilization (Ancient Greek, Byzantine, Modern Greek Nation State), punctuated by "barbarian" invasions. Metaxas' ideas regarding forests followed three lines of argument, beginning in ancient Greece, that can be summarised as follows. The ancient Greek peasant owned the land and worshipped it; fairies (Dryads) lived in the trees, and so the latter were respected, and forests flourished. When Greeks were subjugated, they moved to the mountains, expelled from their land. They almost forgot their language because of the Turks (Ottomans) and, to survive in the mountains, they burned down forests to create land for cultivation. Goats destroyed what was left of the forest through grazing. Because rebels hid in the mountains during the revolution of 1821, the Ottomans burned the forest again, this time to expose those fighting for independence. During the Metaxas regime, Greece

33 Near the Petrino Dasos (Stone Forest) in the vicinity of Monodendri village (see below).

had entered its supposed third cycle of civilisation[34] and forests had to be re-established. Metaxas promised forest roads to transport woodland products and announced that goats would not be needed because men in mountain communities would find jobs in infrastructure projects and industry (Kyriakos, 1940: 9-12). The centuries-long upland cultivation relying upon mixed-farming and small-scale animal husbandry (Halstead, 1998; Nitsiakos, 2015), with emphasis on goats, was deconstructed and demonised by state policies.

The above scheme can be understood in the context of Neoclassicism. Early-modern customary law, under which marginal ecosystems were managed in the historical *longue durée*, was seen as a reason for forest degradation so reforestation had to be undertaken by professionals of modern scientific forestry acting on behalf of the state (Saratsi, 2009: 60). Among the legislative measures that Metaxas introduced to this end, Zagori was affected by the law (N. 857/1937) prohibiting goat herding in Arcadia and defining protective zones in other areas of Greece. The ideology underlying this law is exposed through simple discourse analysis. Leafy hay, collected from woodlands to feed goats during winter, was a degenerate act conducted by shepherds with a type of scimitar [***chantzara***, Ott. Turk. *hançer*, bold in the original text (Kyriakos, 1940: 23)], a weapon associated in popular Greek culture with the Ottoman military and thus linking this practice to the decadent values of the national oriental Other. To reestablish an imaginary Greekness, pollarding and coppicing "would be prohibited and in the lands that God Pan used to roam, goats would not have supporters any longer" (Kyriakos, 1940: 23).

Leaving aside the paradox that even the god Pan is depicted as half-goat, the narrative identifies all traditional economic practices of the Ottoman period as degenerate and destructive of the forest, while forest protection and regeneration were consistent with timeless Greek values. Goats were to blame and the government regulated large flocks through legislation on forestry and herding (for an overview see Théoharopoulos, 1988).

This legislative initiative was linked with the wider economic policies of the regime. Metaxas pushed forward agrarian land reforms, originally initiated by the Venizelos liberal government in 1917 (Nitsiakos, 1986: 271). These reforms aimed to reduce the large *çiftlik* estates and to convert nomadic and extensive transhumant pastoralism to the habits of semi-nomadic or sedentary life. The eradication of *çiftlik*s affected extensive pastoralism. The monoculture characteristic of large *çiftlik* estates relegated large areas of land to short-term fallow. This, in turn, sustained nomadic and transhumant pastoralism, as fief-owners received a stable income by renting fallow land to *tselingáta* (the social organisation typical of large flocks), and at the same time gained the necessary manure for subsequent cereal crops. These pastoralists grazed their flocks on the fallow land in winter before returning in summer to their mountain pastures. The breaking up of *çiftlik*s into household-scale plots resulted in much less fallow land in far smaller blocks and thus removed one of the essential preconditions for extensive nomadic and transhumant pastoralism. The adaptation of the early-modern *çiftlik* estates to the capitalist mode of intensified production thus brought about the decline of pastoralist forms that had existed throughout the Ottoman period. The demands of modernity, both economic and national, drove a shift towards sedentary herding practices, as mobility was discouraged both by land reform and by the imposition of borders in northern Greece, an area of great human and livestock mobility during the early modern period (cf. Green, 2005; Nitsiakos, 2010).

One of the regime's targets was to tax the mobile populations, which, due to their elusive and unpredictable movement, had hitherto remained beyond the control of the centralised national authorities (Nitsiakos, 1986). With the law 1223/1938, Metaxas required mobile pastoralists to register in their summer or winter pasturelands. Together with permanent residency, came their inscription in the state tax registers, and their right to graze common lands (cf. Campbell, 1964; Dalkavoukis, 2005; Nitsiakos, 1986). This proved to be a productive solution for the lowlands: herds increased in size because land redistribution led to smaller holdings, unable to provide subsistence for households which, in response, shifted from extensive cultivation to a small-scale intensive agropastoral economic model (Nitsiakos, 1986: 272).

Conversely, in areas such as Zagori, which were already based on the latter economic model, the introduction of new (formerly mobile – now sedentary) populations brought about unrest (Campbell, 1964; Dalkavoukis, 2005). Newcomers obtained rights to use the summer pastures without rent, competing for space with the flocks of sedentary, or transhumant, Zagorisians. In the context of the Ottoman Empire, some Zagori communities had rented their *yaylak* (summer pastures) to groups of nomadic pastoralists (see Campbell, 1964; Dalkavoukis, 2005; Papageorgiou, 1995).[35] In turn, they received rent in cash, which monetised the local economy and allowed them to cope with harsh taxation, especially in the post-17th-century economic realities of the Empire.

34 That is, after the Classical and Byzantine. It is worthwhile pointing again to the parallels between Metaxas' administration and Nazi Germany, between the 3rd cycle and the Third Reich.

35 Not all Zagori communities had such relationships with nomads. The communities most affected were those with significant access to mountain pastures, such as Papingo, Koukouli, Tsepelovo and Skamneli.

The aim of the regime was the permanent settling of mobile herders, reducing their power, converting them to a sedentary life, and ultimately taxing them. Free access to communal pasture had the effect of impoverishing sedentary Zagori communities, which had established different centuries-old economic transactions with mobile pastoralists. The modern nation-state imposed measures that significantly altered the character of the mountain communities. The efforts to "revive" Greek forests by reductions in the size of herds and the quasi-ideological prohibition of goats coincided with historical events that led to the abandonment of the Epirot countryside. The effort of Metaxas also to expropriate the large flocks of the region was not implemented because of the Italian invasion of the Pindos. The large herds of Apano Klithonia that thus escaped expropriation then helped feed the Greek Army during the battles against the Italian invaders. Mr Nikos, a 92-year old herder from that village, narrates the historical events as if they were a revenge story, in which sheep and goats, representing the early modern *status quo*, were proven right over Metaxas' policies:

> He [Metaxas] had ordered us to reduce the size of our herds. When we were preparing to sell them, down in the plains, the Italians invaded. [He was] that stupid. These animals fed the Greek army defending Epirus and subsidised part of the Italian front. If his plan had succeeded, who would have fed the Greek army? We would have lost. (Interview, April 10th, 2019).

After WWII came the Civil War (1946 – 1949), which was especially vicious in the regions around Zagori (esp. 1948 – 1949). The defeated Democrats and Communists withdrew to the other side of the Iron Curtain. Even if repatriated many decades later, they rarely returned to live in their upland villages – opting for a life in the cities or the plains. The troubling period of political instability in the 1960s and the wave of *Gastarbeiter* emigration drastically affected Zagori and the rest of mountainous Epirus (Green et al., 1998; Moudopoulos-Athanasiou, 2020b). This time people fled to settle elsewhere as economic, rather than political, migrants to work in the factories of central and western Europe, the U.S.A. and Australia. The final stages of abandonment occurred during the military Junta (1967 – 1974), when the government subsidised the movement of herders and peasants from upland communities to the lowlands, thus altering the economic dynamics of montane landscapes. The Junta intensified and modernised lowland agriculture, while upland fields were abandoned.

As a result of the historical developments of the latter part of the 20th century, the promised montane infrastructure and industry, proposed by Metaxas' regime, never occurred. They were first postponed due to WWII and then abandoned due to the Junta's policies favouring the plains and leaving the mountains of Epirus on the margins of modernisation. With only a few exceptions, like Vovousa (Mouzakis, 2017), forestry rarely brought profit to mountain communities and top-down state management prohibited pollarding, coppicing and all other traditional practices, leading to the afforestation of upland fields and areas that were once terraced.

Mr Nikos, seeing the amount of young prickly oak scrub that has sprung up in the – once cultivated – fields around his village of Klithonia, wishes his children would let him buy some new goats: "I could easily take care of 1,500 goats. With all this scrub, they would have been on autopilot all year long" he says (Interview, April 10th, 2019). For those who dwelled in the Zagori cultural landscape, the changes outlined above are perceived as the decline of a sedentary agropastoral way of life that ended with the depopulation of the region. For them, the influx of tourists is not considered a revival but a radically altered world: they are the last generations to have witnessed the echo of the early modern *longue durée.*

Forgotten landscape, imported traditionalism (1940-2020)

Metaxas' regime created the first national parks in Greece. They aimed to "protect flora and fauna in the legendary Greek mountains. Greece [was] the only country of the civilised world that [didn't] have **parcs nationaux**" (Kyriakos, 1940: 32, emphasis added). Although in the text the legislator used the French term "parcs nationaux", the Greek translation was not the neutral "national park" (εθνικόν πάρκον) but "national holt" (εθνικός δρυμός) (national holt – forest). The utilisation of the term *δρυμός*, translated as "holt", due to the archaic nature of the word, has ideological connotations, as it represents a forest of oaks. Oaks are considered sacred in Greek mythology, as the hosts of the fairy Dryads. The wording is not coincidental but is in line with the effort to recreate forests relevant to the idealised views of ancient Greek forests held by northern European travellers and literate elites of the 17th-19th centuries. In their travels, they failed to encounter these, because of the "degenerate nature of the oriental" Ottoman landscape. Greek forests had to be worthy of their neoclassical and romanticised ideals. Thus, it is not surprising that the first National Parks designated by Metaxas in 1938 were Mt. Olympus, the home of the Gods, and Mt. Parnassus, strongly linked with the West European movements of Romanticism and Parnassism. In sum, Metaxas protected all three areas important to the westernised view of Ancient Greek idealised forests. Besides Olympus and Parnassus, he prohibited grazing in the woodlands of Arcadia, a significant, yet imaginary, trope for Baroque artists, exemplified by Poussin's 1637 painting "et in Arcadia ego".

As a result, national parks in Greece combine natural beauty with national importance, while promoting national identity (Saratsi, 2009: 62). Metaxas argued that the creation of national parks would lead to touristic development. This development would result in infrastructure improvement and would result in the "spiritual enlightenment of the New Greek youth" (Kyriakos, 1940: 32). The nominated national parks were areas where any productive action was prohibited, from timber-cutting to herding and hunting.

Although Zagori became a National Park later (1974), its tourist potential was clearly recognised by state agents already in the 1960s (Green et al., 1998: 353). But in contrast to the early touristic narrative, according to which the visitor would roam in a beautiful cultural landscape with astonishing geological formations, enjoying the "primitiveness" of local communities, while appropriate modern infrastructure would also be developed, the present cultural landscape is covered by new vegetation. This has led to the previously addressed binary understanding of the Zagori cultural landscape: the villages, together with highlights of craftsmanship outside them (e.g., bridges), are considered cultural, while all abandoned agriculturally productive spaces are considered natural.

During this process, the declining local communities never opposed the prospects of tourism. A local scholar produced the first "tour guide" to Zagori, in 1957 (Saralis, 1957), and many others wrote to the newspapers and to the ministries, to encourage visitors to Zagori (especially documents in the Lazaridis archive). On the contrary, the sedentary communities protested against the limitations that state legislation imposed on their use of communal forests and private fields (Moudopoulos-Athanasiou, 2020b: 76). Greene et al. (1998: 353) concluded that the concepts of environmental protection and cultural heritage were perceived as having been imported from abroad, imposed by a centralised administration. The communal regulations and restrictions were based on a radically different system, relying on collective labour and the primary sector of the economy. The abandonment of this system removed the primary sector from areas such as Zagori, eventually preparing it to become a place to which urban tourists could escape and consume the landscape (Urry, 2002). To be "modern in Zagori was to advocate one's own traditionalism" (Green et al., 1998: 353).

Nevertheless, this traditionalism does not reflect the original values of the early modern cultural landscape. This would imply an appreciation of centuries-old hillside terracing systems, pre-and early modern watermills, abandoned villages and sacred trees: all the ingredients deployed to cope with the demands of a mountainous environment (Moudopoulos Athanasiou 2020: 76). Conversely, the dominant narrative fuelled by the historical traditions of *Voinikio* and the *travels* creates a very different version of perceived traditionalism. The modern cultural landscape of Zagori is understood in two parts: the cultural (villages and bridges); and the natural (from culturally significant sacred forests (Stara et al., 2015b,a), and biologically substantial ancient tree reserves (Avtzis et al., 2007) to the young oak scrub choking former arable land and pathways that once shaped local taskscapes). This perception of traditional Zagori forms a heterotopy of sorts, in the sense that visitors, escaping from their familiar urban environs to visit a montane area branded as of high cultural and natural significance, define the landscape according to their preconceptions. The cultural landscape of Zagori is thus made meaningless, in the sense that villages remain unchanged in a drastically altered surrounding environment of profound afforestation defined by legislative prohibitions and the shift from the primary to the tertiary economic sector. Zagori from a productive space throughout the historical *longue durée* has progressively been shaped as a "pristine" touristic destination since Metaxas' time.

The case of the Stone Forest in Zagori

From the above, it is obvious that Zagori, within the national project, was designed to be seen *en passant*, rather than inhabited – not to mention dwelled in. In the touristic imaginary, "alpine meadows" (see Chapter One) and beautiful natural forests may coexist and, in some instances, decontextualised experiential phenomenology provided the interpretational framework for broad areas. One such case is the "Stone Forest" in the vicinity of Monodendri village.

In the words of the website of the Vikos-Aoos UGG, the Stone Forest consists of "tower-like thin limestone plaques occurring because of limestone erosion in the alpine landscape. It is an important geotope with touristic and educational value."[36] It also offers a picturesque view of the Vikos Gorge, while this "alpine landscape is breathtaking. If you visit, you will admire the scenery (…) one of the most peculiar sites of Greece (…)."[37] This discourse (Figure 4), facilitated by the creation of the Vikos-Aoos UGG, fulfilled the vision of the Junta for Zagori, as a touristic destination capitalising on its beautiful geological formations (see above).

Such an understanding enables the touristic gaze (cf. Urry, 2002) while overshadowing the perspectives of dwelling. For, this would have highlighted the laborious human imprint within the "Stone Forest", still noticeable

36 https://vikosaoosgeopark.com/2016/07/05/πετρινο-δασοσ/ (Accessed: 18.04.2020).

37 https://www.efsyn.gr/node/276062 (Accessed: 18.04.2020).



Figure 4: A quarrying area within the Stone Forest (below) and the broader rock formations (above) © Costas Zissis.

today in the form of threshing floors, clearance cairns, and fields, in the effort of the peasants of Monodendri to support their households within this geologically complex terrain (Figure 5).

This, in turn, would have highlighted the role of non-human assets in the cultural landscape of Zagori. It would have occurred to visitors that it is not only "erosion" (Quaternary glacial activity) that shaped the Stone Forest but intensive human labour. The easily extractable limestone plaques simplified the construction of stable terraces, enabling the enhancement of the few plateaux, transforming them into fields. Furthermore, the Stone Forest was for the same reason the main quarry of the village of Monodendri for centuries. Progressively, the gaps produced by stone extractions were transformed into pens (Figure 6), revealing the fluidity and adaptability of this dynamic mountainous landscape to the needs of its dwellers.

Consequently, erosion just revealed a natural potential, that without centuries-long human labour would never have been converted to the spectacular Stone Forest, today perceived as natural but shaped by the *longue durée* of the Zagorisian cultural landscape. Thus Stone (beautiful geological formations) and Forest (neoclassical ideology of the Metaxas regime, that is considered natural) erased from the interpretation of the landscape the very dwellers who sculpted it.

Summary

At the beginning of this chapter, we outlined three assumptions defining research in Zagori: a) there is a clear gap between the final centuries of the "Despotate" of Epirus and the Ottoman period; b) Zagori grew demographically in the 16th-century, under Ottoman occupation; and c) regional autonomy from the oriental overlords (*Voinikio*) is necessary for a network of Orthodox communities to thrive within the Ottoman world.

In the course of this chapter, we revealed that: a) the transition from the reign of Carlo I Tocco to the Ottoman empire was subtle and local nobles maintained their holdings; b) Zagori and Papingo grew proportionally in the 16th-century (see Chapter Seven) but they were substantially populated since the 14th century, contributing with an agricultural surplus (Papingo) and





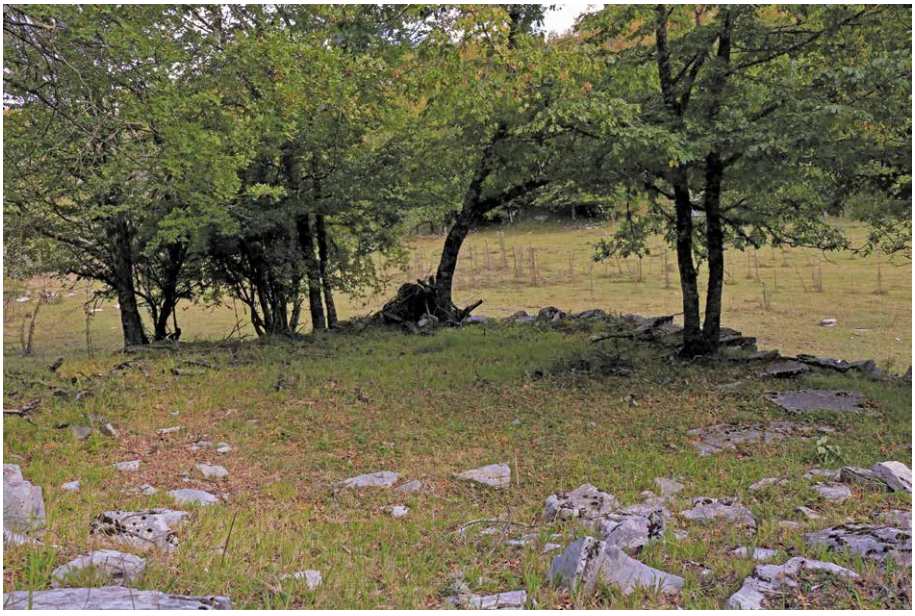


Figure 5: Agricultural remains in the Stone Forest. © Faidon Moudopoulos-Athanasiou.



Figure 6: Pen for cows in the Stone Forest. © Faidon Moudopoulos-Athanasiou.

military force (Zagori) to the administration; and c) as the overlords in the early Ottoman period remained predominantly Orthodox, we have begun to question the nature of *Voinikio*, to be critically evaluated in Chapter Five. Furthermore, the last part of the chapter revealed that the continuity of these communities (14th-early 20th c.) was disturbed by the regulations of the economy of the nation-state and the systematic efforts of centralised governments over the past 80 years.

The contemporary interpretation forms part of what Latour (1991) called the "Modern Constitution". Within this context, cultural elements are separated from their natural counterparts. This recipe has provided all the tools for the modern development of Zagori, relying on strict "cartesian" oppositions: a) culturally significant villages against natural forests; b) resilience against the "Turkish yoke" in a sea of Ottoman dominion. The case of the "Stone Forest" revealed the necessary parameters to go beyond the "Constitution", and research this landscape through the framework of dwelling. But before doing so, we must also reflect on the field of Ottoman archaeology within the Greek context, also presenting several biases that constrain the development of the desired framework for fruitful study.

Chapter 3

Ottoman Archaeology in Greece

The archaeology of the Ottoman-era, and therefore early modern Greece, is a recent development (Bintliff, 2019; 2007; Kolovos and Vionis, 2019). Greece is perceived in the west as one of the classic cradles of archaeological research from the early years of the discipline. Nevertheless, the scale of archaeological research into the Ottoman – or Frankish – past is like a grain of salt in the Aegean Sea, when placed alongside the corpus of research produced for Classical antiquity, the Late Bronze Age or the Byzantine period(s). For example, Athanasios Vionis' *A Crusader, Ottoman and Early Modern Aegean Archaeology* (2012), focussing on the Cyclades, is the first monograph completely dedicated to the material culture of that period in Greece. Although research on post-Medieval Greece can be traced back to the 1970s in pioneer landscape archaeology projects, this development is very recent, when set against the timeline of Greek archaeology.

Some of the reasons for this delay are self-evident, because the first archaeological expeditions found parts of what is today Greece under the administration of the Ottoman Empire. The Ottomans thus represented both an unwanted imperial heritage and a contemporary (if repeatedly shifting) frontier for the first 100 years of the existence of modern Greece (Neumeier, 2019: 408), encouraging disregard and erasure of the oriental past in favour of anticipated inclusion in the western world. As with historical archaeology in other parts of Europe (text-aided archaeology), post-Medieval archaeology developed when archaeology was already a mature discipline.[38]

Although there is a corpus of literature explaining the delayed advent of Ottoman-era archaeology, identification of the reasons remains incomplete. After investigating the biases that shaped a particular understanding of the cultural landscape of Zagori (Chapter Two), we now turn to the biases that have affected post-Medieval archaeology in a Greek context. This, in turn, helps us understand the focus of past research in Zagori and related areas. To this end, the chapter outlines the historiographic and political context that has shaped research and points to some key events and dates that have defined dominant attitudes towards Ottoman heritage, leading to the debasement of Ottoman-era archaeology. It also touches upon terminology and periodisation, which is not neutral and has implications for the field (Hamilakis, 2009: 43). In a final note, it reflects on the effects of these research biases in the landscape of Zagori.

It is fruitful to reflect upon the wider post-Medieval archaeological research context. Since when have surveys and excavations been devoted to this period? In which areas has systematic fieldwork occurred and is there geographical patterning in whether fieldwork was undertaken by individuals or larger teams? As the focus of this monograph is a montane landscape, I also attempt to situate the mountains in the context of archaeological research in Greece. Why do they come last, although, in the seminal work of Braudel and the Annales school that have influenced some engagements with historical archaeology in Greece (e.g., Bintliff, 2012), mountains allegedly come first (Braudel, 1966)?

38 The first publication aiming to define Ottoman archaeology in theoretical terms was published as late as 2000 (Baram and Carroll, 2000).

An outline of the way post-Medieval, and more specifically Ottoman-era archaeology evolved in Greece, opens the way for an appreciation of the limitations and opportunities faced in the development of this particular archaeological sub-discipline. The concluding remarks of this chapter present a synthesis of these various historiographical issues, while also serving as an introduction to the research questions and methodology outlined subsequently.

On ideology and legislation: contrasting materialities

The construction of the Modern Greek nation-state builds in large measure on its antithesis to the Ottoman Empire. Besides the obvious oppositions between state and empire, Greece modelled itself as western, rejecting the perceived oriental and despotic degeneration of the Ottoman Empire. In this context, antiquities played an important role in reaffirming Greece's orientation to the west and the prehistoric, Classical and Byzantine pasts moulded the country's heritage in contrast to its Ottoman monuments (Catapoti, 2012; Hamilakis, 2009; Liakos, 2008). Such identity narratives draw upon systematic promotion and silencing of different aspects of heritage. It is not widely known that the first parliamentary house of the Greek State in the city of Nafplio (βουλευτικόν) was an abandoned Ottoman mosque constructed between 1816 and 1820 (Amygdalou and Kolovos, 2017). After liberation from the "Turkish yoke", an Ottoman monument housed the legislative assembly of the young Greek Orthodox nation-state.

On the contrary, another historical context, that of the first London Protocol of 1830, which approved the first borders of the Greek Kingdom, is widely known and taught in school curricula. Three years later, following the third London Protocol (1833), the young king Otto, together with his Bavarian advisors, established his court and one year after (1834) moved the capital to Athens, the city with the greatest cultural capital.

Within this period of administration, the first archaeological law was issued (1834), protecting antiquities built earlier than 1453 (Fotiadis, 1997). Although directives for the preservation of Byzantine, Frankish and Ottoman relics appeared in 1837, the protection was limited mostly to the classical past (Voudouri, 2017: 83). The *terminus ante quem* of 1453 for the first law reflects the sack of Constantinople by the Ottoman armies. Late medieval and post-medieval heritage, therefore, was initially excluded from protection with a clear selective bias towards pre-Ottoman heritage (Fotiadis, 1997; Stavridopoulos, 2015; Voudouri, 2017; Voutsakis, 2017).

Law 1469 in 1950 expanded the framework and 1830, the year of London Protocol I, became the new limit defining what was worth protecting. Although this new window included a large part of Ottoman and post-Medieval heritage, it was in the hands of the relevant authorities to characterise a ruin as a monument and so give it official status. It was not until 2002 that monuments of all periods were equally protected in law. Until recently, the legal framework did not facilitate the development of post-Medieval archaeology in Greece. However, we should mention pioneers such as the outspoken and inspirational archaeologist Dimitrios Konstantios who developed an affection for the Ottoman heritage of Epirus and argued constantly from the 1980s for their protection (Konstantios, 2003), reminding us that study was still possible, even without formal state protection, but these efforts remain written in gray literature.

A case from Zagori

In the year of the first London Protocol defining the first borders of the Greek Kingdom, Epirus remained on the Ottoman side of the Balkans. A Bektashi Muslim Sufi herder by the name of Hassani Baba rented the *yaylak* (summer pastures) of Koukouli, in Zagori. Hassani owned a large transhumant herd and needed to move to extensive summer pastureland in summer. On the summer pasture of Koukouli, on Mt. Astraka, rented to him by the Orthodox village, he built a tower as a hermitage to practice his spiritual form of Islam, while herding his flocks (Moudopoulos-Athanasiou, 2022a,b).

Three years later, in the year of the third London Protocol addressed earlier, he decided to move away from the summer pastures of Koukouli to the Albanian region of Kolonje: in the year when Otto and his advisors were designing the first plan to eradicate the unwanted remains of Ottoman (and broadly post-Classical) Athens, a Bektashi Muslim herder left his tower as an endowment (*waqf*) to the Orthodox church of Koukouli village, with any revenue from its rent to Sarakatsani pastoralists to be spent in the name of the Virgin Mary. The story illustrates the alternative narratives, imperial and subaltern, that post-Medieval archaeology in Greece has the potential to reveal.

Many archaeological remains and stories of the recent Greek past have been erased, in favour of those sponsored by the nation-state. "All the remnants of barbarism will disappear not only [in Athens] but in the whole of Greece, and the remnants of the glorious past will be surrounded with new shine" announced architect Leo von Klenze in the ceremony held at Athens in 1834 (cited in Hamilakis, 2009: 61), to celebrate the conversion of a provincial Ottoman town into the Greek capital. As previously stated, Zagori was incorporated into Greece in 1913 and since then, early modern remains have been forgotten due both to the aforementioned biases and to the declining numbers of the local population that might have been associated with them.

Greek academic limitations

In fields of such intense political influence, academia rarely remains unaffected by the wider societal context. Given the broad political and ideological bias against Ottoman heritage,[39] it is interesting to look at the interplay between state ideology and policies, as outlined above, and Greek domestic archaeological practice.[40] In Greek universities, to what extent does the archaeological terminology used by academics or the range of taught modules on post-15th century archaeology relate to this broader context? And more specifically, how have these issues affected research in Zagori?

Within Greek-speaking archaeological discourse and more broadly, the equivalent term to "post-Medieval" is "post-Byzantine". Post-Medieval, in the Western European context, implies a strictly chronological definition but also signifies political and religious transformations. For Britain, that lower boundary is 1535, when Henry VIII took control of the Church in England, and for Germany it is 1517, the start of Luther's Reformation. In that sense, the passage from Medieval to post-Medieval archaeology reflects changes in religious architecture and practices – shifting, in the German case, from a Catholic to a Protestant context (Kenzler, 2019). The term post-Medieval retains an essential neutrality (Laszlovszky and Rasson, 2003: 377). This contrasts with the ideological connotations entailed in the passage from the Middle Ages to the Renaissance, in which case the prefix "re" presupposes a return to a previously existing "golden era", which had been overcome by the darkness of the Middle Ages (Le Goff, 2015: 119). The view of the Renaissance as a counterpoint to the Middle Ages is a product of the 19th century (Le Goff, 2015: 17). As Le Goff (2015: 63) notes, the urge to periodise obliges the historian to take into account the dominant mode of thought in any given age, although this is often not done explicitly. The term "renaissance" over time thus acquired a broader significance, beyond the domain of fine art, to refer to the wider aspects of a period of humanism extending from the dark Middle Ages until the luminous modern age (Le Goff, 2015: 55).

It is important to retain the distinction between the two periodisations while looking into the Greek case. The relevant boundary for Greek archaeology is placed at the fall of Constantinople (1453) and the fall of the Despotate of the Morea (1460). The term "post-Byzantine" is culturally significant. It defines the Frankish and Ottoman periods through their imperial predecessor, Byzantium, which has been incorporated into the national narrative since the regime of Metaxas (Stavridopoulos, 2015: 67). This concept favours specialised studies on Orthodox architecture and iconography, distancing archaeological investigations from the wider social and political context, as well as dwelling. The case of Zagori is eloquent. So far, four doctoral theses have been written on the post-Byzantine archaeology of the region: on monastic architecture (Tsefos, 2001), on post-Byzantine religious iconography (Chouliaras, 2006), on the painters (Konstantios, 2001), and more recently on religious portable icons (Filidou, 2020). The singular focus on religious aspects suggests that post-Byzantine, the long interval between the fall of Constantinople and the national renaissance of 1821, is a barbaric *middle age* in the history of the Greek nation (cf. Liakos, 2008).

As a result, in the continuum from Byzantine to post-Byzantine Greece, the former denotes the Nation's Self and the latter the national Other (cf Hamilakis, 2009; Neumeier, 2019). In contrast to the transition between Medieval and post-Medieval in the West, the relevant terminology in the Greek case presents an obvious bias, mirroring Greek national identity discourse, that legitimises inclusions and exclusions of material remains (Hamilakis, 2009: 76). It also predisposes the researcher to treat the later period as set apart from the sociocultural realities of Byzantium – never placing Greece in the context of the Balkan provinces of the Ottoman Empire.

This bias is well illustrated in the archaeological curricula of Greek universities. Although all eight departments of archaeology offer core modules on Byzantine archaeology, only five of them[41] offer lectures or seminars on post-Byzantine archaeology. In the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, these modules focus on post-Byzantine religious painting (15th-17th centuries) and post-Byzantine Epirus, both emphasising architecture and religious frescoes (Tantsis, 2019: 78). The main literature offered to students on church architecture and wall paintings is related to the Orthodox monasteries of the 16th-17th centuries on the island in Lake Pamvotis of Ioannina (Tantsis, 2019: 63-64). Similarly, the relevant department of the University of Thessaly taught post-Byzantine archaeology in only three academic years over the past decade: 2009-2010,[42] 2011-2012 and 2016-2017.[43] Post-Byzantine painters and ecclesiastical architecture after the fall of Constantinople were the subjects taught.

39 This is rapidly changing: Albera and Couroucli, 2012; Kolovos, 2015; Kolovos and Vionis, 2019; Mavrommatis, 2008; Moudopoulos-Athanasiou, 2018; 2020a; Stavridopoulos, 2015.

40 Despite the aforementioned biases, the need to examine the materialities of Ottoman heritage in their local context has had advocates since the 1980s in the Ephorate of Antiquities of Janina and the pioneering work of Nikolaos Konstantios (cf. Konstantios, 2003 esp. pp. 160-163).

41 The Universities of Athens, Thessaly, the Aegean, Ioannina and the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki. Research conducted in October 2019.

42 http://www.ha.uth.gr/index.php?page=pre-lessons-search.display&a=AR2221 (Accessed: 28.10.2019).

43 http://www.ha.uth.gr/index.php?page=pre-lessons-search.display&a=AR2441 (Accessed: 28.10.2019).

The Ottoman phase of Greek archaeology is reduced to the study of provincial Christian elites, ecclesiastical icon painting and religious architecture. The sole exception to this rule so far, is the University of Athens, offering a module on the archaeology of post-Byzantine Greece dealing, among the traditional ecclesiastical subjects, with Ottoman architecture, urbanism and pottery (Anon, 2018: 137; Kanellopoulos et al., 2019).

Finally, as this monograph is being prepared, the Department of History and Archaeology of the University of Ioannina offers a module on post-Byzantine portable religious icons. The course discusses "the monumental art of Byzantium after Byzantium, the post-Byzantine era, as this period is widely known in the international academic community (…) from 1453 to the first quarter of the 19th century in the Balkan regions (…)" (Anon, 2019: 80). This definition of the post-Byzantine era reminds us of Le Goff's scepticism concerning medieval periodisation, especially when boundaries are artificial within academia and terminologies emerge directly in response to the needs of national historiography. In the case of post-Byzantine archaeology, with a focus on monumental (and Orthodox) art and the architecture of "Byzantium after Byzantium", we face Le Goff's problematic. The study of post-Byzantine portable religious icons, in the Ottoman era, neglects the socio-political, spatial, ideological and imperial context of these material remains (Konstantios, 2003), as well as the interaction between the Christian and Islamic religions, as recently explored by some scholars (*e.g.* De Rapper, 2012; Mavrommatis, 2008; Moudopoulos-Athanasiou, 2022b,a).

This framework of decontextualised religious continuity reveals the negative side of periodisation: it serves more to help contemporary societies reconcile with their pasts than to understand the lives of actors in these pasts. To counteract the devaluation of the Middle Ages in favour of the Renaissance, Le Goff (2015: 81) reminds us that the small improvements in agriculture that assisted the peasantry of the Renaissance occurred in the Middle Ages. The iron ploughshare, new crops for crop-rotation and the replacement of the ox by the horse for ploughing were all innovations during the period preceding the Renaissance and, to an extent, people in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance were more impressed by how *slowly* history changed than the opposite (Le Goff, 2015: 118). Just as peasants in the 15th-century fields of Florence might have shaken their head in surprise, if told that they had crossed the threshold from the Middle Ages to the Renaissance, the post-Byzantine peasantry of montane Epirus would have continued to cultivate their rough land much as they previously did under the "Despotate's" control. They would have ploughed with the same means, sowed the same seed until the introduction of New World crops, and drunk the same wine. In the same way that the Middle Ages – Renaissance divide is a 19th-century historical convention and a tool to categorise changes in art and architecture, "post-Byzantine" in archaeology is a linguistic expression serving the ideological orientation of the Greek nation-state.

Post-Byzantine archaeology in Greek universities promotes Orthodox religious continuity in an Ottoman context, setting a research agenda biased towards iconography and architecture, through the familiar methodologies of cultural history and art history. This very selective focus on the post-Medieval material world has affected the development of this archaeological subdiscipline and the understanding of this period of the past. In 2003, Kotsakis argued that Byzantine archaeology "has still to evolve from a history of Christian religious monuments into a medieval archaeology" (Kotsakis, 2003: 65). Seventeen years later, his statement may be adapted to "post-Byzantine" archaeology, into a quest for the early modern archaeology of Greece.

Biases and the Ottoman-era archaeology of Zagori

The communities of Zagori remained universally Orthodox during the Ottoman era. The Ottoman administration did not settle incoming Muslim peasants in the area, and therefore no material remains of Islamic tradition existed within the villages. As a result, one might argue that post-Byzantine archaeology, with its emphasis on Christian culture in the early modern period, is not inappropriately biased. This approach has identified a significant number of monasteries and chapels, that can be dated to this period on stylistic and epigraphic grounds (Vokotopoulos, 1965), highlighted religious iconography (Chouliaras, 2006; Filidou, 2020), the work, stylistic influences and social organisation of the painters of Kapesovo village (Konstantios, 2001; Kontopanagou, 2010), and addressed their architecture (Tsefos, 2001). Very few of the above, however, address the region beyond the presentation of architectural and iconographic or stylistic evidence.

The Institute for the Local History of Achaea recently undertook a combined study of Ottoman registers and local history, followed by landscape archaeology, to explore the local history of the Soudena villages (Papagiannopoulos and Simoni, 2017b,a). The existing folkloric narrative suggests that, after murdering their local *sipahi* in Zagori, the people of Soudena migrated to lay the foundations of the Soudenaiika villages in Achaia. Two sets of evidence were cited in support of this migration: the discovery of an abandoned medieval site, next to the village of Kato Soudena in Zagori and the identification of the family name Vlasi in the Ottoman registers of both Zagori and Achaia (Kontolaimos, 2017b; Papagiannopoulos, 2017). The inference that the Vlasi family migrated from Zagori to Achaia (Papagiannopoulos, 2017) allegedly confirmed the narrative regarding the assassination of the Turkish

sipahi by the Greek peasantry, who migrated to avoid punishment in the late 16th-early 17th century.

Although such multi-disciplinary research is what is needed to explore the regional archaeology of early modern Greece (cf. Zarinebaf et al., 2005), the study by the Institute for the Local History of Achaea relied heavily on a misinterpretation of the imperial registers. Kontolaimos (2017b) misread the term *veled-i*[44] in the Ottoman registers of Zagori, mistaking it for the family name Vlasi. As the whole argument was based on this misreading, the narrative can no longer be sustained. Nevertheless, the outcome of this research, published in a large multi-author volume, had a profound impact on the local communities, which welcomed it as proof of their Greekness and rebelliousness during the Turkish occupation: "You, the Epirotes, descended from the north (…) under the pressure of the Turks. This is manifested historically with the most scientific way possible by the scientific community" (cited in Moudopoulos-Athanasiou, 2018: 250). Therefore, despite its good intentions, this interdisciplinary landscape research ended up reaffirming the narratives outlined earlier in this chapter and, more particularly, the place of the local communities relative to the national Other (Moudopoulos-Athanasiou, 2018). Fieldwork on Ottoman archaeology is futile unless we understand the epistemological biases that occupy the three first chapters of this monograph.

Developing post-Medieval archaeology in Greece

Post-Medieval archaeology in Greece has its roots in the years after WWII. It was introduced by landscape archaeology surveys initially organised by prehistorians, emerging from an interest in investigating specific sets of questions on a regional scale. Since the University of Minnesota Messenia Expedition (McDonald and Rapp, 1972), interdisciplinary methodologies have been enhanced and what was then a regional survey addressing primarily a prehistoric landscape (i.e., to locate the kingdom of Nestor, as recorded in Linear B documents) evolved into multi-period research incorporating various methodologies (for a concise review see Cherry, 2003). The "new wave" of landscape surveys in Greece of the 1980s and 1990s, focussed on the region as a conceptual tool to address broader archaeological questions (Cherry, 1994) or, influenced by the *Annales* school of history (Bintliff et al. 1994), sought to identify occupational cycles, rhythms and mentalities within a landscape.

This branch of archaeological research went beyond what Renfrew (1980) defined as the *Great Divide* between classical and prehistoric/anthropological archaeological academic traditions, not only bridging the temporal gap but also exposing archaeological fieldwork to the influences of cultural geography, history and anthropology. In this process, the regional scale acts as the conceptual basis to address broader, interdisciplinary questions (Cherry, 2003: 141). Projects of this sort, and the new generation of scholars who were trained in them, offered the first complete investigations of post-medieval material cultures (*e.g.* Bintliff, 1999; Sutton and Adams, 2000; Vionis, 2012; Zarinebaf et al., 2005). They also led to ethnoarchaeological research on topics such as pastoralism (Chang, 1982; Chang and Tourtellotte, 1993; Halstead, 1996; Kapetanios, 2003) and evolved in parallel to critical evaluation of ethnoarchaeologically informed models of subsistence strategies (Halstead, 1998; Kontogiorgos, 2009; Whitelaw, 1991).

Landscape archaeology shifted the tide from a focus on the monumental and "extra-ordinary" to an investigation of the countryside (Van Andel, 1987). Regional surveys acted as a mediator between different temporal and methodological approaches. John Cherry, in his preamble on the future of regional surveys, suggested that future research should bring different approaches together, focussing more on the dynamics and reinterpretation of landscapes (Cherry, 2003: 158-159), which to an extent has already taken place (Forbes, 2007b).

It's different in the Mountains

The "new wave" of surveys overcame the *Great Divide* between a source-based approach and those focusing on cultural processes and dynamics (Renfrew, 1980: 292), and brought together the anthropological tradition with its material-based counterparts. Nevertheless, even to those projects inspired by the *Annales* school and Braudel's programmatic statement "tout d'abord les Montagnes" (Braudel, 1966: 22), mountains came last (Cherry, 1994). The first regional project focussing on the mountains, and the history of the Aetolians (Bommeljé, 1987), came significantly later than the introduction of Ottoman-era material culture to the research agenda of landscape surveys. Although the surveys of Sphakia (Nixon et al., 1989), Lasithi (Watrous and Blitzer, 1982) and Methana (Mee and Forbes, 1997) include to an extent mountainous landscapes, or at least "rough and rocky" places, a proper regional montane landscape archaeology, in the way it was developed in the lowlands, remains in its infancy.

In the case of the Pindos mountains of Epirus and Western Macedonia, except for research in the Grevena area with a Palaeolithic focus and very specific questions (Efstratiou et al., 2006), the highlands remain substantially unexplored. The important Nikopolis Project (Zachos et al., 2003) and the Thesprotia Expedition (Forsén, 2009; Forsén et al., 2016; Forsén and Tikkala, 2011) focus on the Epirot lowlands. An

44 Veledes means son of the previously registered individual.

interdisciplinary approach to Zagori was adopted by the Klithi Palaeolithic and Palaeoenvironmental Project (Bailey, 1999; Bailey et al., 1997), while fieldwork with a landscape focus has also been conducted in these mountains from the perspectives of anthropology (*e.g.* Green, 2005; Greene et al., 1998; Nitsiakos, 2015; Potiropoulos, 2007), cultural ecology (Stara et al., 2015b) and ethnoarchaeology (*e.g.* Halstead, 1998; Kapetanios, 2003; Kontogiorgos, 2009).

In contrast to southern Greece and the northern lowlands, however, intensive fieldwork on a regional scale is lacking in the mountains. The reasons for this are, arguably, both practical and, to an extent, epistemological. How easy would it be to access a region such as montane Zagori, with a large team and the relevant equipment, when the closest point for supplies and hospital access is the town of Ioannina, and regional roads in the mountains have not been developed since their initial creation in the mid-20th century? How feasible and effective would it be to lay out proper grids over extended areas in highlands where maquis is rapidly taking over due to the abandonment of hillside cultivation and herding? The absence of necessary infrastructure, likely distance between base-camp and areas to be surveyed, and the severe obstacle to visibility posed by rapid and widespread afforestation would have made any large regional project an extremely difficult and probably unrewarding undertaking.

However, this was not always the case: during the 1980s and 1990s surface visibility was far better and a regional survey in areas such as Zagori would have had more potential for success (Prof. Jamie Woodward, pers. com; Green et al., 1998). Therefore, the practical difficulties of surveying offer only a partial explanation. The mountains were also never the centre of archaeological research. Even in the case of the Aetolian mountains, one of the survey's research questions was how these backward mountaineers could develop into the main power of Central Greece during the Hellenistic period (Bommeljé, 1987: 7). The results of the survey altered the initial assumptions, as the emerging archaeological record suggested that the Aetolian mountains were much more densely populated, and rich in antiquities, than previously known (Bommeljé, 1987: 21).

Braudel's idea that mountains came first was framed in geographical terms rather than historical. These regions, deemed mostly unsuitable for permanent habitation, were the nest of mobile populations and bandits, always peripheral to the early modern surplus-producing economies of the lowland Mediterranean. Although it is now recognised that highland archaeology can offer many insights into human adaptation to varying terrains and in different periods (Biagi et al., 2019), stereotypical attitudes towards the highlands can be identified in some early regional surveys and this may to an extent have defined attitudes towards the mountains among survey archaeologists influenced by the *Annales* school.

It seems that research carried out in the Greek mountains is the product of individual investigations or time-restricted intensive fieldwork. The example of Epirus, and Zagori, is telling. McNeill revealed that childhood holiday memories with his parents in montane landscapes triggered his interest in the highlands (McNeill, 1992: xiii), which in turn initiated his fieldwork in Zagori and the Pindos. Kontogiorgos (2009) produced an ethnoarchaeological monograph focussed on his native village of Papingo and the two different communities that inhabited it (Sarakatsani and Zagorisians). The montane pastoral ethnography of Nitsiakos draws inspiration from his childhood years and the seasonal mobility of his Vlach family from the plains of Thessaly to Aetomilitsa on Mt. Grammos (Nitsiakos, 2014). Conversely, Dalkavoukis' fascination with the social anthropology of Zagori (Dalkavoukis, 2005; 2015a) was instead cultivated in the periodic holiday visits to the village during an urban childhood (Prof. Vasilis Dalkavoukis, pers. comm.). The writings of Prof. Fotios Petsas on the archaeology of Western Zagori were also perceived as paying a debt to his origins (Petsas and Saralis, 1982), whereas Panagiotis Vokotopoulos (1965) created a detailed catalogue of the churches of Zagori out of personal interest, and Ioannis Chouliaras wrote his PhD about the Orthodox monuments of his homeland (Western Zagori).

On the other hand, the Palaeolithic Project at Klithi (Bailey et al., 1997) followed a specific interest in the early human presence in the region, in the steps of Higgs' pioneering Palaeolithic fieldwork (Dakaris et al., 1964; Higgs and Vita-Finzi, 1966). Another of Higgs' students, returned to the Pindos to conduct extensive ethnography on the mixed-farming and household economies of the highlands (cf. Halstead et al., 1998). The investigation of the "Molossian" settlement at Vitsa (Vokotopoulou, 1986), the only extensive excavation in the region, was a response to the necessities of modern development. Last but not least, the walkover survey of N.G.L. Hammond in Epirus during the 1930s (Hammond, 1967) was long, in the absence of more recent studies, the definitive work, especially for the mountains. His preoccupation with identifying prehistoric migration routes led him to pay insufficient attention to the variety of opportunities for ethnographic observation of what he encountered, including both a range of forms of seasonal pastoral mobility and sedentism. His work follows the stereotypical view of the remoteness and unfavourable conditions of the mountains. When he encountered sedentary occupations, as in Zagori, he saw in them potential push factors explaining emigration from the mountains (Hammond, 1967: 258).

Peculiarities of Zagori

One could argue that the last "Great Divide" of regional surveys (and, to an extent, broader archaeological practice) in Greece lies between the intensively researched lowlands and the largely unexplored highlands. Despite its "unfavourable" highland location, Zagori is unusual in having caught the attention of scholars with strong personal or specific academic interest. It has its own 500-page toponymic inventory (Oikonomou, 1991), two symposia proceedings on the history and archaeology of the region, a handful of ethnographic and cultural-ecological accounts (Dalkavoukis, 2005; 2015a; Saratsi, 2005; Stara et al., 2016), extensively researched Upper Palaeolithic and paleoecological records (*e.g.* Adam, 1999; Bailey et al., 1997; Galanidou, 1997; Kotjabopoulou, 2008), and a rich corpus of folkloric documents (*e.g.* Fanitsios, 1966; 1968; Lambridis, 1870; 1889; Lazaridis, 1972; 1982). It also possesses surveys of post-Medieval churches (Chouliaras, 2006; Tsefos, 2001; Vokotopoulos, 1965) and many unpublished local archives. Taken together and subjected to appropriate interdisciplinary analytical methods, these sources constitute essential prerequisites for any contemporary regional landscape archaeological survey. This research attempts to combine these sources with targeted extensive archaeological fieldwork to produce a regional narrative on the archaeological landscape of Zagori in the Ottoman period, emancipated from the biases outlined in these first chapters.

Chapter 4

Materials and Methods

This research presents the first archaeological effort to investigate a landscape focussing on the Ottoman period in Greece. The first three chapters played an important role in the sense that their context is a prerequisite to understanding the necessity for an inclusive and informed methodology. Hopefully, this effort will be deemed transferrable to other regions within the evolving fields of spatial history, Ottoman-era archaeology and heritage.

Landscape archaeology, as a region-focussed multi-disciplinary investigation, offers an inclusive framework for understanding a cultural landscape. As outlined above, Zagori is today a complex and heavily reforested region, that has shifted towards touristic exploitation and the tertiary economic sector. A multi-proxy landscape analysis has the potential to overcome the practical difficulties posed by the target region in terms of its immense extent, steep terrain, low accessibility and poor surface visibility, coupled with a relative scarcity of relevant previous research. The first step has already been taken, through situating the context of Zagori beyond historical and archaeological biases. This chapter analyses the materials and methods used to design fieldwork that can circumvent the contemporary landscape restrictions. The use of archival and landscape-oriented methodological approaches requires a contextualised analysis.

All written sources, ranging from Ottoman imperial registers to local archives and 19th-century maps, are understood as fragments of history revealing a plurality of information regarding the cultural landscape. These records form an intertextual archive in that the different materials are all connected through the perspective of *dwelling* (after Ingold, 1993). All authors generated their accounts after walking over or experiencing the cultural landscape of Zagori in different centuries and under different circumstances. In that sense, various ways of walking within a cultural landscape may highlight and obscure different aspects according to the subjective position of the author.

The second part of the chapter outlines the methodology of the montane archaeological survey. This survey seeks to address questions typically addressed by systematic regional studies. However, the method has been adapted to the needs of single-person extensive reconnaissance (Cherry 1982; Veikou, 2012). I evaluate the choice between extensive and intensive fieldwork, based on historically informed and geographically reasoned parameters while reflecting on the obvious caveats and biases that emerge from this approach. Finally, this chapter concludes by setting out the archaeological research questions addressed, as they emerge from the analysis of the sources and their wider context of the period between the 16th and 19th centuries.

Primary Sources: a theoretical consideration

The contemporary administrative district of Zagori includes 45 villages and covers 1000 km^2, so systematic coverage of the whole region was beyond the scope of this research in terms of both time and resources. The survey was instead undertaken in a series of small-scale surface investigations within this broad area. To define the segments of the landscape to be surveyed, I consulted various archives, ranging from Ottoman cadasters (*defters*) to published folkloric accounts, unpublished local archives and

travellers' accounts, assessing their potential to provide archaeologically significant information. Despite the temporal and analytical differences between these sources, they all reveal aspects of the same cultural landscape.

This approach treats all the different written accounts as a single multi-referential corpus that can be "excavated" to reveal valuable information about the cultural landscape under study. This idea emerges from Ingold's (1993) conceptualisation of the temporality of the landscape. Local actors (dwellers) shape a cultural landscape through the activities they perform within a given context. These activities, *taskscapes*, comprise culturally and materially significant itineraries, based on their cognitive perception and interpretation of their dwelling space. A key example from early modern Zagori is the practice of hillside cultivation: the process of building, maintaining and repairing agricultural terraces, their use from cultivation to harvest, and the pathways connecting these areas to the village belong to the same *taskscape*. Small-scale mobility becomes a key issue, as these practices occur "off-site", and peasants access the areas through culturally defined paths. As a result, *walking* is at the centre of the practice and a key concept related to *dwelling*. Just as taskscapes are vital for the production of meaning within a landscape, the ways of walking within it affect one's understanding of it (Ingold and Vergunst, 2008: 3).

All the different sources presented below, are the product of different ways of walking within Zagori. They highlight different aspects of the early modern mountainous cultural landscape, based on the preoccupations of their creators. The Ottoman *defters* are the product of an institutionalised pedestrian survey of all potential taxable resources, conducted by a supervisor (*emîn*), assisted by a clerk (*kâtib*) (İnalcık, 1954; İnalcık and Quataert, 1994; Mutafchieva, 1990). This top-down one-sided and resource-based way of walking is of economic significance, and it not only provides demographic, historical and archaeological information but also reveals what is potentially left out of the Ottoman centralised administrative gaze (similar approaches are fruitful in different cases, *e.g.* in Mycenaean Pylos-Bennet, 1999). The local community archives investigated reflect on different taskscapes. The analysis of documents addressing forest management, communal regulations on grazing and leaf fodder procurement, agreements between transhumant shepherds and sedentary communities, village border delineation or documented dowries, reveal how specific aspects of the Zagori cultural landscape were perceived by locals. Similarly, folkloric accounts are the product of a 19th-century walkover survey (Lambridis, 1870; 1889) and the result of locals' attitudes towards their cultural landscape – as reflected through experiencing and dwelling (Fanitsios, 1966; Lazaridis, 1981; 1982). The same applies to the travellers, especially Nikolaidis (1851), a military spy for the Greek Kingdom who conducted a walkover survey of the region.

Ottoman Imperial Registers

Ottoman imperial registers are valuable resources for interdisciplinary research (Faroqhi, 2001) and have long been significant for regional-scale archaeology and especially the archaeology of early modern Greece (*e.g.* Balta et al., 2011; Bintliff, 2014; Kiel, 1997; Vionis, 2006; Zarinebaf et al., 2005). They are commonly used to reconstruct aspects of the economy, approximate population numbers,[45] locate abandoned settlements and cultivated areas. Nevertheless, when Faroqhi (2001: 11-12) initially assessed the importance of these primary sources for interdisciplinary approaches, she omitted archaeologists as potential collaborators, restricting her suggestions to architects, geographers and social anthropologists. Landscape archaeology, nevertheless, seen as the study of long-term changes in the dynamic relationship between humans and their environment, is a powerful complementary discipline due to its focus on material patterns that exceed the limited time depth of social anthropological research.

The imperial registers used in this research date to the 16th century. At that time, just before the wide depreciation of silver, starting in the 1580s, the economic reforms of *iltizam* and the decline of the *timar*, the use of the *tahrir* registers was on the verge of collapse. This is exactly the period for which scholars argue that analytical registers no longer represent actual figures, but are mere copies of previously undertaken pedestrian surveys. The registers consulted below[46] do not contain the breadth of information of a *kannunname*, but they are the last two registers following the 15th-century method of actual pedestrian surveys, except for newly conquered regions in subsequent centuries. Documents TT 350 from 1564/5 and TTK 28 & 32 from 1583/4 contain unique values and record different villages. By contrast, TT 586 of 1613/4 is a mere copy of its predecessor and marks the transition to the period of abstract and proportional figure registration.[47]

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45 For the limitations of this approach, see Lowry (1992). For a reply and more positive attitude, adopted in this research as well, see Coşgel (2004b).

46 For the database of this research we have collected unpublished data from *tahrir* documents preserved at the Başbakanlık Arşivi of Istanbul and the Tapu Kadastro of Ankara. They consist of two analytical cadastres (defter-i mufassil TT 350 – 1564/5 AD; TTK 28 & 32 – 1583/4) and one summary register (defter-i icmal TT367 – 1530 AD), dating to the 16th century. Very partial information on the topography of Zagori is taken from the summary cadastres TTK 271 (1540 AD?), TT 586 (1613/4), TT 786 (1654/5), TTK 478 (ca. 1670), TTK 411 (ca. 1690), TT 944 (1797/8).

47 Although we have discovered more documents related to Zagori in the national library of Sofia, their fragmentary status prevented us from using them to extract context for this research.

The summary (*icmal*) defters provide a list of the populated villages and other actively cultivated areas (*mezraa*), together with some general figures for total numbers of households and a summary of the tax. Their purpose was to reflect the distribution of revenue across the military class (İnalcık, 1954: 112). Therefore, they assist only in the reconstruction of the topography and the network of Zagori in the 16th century. The only *icmal* register available dates to 1530, 100 years after the conquest. The partial documents mentioned in footnote 46 only help as *termini post quem* for the abandonment of some villages, as shown in Chapters Six and Eight. Conversely, the analytical (*mufassal*) defters offer a breadth of information, ranging from detailed records of all heads of households to a summary of all taxes for the village and a list of microtoponyms for cultivated areas far from the villages.

The ways the Ottomans surveyed land during these early periods invites the researcher to generate meaning both from what is recorded in the registers and what is absent from them. The areas that the Ottoman officials surveyed may be approximated based on the tax rates on basic taxable resources (Coşgel, 2006; 2008). This insight could provide details regarding untaxed small-scale resources inside a dynamic montane landscape, beyond the imperial gaze. Furthermore, the identification of off-site areas, such as *mezraa* in the landscape, will help develop a model with a variety of information on the microscale (see Chapter Six).

Local Community Archives

The 17th century marks a gap in imperial primary sources. Besides the few summary defters mentioned above, I have located no primary source material. Fortunately, a few 19th-century folklorists have recorded such documents and partially preserved the information (in the works of Lambridis, 1870), and local scholars have copied the 17th-century records of the Speleotissa Monastery (discussed in detail later). Upon one visit to the Voutsa monastery, Ioannis Lambridis discovered a document which, according to his description, is very similar to that of an analytical Ottoman register. That document, according to the author, was dated to 1673. Lambridis' information, coupled with the fragmentary 17th-century summary defters, and other documents form a weak corpus, which does not allow us to recreate 17th-century realities in the detail of the 16th-century. However, as seen in Chapter Six, they are sufficient in recording the shifts occurring in that century.

Nevertheless, wider structural elements, such as the decline of the *timar* system, the economic crisis, the introduction of tax-farming together with a set of new taxes, and the rise of local elites, set the tone. The scarcity of documents from the 17th century, therefore, is possibly explained by the prolonged fragmentation of administrative practices. Nevertheless, the broader context of Epirus in that century allows us to project also to Zagori the general pattern of harsh taxation and other difficulties that peasants faced. The establishment of the provincial administration of the *League of Zagorisians* (1670s, see Chapter Five), and the emergence of the Speleotissa monastery, stands out as the major development of the century.

From the 18th century onwards, local archives begin to provide a breadth of information about the history of Zagori. These corpora are preserved in fragmentary form for multiple reasons. The "Kapodistrian Plan" (N. 2539/97), which amalgamated Communities into larger Municipal administrative units assembled parts of these archives in municipal stores, while other documents remained deposited in the villages.[48] Therefore, the archives of every village are divided between (at least) two locations: some basement in the village and the central municipal archives. Despite partial transfer to centralised repositories, most of the documents remained stored in the basements of abandoned schools in terrible conditions.[49]

In this context of fragmentation, research is challenging. Although I was granted access by the municipal council to all the archives for my research, at the communal level several local keepers refused to assist me and never provided access to the local archives. Other heads of local communities argued that the whole village archives were taken by the municipal authorities, a statement that is inaccurate and reveals that access is not always granted even to an indigenous researcher.

I conducted complete primary research in the archives of Hagios Minas, Aristi, Negades, Koukouli and Vitsa – Monodendri, a fact that also defined the selection of survey areas (see below). The lack of interest in local archives has led Greek historians to create archival assemblages before undertaking their research (Papalias, 2005: 51). My persistence in the local archive of Aristi led to an effort to record and store it properly, through student placements from the Ionian University (Moudopoulos-Athanasiou, 2021).[50] For the rest of the villages included in my research, I rely upon the publication of archives in the local folkloric accounts. In the case of Koukouli, I researched the archive of Kostas P. Lazaridis (1904-1987), an important corpus of local history based on the private collection made on the

48 Papigko and Vovousa are the two villages, which continued to be administered as villages.

49 We must stress that all local community archives legally belong to the General Archives of the State (Γ.Α.Κ), but no centralised initiative has emerged to collect and store them.

50 The project was funded by the White Rose College for the Arts and Humanities (AHRC), under the Knowledge Exchange Project scheme and by individual donors from Aristi. The students were hosted by the Yannis Saralis Foundation and supported by the Aristi Youth Club.

initiative of this local scholar (see Zampakolas, 2020). For the villages of Vitsa and Monodendri, I relied upon my private archive, from my ancestral lineage of the Dokos and Sfaggos families. As both families were notables of Vitsa during the 19th century, their archives present important information regarding the social history of Zagori.

The chronological depth of the local archives covers a different period than the 16th-century Ottoman registers and offers distinct information. The earliest documents that are vital for understanding the landscape of Zagori date back to the 18th century. They reveal the attitudes of individual stakeholders and communities towards *their* cultural landscape. Ranging from leasing (*malikane*) documents on the rental of communal summer pastures to Arvanitic or Sarakatsani transhumant and nomadic pastoralists, to legal disputes between entire villages over some resources in the border areas between villages, and from titles of land to fiscal receipts, they reveal the local taskscapes which have defined the wider cultural landscape.

Folkloric Accounts

Zagori possesses a great number of local amateur folklorists that have written about the history of their villages. As elsewhere in Greece, their writings range from those in which folklore shaped the regional national consciousness (Herzfeld, 1982), to those who found ways to promote the importance of local identities that might go beyond the national narrative (Herzfeld, 2003). Zagori is no exception, as documented in the first chapter. In any attempt to understand the cultural landscape of Zagori, one should not dismiss the value of local folklorists, albeit influenced by national ideologies which in turn biased their interpretations, because they were part of this very landscape and dwelled in it. At present, these corpora offer vital information, if researchers look beyond the details reaffirming the national identity. In the context of Zagori, historians have argued that the insights of Lambridis regarding the history of Epirus cannot be dismissed, although critical historians rarely take into account his writings (Asdrachas, 2001; Delilbasi, 2012).

Archaeologists similarly neglected such documents, seeing nothing of archaeological significance in the writings of local scholars. Consequently, that field was taken over by social anthropologists, who have generated interesting accounts on local identities (Dalkavoukis, 2005; 2015a), but left much of the spatial and material dimensions of this cultural landscape unexplored.

Nothing could be more damaging to the archaeological investigation of such remote areas, than the disregard of such accounts. In mountainous and forested areas with difficult research conditions, local historical documents, written by people who cultivated the montane terraces and followed the taskscapes before the afforestation that the generation of young researchers has inherited, provide unlimited qualitative insights into a landscape that is difficult to survey. Reading carefully between the lines of the local narratives, archaeological information emerges that can be cross-referenced with the Ottoman archives. Such a desk-based assessment reveals precise locations of toponyms, abandoned villages and cemeteries, land-use patterns, and other archaeological focal points within the landscape.

Travellers' Accounts

The Ottoman traveller, Evliya Çelebi (1611 – 1682), visited Epirus (1670) as part of his travels. In his account, he praises the town of Gjirokaster and refers to the region of Janina. He also followed a wedding procession from Gjirokaster to the transborder region of Pogoni, a neighbouring district to Zagori. Unfortunately, there is no mention of Zagori in his texts, but his description of agrarian practices in Pogoni can plausibly be extrapolated to 17th-century Zagori as well. It is only in the 18th and 19th centuries that we come across mentions of Zagori in the memoirs of foreign travellers, who resided, or were held as prisoners, in the court of Ali Pasha, in Janina. Henry Holland (1815), William Martin Leake (1835) and Francois Pouqueville (1820) are foreign itinerant observers providing useful information. The most detailed account comes from Nikolaidis (1851), a geographer and spy of the Greek Kingdom sent on an undercover mission to the western provinces of the Ottoman empire (including Zagori). As his duty was to report on the Greek-speaking populations and the potential for regional rebellions in favour of the newborn Kingdom, Nikolaidis provides detailed information about each village of the region.

Oxford-trained historian, Nicholas Hammond, walked over Epirus and Zagori before (and during) WWII. The outcome of his travels and survey (Hammond, 1967) has defined the practice of archaeology in the region up to the present. His approach, characterised by non-systematic reporting of finds and detailed sketches of some ruins that attracted his attention, borders on antiquarianism. On the other hand, together with the late Professor Sotiris Dakaris of the University of Ioannina, he laid the foundations for the academic discussion of Epirot archaeological topography.

Hammond's practice stands between the tradition of travellers and modern regional surveys in the region (Forsén, 2009; Forsén et al., 2016; Zachos et al., 2003), as his fieldwork was based on his encounters and engagement with the locals but without any sort of landscape archaeological methodology. His pedestrian survey of Zagori, therefore, may be treated as the last case of the century-long tradition of travellers and his

subjective interpretations of the landscape may be considered primary sources.

Landscape Archaeology Survey

The variety of sources outlined above, together with a few 18th- and 19th-century maps, form a sound foundation for developing a solid methodology for single-person regional survey in the mountains of Zagori. This endeavour is different from the various regional projects that have defined the field in Greece but is also inspired by them. Zagori is not the best candidate for large-scale regional survey, lacking the attributes that render an area suitable for such research. There are no extended alluvial plains (*e.g.* Jameson et al., 1994), nor extensive slopes with light vegetation cover (*e.g.* Forsén, 2009; Forsen and Forsen, 2003). One might expect that accelerated erosion, documented elsewhere in the region (for Pogoni, see Green et al., 1998), would also apply in Zagori and pose restrictions on survey as in a variety of other projects (*e.g.* Cavanagh et al., 2002; Whitelaw, 1991). It turns out, however, that intensive afforestation, following the abandonment of agropastoral activities, has held soils together in the most unexpected areas between 500 and 1200 masl. Afforestation, thus, besides creating problems of visibility for survey by obscuring entire catchments, has also helped to preserve an otherwise very fragile agropastoral landscape.

Fortunately, the existing literature on team-based regional studies and single-handed fieldwork in Epirus (Kontogiorgos, 2009; Veikou, 2012) forms a solid basis for the development of a case-specific methodology. The choice of a region such as Zagori addresses the criticism of processual regional surveys, that they tend to analyse population trends without defining the region in cultural terms (Fotiadis, 1997: 106). Recognising the biases that emerge from nation-making and other cultural ideological parameters, Fotiadis (1997) called for a context-oriented practice, which would go beyond the assumption that a region is a concise geohistorical unit. Zagori forms a test case of sorts, to experiment with this approach. Although considered a concise geohistorical unit, at least for the early modern period, a careful inspection at the local level reveals microscale diversity: for example, ethnic groups (e.g., the Sarakatsani – cf. Campbell, 1964), influenced by local parameters, obtain different ethnolocal characteristics (i.e., Zagori Sarakatsani, cf. Dalkavoukis, 2011). An approach between the local narrative and the realities of the archives will expose the limitations of cultural history and reveal the multitude of different materialities that go beyond national boundaries. As the Sydney Cyprus Survey argued, the justification of a boundary is the uncritical internalisation of (early) modern political and administrative units (Given and Knapp, 2003: 25). This principle is upheld in the present research, as set out in Chapter Two.

Research Design – Extensive Survey

The fieldwork methodology emerges from "extensive reconnaissance" (Cherry, 1982: 14-15; Cherry and Davis, 1982). This is essential for an archaeological *terra incognita*, such as Zagori. Beyond Zagori, and in addition to systematically organised surveys (Forsén, 2009; Zachos et al., 2003), Epirus has benefited from individual adaptations of the extensive reconnaissance model. Myrto Veikou, anticipating the pattern of Middle Byzantine settlements, designed an *extensive and non-systematic survey* to address both the need to discover new sites and to answer questions of historical topography (Veikou, 2012). She also used toponyms and village names as indicators of conceptual geography, reflecting upon Middle Byzantine social and economic taskscapes (Veikou, 2012: 350). Her remarks, furthermore, evolved into a theoretical discussion on Middle Byzantine settlement patterns (Veikou, 2010).

The present research design anticipates covering similar ground. Locating the early modern abandoned villages and *mezraa* provides the grounded third dimension to the variety of the available archived taskscapes explored. In turn, pinpointing sites in their physical environment unravels the multi-temporal interaction of humans and nature in these forgotten mountainous landscapes. Such settlements bear traces of various cycles of exploitation, and their relevant off-site features reveal detailed past subsistence – and other – strategies. This assists in the recreation of a dynamic network, which also redefines existing settlements as active parts of a landscape within a theatre of peasant agency, instead of their contemporary reference as touristified cultural relics. Under this perspective of fieldwork, archives, lists of toponyms and ethnography justifiably push the "extensive reconnaissance" model further. Having established that no disjunction occurred from the transition to Ottoman rule, this survey also addresses issues of continuity. Mountainous landscapes, at least since the time of Braudel, are known as the "conservatories of history par excellence" (Braudel, 1966: 30). The combination of archival sources with "extensive reconnaissance" addresses issues of short-lived and intensively transformed sites, driving the aforementioned assumption past the stereotypical backwardness linked with these landscapes, towards contextualised responses to social, economic and environmental parameters, which ultimately shape the history of such regions.

On a practical note, extensive non-systematic survey suits the difficulties of the terrain, bypassing problems of accessibility due to forestation and lost or hazardous pathways. Besides taking into account the wide range of pre-existing sources, the research design was problem-orientated. Decisions on the catchments to be sampled also considered environmental and topographic parameters to

explore areas adjacent to watercourses, extended lower slopes, steep slopes, highland summer pastures, and areas of both flysch and limestone substrate.

This methodology comes with certain limitations. As in the case of an intensive survey, recorded material culture is evidence for the use of sites in each period, without excluding the possibility of their use in other periods for which no material culture was discovered (for some aspects of this debate, regarding multiple periods see Andreou and Kotsakis, 1999; Bintliff et al., 2002; Davis, 2004). In the context of Zagori, however, recorded material culture can be complemented by cross-examination of other sources (archives, toponyms, oral histories), given that we are dealing with a relatively recent past. The research design was conducted in QGIS, using geo-referenced aerial photos from 1945 (courtesy of the Forestry Agency at Ioannina) and open-source base-maps. Aerial imagery in some instances helped to identify cultural and archaeological units that defined part of the survey areas, mostly in the highlands.

Initial desk-based research, involving consultation of 16th-century cadastral data, local archival information and ethnographic information, was followed by a first field visit to decide whether the selected segments were suitable for the extensive non-systematic survey. Some of the provisionally selected areas had to be redefined because of the dense growth of young prickly oaks, blocking access and surface visibility, and the bad state of forest roads. In response, I revised the desk-based assessment and conducted the main fieldwork from April to September 2018 and from March to July 2019.[51] Covid-19 and relevant lockdown restrictions pushed me to inhabit Zagori for the greater part of 2020 and early 2021. In that period, I conducted follow-up visits to various isolated sites to complete the research.

This research required the classification of the surveyed areas into two main categories: sites and settlements. By sites I refer to land segments with a more or less continuous distribution of cultural material generated by people in social space, in some cases redistributed further by secondary human activity (Given and Knapp, 2003: 28). Sites, in this context, may encompass agricultural features (*mezraa* lands), undifferentiated pottery scatters and spiritual landscapes (sacred forests, cf. Stara, 2009). "Settlements" refer more narrowly to locations where visible material culture includes architectural remains; these were registered as settlements only after their status was confirmed by cross-examination of written sources and ethnographic material.

The results of fieldwork were uploaded to the QGIS platform and recorded in fieldwork diaries and Excel databases, while a photo-archive was also generated. Aspects of the above databases define the narrative of the following chapters. As most of the areas surveyed were inspected for the first time, while a few areas were previously known sites, different sampling methods were implemented on a case-by-case basis. Recording of agricultural landscapes, elevated terraces and pastoral landscapes focussed on built structures rather than surface material culture. Conversely, at toponyms related to abandoned late medieval and early modern villages, I recorded, and in some instances collected, pottery and other material remains.[52] This practice has been criticised, as individually sampled data lack comparability, because the collection and recording processes cannot be evaluated and repeated (Cherry, 2003: 146). Conscious of these risks, I collected only a small number of sherds needed to establish approximate dates of occupation patterns, always taking GPS points on-site at every collection point. In this way, I managed to record areas as sites or settlements and to collect a representative sample of observed materials without distorting surface distribution patterns.

The limitations of this approach have been discussed widely and focus mainly on the lack of comparability in collected data and the loss of the additional information that would be obtained by intensive survey. Nevertheless, the data from any form of survey has the potential to be biased because of the specific research strategies employed, such that the validity of emerging patterns might be questioned (Cherry, 2003: 146), and an extensive and non-systematic survey is the only possible solution for such mountainous terrain, where intensive grid survey is not practicable. The careful planning of the survey, involving the prior consultation of a range of sometimes conflicting primary sources, ensured that a variety of landscape forms and settings was explored. The final picture, regarding the montane cultural landscape of Zagori, emerges from the comparison of the different surveyed areas and their analysis in the light of local narratives and Ottoman archival sources.

The Role of Ethnography

Ethnographic research is at the core of the methodology adopted. The careful study of various written sources including toponyms and other important landscape information is integrated with archaeological findings only through ethnographic enquiries. Moreover, ethnographic encounters during fieldwork facilitated an understanding of space through the lens of local residents who have

51 Unexpected bad weather delayed data collection. Prolonged rainfall in spring 2018 and spring 2019 forced me to postpone exploration of mountainous areas where hazards such as lightning discourage fieldwork in rainy conditions.

52 Surface material culture assemblages were handed over to the Ephorate of Antiquities in Janina, as Greek legislation dictates.

dwelled in it. During this research, I discussed many times with local interlocutors the areas to be surveyed. Our discussions were designed to be open-ended and specific topics emerged either in the local *kafeneia* (coffee shops) or in the field. In many cases, ethnographic research took place *in situ*, as interlocutors preferred a site visit to discussion in the village square (cf. Bennet, 2007). This was unexpected and the best possible outcome. If "place is created through walking" (Lee and Ingold, 2006: 76), site visits with interlocutors trigger very different mnemonic avenues than static discussions. Instead of obtaining directions towards a toponym, hinting at an abandoned village or a site of agricultural significance, site visits revealed an important set of insights contributing to the understanding of dynamic mountain landscapes.

Summary: from archived taskscapes to archaeological landscapes

Ottoman registers, community archives, travellers' and local historical accounts create a historical nexus of contextual information, broadening thus the interpretive framework of this research. The various ways of dwelling in Zagori, be it by 16th-century Ottoman officials or local peasants, produce different discourses that complement *extensive reconnaissance survey*. Thus, landscape archaeology goes beyond the popular idea of "experiential phenomenology" (Kyriakidis, 2019; Tilley, 2010) to recognise layered epistemological paradigms (see Introduction) and positionalities (dwelling, inhabiting, gazing), as well as different scales of analysis. Our historically informed contextualised landscape survey embraces methodologically local, indigenous, and imperial attitudes towards Zagori. This inclusive approach replaces individual subjectivity, which promotes the experiential interpretation of the (authoritative academic) singular gaze – following Tilley's (2010: 23) phenomenological perspective (Day 2013: 7).

Landscape archaeology can evolve into the proper tool for understanding cultural landscapes only if careful "excavation" of all available subjectivities leads to different, deeper syntheses. Local interlocutors that have dwelled in Zagori at the waning of the early modern *longue durée* are conscious of the activities performed around *taskscapes* in a given landscape. Their *habitus*, as a set of bodily practices reflecting and reproducing elements of society, triggers different narratives when placed in the context of the material culture of the sites. Pedestrian movements weave a tangled network of trails through the landscape itself and walking reincarnates them (Ingold, 2004: 333). In our case, narratives resurface in the minds of the discussants in the form of context-specific, landscape-oriented archaeological information.

Chapter 5

New realities: the local narrative, Ottoman historiography and archaeology

One of the fundamental claims of historical archaeology is that it writes the story of the peasantry, giving voices to "the people without history" (Moreland, 2001: 96). Nevertheless, it is impossible to do so if we do not first examine how elites profit from engagement with the landscapes of the peasantry, which as we saw earlier extended, in the montane case under discussion, also to a small extent to the plains. Our approach seeks to go beyond the "Hawkesian ladder", according to which superstructures, and therefore elites, are studied by historians and peasants by historical archaeologists (Moreland, 2001: 13-14), and uses concepts of *dwelling* and cultural landscape to integrate these approaches.

This chapter evaluates critically the structure of the *Voinikio* treaty and situates the Zagori within the early Ottoman context of minor military nobles, the *voynuk*s. It also revisits the elite narrative of the *League of Zagorisians*, highlighting aspects that have been downplayed by 20th-century historiography. The focus on primary sources is complemented by an archaeological methodology and research into elite identities through their own contextual representation. Finally, it places all Ottoman elites (15th-19th c.) in perspective, offering the nuances necessary to investigate regional changes from within and including peasant materialities.

From two narratives of privilege to the elites of Zagori

15th-17th century: from Voinikio to voynuks

Following the thread from Chapter Two, the elites and the Bishop of Janina signed a capitulation treaty with the Ottomans in 1430. According to local tradition, 14 Zagori villages signed a different collective treaty with the conquerors, called *Voinikio* (Aravantinos, 1856a: 33-34). This treaty entailed the obligation for a certain number of males from every village to serve, as auxiliaries, in the stables of the Sultan in Edirne. Those subject to the *Voinikio* paid a per capita tax (in *akçe*) instead of this auxiliary service (Aravantinos, 1856a: 33-34). Table 1 presents Aravantinos' information on the 14 villages of the initial treaty, listing for each village the number of individual *Voinikades* (or *voynuk*s) and the monetary value of service.[53]

A contextual approach to this document is very important. Aravantinos' information laid the ground for the narrative of privileges that Lambridis (1870) elaborated and 20th-century scholars (Fanitsios, 1968; Lazaridis, 1982) passed on to present-day scholarship (Dalkavoukis, 1999; 2015a: 107; Papageorgiou, 1995). The structure of this document is identical to the information retrieved from *tahrir*s (analytical imperial registers) regarding the minor *voynuk* elites: these also record the village name, the number of *voynuk* households (*hane*), and the monetary value of the tax due. Such

53 The first column shows the numerical order of the villages in the documents themselves.

No.	Village Name	No. of *voynuks*	Akçe
1	Mavrangelos	27	1200
2	Mikra Tsontila [Dikorfo]	38	1800
3	Baya [Kipoi]	48	2850
4	Slatovon (Mpoultsi)	18	1000
5	Megali Tsernitsa (abandoned)	23	1300
6	Manassis	29	2100
7	Vezitsa [Vitsa]	13	700
8	Tservari [Elafotopos]	7	180
9	Koukouli	7	400
10	Sopotseli [Dilofo]	23	1000
11	Vissikon (Kalota)	12	400
12	Fragades	13	500
13	Varvesi	56	2900
14	Vourlades (Disperi)	12	400
TOTAL		326	16730

Table 1: Voinikio as recorded by Aravantinos (1856a: 33-34), see below for the explanation of colour coding.

documents survive from the 16th century and record the numbers of *voynuk*s in the district (*nahiye-i Zagorya*).[54] Below I present the information on *voynugân-i mensuh*[55] from these registers, to compare the numbers with the relevant tables of Aravantinos.

Table 2 compares the data on *voynugân-i mensuh* from the surviving analytical registers. The village of Dovra (Asprangeloi) appears only for 1583 and, for all other communities, neither the number of *voynuk*s nor the taxes due have identical values in the two defters. Thus, although the two registers were both created in the period of decline of the *timar* system, we are dealing with two separate original surveys. In fact, TTK 28 and TTK 32 form the final original survey, as the following *tahrir* of 1613 (TT 586) copies the exact values of its predecessor (see Chapter Four).

If we compare the values for Aravantinos' *Voinikio* with the *voynuk*s of 1583, only four individual entries on the number of *voynuk*s (highlighted in blue) differ among the first 14 villages, while the rest (yellow) are identical. These four entities (Baya, Manassis, Tservari, Vourlades) provide conflicting values regarding the individuals yet share the same payment rates. If we observe the differences and the relevant Arabic characters, they could be attributed to mistaken scribal transcription by someone barely familiar with the *siyakat* script (and the difficult handwriting), such as Aravantinos or indeed the author of the present monograph (Baya: 28-48/٢٨-٤٨; Manasi: 21-29/٢١-٢٩; Çervar: 3-7/٣-٧; Vurlades: 7-12/٧-١٢).[56] The differences in the village names between Aravantinos' version and the register might be due to the nature of transliteration from the *siyakat* script. For reasons of integrity, the small differences in transliteration are left unaltered.

Aravantinos' copy does not refer to the last four villages mentioned in TTK 32, and this issue is addressed below. He published his work in 1856, 426 years after the date of the alleged *Voinikio* treaty. As an intellectual product of the Enlightenment, his studies were characterised by an inductive methodology that favoured exploring all written evidence before reaching conclusions.[57] Based on the comparative analysis above, he certainly possessed an original document, probably a fragmentary copy of a *voynuk* register in *siyakat*, or in Greek, that he interpreted as relating to an autonomous federation, *Voinikio*. It is important to stress that the original material is also patchy. TTK 32 includes the *voynuk*s of Zagori, but the typical regional analytical survey appears in the first part of the *tahrir* survey (TTK 28) preserved in a different physical copy. This other copy includes the systematic taxes of the *timar* system, of which the fiscal unit is the peasant farm. Zagori appears among the other *nahiye* of the *sancak* of *Yanya* (Janina). *Voynuk*s, as a privileged category, were taxed separately, with the money channelled directly to the imperial treasury.

Aravantinos was undoubtedly unaware of all these structural elements. He held in his hands an ancient, as he perceived it, and fragmentary document, plausibly lacking a date as the *voynuk*s of Zagori were recorded towards the end of the registry. He was also able to read the report, as he interpreted the *voynugân-i mensuh* according to his understanding. Although the literature is unclear regarding the meaning of *former* or *cancelled voynuk*s, Aravantinos suggested that the people of Zagori opted for a monetary tax, avoiding the auxiliary service (Aravantinos, 1856a: 34) – hence mobility was *cancelled* and replaced by a tax levied in cash. His interpretation might have been plausible if another set of *voynuk*s (*voynugân-i zevaid* – additional *voynuk*s) did not appear as a separate category in a different part of the register.

54 These documents, TT350 (1564/5) and TTK32 (1583/4), from the former *Başbakanlık* now *Cumhdurbaşkanlık* Archive of Istanbul and the Tapu Kadastro of Ankara respectively, remain unpublished.

55 Cancelled or former *voynuk*s, probably meaning released from duty. There is a second category of *voynugân-i zevaid* (additional *voynuk*s) which appear in a different passage of the register. I do not address them here as they are not relevant to the argument.

56 Both sets of numbers are to be read from left to right.

57 His research on the location of the Dodona oracle is one impressive example, where he documented all occurrences of the name Dodona in ancient sources and all 18th-19th-century suggestions about its whereabouts before reaching his conclusion (Aravantinos, 1862).

Entry No. (TT350)	Village Name	No. of *voynuks* *TT 350* *1564*	Akçe	No. of *voynuks* *TTK 32* *1583*	Akçe	Entry No. (Aravantinos)
1	Mavrangel	11	1017	27	1200	1
2	Çodili Küçük	10	1757	38	1800	2
3	Frangades	4	370	13	500	12
4	Varveş	25	2672	56	2900	13
5	Baya	30	3152	28	2850	3
6	Islarova	9	832	18	1000	4
7	Çerniça-i Büzürg	12	1294	23	1300	5
8	Manasi	20	2127	21	2100	6
9	Viziça	6	647	13	700	7
10	Çervar	3	277	3	180	8
11	Kukuli	4	370	7	400	9
12	Sopoçel	18	1480	23	1000	10
13	Visoko	3	277	12	400	11
14	Vurlades	4	370	7	400	14
15	Kato Istudena	52	4810	57	5000	
16	Bulçu	49	4090	64	4000	
17	Negrades	50	4625	53	4700	
18	Dovra			32	1000	
Total		310	30167	495	30930	

Table 2: *voynugân-i mensuh* as presented in TT 350 (1564/5), p. 710 ff and TTK 32, (1583/4) p. 174 ff (TTK 28 does not include *voynuk*s).

Going back to Table 2, we notice that the number of *voynuk* households and the tax rates differ greatly between 1564 and 1583. Conversely, most of the figures in the 1583 survey and Aravantinos' document are the same. Given that *tahrirs* after 1583 are mere copies of the previous surveys and that the 1564 register is so different from Aravantinos' dataset, we can set a *terminus post quem* for the latter's data at 1583. He either copied a fragmentary version of TTK 32, or a later one, in which the last four villages no longer possessed privileged households.

As the *timar* and relevant fiscal surveys gradually gave way to tax-farming, *tahrirs* repeated previous information. Furthermore, defters became fragmented as provincial tax-farming agents emerged. Each of these kept individual records of the properties for which he was accountable. Since *voynuk*s paid taxes directly to the imperial treasury, Aravantinos' copy could have been taken from the archive of an agent responsible for the collection of *voynugân-i mensuh* with a *terminus post quem* of 1583. Alternatively, he possessed a fragmentary copy of the 1583 survey from which the final four entries were missing.

Aravantinos dealt with *Voinikio* and the treaty of Sinan Pasha (1430) in the same book. Although the two documents were of very different date, to Aravantinos it seemed plausible to interpret the fragmented *voynuk* record as *Voinikio*, a fictional association of the fourteen villages submitting to Ottoman rule on privileged terms. Despite the fictional character, it is possible that the elites of Zagori agreed to special terms with Sinan Pasha, under which they served as *voynuk*s, a reality distant from any notion of an autonomous federation.

As mentioned earlier, when Janina came under Ottoman rule, local elites retained their fiscal and social privileges. Sinan Pasha's letter to the town's elites is also relevant in the context of *dhimma*, which allows non-Muslims (*dhimmis*) to practise their religion and secures their property (Masters, 2010). As a result, the district of Janina collectively joined the Empire on favourable terms. A treaty with the minor military nobility of Zagori might be viewed in the context of *accommodation*. Consequently, the *Voinikio* paradigm remerges as an elite privilege and not as an egalitarian, community one.

Aravantinos' idea that Zagorisians of these 14 villages paid a poll-tax, avoiding thus the *voynuk* obligation, can also be nuanced when placed in a broader temporal and spatial context. What he recorded as the rejection of mobility was a product of his imagination. According to the present state of research, *voynuk*s were members of the pre-Ottoman minor nobility in the Balkans and, in some cases, they retained part of their properties as *timar*s in exchange for their military service (Ágoston, 2010). According to Darling (Darling, 1996: 83), they were tax exempt and their relatives paid a substitute for the head-tax much lower than the *ispence*.

But for 16th century Zagori this is not exactly the case, as they paid both *ispence* (head tax) and a lump

sum of other levies. As their mobility was cancelled, their privilege remained in reduced taxation when they cultivated lands apart from their own *baştina* fiefs (Yavuz, 1983). As mentioned above, Aravantinos suggested that the members of *Voinikio* had to work in the sultan's stables in Edirne. This description is reminiscent of the *voynugân-i istabl-i amire* (*voynuk*s of the imperial stable), one of three *voynuk* categories, together with *çayir* and *akıncı voynuk*s (Yavuz, 1983). In the 16th century, Christian *voynuk*s from Bosnia, Serbia, Macedonia, Albania, Thessaly and Bulgaria were incorporated into the Ottoman army under the privileged military status of *askeri* (İnalcık, 1954: 104). To this list, based on the information presented above, we may add Epirus.

Aravantinos thus misinterpreted a personal and, to some extent, family and elite privilege, as communal. In this way, he laid the foundation for an ethnolocal narrative that forged a collective identity stripped of internal hierarchies. Aravantinos' unique *Voinikio* community was predominantly Greek within a sea of Ottoman rule and was teleologically imagined with a view to the incorporation of the region into the Greek kingdom. But, in reality, the *voynuk*s controlled the communal organisation of villages. Delilbaşı (2012: 49) placed the alleged *Voinikio* privilege in the context of *istimâlet* (goodwill policy) following the surrender, yet she fell into the pitfall of accepting privileges of a different nature for fourteen villages of Zagori than for the rest of the region, or the district of Janina in general, based on the information of Aravantinos and of Lambridis (see below). Caution is thus needed regarding the recurring conclusion that Zagori made a special agreement as a whole in 1430, which formed the basis of its later privileges, and that the 14 villages that signed it were called *Voinikio*. An agreement between the Zagori minor nobility and the Ottomans is plausible (although not necessary to explain the available data), but the privileges by no means applied to the Zagorisian peasantry.

Sinan Pasha's letter to the people of Janina addressed the ruling elite of the castle (Commander Simeon Stratigopoulos and his son) and the religious administration. According to the letter, the Archbishop would retain unconditionally the authority he had in Roman (i.e., Byzantine) times to judge and all his rights in the church. Similarly, notables would remain managers over their fiefs, and their property. This neatly matches the essence of the *voynuk* privilege. İnalcık stressed that the Ottomans retained the Slavic linguistic terms for pre-Ottoman groups whose status and services were maintained in the imperial context (İnalcık and Quataert, 1994: 986). This applies to the *voynuk* auxiliary forces but also to the Slavic term *baştina*, a form of peasant family farm in the Balkans corresponding to *raiyyet çiftlik*, which the *voynuk* individuals maintained during the Ottoman period (İnalcık and Quataert, 1994: 986).

Given the appearance of the term *baştina* in the 19th-century codex of the *League of Zagorisians*,[58] referring to lands that must be auctioned because their owners could not afford to pay their taxes, the exact spatial and temporal span of the privilege of *voynuk* and their fiefs remains to be defined (see later in this chapter). The important fact to retain here is that both Sinan Pasha's *ahidnâme* and the *voynuk* privileges affected the pre-Ottoman major or minor elites of the district of Janina, unlike Aravantinos' supposed community privilege of *Voinikio*. Luckily, the *Chronicle of Tocco* reveals that Zagori could muster its own army already in the 14th century (Sansaridou Hendrickx, 2008: 97-99), and most probably even earlier. Consequently, we can see this force as the members of the "Despotate's" minor regional nobility which retained its privileges under the *voynuk* auxiliary military scheme, after the peaceful incorporation of Janina into the empire. The voices of the *re'aya* peasantry are not heard in this narrative. Rather, the elite-biased regional archival record has also been used selectively to invent a tradition legitimising the post-17th century elites of the *League* (ca. 1670 – 1868).

17th-19th century: from Lambridis' timeless privileges to the League of Zagorisians

Contrary to Aravantinos' *Voinikio*, Ioannis Lambridis stated that the Christian auxiliary forces called *voynuk* were first established in 1375 by a *vizier* of Sultan Murat A' (Lambridis, 1889: 6). Based on the *Voutsa Chronicle* of 1673, he suggested that all communities belonged to the same district from 1430. The following section addresses a few of these significant privileges (Lambridis, 1889: 33-37) and comments on them individually. In this way, it will be possible to expose the relative chronology of the rise of the elites of the *League of Zagorisians* (ca. 1670-1868). Having established that Zagori during the 15th and 16th centuries possessed regional *voynuk* elites and peasantry under the *timar* system, instead of *collective* extraordinary privileges, these emerging 17th century elites can be better understood. Three key privileges, according to Lambridis, were:

i. *Zagori was given autonomy and self-governance because of their fidelity* (*σαντικάτ – sadakat) and willingness to serve the empire (χισμέτ – hizmet*).

58 A document presented for the first time in Papageorgiou 1995, pp. 191-196, but responsibility for the interpretation advanced here rests with the present author.

Sadakat (faithful friendship, fidelity, devotion and loyalty – Avery, 1968) and *hizmet* are related to the provision of public and paramilitary services, such as the supply of essential agricultural products to the state (Alexander, 1998: 197). Also, in the case of the *kaza* of Karytaina in southern mainland Greece, *hizmet* is related to the privileged taxation of individuals providing services to the government (Alexander, 1998: 197). These are fundamental ideas behind the nature of provincial governance, the *ayan*s/*kocabaşı*s[59] and their regional networks from the second half of the 17th century onwards (Lambridis' document dates to 1673).

According to this practice, the *Vekil* of Zagori (see section iii, below) was responsible for delivering regional taxes to the administration in Janina. This measure can hardly predate the mid-17th century, for reasons cited above, and the debasing of the *timar* system. The *vekil*, or General Dignitary, was the most crucial figure and, together with the rest of the population, was responsible for collecting taxes and rendering them to the tax-farmer (Papageorgiou, 1995: 223).

ii. *The people of Zagori were free to perform their religious rites.*

The rules of Islamic *amân* (safety, security) were granted to those non-Muslims who surrendered and accepted Ottoman authority. They had the right to practise their religion and were entitled to the protection of their property and honour, in exchange for a poll-tax (Delilbasi, 2012: 49).

iii. *The General Dignitary was elected every 6 months (on the feasts of St George and St Demetrius). The General Dignitary (Zagor-Vekyl or Zagor-Koçabas) lived in Janina. He was entitled to send messengers to Zagori to act on his behalf for any reason. Whoever acted against his orders would be punished. Any decision made in the Janina court regarding Zagori was announced to the General Dignitary and he was responsible for implementing the law in the region.*

The *Vekil* is again the product of the wider Ottoman administrative system of provincial *ayan* governance. *Vekil* or *kocabaş* are terms describing the representative of Christian communities in their dealings with the state administration – hence he lived in Janina, the administrative centre of the region. Furthermore, he was always very close to the Janina administration.[60] Intra-communal application of penalties existed in all districts of the empire and the representatives were responsible for enforcing the law.

Interestingly, Lambridis' source (the *Voutsa Chronicle*) dates to 1673, when tax-farming in the form of *malikâne* was already established. The late 17th-century document reveals a form of decentralised governance by local elites, such as *ayan*s. The reference to the *Zagor-vekil*, who delivered tax on behalf of the whole province to the central administration, is reminiscent of this provincial structure of the empire that became common around 1690 (Adanir, 2006). The economic significance of the entrepreneurial networks of the *travels*, already growing during the mid-17th century (Anastasopoulos and Kyriakopoulos, 2019; Dalkavoukis, 1999), strengthens the hypothesis that the *League of Zagorisians*, together with its neighbouring *Voevodalik* of Metsovo (Dasoulas, 2019; Tritos, 1993), were early examples of this provincial development.

Lambridis' version of privileges must be placed in the 17th-century context of the *League of Zagorisians* and cannot be extrapolated back to the period of the conquest (except ii, that applied to the whole district from 1430). It must be placed in the framework of Balkan trade networks and the rise of local elites in the 17th-19th centuries, as Stoianovich (1960) so eloquently described half a century ago.

The elites as uncovered in the registers (16th c.)

Privileged voynuks and their villages

16th-century registers do not record *voynuk*s for the district of Papingo but, as previously shown, they preserve documentation regarding the *voynuk*s of Zagori. Their existence in separate registers explains the disappearance of one entire village from the *timar* register. The settlement of Bulçu (Elati) in 1564 possessed 10 households and 2 bachelors under the *karye* village record and 49 households and 5 bachelors in the separate *voynuk* register. In the register of 1583, the village was only inscribed in the *voynuk* entry, enumerating 64 households.

This detail reveals the sometimes unreliable nature of the registers as sources for regional historical geography, as the *karye* villages are administrative rather than purely demographic units (Kotzageorgis, 2018: 5). The villages Peçal (Petsali), Protopapa, and

59 The *ayan*s were members of local elites, elected by the powerful men of the locality to act as the tax-farmers of the region, while their status was also legitimised by the Sublime Porte (Faroqhi, 2002: 370). Sultan Mahmud II severely diminished their power by 1825, but the *League of Zagorisians* functioned until 1851 (Papageorgiou, 1995: 222).

60 Great Dignitaries Karamessinis and Marinoglou are prominent figures of significant economic power and political influence. They were very close to Ali Pasha, Governor of Janina (1788-1822), and formed part of the network of the *ayan*s/*kocabaşı*s.

Mavrangelos (abandoned) comprised only *voynuk* entities and therefore are absent from the *timar* survey. Of the rest of the Zagori, 33% of the villages included *voynuk* families (see Figure 9 below), who paid fewer taxes than the rest of the village population (TT 350: 710-729; TTK 32: 174-185; TT 586: 721-727).[61]

Private (mülk) property

There is only one *mülk* property documented in the 16th-century registers. The *mezraa mülk-i* of Gin Paskal. The family name Paskal (Paschalis) is associated with the history of Zagori from the 18th century.[62] As elite merchants, they were established in Russia already in the late-18th century. They donated money to construct the largest school in Zagori, the Paschaleios at Kapesovo (1861), equipping it with a library and one of the 13 originals of Rhiga's Map (1797). One sibling, Christodoulos Paschalis, was a physician (*vikoyatros*) and consultant of Sultans Abdulhamit I (1774-1789), Selim III (1789-1807), Mustafa IV (1807-1808) and Mahmud II (1808-1819) (Papageorgiou, 1987: 465-466).

The family and descendants of Gin Paskal, owned the only *mülk* property in 16th century Zagori, first recorded in 1530 (TT 367: 271). Hence their influence is rooted in the 16th century, in the form of land titles and privileges among other invisible activities. Moreover, their private property appears in all three 16th-century registers (TT 367, TT 350, TTK 28). However, they do not appear in the minor-elite *voynuk* records, nor does their village, Kapesovo.

Makrino: a village in the making (ca. 1544) and the elites of Zagori

With one exception, all present-day communities of Zagori that emerged before the 17th-century are identified in the summary register of 1530. Therefore, the network of villages and, to an extent, monasteries, in all probability goes back to the 15th century, while in some cases we can be confident of the existence of a Middle-Late Byzantine layer (see Chapter Two and Chapter Six). The village of Makrino is the only village of Zagori surviving today, that emerged in the second half of the 16th century.

It appears as a new settlement (*haric ez defter*) in 1564. As the previous *tahrir* was conducted approximately 20 years earlier, we possess a confident *terminus post quem* for its foundation in 1544. In the following register (1583), the summer pasture of the village (*yaylak Ikserovouni* "dry mountain") complements its resources. This is taxed at 20 *akçe*, revealing a rapidly monetised resource (within 40 years of its creation), contrary to the regional pattern in which only the most significant and wealthy villages of the Papingo district profit from (and therefore are taxed on) their summer pastures.[63]

Table 3 presents a picture of a small village with a relatively stable population and a significant drop in most taxable resources from 1564 to 1583. Only the levy on orchards increased by 67% (from 30 akçe to 50), following the wider regional pattern (see also Chapter Seven). A surplus of linen, hemp (*ketan ve kendir*) and fruits (*meyve*) appears only in the second register.

Makrino is the only village without a substantial population or significant resources that possesses a taxed *yaylak*. The regional scarcity of recorded summer pastures, restricted to the two large villages of Klithonia (Ağlitonyavista) and Papingo (Istar Papinkoz) in Papingo district and the small community of Makrino, points to the use of the mountains otherwise for communal grazing (and thus without taxable income from rent of pasture), perhaps associated with a 16th-century population rise (see Chapter Seven). The settlement of Makrino is founded in a relatively uninhabited area of Zagori and its inhabitants appear to be practising mixed farming. Nevertheless, Makrino monetised its economy through pastoral activities and related secondary production, taking advantage of empty mountain space in the heart of Eastern Zagori. The emerging question is why Makrino differs from the normal pattern in which small or modest villages do not possess monetised *yaylak*, and the answer can be found between toponyms, taskscapes and local history.

The registers, combined with local history and toponyms, provide an answer. Vasmer argued that Makrino takes its name from Mokrina, a word of "Slavic" linguistic root meaning "wet area" (Oikonomou, 1991: 249), while Oikonomou believes the name derives from Makrina the Younger (AD 330-379), sister of St. Gregory of Nyssa (Oikonomou, 1991: 249). Below I present an indicative list of Vlach (Aromanian) toponyms that exist in the village of Makrino.[64]

Common knowledge that Makrino, situated in Eastern Zagori, belongs to the Vlach-speaking Zagori,

61 TT 586 is a copy of TTK 28-32. Their initial date is the same, 1583, but the section of *voynuğan-i zevaid* is well preserved only in the copied version.

62 Paskal is also a given name in the 16th-century registers of Zagori (Kontolaimos, 2017, and Moudopoulos Athanasiou, 2018, for corrigenda of Kontolaimos' readings).

63 Ağlitoniavsta (Klithonia) and Istar Papinkoz (Papingo) act as gateways to the summer pastures of Papingo. Based on their high taxation rates, Klithonia (18,000 akçe) and Papingo (16,000 akçe) presumably rented their summer pastures to transhumant and nomadic pastoralists since the 16th century. These are the two instances, apart from Makrino, possessing taxed summer pastures (see Chapter Seven for more information on pastoralism).

64 Vlach speakers argue that Kiatralarie is just the plural of keatra, that is many stones (Prof. Vassilis Nitsiakos, pers. com).

Table 3: The revenues of Makrino as recorded in TT 367 and TTK 28. Key: H = households; B = bachelors.

Date	H	B	Wheat	Maslin	Must	Hens	Orchards	Hives	Linen & Hemp	Fruits
1564	30	8	20 *kile*	30 *kile*	30 *medre*	40 *akçe*	30 *akçe*	20 *akçe*		
1583	25	11	8 *kile*	10 *kile*	8 *medre*	25 *akçe*	50 *akçe*		31 *akçe*	27 *akçe*

Table 4: Selected Aromanian toponyms from Makrino.

Toponym	Origin	Area qualities	Source
Gretina	arom. grădină	garden	(Oikonomou, 1991: 743)
Prizota	arom. prizota	area with wheatfields	(Oikonomou, 1991: 688)
Pilotitsa	bulg. pilъ <bird>	area with fields, a watermill, and huts	(Oikonomou, 1991: 684)
Kousta	bulg. къща <hut>	forested area, former vineyards	(Oikonomou, 1991: 646)
Lakkos Griaka	gr. lakkos <ditch> arom. Graeca <of the Greek>	landmark	(Oikonomou, 1991: 745)
Kiatralounga	arom. Keatra <rock> Lunga <elongated>	landmark	(Oikonomou, 1991: 756)
Kiatralarie	arom. Keatra <rock> alu (arom. dativ) Arie <Mars>	"The rock of Mars", folk interpretation of an ancient, unexcavated fortified location.	(Oikonomou, 1991: 758)
Koufolasa	arom. cufuroasă <manure>	area with irrigated gardens and fields	(Oikonomou, 1991: 770)
Pademare	arom. pade <plain> mare <great>	extensive flat area	(Oikonomou, 1991: 817)
Sirini	arom. sărine <area where they feed salt to the sheep>	wooded area where there used to be pastoral activity and suitable rock-formations to feed the sheep with salt	(Oikonomou, 1991: 837-838)
Tritsara	arom. trec <passage>	pathway leading to the fields of Makrino	(Oikonomou, 1991: 853)

combined with the existence of many Aromanian toponyms within the village (Table 4), seems at first to support Vasmer's toponymic hypothesis on the name Makrino. Nevertheless, these toponyms refer to a set of taskscapes regarding the primary economic sector and mainly agricultural activities and the dwelling of non-elites. The thesis of "Slavic" toponyms would be plausible only if Makrino was established during the Medieval period of Slav mobility.

Since the settlement emerged in the mid-16th century, Vasmer's term "Slavic" is anachronistic.[65] In a contextualised reading, the people who created the 16th-century taskscapes assigned non-Greek toponyms. These were Vlach-speaking peasants of the 16th century, practising mixed farming and animal husbandry, and the Vlach (not Slavic) identity of the villagers survives to date. Conversely, the name of Makrino's summer pasture is Greek and means "dry mountain" (Kserovouni). As the *tahrir* entries represent an elite perspective, the contrast between the administrative Greek toponym and the broader peasant taskscapes is striking. Developing this further, it would be an oxymoron for a newly recorded village to bear a "Slavic" name but have a Greek summer pasture, as both entries were made simultaneously by the same scribe, through the same elite perspective.

Lambridis, the iconic local scholar of the Zagori, offers additional insights. Before analysing the village population and history he reflects upon some aspects that have been disregarded by contemporary scholars:

> Is there any relationship between the Manassi, Dobro, Bulço, Makrino, Dresteniko, Kalota and Kavallari, notable families of Janina around the year 1540 and the remaining synonymous villages of Zagori? (…) Regarding Makrino, tradition mentions that one Makriyannis founded the village (Lambridis, 1870: 16, translated by the author).

Although this family has left no primary historical traces surviving to the present that relate to Makrino, Lambridis' information offers a missing link placing the village in its historical context. Makrinos, a member of the Greek-speaking elite of Janina around 1540, created the homonymous settlement between 1543 and 1563, but judging from the village toponyms related to agropastoral taskscapes, he installed Vlach peasants. They were granted land, and in exchange, Makrinos profited from the summer pasture, channelling the

65 The term Slavic is used as an interpretive framework to explain the existence of toponyms deriving from Slavonic linguistic roots. It is assumed that many villages were formed during the period of "Slavic invasions" (Lambridis, 1870; 1889; Oikonomou, 1991) and that these toponyms account for an ancient substrate to the predominantly "Greek speaking" Zagori of the early modern period. This framework underplays the Vlach component of Zagori and has its ideological roots in the Greco-Romanian conflict in seeking to appropriate this ethnic group for their nationalist agendas (mid. 19th – early 20th century).

surplus production into the markets of Janina. The Greek name of the summer pasture argues for a similarly top-down definition of resources contrasting with the agricultural substrate of Vlach toponyms.

This understanding contradicts the argument that Makrino is a village with an ancient Slavic name predating the Greek phase of Zagori. Our context-specific interpretation is in line with the dynamic interaction between elites and the peasantry within the period of the transformation of the Ottoman empire (late 16th – early 17th centuries) when notables explored new ways of profiting from the countryside. The case of Makrino and the rise of *çiftlik*s (see also Chapter Seven) provide examples of this.

Makrinos probably owned transhumant herds and the summer pastures of the village supported his flocks, alongside the peasants' livestock. This calls for further consideration. Makrino is a village situated at a nodal point on the route connecting Eastern Zagori with Wallachia. It is well known that Vlachs, due to the pastoral component of their communities, facilitated mobility in the Balkans through the organisation of caravans. In the instance of the notable Makrinos, we see this process in the making. An elite family profiting from specialised pastoral activities (*yaylak*) installs a small village of Vlach mixed-farmers in a geographically significant, yet unclaimed, territory of Zagori. This way, he claims the pasture lands and controls/facilitates mobility through Zagori.

If we investigate the village name further, we reach more conclusive evidence. We have suggested that it originates from the notable family of Makrinos, in line with the information provided by Lambridis. However, Oikonomou's suggestion that it derives from Makrina the Younger (Oikonomou, 1991: 249) is also appealing because there is a chapel of Makrina the Younger situated high above the village, next to the summer pastures (see Figure 7). Without doubt, it is plausible to suggest that Makrina the Younger was the patron Saint of the homonymous notable family. Looking at Figure 7, we realise that the chapel is situated at the margins of Kserovouni next to the point where two main paths of the mobility network of early modern Zagori intersect: one running SW-NE, from the village of Negades, and another SE-NW, passing immediately west of Makrino itself. The toponym Ora Kali (Farewell) on the SW-NE axis is a liminal place in the landscape: up to that point families from the villages of central Zagori (Negades, Frangades, Stanades [abandoned], Leptokarya) were allowed to follow the caravan leading émigré individuals to the Northern Balkans, hence the name. Makrinos erected his chapel at the node, where these two avenues meet, claiming the summer pasture of Kserovouni (Dry Mountain), still distinguishable in the 1945 aerial photographs. This way he profited from the pastures and also controlled an important point on the emerging trade network, since ca. 1583/4: the period when the military privilege of the *voynuk* shifts toward entrepreneurial activities. It was here that individual *travellers* from nearby villages joined the structured caravans leading north. They paid for the security provided by the caravan-leaders (kyratzides), while they, in turn, paid Makrinos for allowing them to camp in the region.

The elites of the League (17th-19th c.)

From the end of the 17th century (at least since 1673), Zagori was administered through the localised system entitled the *League of Zagorisians*, a system connected to the *ayan*s of Janina (see Chapter Two). In Meletios' geography of 1807, we learn that the district of Zagori included 40 Greek villages. The capital was Kapesovo, home of the General Dignitary in most periods (cited in Papageorgiou, 1995: 190). The General Dignitary (*Zagor-vekil*) was elected from a council of Zagori notables (village *koçabas*) from all the villages. His duties were to exercise administrative and judicial authority in Zagori, determine the taxes each village was expected to pay annually and assemble the *armatolik*[66] guarding the Zagori passes (Papageorgiou, 1995: 190 ff). During the 19th century, the guard consisted of 150 Christian *martolos* and their captains were from Lakka Prevezis (Souli) (Papageorgiou, 1995: 222). Zagori maintained a Christian (albeit probably Albanian) armed force.

As a result, local elites profited from tax-farming within the region and from local kinship networks (see also Chapter Seven). Under this system, every village had its own council comprising the village *koçabas*, the trusted local notables (*μουχμπιρήδες* < *muhbir* – trusted), a financial officer and the school and religious stewards. The taxes of the *League* were delivered to the Janina administration by the General Dignitary, who had previously collected the sum from each village. Under this administration, closely linked to the *ayan*s of Janina, Zagori enjoyed many financial privileges, such as the delivery of its products to the town's market free of tax.

Most of the elite's income came from abroad, either from the markets of the Balkans, or from regional power-

66 *Armatoles* (from *martolos* = military forces) were charged with the safety of the mountain passes, and the maintenance of law and order in the districts of their jurisdiction, the *armatoliks* (Koliopoulos, 1987: 27). The nature of these forces was closely affiliated to the *klephts* (clandestine brigands) and the boundaries between the two categories were fluid. Often *Armatoles* were pardoned *klephts*. If persecuted by the Ottoman authorities, they would return into the ranks of *klephts.* They formed two sides of the same coin (Batalas, 2003: 157). In the second half of the 17th-century, Istanbul started replacing the Christian *martolos* forces with guards of "orthodox" Muslims (as opposed to Albanian Muslims) (Greene, 2019: 129). Nevertheless, Christian *amartoliks* did not disappear as the existence of the "armatolik of Pindos" (Metsovo-Grevena), the "armatolik of Zagori" and the "armatolik of Agrafa" make clear.

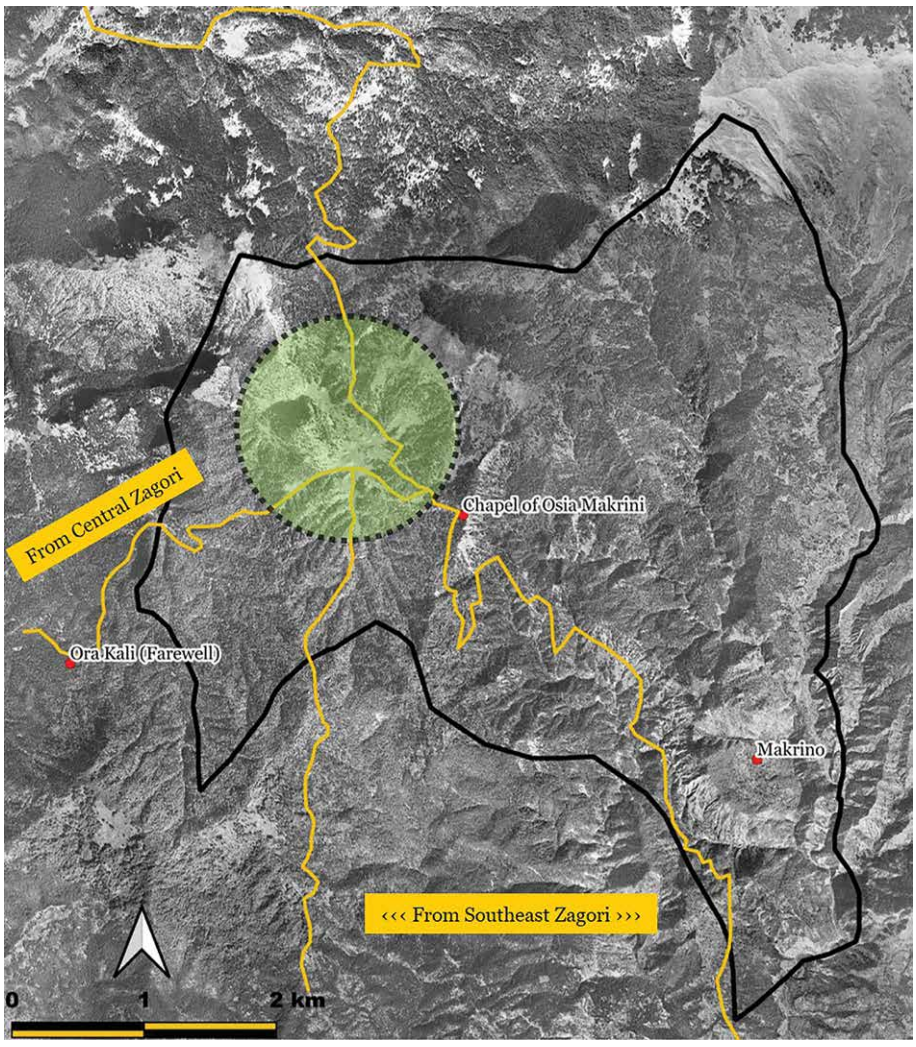


Figure 7: Aerial photo of 1945, showing borders of the Makrino community and the Kserovouni summer pasture (green circle), in the wider context of mobility. © Faidon Moudopoulos-Athanasiou.

dynamics (*çiftlik* ownership in the lowlands). Entrepreneurial activities in the Balkans led them to embrace ideologies that contradicted, or at least questioned, the claim of a centralised Ottoman Empire over the lands of Epirus. As seen in Chapter One, many of them followed the ideological tendencies of the Enlightenment and joined the Society of Friends (Φιλική Εταιρεία) and the Sacred Band (Ιερός Λόχος). Nevertheless, the same notables were part of the regional administration of the Ottoman Empire, entitled to farm the regional taxes, or sub-let them to their network of subordinate *beğs*.

Identity through representation

The twofold elite identity, on the one hand looking westward and aspiring to an administration liberated from the Sublime Porte, on the other hand functioning as a local vassal of this very centralised administration, is also manifested archaeologically through a comparative study of visual representations. Elite housing complexes in 18th and 19th c. Zagori were covered in painted frescoes (see Tsiodoulos, 2009 with all the relevant literature). These private spaces were decorated with western-influenced themes: rococo motifs, historical events (*e.g.* the wedding of Napoleon and Josephine) and mythological sequences (*e.g.* the death of Achilles).[67] The motifs used for the decoration of private spaces have been studied in the framework of folklore, following the itineraries of the networks of mobile painters (*e.g.* Makris, 1981), and through social-historical perspectives (Tsiodoulos, 2009).

However, provincial notables appear also in the public sphere, as donors in monasteries and churches. The tradition of dedicatory frescoes (15th c. Hagia Paraskevi, Monodendri and 16th c. Panaya Evangelistria, Rizokastro) re-emerged in Zagori during the 18th-19th centuries. General Dignitaries and other local notables who established or renovated churches and monasteries were depicted alongside religious iconography. Although it

67 Ernst Herter's 1884 original situated in the Achilleon Palace at Corfu.



Figure 8: From left to right: Hatzimanthos Ginou, as portrayed in the dedicatory fresco of Hagios Georgios in Negades; Christodoulos Marinoglou in the monastery of Evangelistria, Apano Soudena; Ioannoutsos Karamessinis in Hagios Nikolaos of Kapesovo © Ephorate of Antiquities of Ioannina.

is the same elites who commissioned artists to paint their houses, the two different iconographic sets have never been analysed comparatively: the domestic frescoes are studied in the domain of folklore and the ecclesiastical examples in the "post-Byzantine" framework, focussed mostly on religious depictions and a product of the biases outlined in Chapter Three.[68]

In the framework of Ottoman-era archaeology, it is obvious that these fresco categories must be studied together. The opposition created between the private and public sphere illustrates the twofold identity of the *League's* elites. The example of the Ginos family, from the village of Negades, illustrates this nicely. Hatzimanthos Ginou (1755-1822) was a prominent fief-owner and merchant in Wallachia (Kontopanagou, 2010: 14; Tsiodoulos, 2009: 248). In 1792 he donated money to build the new church of Hagios Georgios in Negades (1795), one of the largest in Zagori (Kontopanagou, 2010). In the dedicatory fresco, Hatzimanthos Ginou is portrayed together with his grandson, Polychronis. They both wear fur coats, elegant belts, and yellow shoes typical of 18th century Ottoman elite apparel (Kontopanagou, 2010: 330-331). Most of the secular elites represented in dedicatory frescoes (e.g., Ioannoutsos Karamessinis in Kapesovo and Marinoglou in the monastery of Evangelistria in Apano Soudena) share the imperial elite dress-code (Figure 8).

The two-storey elite mansion of the Ginos family in Negades was painted in 1836 and 1855(?) by Nikolaos Paschalis, an artist from the village of Chionades (Tsiodoulos, 2009: 247-248).[69] The surviving frescoes depict western landscapes and non-Ottoman towns, a fragmentary motif including a western musketeer, and many rococo plant motifs. These rococo motifs prevail in most of the 104 houses with frescoes in Zagori (Tsiodoulos, 2009: 281-283).

The Ottoman-style appearance of the notables in public spaces contrasts with the motifs that the same elites selected to adorn the walls of their private dwellings. In churches, they emobdy the role of the regional *kocabaşıs*, as tax-farmers and administrators belonging to the Ottoman elite. In other words, they opted for representations highlighting their role in the local system as notables, fief (and flock) owners, and tax-farmers (for some examples see also Chapter Seven). By contrast, in their domestic environment, they chose themes transcending the ideological borders of the Empire. In the northern lands beyond Zagori, they profited from westward-facing

68 But see Dionysopoulos (2012) for a study focussing on the representation of secular elites in the monasteries of Mt. Athos (14th-16th c.).

69 The village of Chionades produced most 18th and 19th century mobile guilds of painters specialised in domestic, but also religious contexts (Makris, 1981).

entrepreneurial activities and aspired to an independent realm, beyond the authority of the Sublime Porte.

*Voynuk*s, Makrinos and the others: reconstructing Ottoman elites in Zagori (14th-19th century)

Through the course of this monograph, it has become evident that the minor military elites of the *voynuk*s emerged from the "Despotate's" Zagorisian notables, who were able to muster their own army and defend their land, and Janina upon request. I have argued that these 15th- and 16th-century elites profited from tax-exemptions and privileged land-ownership regimes, in return for their auxiliary services in the Ottoman military. I also stressed that the local elites of the *League of Zagorisians* (mid. 17th-19th century) profited from activities within, but mostly outside, the geographic limits of Zagori and that these activities underpinned the architectural wealth that forms a prominent part of the regional cultural heritage. These later elites saw in the image of the *voynuk*s, their ancestors, an "independent" Orthodox *Voinikio* confederation. Nevertheless, as well as being members of the Society of Friends or other organisations, they were also part of the Ottoman administration system of the *ayan*s/*kocabaşı*s, depicted in churches as donors with Ottoman dress preferences.

The case of Makrino has offered additional information on the ever-changing dynamics within the cultural landscape of Zagori and triggered the first context-specific analysis of the *voynuk*s in the relevant bibliography, as the following paragraphs set out. The 19th-century local folklorists Lambridis and Aravantinos provide information on these peasant-notable relationships.[70] As noted above, Lambridis wondered whether the notable families of Manassi, Dobro, Bulço, Makrino, Dresteniko, Kalota and Kavallari were connected to the homonymous villages of Zagori. Furthermore, he rescued from oblivion another family name, Makriyannis, associated according to Lambridis with the founder of Makrino. We cannot confirm this hypothesis, but in both analytical defters, the village of *Makriyanni* appears as a *zeamet* property with 8 households in 1564 and 10 families in 1583. Therefore, the folklorist of Zagori fortuitously provided another name related to a set of villages bearing names of 16th-century notables. Aravantinos offered further details:

> In 1542 (…) the families of Dobro, (…) Protopapa (…) Bultzou, Makrinou, Tristenikou, Kalota, Kavallari, Manassi (…) Petsali (…) [prospered in the castle of Janina] (Aravantinos, 1856b).

The case of Makrino lends credibility to this account. Figure 9 represents the settlement pattern of Zagori in 1583, based on the relevant registers including both elite and normal households. The villages represented by black dots are those without recorded elite households, while blue dots indicate villages with elites of unknown status. Yellow dots refer to villages with *voynuk* families alongside peasantry, and orange to villages with only *voynuk* households. Finally, red dots represent villages associated with names of Janina nobility, either with (light red) or without (dark red) *voynuk*s. Of this light red category, the villages of Petsali, Protopapa, and Boultsi included only *voynuk*s, while Manassi had both peasants associated with the *timar* system and *voynuk*s.

The villages of Petsali, Protopapa and Boultsi, recorded entirely as *voynuk*s, are those located close to the castle of Janina. The records reveal that members of these notable households resided permanently in the countryside, in villages shared only with their kin. In other cases, such as Makrino (northernmost dark red dot), nobles used the villages as sources for surplus accumulation. Makrino is placed on the margins of Zagori, where there was substantial room for the development of specialised pastoral activities, but also at a strategic point overseeing (and profiting from) the entrepreneurial mobility that increased in the decades leading up to the 17th century.

The villages with both *timariots* and *voynuk*s cluster around central Zagori, the area that also becomes the centre of the *League of Zagorisians* in the 17th century. This analysis offers many insights. First, the villages close to Janina (along the lower Western and higher Eastern slopes of Mitsikeli), reveal affiliation to the elites of Janina, because of their names and, to an extent, the existence of *voynuk*s. Second, Protopapa and Petsali, situated in the plain, near the town, share the same characteristics but are also inhabited only by privileged households. Third, as mentioned above, the villages of the *voynuk* auxiliary military forces cluster around the central Zagori. Besides their duties as mobile forces, they acted as armed guards controlling the passages linking the plain of Janina with the area behind the mountain (S-N) and the *Vasilikodromos*, the main road linking Metsovo to Papingo (SE-NW). In later centuries (17th-19th), the elites of the *League of Zagorisians* hired a garrison of 150 Arvanitic guards from Souli to guard the mountain passages (*armatolik*). These soldiers patrolled mostly the same network. The important villages of the later *League* occupy a reduced version of the geographic span of the

70 On a methodological note, these two scholars provide an unprecedented wealth of information. They are the intellectual offspring of the Enlightenment and therefore preserve plenty of archival information in the form of commentary and narratives. Modern researchers have tended to highlight the narratives reaffirming local identities and linear progression to the Greek Nation-State, rather than paying attention to the underlying layer of primary sources within their texts.

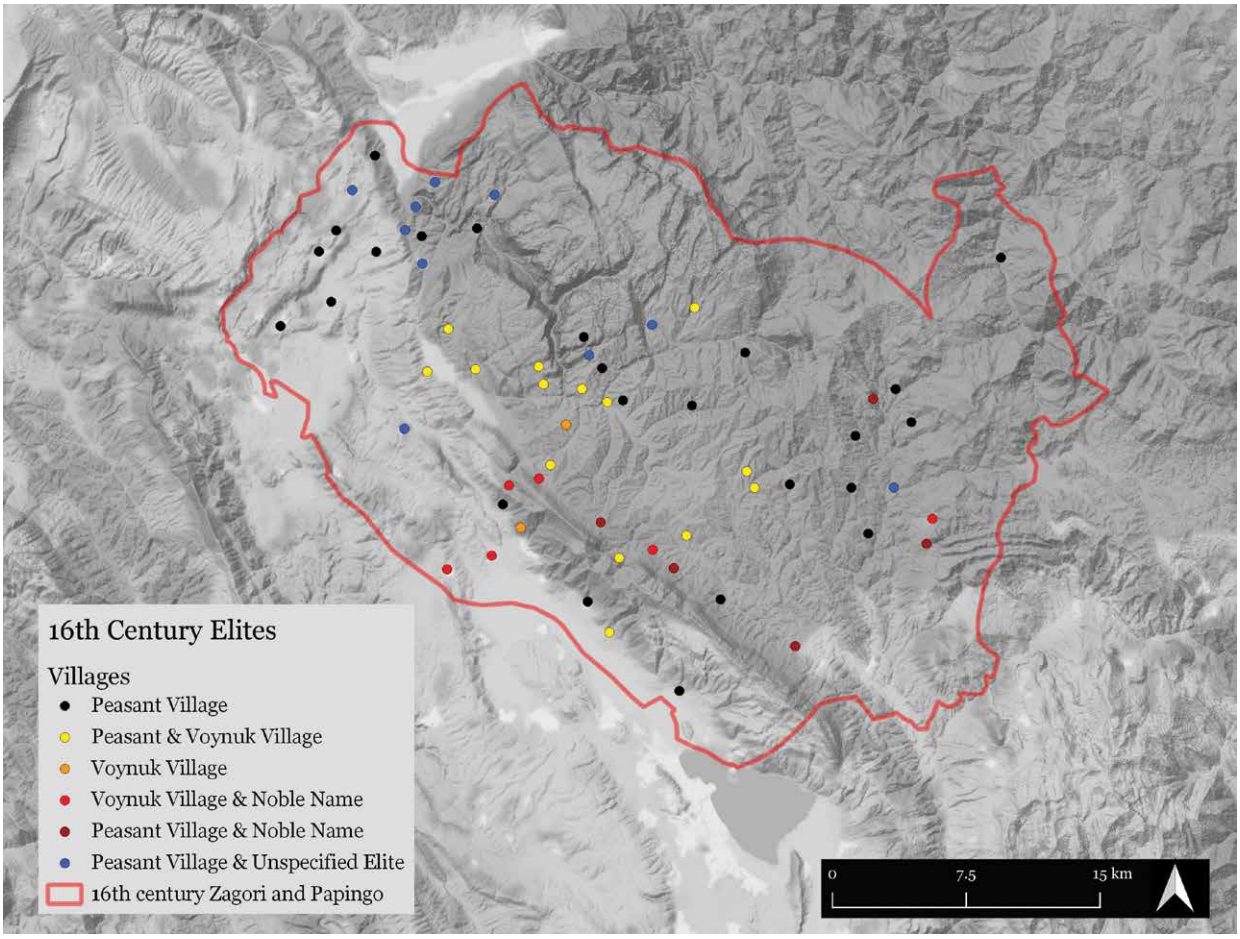


Figure 9: Map of karye and voynuk villages in Zagori and Papingo at 1583, based on the relevant registers. © Faidon Moudopoulos-Athanasiou.

earlier *voynuk*s; these were the wealthiest villages (see also Chapter Seven). The other communication road, running along the slopes of Mitsikeli, was controlled by the elites who established the villages represented by red dots (light and dark).

Let us now reflect on the changes from 1583 to 1673. *Voynuk* minor elite privileges were gradually cancelled (*voynugân-i mensuh*) throughout the empire while provincial elites emerged during the second half of the 17th century as tax-farmers. The *League of Zagorisians* replaced the *voynuk*s and inherited similar duties, the maintenance of *armatolik* passage-guard forces. However, as they shifted from military to entrepreneurial activities, they hired the garrison from Souli to fulfil a duty once performed by Zagorisian elites. During the transition to the 17th century, Protopapa and Petsali in the plain of Janina were transformed into *çiftlik*s. This must be regarded as a conscious choice of the Orthodox, former *voynuk* elites, focussing on new entrepreneurial opportunities while military privileges disappeared as a result of the Ottoman *askeri* (military) reforms.[71]

The military focus on the southern and central part of Zagori leaves the route connecting the villages of eastern Zagori to Voğusa (Vovousa), unguarded in the northernmost part of the district. This reveals a gap in surveillance that had existed for at least 500 years, and possibly from the 11th-century. In 1082, as Anna Comnena narrated (see footnote 15), Bohemond crossed the river *Kavalionos* (Zagoritikos, in eastern Zagori) to lay siege successfully to the town of Janina. According to the source, *Kavalionos* is close to *Voousa* (not the village but the river Aoos, Vjose). The said crossing is that of Tristeniako (Drestenik – village of the noble Derstenikos), which appeared for the first

71 It is worth noting that this interpretation goes against the suggestions of folkloric literature and public opinion that *çiftlik*s emerged as the result of the cunning plans of Arvanitic and Turkish *beğ*s, to harm Orthodox peasantry.

time on a 13th c. chrysobull (see Chapter Two). This passage between Central Zagori and Metsovo was only monitored by the fortified monastery of Voutsa. It is the most difficult route (from Tristeniako to Tsernesi and ultimately Vovousa) and not suitable for numerous unguarded groups. Therefore, it required less attention than the passages of Central Zagori (to the West) and Metsovo (immediately to the East).

A comparison with Metsovo complements the picture of this unattended eastern part. Metsovo was a *derbend* already in 1568 possessing 450 Christian households:

> [Metsovo] inside mountains and stones, extremely unsafe, guards three roads and three bridges leading to Janina, Arta, Preveza and Avlona. Had this village not become a derbend the roads would be filled with klephts during the summer and the winter. (Register of 1568-1569, cited in Kolovos, forthcoming).

From the late 16th to the late 19th-century, central Zagori was protected by the *voynuk*s (15th-16th c.) and by its *armatolik* (under the *League's* administration, 17th-19th c.). To the east of Zagori, the important passages of Metsovo were protected through its *derbend* status (16th century) and the *Voevodalik* of the region, a part of the Pindos *armatolik*[72] extending up to Grevena and Perivoli to the N-NW (17th-19th c.). The passage from Tsernesi to Vovousa (Eastern Zagori) is the only unprotected route, a lair of bandits (*klephts*), the most difficult crossing from Zagori to the plains of Konitsa, but also the only one offering avoidance of the twofold surveillance.

This gap in surveillance in the eastern part of Zagori reveals a pattern of the *longue durée* that continued through the decline of the *League of Zagorisians* and the *Voevodalik of Metsovo* (ca. 1870s) up to the Greek Civil War (Battles of Grammos, 1949). In most recorded cases, bandits enter and plunder Zagori by this route (Lambridis, 1889). They penetrate the region up to the village of Negades, the border of the 16th-century concentration of *voynuk* villages and of the later *League's* core. It is the same route that *derbentçi* (state official-guard) Fezo took with his men towards Vovousa when he was ambushed by bandits (*klephts*) and killed in 1880. This event is commemorated by the iconic Eastern Zagori (*Vlachozagoro*) folk song, the song of Fezodervenağa, wondering why Fezo left the city of Janina and made a move towards Tsernesi with the many *klephts*, eventually getting himself killed by the very bandits he was sent to detain. And it is the same crossing that the Democratic Army guerrilla forces took to retreat towards Grammos in the Greek Civil War battles of 1949, after failing to capture (again) the village of Negades. In this context of changing elite power, we can begin better to understand the dynamics of the cultural landscape of Zagori, through the perspective of those dwelling in it.

Summary

As we saw in the *Chronicle of Janina* (Chapter Two), during the 14th century the army of Zagori assembled near the village of Dovra (central Zagori) to defend the main route leading to the town of Janina against an Albanian assault. Two centuries later (1583), *voynuk* villages grouped around the same passage. In the 17th century, the elites gradually changed from *voynuk* to tax-farmers and entrepreneurs. As the military component faded, the notables of late Ottoman Zagori were obliged to contract an armed *armatolik* to guard the same paths.

In this instance, we are witnessing elite adaptations that varied according to the changing context (14th-19th c.). *Voynuk*s were members of the pre-Ottoman minor nobility in the Balkans and, in some cases, retained part of their properties as *timar*s in exchange for military service (Ágoston, 2010). In Zagori, they were a modification of the 14th-century guardians addressed in the *Chronicle of Janina*, who surrendered together with the rest of the Janina notables in 1430, thereby maintaining their privileges. The elites of the *League* emerged as the local transformation of the *voynuk*s, adapting to the wider structural changes of the Ottoman Empire. From guardians of the communication networks, they evolved into tax-farmers, fief-owners, and stockbreeders, hiring the *Armatoles* to perform the role of guards. The example of Makrinos and Makrino captures this process in the making. He chose to install Vlach-speaking mixed-farmers in a newly founded village. The highlands of Makrino are located at the connecting point of two different avenues of movement. Through the installation of the chapel of Osia Makrini, he laid claim to the summer pastures and the network of mobility, at a time when *voynuk*s started shifting toward entrepreneurial activities. It is very rare to possess the wealth of information from different sources that enable such a conclusion. This example underlines the continuity of pathways within the landscape, however, while elite structures adapt from the late "Despotate" (13th-14th c.) to the *voynuk*s (14th-16th) and tax farmers/entrepreneurs (17th-19th c.).

Cartography, identity, and the imaginary

Having reconstructed the *voynuk* network of 1583, it is clear that Aravantinos' collective *Voinikio* was a product of the author's 19th-century preconceptions as to the Greekness of Zagori in the 19th century, retrojected to the time of the conquest. Nevertheless, the core *voynuk* settlements of Central Zagori were also those that controlled the subsequent *League.* The *vekil*s and

72 One of the captains of the Pindos *armatolik* in the 18th century is Gogo-Missios from Perivoli (Potiropoulos, 2007: 260), a descendant of the Therianos family.



Figure 10: The coin of the League of Zagorisians (after Penna, 1998: 133, cat. no. 129).

*kocabaşı*s of Zagori (17th-19th c.) belonged to the same settlement (and plausibly kinship) network as the preceding *voynuk*s. They were the adaptation of these early minor elites to the 17th-century structural shift towards decentralised regional administration. From this perspective, it was reasonable for these notables to project their ancestry back to the *Voinikio*. For the external observer of Greek consciousness, such as Aravantinos, the *Voinikio* was the expression of a confederation of Greeks against the Ottoman Other. However, we are dealing with elite family (rather than collective) privileges existing before the period of the conquest (1430).

Early maps are efforts to depict reality as perceived by their creators (Bennet, 2007). Rhigas's Map of "Greece" is the best-known attempt to map a state independent of the centralised authority of the Sublime Porte. It was printed in Vienna during the years 1796-1797. In the case of Zagori, four of the villages are depicted: Lygiades, Skamneli, Koukouli and Kapesovo. The *League's* capital (Kapesovo), one of the smallest villages in the region, is depicted as a town of disproportional symbolic value to its actual size. The *Paschaleios* (Paschalis) school (founded by the family that owned the only *mülk* private property in the 16th c. Zagori), still hosts one of the original maps.

The fact that villages of Zagori are mentioned on the map, and that one of the originals was stored in Kapesovo, the *League's* capital, is tangible proof that regional elites were part of western ideals inspired by the Enlightenment. Educated Zagorisians and members of the provincial decentralised administration at the turn of the 18th century were networked with the Sacred Band and the Society of Friends (1814). As the wall paintings in their houses in Zagori suggest, they were influenced by the ideas of the Enlightenment (Tsiodoulos, 2009: 151 ff) and, more significantly, those in the house of Konstantinos Rados in Tsepelovo depict details of Rhigas' Map (Tsiodoulos, 2009: 266-267). Their aspirations, and their interests, lay in an independent state free from the Sublime Porte (19th c.). That is why the notables of Zagori did not go against the mutiny of Ali Pasha, until the very end, when the Sultan's forces were about to besiege Janina successfully.

Although the depictions of villages on the map are not accurate, there is one realistic feature that sheds light on the question of identity. All four villages are depicted on the eastern side of Mt. Moutzikeli (Mitsikeli). This mountain, depicted with an irregular and elongated shape, exceeding its actual dimensions, is the natural boundary that divides the district of Janina from the sub-district of Zagori. Thus, the essence of the name Zagori (Slavic 'behind the mountains', Oikonomou, 1991: 489) is an identity marker visualised in the chart. Based on this linguistic interpretation, the people of Zagori have been linked with the ancient Epirotic tribe of *Paroraioi* (by-the-mountains), who lived *by the mountains* of Zagori (Aravantinos, 1856: 54, 125; Meletios, 1807: 83-86). The narrative of a distinctive local and quasi-egalitarian federation relied upon Aravantinos' *Voinikio* and is represented in Rhiga's chart.

Furthermore, it also had its ancient counterpart, a link to the prehistoric Epirot (*Paroraioi*) tribes. This community is imaginary only in the sense that it represented an alleged Greek proto-democratic and quasi-egalitarian federation interpreted from the *League's* elite perception. This ideology was rendered tangible through the "coin of the *League of Zagorisians*", depicted in the catalogue of coins on Rhiga's map (Penna, 1998: 133, cat. no. 129).[73] The coin (Figure 10) of Zagori belongs to the imaginary type, depicting, according to the inscription, King Pyrros, but

73 The coins of the Map are divided into three categories: real, hybrid and imaginary, according to the extent to which they address real communities and/or prototypes (Penna, 1998).

with the facial characteristics of Ieron of Sicily (Penna, 1998: 133). On the reverse, it represents a knight (Hagios Dimitrios) slaying an enemy soldier, while the inscription reads Thesprotion. Both faces were true to the realities of Ottoman Zagori since the *independent Zagorisian federation* existed, reflecting its elite's ideological aspirations.

Peasant cartographies?

The narrative of privileges, together with the information depicted in Rhigas' map, has helped to shape the tangible cultural characteristics of two groups of people: on the one hand, an elite that linked Zagori with the politics of the early Greek state and, on the other, the *re'aya* that lived in the region. The former ultimately had roots in Zagori but most of the notables mentioned in the text lived their whole lives at a distance from the region.

Identity goes beyond individual experiences and, in the case of Zagorisian and, more generally, Epirot intellectuals of the 19th century, follows a nostalgic attachment to a specific place (Skoulidas, 2011). Lambridis is the perfect example. In the prelude to his book he stated that, as a young person, he started writing essays on Zagori, to find solace for the premature death of his mother (Lambridis, 1889: i-iii). After a life in Tatar Pazardzhik in present-day Bulgaria, as a doctor, he returned to Janina, where he gathered his information and published his book on the region. On the one hand, therefore, we have the Zagorisian diaspora, which found solace in a narrative of a community they held only in their hearts.

On the other hand, those left behind, facing the harsh mountain conditions and the demanding subsistence routines, constituted the real peasantry. By misinterpreting a family and elite privilege (*voynuk*) as communal (*Voinikio*), Aravantinos' narrative erased peasant struggle from the deep history of the region. During later centuries, Zagori indeed thrived under the *ayan* system and the management of local elites (*kocabaşıs*). In the meantime, Christian tax-farmers from rich families of some villages profited by collecting taxes from Christian *çiftlik* estates, or lending money to the poor with rates of interest that would drive those families to bankruptcy in the long run (see common *mezatia*, Chapter Six), all within the region of Zagori. The blue points on the 1583 map (Figure 9) matter equally: they represent Western Zagori (Papingo), which had no *voynuk*s but other elites, and underprivileged peasantry.

Zagorisian Elites: A Summary

The elites of the region profited mostly from activities beyond the mountain: in the market of Janina or in the wider Ottoman empire through the mobility of the *travels*. The image we get from the registers and the ethnographic record recreate a labour-intensive agricultural landscape, predominantly oriented to enable the subsistence of permanently resident households. Conversely, elites, such as Makrinos in the 16th century, Therianos in the 17th and the Zagori notables of the 18th and 19th centuries, derived their wealth predominantly from activities in the towns of the Ottoman world. Whenever surplus originated from the interior, in the form of tax-farming, the use of the summer pastures or the surplus exploitation of a given form of production, it formed just a part of their geographically broader, wealth-creating activities.

As a result, we face a division of space between Zagori and the region beyond. The case of Makrino bridged this spatial gap. The productive landscape of the village receives its meaning from the Vlach-speaking (possibly bilingual) people dwelling there. Conversely, the legal footprint of the village, seen through the elite gaze, is Greek and derives from elite activities in the city of Janina.

The fertile division between the mountain (peasantry) and the plain (elite) as a classificatory scheme, needs calibration. Although the material traces of peasant agency in the mountains are associated predominantly with the working people, mostly women, the settlements themselves are expressions of elite wealth (churches and houses), while the bridges, although built by craftsmen guilds (*bouloukia*, derived from Ott. Turk. *bölük*), are loaded with elite symbolism (Dalkavoukis, 2015a: 105-118). It is no coincidence that the only surviving traces of the cultural heritage are related to elite materialities. Once peasant agency ceased to exist, its associated landscapes became forested and the highlighted aspects are the product of elite wealth accumulation abroad.

Chapter 6

A topography of adaptations: archaeological insights into the Zagori (14th-19th c.)

Chapter Five offered an understanding of elite continuity and adaptation from the 14th century, and the court of Carlo I Tocco of Janina, to the 17th century *League of Zagorisians*, extending until the 19th century. The minor military elites surviving from the "Despotate" to the early Ottoman period in the form of *voynuk*s transformed into elites with tax-farming privileges, profiting from agricultural, or pastoral, surplus, and commercial or entrepreneurial activities.

This implies that the topography of Zagori and Papingo should have undergone few transformations from the 14th to the 16th century since the area surrendered peacefully to the Ottomans and local elites retained their possessions. However, the important settlement of Revniko, mentioned in the *Chronicle of Tocco* as a castle of paramount importance for the defence of Papingo (and therefore Janina) against the Ottoman assaults by Şahin Pasha of Leskovik (see Chapter Two), is not recorded in the 16th-century cadasters.

Chapter Six begins with the archaeological investigation of the changing topography in the district of Papingo. With the aid of the Ottoman registers, written accounts, and oral history, I present the discovery of the 16th-century villages of Rizokastro (or Kastraki of Hagios Minas) and the Old Village of Hagios Minas. These villages are situated in the locality that Revniko should have occupied. Therefore, I argue that Revniko, the territory (*chora*) of the chronicles, was divided by the 15th century Ottoman administration for administrative, and possibly also security, purposes into two neighbouring settlements.

The reading of this landscape provides a lens through which to understand and interpret aspects of the changes in the settlement pattern of the wider Zagori region from the 14th to the 19th century. The chapter continues to discuss the topography of division (14th – early 17th centuries): using the registers, oral history and archaeological observation to explore how, taking the example of Rizokastro and Hagios Minas, the Ottomans divided relatively large settlements for administrative purposes.

The topography of transformation (17th and 18th centuries) follows that of division. I discuss some of the abandoned *karye* villages recorded during fieldwork and offer some explanations for their dissolution. The discussion emerges from the case study of the abandonment and relocation of Rizokastro and Hagios Minas, seeking to interpret the change in settlement patterns in Zagori based on the new realities of the 17th century and the new opportunities presented to the *voynuk* and other local elites. Abandoned villages, local archives, religious icons and Ottoman registers are combined to build this case. The greatest portion of pre-18th-century Zagori materialities were lost due to the massive 18th-19th-century building projects of both a public and a private nature (Filidou, 2020: 8). A few relics from the early Ottoman past survive, however, in secondary use in post-18th-century contexts: a

few fragments of iconostasis placed in newly erected churches and monasteries, and a few pre-18th-century religious icons that luckily formed the subject of a recent doctoral thesis (Filidou, 2020). Their contextual interpretation offers implicit archaeological hints to the early Ottoman *voynuk* military elites.

The final part of this chapter discusses the stratigraphies of transformation. The interpretation of a stratigraphic unit from Aristi, as recorded during the community heritage project of "Reappearances" (Moudopoulos-Athanasiou 2021), manifests archaeologically this drastic architectural change from the 15th to the 19th century.

A case-study: 16th c. Hagios Minas and Rizokastro

Kastraki of Hagios Minas (Ott. Rizokastro)

Kastraki was an Ottoman-era village that gradually dissolved and, by the 18th century, most of its land had been sold by the rightful owners to the monastery of Speleotissa (for details see later in this chapter). Although within living memory the site is associated with the village of Hagios Minas, indicating possession (Καστράκι **του** Αγίου Μηνά), research revealed that during the 16th century the village was recorded separately: at least

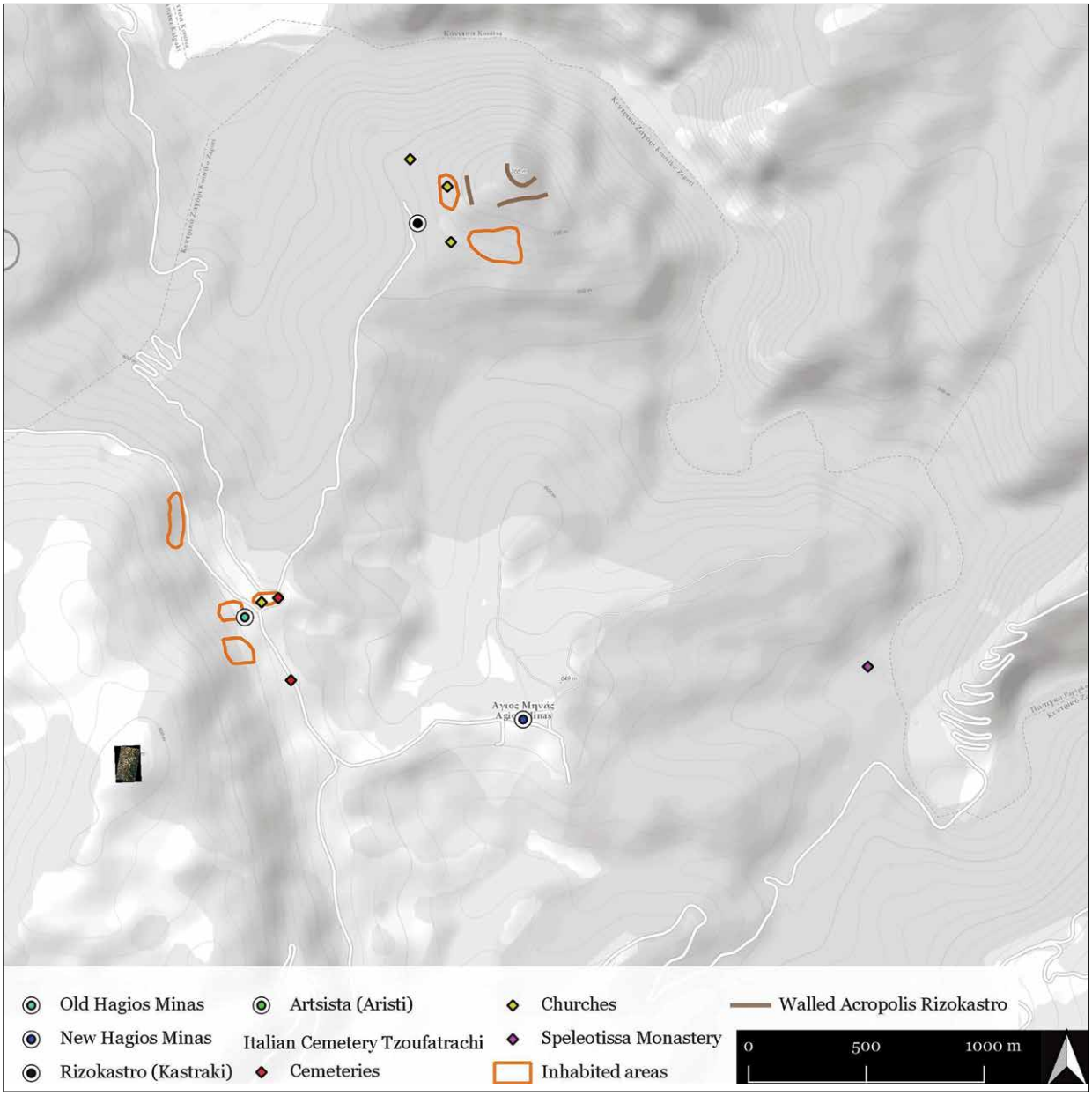


Figure 11: Map of Rizokastro/Kastraki and Hagios Minas showing all visible remains. © Faidon Moudopoulos-Athanasiou.

for fiscal purposes, the administration assigned to it the name Rizokastro.

Although most of its recognisable archaeological features belong to the Ottoman period, the castle drew attention due to sporadic remnants of the Hellenistic period (Petsas, 1952b: 6-7). Fotios Petsas, from the neighbouring village of Artsista (Aristi), conducted small-scale excavations with the aid of two local volunteers, while he was head of the Antiquities Service of Ioannina (1950s). He recorded remnants of Hellenistic walls in three areas: outside the walls, by the monastery of Evangelistria, at the "gates" and inside the fortified hilltop (Petsas and Saralis, 1982: 58-60). According to Petsas, black-painted sherds dating to the Hellenistic period confirmed the date suggested by the typology of the lower ramparts (Petsas, 1952b: 6; without photographs of the sherds, which are not published elsewhere). According to the same research, conducted over 70 years ago, no intermediate phases were recorded, until the Ottoman period.

As a local archaeologist, Petsas also showed interest in the Ottoman phase of Kastraki (Petsas, 1952a) in an early attempt at writing public archaeology, as a result of which information was preserved that would otherwise have been lost. Among other artefacts and documents that were brought to his attention by locals, he recorded a medallion of Sigismundus II of Poland, dating to the year of the king's wedding (1550). He also recorded the names of two ruined churches, Hagios Nikolaos and Hagioi Apostoloi.

For Petsas these preliminary details were sufficient, as his main interest was to argue for the continuity of *Greekness* (*ελληνικότητα*) throughout the centuries. He linked the Hellenistic phase of Kastraki with Pyrrhus, using a reference to the work of Livy,[74] and suggested that the absence of any subsequent phases dating to Late Antiquity was a result of the destruction that the legions of Aemilius Paulus brought to 40 Epirot Molossian *kome* (Polybius 30, 15), one of which must have been Kastraki. "The absence of further archaeological remains and monuments is the product of barbarians (i.e., Slavs). But the nation held the place with its teeth (…)" (Petsas and Saralis, 1982: 65), a fact that is mirrored in the post-16th century Christian Ottoman remains, because "(t)he first 100 years of Tourkokratia, were dark and agonising for the Greek world" (Petsas and Saralis, 1982: 66).

Although this research has different methodologies and research interests, I decided to return to Kastraki, the Rizokastro of the 16th-century sources, as I believe it holds the key to understanding the landscape and the changes in the wider region from the period of the "Despotate" to the end of Ottoman rule. Unfortunately, the survey of 1952 produced no topographic map and recent forestation makes observations difficult.

Despite the growing vegetation, I located both ruined churches mentioned by Petsas, and a third one, high above the monastery of Evangelistria situated on the lower edges of Kastraki (Figure 11). Based on the collapsed structures and the single-room houses of rectangular plan, the village developed on two different parts of the western slope, the only easily accessible side of the naturally fortified hill. Of the three churches, only Hagios Nikolaos may be dated with some accuracy. The apse on the eastern part of this single-domed chapel follows the same architectural principles as the Megali Ekklisia (Great Church) of Hagios Minas (Petsas and Saralis, 1982: 66; also, figure 14, p. 57). The Megali Ekklisia was destroyed during WWII but, fortunately, Petsas had transcribed the construction date, inscribed in tiles on the outer wall of the apse, slightly earlier than 1492, therefore late 15th century.

As Petsas noticed, there are two circular walls, an outer and an inner, on Kastraki. The outer wall bears most of the Hellenistic remains, near the main "gate" (Petsas, 1952b: 6-7). Although to an extent restored in later phases, the enclosure that seems of importance to the Ottoman period is the inner acropolis. Inside that inner circle, of limited space, one may find remains that are by no means of domestic nature. Petsas identified a Hellenistic defensive tower, which was converted to a cistern during later periods (Petsas, 1952b: 6-7), and I was able to observe a few more walls between impenetrable prickly oak scrub.

To understand the history of the site, it is important to situate the late-Medieval/early Modern defensive wall of Kastraki in the wider context of Epirus. Petsas suggested that the repairs to the Hellenistic wall were predominantly Ottoman (Petsas, 1952a), and he guessed that the wall was contemporary with the emergence of the first securely dated churches and monasteries in the 16th century. However, a reevaluation is necessary due to recent regional research developments. In her meticulous research into middle-Byzantine Epirus, Myrto Veikou identified 11 types of masonry that appear in Epirus (Veikou, 2012: 112-121). Fortunately, the masonry of the walls at Kastraki consists of simple, random, rubble stonework into which a large amount of brick is introduced irregularly (Figure 12), identical to Type Seven of the aforementioned categorisation (Veikou, 2012: 120). This type emerged in the second part of the 12th century and became widespread in the 13th century (e.g., at the caste of Aetos, see Veikou, 2012: 378, and fig. 42 thereof). Here we may recall that the inhabitants of Revniko marched to Janina demanding better fortifications in the region, during the reign of Thomas II Prelumbovic (1367-1384).

Based on the small size of the inner acropolis, which has a 12th-century *terminus post quem*, it becomes clear that Rizokastro, the (post-)Medieval village, extends mostly *extra muros.* We have located two village clusters: one situated on the western slope, above the monastery of Evangelistria, and

74 Rex primo die ad castra Pyrrhi pervenit (Liv. 32, 13).



Figure 12: Inner walls of Rizokastro/ Kastraki. © Faidon Moudopoulos-Athanasiou.

another on the SW slope. Both clusters bear traces of houses and are placed near small chapels (Figure 13, also 11).

Hagios Minas (16th c.)

According to oral history, the old village of Hagios Minas was called Revnikon and was situated on the steep slopes of mount Tzoufatrachi (NW extension of Roinikos mountain), below the peak of Prophet Elias. Locals refer to this area as the "old village" and they are well aware that there are ruined structures still visible in the landscape. The late Andreas Kougoulis, shepherd from Klithonia who got married in Hagios Minas and herded large flocks in that village, recollected that locals also named structures for amusement (*e.g. the headquarters*, Figure 14). When Prof. Dakaris of the University of Ioannina visited the region for a brief investigation of Rizokastro (Kastraki), he turned down the offer to visit the old village of Hagios Minas, as he believed the site to be of post-Hellenistic date, and therefore, not important. The successor of Prof. Dakaris in the chair of Classical Archaeology at the said University, Fotios Petsas,



Figure 13: The church discovered above the monastery of Evangelistria with evident traces of looting. One neighbourhood expanded to surround this chapel. © Faidon Moudopoulos-Athanasiou.



Figure 14: The "headquarters". © Faidon Moudopoulos-Athanasiou.

showed the same lack of interest in the site. He only visited it once after being prompted by another local resident, Georgios Zacharis (Petsas and Saralis, 1982: 53, footnote 36). The same person guided me to the site at the age of 90 (2018), in a short, yet intense, hike. He assured me that until Petsas saw the site, he did not believe its existence, and afterwards his research interests pointed him elsewhere.

A walkover survey of all de-forested patches on the slopes of Tzoufatrachi mountain revealed parts of what appears to be an extensive site (Figure 11): two cemeteries, known to locals, but never investigated by the Archaeological Service, and two distinct areas containing structures, pottery, and scattered building material following the course of erosion towards the main road.

The cemeteries

A significant number of these remains was revealed due to the efforts to modernise the road network of Zagori in the immediate pre-WWII era. Ioannis Metaxas with his 4th of August Regime pushed for the creation of new roads in Zagori, via (enforced) communal labour. A document from the Hagios Minas Communal Assembly confirms that villagers offered their labour for the creation of the road connecting their village with Aristi in 1937-1938 (Figure 15). Two of my interlocutors had worked on this construction. They detonated blocks of limestone using dynamite and the technique of *fornello*, to level the ground for the road. That is how the two cemeteries and a few houses were discovered, and simultaneously destroyed:

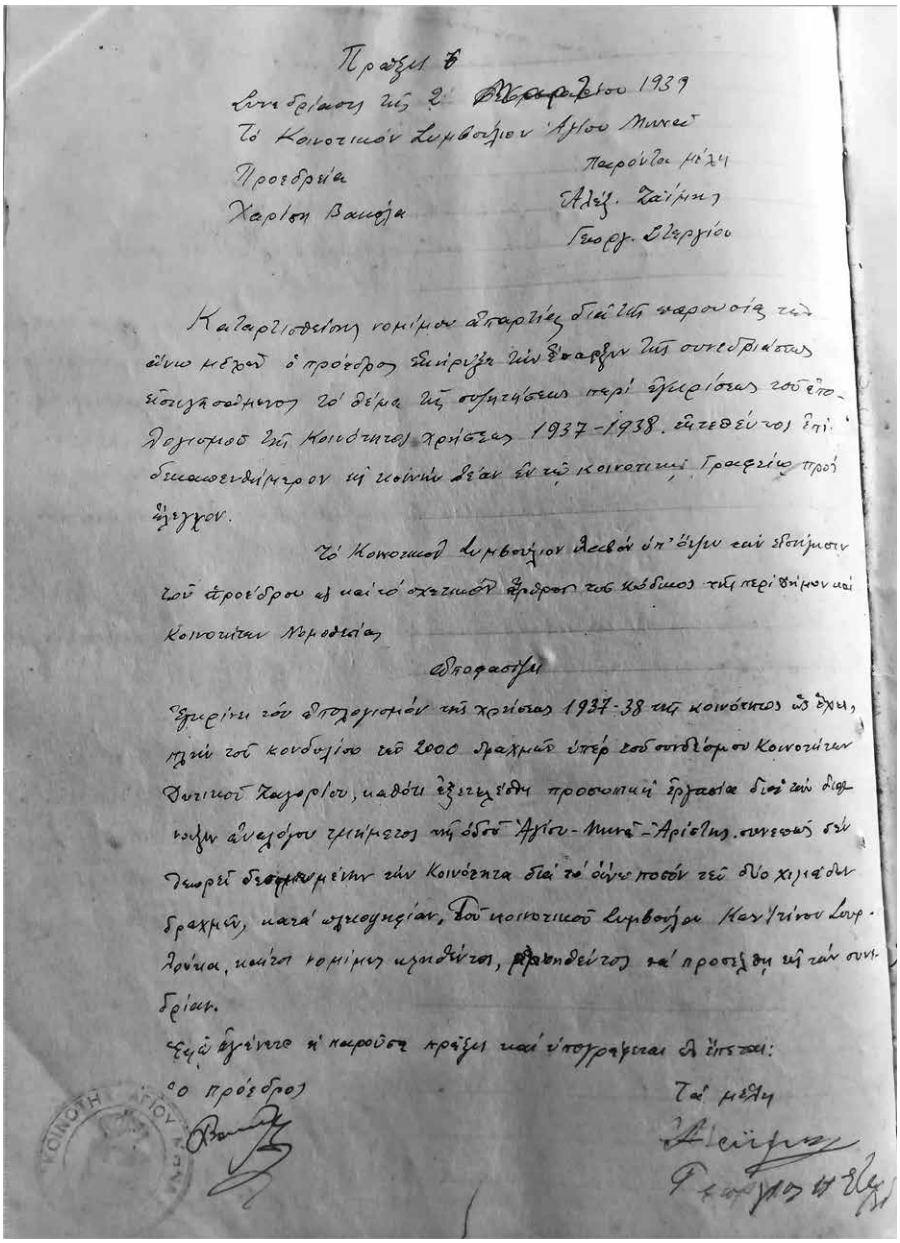


Figure 15: 6th Act of 1939 by the general assembly of Hagios Minas. © Faidon Moudopoulos-Athanasiou.

> Bones were flying in the air, as we detonated the slopes of Tzoufatrachi, you know, opposite the shrine of Hagios Athanasios. We knew they were our ancestors, from the old village up the hill and we collected all the remains and buried them underneath the shrine, next to the *vakoúfika* trees. This is why we erected this shrine as a memorial. Since then, winter (i.e., erosion) occasionally reveals new tombs and bones keep falling on the road. The same happened in Megali Ekklisia, you know, there lies the second cemetery of the old village. Prof. Dakaris told me that this must have been the cemetery of Kastraki, but Megali Ekklisia belongs to our old village. That village was larger. (…) As you drive towards Mesovouni, you will see some walls standing on the edge of the road. These were houses and the road we opened took them. (†Andreas Kougoulis, Hagios Minas, 02.03.2018)

The advent of modernity simultaneously revealed and destroyed much of the site of old Hagios Minas. It was the beginning of a period of transformation which ended with the gradual post-war abandonment of the primary economic sector, and the subsequent forestation. Both cemeteries were mostly destroyed by the construction of the road in 1937/8. However, visible traces exist today. Three cist-graves are still visible by the road in the southern cemetery, and every year a few remains erode by the road. The important issue to note is that the workers in 1937/8 created a mass-grave and deposited the human remains of their ancestors below the shrine of Hagios Athanasios, in a conscious effort to pay tribute to their ancestors.

The zone between the cemetery and the cluster of buildings of the southern area is relatively flat and was constantly cultivated up to the 1970s by families from both Hagios Minas and Aristi.[75] According to a female testimony, there was always the risk of falling into a grave while ploughing, and it was considered bad luck as this cemetery is associated with deaths from the plague. As local taskscapes evolved around agriculture, most of the people value this landscape as a solely funerary one, associated with the village of Kastraki, while only a few hunters and shepherds recollect the settlement traces on the steeper part of the hill. However, with regards to the structures above the cemetery, they believe them to be churches, one of which was dedicated to Hagios Athanasios.

The main concentration of inhumations in the northern cemetery is found immediately east of the Megali Ekklisia (14th-century, nowadays rebuilt, see above). When locals constructed the new chapel in honour of the old church, they discovered graves and Fotios Petsas recorded one clay seal, a potential grave-good, collected by a local during the building process. The seal is inscribed with the name Stamatis Gerenis ["δουλος θε(ου) σταματισ γερ(ε)ν(η)σ"], a historical figure who according to the foundation myth erected Megali Ekklisia, and was a regional notable, back in the 15th century (Petsas and Saralis, 1982: 72-73, and fig. 21). Consequently, this seal reveals an individual non-*voynuk* elite figure of the 15th-century Papingo district, the second after the depiction of the donor in the fresco of Evangelistria (Rizokastro).

Without excavation, it is impossible to date the two cemeteries, especially since we are unaware of any other grave goods. However, the dating of the Megali Ekklisia to the 15th century, and the discovery of the seal while laying the foundation of the new chapel, points to a historically driven hypothesis that the northern cemetery is associated with this period. On the opposite side of the hill, I have also identified human remains and a few cist-plaques, eroding towards the road.

The Northern and Southern Areas

The two areas surveyed extend over the higher slopes of Tzoufatrachi (NE extension of Rouinikos mountain) and are divided by a ridge. Walkover survey uncovered parts of the old Hagios Minas settlement offering a key to the understanding of the history of the area, as argued below. The South Area is located above the two cemeteries (North and South) and consists of structures at three different levels. On the lower slopes lie buildings A1 and A2. Building A was situated above the road and I had located it in 2015, although the dense vegetation has since obscured its traces. Immediately below this location, on the margins of the road, I had discovered human remains, which I then handed over to the Archaeological Service (2015). Moving from Building A1 to the west, there are observable traces of collapsed structures, filled with rubble due to hillside cultivation in subsequent centuries. Structure A2, the "headquarters" according to locals, is far more distinguishable, divided into three tiers. The southern wall is 15m long, while the Eastern side forms a $6m^2$ rectangle (Figure 14, earlier).

Tier B includes two identifiable structures. Structure B1 has been reduced to rubble: only a few metres of occasional standing walls behind bushes and rare evidence of other material culture (rooftiles) provide hints of the existence of a rectangular-shaped structure with multiple rooms, occupying the limited space of an area with gentle slope. At the same elevation, to the north, there is a smaller structure (B2), the contours of which were not established

75 It is common that families of neighbouring (or even distant) villages own fields in the vicinity of others, due to kinship relationships and also auctions (*mezátia*) (Chapter Seven). Furthermore, many families from the old village of Hagios Minas moved to Artsista in the 17th century while their village was being gradually bought up by Konitsiot *beğ*s (see below).

as the area is inaccessible. Nevertheless, it points to the fact that this tier bears more ruins than those accessible.

Tier C, situated at 850 masl, is the highest location of the Southern Zone. However, more scattered building material exists towards the peak of Tzoufatrachi, indicating that the site might have expanded to a higher altitude as well. Tier C consists of a very narrow and steep part of the slope occupied by at least 3 rooms, possibly interconnected. These structures stand on top of fine dry-stone terraces erected above the limestone bedrock, creating a platform allowing for better management of limited space. The northern one is 6m x 4m, the central one the same and the southern 7m x 5.5m (Figure 16).

It is important to note that the peak of Tzoufatrachi (Prophet Elias) immediately above the Southern Zone is a strategic point connecting the area with the fertile plains of Doliana and Kalpaki. Its importance is manifested by the regional history of WWII, when the Italian military force and their Albanian allies (*Albanesi volontari*), upon retreat after their defeat in the neighbouring battle of Grambala chose to bury their dead in a cemetery along their line of withdrawal, on Mount Tzoufatrachi. This cemetery



Figure 16: The structures on Tier C taken from different angles to showcase their size as well as slope inclination.
© Faidon Moudopoulos-Athanasiou.

(Figure 17) was discovered during the community heritage project “Reappearances” (Moudopoulos-Athanasiou 2021). For the argument that follows below regarding the location of Revniko, it is essential to retain the strategic position of the Southern Zone of Hagios Minas, closely linked to this communication point.

The Northern Area is situated right above the road, as seen in Figure 18. Structures D1 and D2 confirm the oral testimony of the destruction of houses during the detonation of the limestone-based slope for road building. D1 is the remnants of an internal room (Figure 19). The western wall is well preserved and, together with a northern corner, constitutes the few surviving material vestiges. The other parts of the structure(s) were hanging at a higher elevation, above the road, but inaccessible due to dense vegetation. Likewise, D2 is the southern wall of a structure that was detonated in the same process. It is important to note that both structures are established on the bedrock because the vertical limestone blocks produce steep altitudinal variations and define the layout of the site: D (1 and 2) are located on the lower, E (1 and 2) on the middle and F (1-3) on the highest tier.



Figure 17: The Italian cemetery on top of Tzoufatrachi, overlooking the Doliana-Kalpaki plain (Cemitero di Guerra del 47o Reggimento Fanteria Ferrara intitolato alla Mentaglia d’Oro, eretto su q. 935 di Kalibaki). © Faidon Moudopoulos-Athanasiou.



Figure 18: The Northern Area, panorama. © Faidon Moudopoulos-Athanasiou.



Figure 19: House remains by the road (D1). © Faidon Moudopoulos-Athanasiou.

The right side of the southern wall of D2, now better resembling a terrace, has collapsed and for the past decades has served as the path that wild-boar hunters follow in the unlikely event that game enters the dense forest that they call "jungle". Climbing towards tier E, one must walk on the eroding rubble of collapsed, unidentifiable, structures. A corner of a building (E1) is located inside the dense forest right above structure D1. E2 is a structure on the lower level of a building complex consisting of E2 and F1-F3. Although the contours of E2 are distinguishable (rectangular, approx. 9x8.2 m.), it was not possible to observe internal divisions (Figure 20).

Moving to the higher tier, structure F1 is situated on a terrace directly above E2. It is poorly preserved and its surface is 38.64 m^2 (9.2m x 4.2m), sitting on top of a retaining wall. On top of the ruin, we located a superimposed dry-stone square (2x2m) without any indication of an entrance. Immediately to the west lie the foundations of F3 (Figure 21), 74m^2 (9m x 8m). Only its western wall survives to a maximum height of 30cm. These details present the image of a densely inhabited small village extending in multiple tiers following the slope.

The best-preserved structure is F3. The total surface of the rectangular structure is 108m^2 (12.5m x 8.5m) and it is divided into two equal parts, each of which is subsequently split into two: the eastern part is divided by an interior N-S wall and the western by an E-W wall. The northern dry-stone wall is preserved over its full length and up to 7ocm high, identical to the logic of the E2 northern facade (see above). There is no visible internal connection between the eastern and the western half, nor was it possible to locate the entrance to either part. By contrast, the two rooms on the western side communicate through an opening.

Material Culture

Despite the variety of building remains, not a single sherd was located in the Southern Area, except for one tile on top of the rubble of C1. In contrast, a limited number of hand-made and wheel-thrown sherds were collected



Figure 20: Structure E2.
© Faidon Moudopoulos-Athanasiou.



Figure 21: Structure F3. © Faidon Moudopoulos-Athanasiou.



Figure 22: Material culture collected from the Northern Area. © Faidon Moudopoulos-Athanasiou.

from three different parts of the Northern Area, together with nails, a couple of tiles and one piece of slag. They were photographed (Figure 22) and handed over to the Ioannina Archaeological Service.[76] The small fragments of painted and glazed wares were collected from the space between structures E2 and F3: they form a typical assemblage of the tableware of an Ottoman village from the 16th to the 18th century.

The area between E2 and F3 provided a range of different types commonly dated to the Ottoman period: single-glazed and unglazed sherds, one instance of incised decoration with lines, and *Painted Wares*. Most of the sherds belong to the last category (brown and green stripes on white slip, under a thin transparent lead glaze) dating specifically from the mid-16th to the mid-17th century, that is the century following the construction of Megali Ekklisia (see above), and the era of the Ottoman registers discussed above (for the ruination of Rizokastro and Hagios Minas see below).

Looking for Revniko

In 19th century maps, cartographers have placed Revniko as a ruin in between the villages of present-day Hagios Minas and Artsista (Figure 23). Although situated in the

76 Delivery reference number: 33/72/02.07.2018.

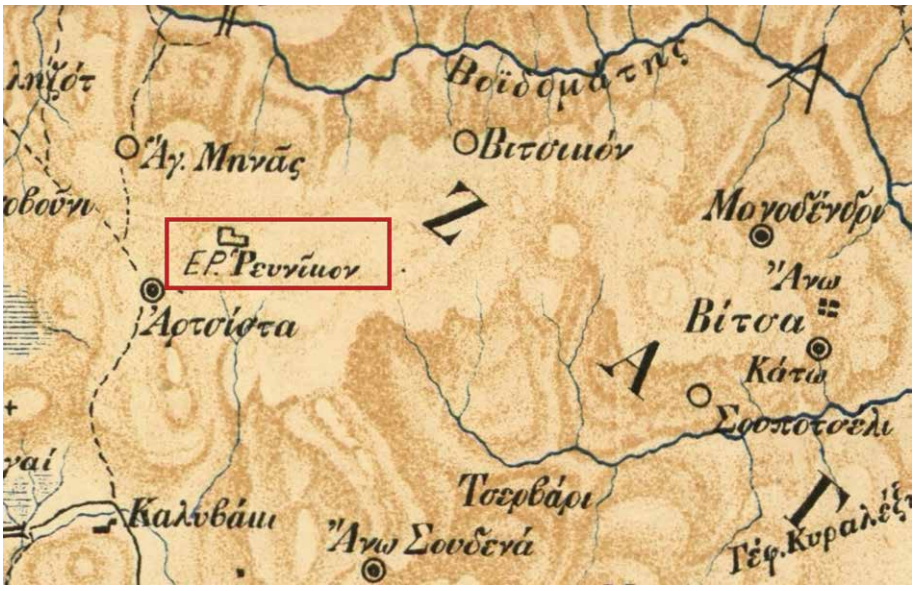


Figure 23: Historical map showing the positioning of Revniko.

wrong spot, its recording signifies the survival of the toponym until the era of the first 19th-c. folklorists. Given the absence of the, still visible, Rizokastro (or Kastraki of Hagios Minas) from the map, we may conclude that the cartographer believed Revniko to be the same as Kastraki, as did Lambridis (1870: 23). At first glance, we might agree with Lambridis that Kastraki was formerly known as Revniko: the defensive position argues to this end and, as it controls a passage leading to the plain of Konitsa, we might assume that this was the fort destroyed by Şahin Pasha in 1382.

However, there are a few problems with this interpretation. First of all, Kastraki was abandoned gradually and retained some of its families up to the 18th century. Furthermore, the village flourished in the 16th c. under the administrative name Rizokastro (not Revniko) and the nearby monastery of Evangelistria (est. 1575) contains the earliest fresco depicting a ktetor (benefactor) in the Ottoman context of Papingo and Zagori (Figure 24). If we include ethnographic and oral historical information in the equation, things get even more complicated, as locals refer to Kastraki as if it belongs to Hagios Minas. But contemporary Hagios Minas is a humble, non-traditional, Zagori village that was established in its current location after 1750 when the monastery of Speleotissa bought the land of the Old Village. And where would Revniko have been located, if the Old Village of Hagios Minas lay on the slopes of Tzoufatrachi, the northern extension of Roiniko mountain?

The old village was situated on a steep slope and its borders would extend up to the floodplain of the "Artsista lake", the abandoned settlement of Laliza and the lower slopes belonging today to Mesovouni village (est. 1745). The *Chronicle of Tocco* informs us that Şahin Pasha of Leshkovik sacked the settlement of Revniko. After this event, supposedly, Thomas Prelumbos fortified the villages of Soudena, Dovra, and Artsista (Lambridis, 1889: 25), but none of these fortifications survives today despite the continuation of these settlements into the 21st century. And the peculiar reference to Revniko being sacked was preserved as "destruction" in the works of Lambridis. However, written accounts, especially in the context of 19th-century folklore, or 15th century Chronicles, are not always accurate, as their focus lies on a history of events and not settlement history.

Furthermore, the Ottomans had no interest in destroying villages in regions surrendering peacefully to the empire. Their methods of conquest accommodated areas surrendering peacefully, as their economy relied upon the *timar* system and the taxes on agricultural production (esp. from the 14th to the 16th c.), as we have seen in Chapter Two. Thus, is it possible that the term "destroyed" is not accurate but signifies an administrative/strategic division of Revniko into two villages, Hagios Minas and Rizokastro?

The distribution of the habitation in these two villages argue to this end. Both the Northern and Southern Areas of old Hagios Minas expand towards the NE, that is towards Megali Ekklisia (North Cemetery) and Rizokastro. Equally, the settlement of Rizokastro expanded towards Hagios Minas in the W. This dynamic argues for two settlements in close proximity developing on the two sides of the main communications.

According to the *Chronicle of Tocco*, Revniko controlled both plains of the region: the plain of Klithonia, N of Rizokastro, and the lake of Artsista and the plain of Doliana West of the Old Village of Hagios Minas





Figure 24: The ktetor of the Evangelistria monastery (1575). © Maria Marinou.

(see Figure 25). Consequently, Revniko consisted of the region of Rizokastro and Hagios Minas on the slopes of Tzoufatrachi, below the Italian cemetery, situated on the point connecting the mountaintop with the fertile plains. According to this narrative, the Ottomans did not destroy Revniko but divided it into two villages: Hagios Minas at 900 masl (sultanic *has*) and Rizokastro at 750 masl (*zeamet*). The name Rizokastro indicates the previous unity of the two sites: the fortification (kastro) at the roots (riza) of Hagios Minas; that would explain the survival of the description "Kastraki of Hagios Minas" as recorded in oral testimonies up to the present.

As a result, Revniko must have controlled a vast area during the period of the "Despotate". However, administrative units of large size are not uncommon in the region: the estimated borders of Revniko were smaller than pre-18th century Vezitsa, which included the village of Monodendri (see Figure 25). Revniko, the large, decentralised settlement of the period of the "Despotate", was divided by the new administration into two villages thriving in the 15th and 16th centuries.

The Greek names of the villages, the clothing of the Evangelistria *ktetor* with parallels in 16th-century Western Europe and Moldavia (Chouliaras, 2006: 96-97), and the medallion of Sigismund II (1550) argue for the uninterrupted continuity of Christian elites during the peaceful regional transition from the "Despotate" to the Ottoman empire. Although neither Revniko nor Hagios Minas possessed *voynuk*s, the depicted notable and the medallion of Sigismund II, the Polish king who promoted the peaceful treaties (*ahidname*) between the Polish kingdom and the Ottomans which included freedom and security of trade (Kolodziejczyk, 1999), point toward the existence of elites that remain unrecorded in the registers. They also provide the first indirect material traces of entrepreneurial activity from Zagori in Wallachia, as facilitated by the said treaties allowing free access, free commerce and protection of mercantile wealth (Panaite, 1993: 265) to all traders.

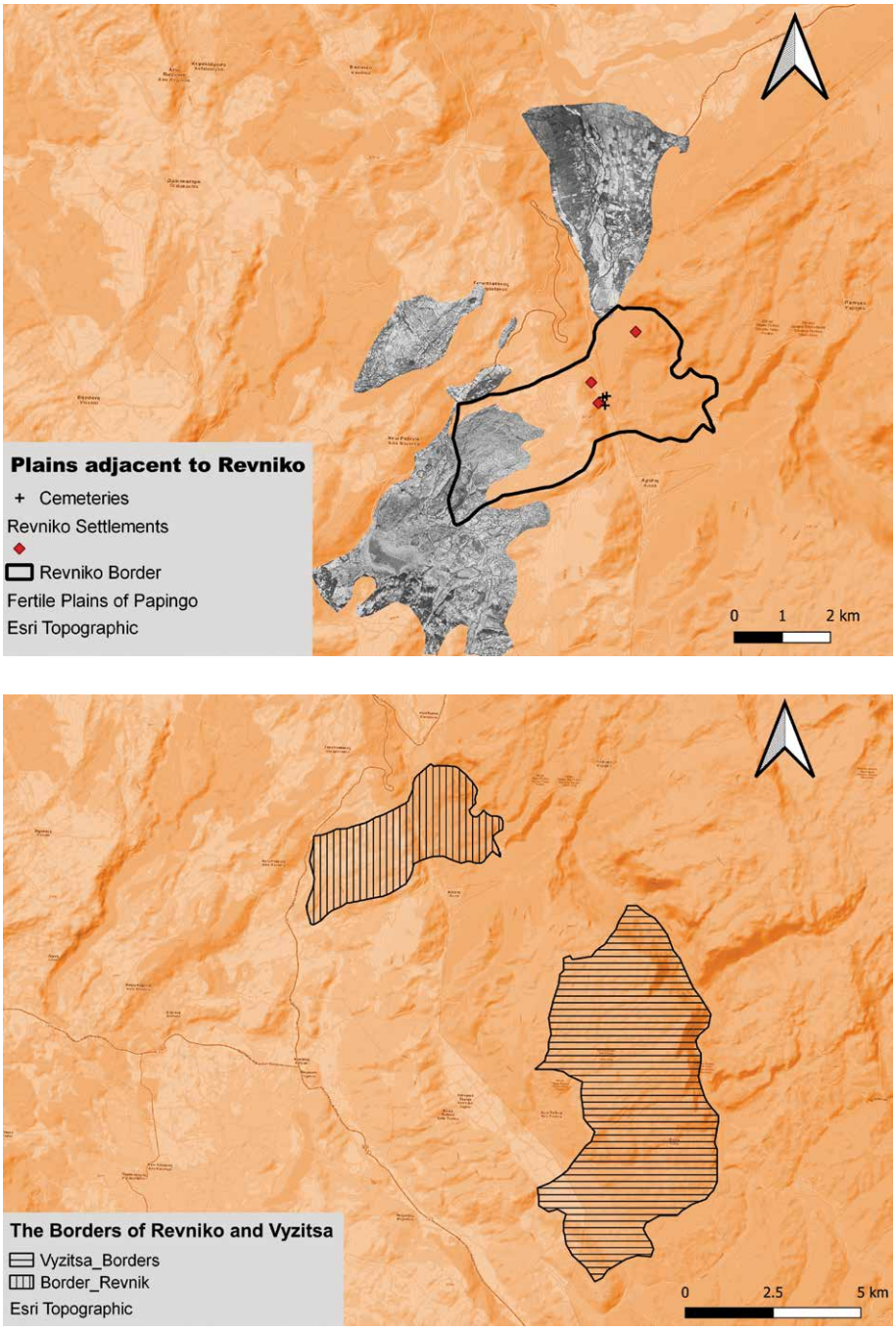


Figure 25: The hypothesised borders of Revniko, based on ethnoarchaeological and oral history inquiry (above). The total area of 19th-century Vezitsa compared to the estimated area of Revniko (below). © Faidon Moudopoulos-Athanasiou.

The topography of division: Zagori and Papingo (14th-17th c.)

The case of Revniko offers the opportunity to generalise and propose a model for understanding settlement dynamics during the transition from the "Despotate" to the early Ottoman period. I suggest that some large, dispersed villages of the "Despotate" were divided into multiple *timar*s to accommodate the needs of the *sipahi* and local elites, *voynuk* or other. The contemporary image of the traditional settlements having a central square and a plane tree is the product of post-17th-century developments (Stara, 2009). Before that period settlements were largely decentralised, as in the case of Revniko, including the two neighbourhoods of Hagios Minas and Rizokastro. The large settlement of Vezitsa is a similar case, although this arrangement persisted further in time. That village survived up to the 18th century as one entity including three neighbourhoods: lower Vezitsa, middle *Mahalle*, and upper Vezitsa. The latter neighbourhood became a separate community in 1770 (Lambridis, 1870: 50).



Figure 26: The fortified hill on the fringes of Tservari. © Faidon Moudopoulos-Athanasiou.

There is a misinformed consensus that during the 16th-century villages dissolved, population dispersed, neighbourhoods merged and larger entities emerged. Various researchers offer different explanations. A historical approach interprets this shift as a consequence of Albanian migrations and pillaging (Sariyannis, 1986: 77). A recent landscape-oriented approach interpreted abandonment based on 19th-century folkloric accounts (Papagiannopoulos, 2017). Furthermore, *Annales*-school oriented historiography on the settlement pattern changes in the *longue durée* has treated abandonment in relationship to wider structural changes (most notably the pioneering work of Antoniadis-Bibicou, 1965). However, it is difficult to discern mere hypotheses from facts because limited fieldwork was carried out to support the former.

I have argued elsewhere (Moudopoulos-Athanasiou, 2018) that, in the case of Zagori, this idea emerges from the 19th-century writings of Lambridis, who argued that "the villages of Zagori were divided into dispersed districts and according to one Turkish source they merged 287 years ago, by order of the Sublime Porte" (Lambridis, 1870: 15). The dates are striking because Lambridis wrote this sentence in 1870. If we subtract 287 years, we come up with the year 1583 (or fiscal year 1583/4), the year of the analytical regional survey recorded in TTK 28 and TTK 32. These documents present different data from the previous survey of 1564/5, and for the first time, the villages are recorded as single entities, instead of being subdivided into different *timar*s. However, this shift was of fiscal rather than demographic or geographical significance. Lambridis possessed a copy of the original survey but interpreted it spatially rather than financially (Moudopoulos-Athanasiou, 2018: 242), creating a factoid that has misled researchers up to the present.

The model of Revniko, combined with a different analysis of the Ottoman registers and the use of a diverse set of folkloric material, offers a different approach. We have established that Zagori possessed a military force already from the period of the "Despotate", and we are aware that in the 1380s Thomas Preloumbos, Despot of Janina, invested in fortifying the villages of Dovra, Artsista and Soudena (for an overview, see Papagiannopoulos, 2017: 414-416). We have also established that due to the peaceful transition from the "Despotate" to the Ottoman empire, minor elites retained their privileges, and, for Zagori, this is manifested in the minor nobility of the *voynuk* auxiliary forces, and their villages. To illustrate this argument regarding the topography of division, we will focus on four villages possessing *voynuk*s and recorded in multiple entries in the registers: Tservari, Dovra, Negarades, and Tsernitsa.

Tservari

Tservari was recorded as a sultanic *has* in the 16th-century registers, while Lambridis refer to it as a king's village ("χωρίον βασιλικόν", Lambridis, 1870: 26). Furthermore, in TT350, Tservari possessed *voynugân-i mensuh* and *voynugân-i zevaid*, and a second *timar*, the small Tservari (Çervar-i Küçük). Next to the village lies a fortification, which according to Hammond (1967) is Medieval (Figure 26). It is located on the road connecting central and western Zagori, while also overlooking the plain of Soudena, the one we have encountered in the 14th-century sources regarding Zaffa Orsini (see Chapter Two). Since there was never a separate, second village of Tservari,[77]

77 Kalyvia, or huts, seasonal satellite settlements in closer proximity to the plains that were used periodically in periods of extensive agricultural labour, were never recorded in the registers. Therefore, small Tservari cannot be associated with the *Kalyvia*, a site used by the same mountain-peasants.

it is reasonable to assume that the land of this substantial settlement of the "Despotate" was divided in two, to satisfy both the imperial treasury (*has* village) and the local *sipahi*s (*timar*), also accommodating *voynuk*s.

Dovra

Dovra is another prominent example. The village guarded the main entrance to Zagori from Janina and has remained a major gateway to the present (Figure 27). It was fortified in the 1380s by Thomas Preloumbos and, subsequently, it housed *voynuk* (*voynugân-i mensuh*) families and regular peasant households (16th c.). Similar to Tservari, Dovra was divided into three administrative entities: Dovra 1, Dovra 2, Dovra Küçük, but the village included also the *voynuk*-only settlement of Mavrangel, at the location of the contemporary monastery of Asprangeloi (established ca. 1600). Furthermore, according to TT586 (which is a copy of TTK 28 and 32), three large areas in Dovra were cultivated by Muslims. They belonged to Mehmet and Sinan, Janissary Ali, and Murat, respectively. Above the village of Dovra lies a fortification that, according to Hammond is Medieval, based on the material culture he collected from peasants. One historical map refers to that location as "the ruins of Muhtar" (Figure 28). Whether there is a relationship between the fortification and some of the later estate-owners in Dovra, we cannot tell. However, the status of the topography of division is sustained, especially since Dovra Küçük, or Koutsodobri, as the toponym survives nowadays, was abandoned in the 18th century and its inhabitants, according to local history merged into the main settlement of Dovra. After Revniko and Tservari, Dovra is the third important settlement of the "Despotate" that was divided into multiple administrative segments: three different village names (Dovra, Dovra Küçük, Mavrangelo) and four *timar*s (Dovra 1, Dovra 2, Dovra Küçük, and Mavrangelo).

Negarades

The village of Negarades (contemporary Negrades) offers more details on the topography of division. Situated next to the Bishopric of Vella, it is rarely associated with Zagori, being considered a village of the plain. However, the fortification of Vella in the plain of Kalpaki was the second strategic point, together with Revniko, that Şahin Pasha of Leskovik sacked during his raids (1382). The strategic importance of that fort and its adjacent village of Negarades was vital for the security of the plain and the control of a second gateway to Zagori. Furthermore, during the 16th century, Negarades belonged to the *nahiye* of Zagori and possessed a large number of *voynuk*s (both *mensuh* and *zevaid*), as we would have expected because of their strategic location. The village itself was divided into three *timar*s, Negarades, small Negarades (Negarades Küçük), and big Negarades (Negarades Büzürg). More importantly, the village shared borders with Vezitsa, Apano Soudena, and Dovra, on top of the mountain, at the location Paliochori, an abandoned village that emerged recently in the literature (Papagiannopoulos, 2017; Papagiannopoulos and Simoni, 2017a). It was assumed that the abandoned village was the old village of Apano Soudena, based on testimonies from interlocutors of the said village and information from the work of Lambridis (1870). However, more meticulous research has revealed



Figure 27: The pass of Radovani: a gateway to Zagori. © Faidon Moudopoulos-Athanasiou.







Figure 28: The ruins of Muhtar from above, overlooking Janina plain. © Faidon Moudopoulos-Athanasiou.



Figure 29: "Cloubochari", or "the hollow place" between two peaks. © Faidon Moudopoulos-Athanasiou.

that people from Vezitsa, Dovra, and Negarades, claim their ancestry from that abandoned village.

The research team of Papagiannopoulos and Simoni located material remains attributed to the Hellenistic (?), Medieval, and Ottoman (mostly 16th-18th century) periods (Papagiannopoulos, 2017: 420). However, the research did not include a grid survey, so we cannot exclude the possibility of more nuanced divisions. Following the narrative of the *Chronicle of Janina*, they suggested that the settlement was fortified during the 14th century. Furthermore, they demonstrated that during the 16th-18th centuries the village revived and the chapel of Hagios Elias was constructed (Papagiannopoulos, 2017: 422).

The village resisted oblivion until the early 19th century. François Pouqueville, who was Napoleon's ambassador to the court of Ali Pasha, passed by the plain of Soudena during his stay at the court of Janina (1805-16). Moving from Dovra to Apano Soudena via Boultsi, and while on the plain, he recorded a prosperous settlement under the name Cloubochari. Through an analysis of his itinerary, the location is identical to Paliochori and a short distance further on he recorded a big well on the plain that was providing water for the village of Apano Soudena: that well is still visible today, situated at a junction. To the right, the road leads to Apano Soudena, to the left the dirt road up to Paliochori, or Cloubochari according to Pouqueville.

> Nous avions alors, une demi-lieue au midi, Boulsou, village grec (…) En poursuivant notre route à l'orient, pendant une demi-lieue, j'aperçus à deux milles sur la gauche, Cloubochari séjour prospère de cent familles chrétiennes adonnées à l'agriculture, et à deux cents toises de ce rayon, j'arrivai auprès d'un grand puits qui fournit l'eau nécessaire aux habitants de Soudena – Apano. (Pouqueville, 1820: 202).

However, it is curious that Cloubochari (or any similar name) is not recorded in the 16th-c. registers. This is odd, as the settlement, based on the material culture recorded, existed at the time (Papagiannopoulos, 2017: 420) and axiomatically must have fallen under the district of Zagori. However, Pouqueville cannot entirely be trusted, either in terms of his statistics (very vague, Kokolakis, 2003; see also Chapter 7) or toponyms. He collected his information on the road from regional interlocutors. Most probably the term "Cloubochari" is the term he recorded from his interlocutor, transliterated according to French dictation and phonetic rules. Fortunately, a similar toponym is recorded in the toponymy of Zagori: Globotsari, in the village of Leptokarya (former Liaskovetsi) (Oikonomou, 1991: 622). According to the etymology, the name is "Slavic" (root: glъbokъ or globokъ + ending: arъ). Globotsari means a hollowed or depressed location.

Like in the case of Makrino (Chapter Five), instead of imagining a toponymic layer emerging from the Slavic invasions (see footnote 65), on the anachronistic nature of the term Slavic), it is better suited to suggest that Pouqueville asked the information of a Vlach-speaking interlocutor, who either accompanied him on his journey or was cultivating the fields in the plain. Pouqueville's interlocutor possibly described the location, rather than providing the name of the village: a hollow place between two peaks, as seen from the plain of Soudena (Figure 29).

This would explain the absence of "Cloubochari" from the 16th-century registers and from the knowledge of my interlocutors in the wider region of Negarades, Dovra, Vezitsa, and Apano Soudena. This absence is in sharp contrast to the inclusion of the toponym in all 19th-century regional maps. It could be the case that all cartographers had read Pouqueville and recorded Clabouzari (or Glabouzari) in the vicinity of Negarades. All



Figure 30: Historical maps noting "Cloubochari" or relevant variations of the toponym. The only time Paliochori is recorded, there is no mention of "Cloubochari". © Faidon Moudopoulos-Athanasiou.

maps that include a version of "Cloubochari" do not record Paliochori. Conversely, the sole map marking Paliochori does not record Clabouzari (Figure 30).

Pouqueville, as a colonial agent, ascribed to this toponym meaning that otherwise would have been irrelevant to the historical topography of Zagori. Thus, he provided an extra layer of toponymy. His account established that the village operated until the early 19th century, half a century before Ioannis Lambridis decided to return to his homeland from Tatar Pazardzhik and investigate its distant past. Lambridis' account is an invaluable source in many instances, as seen in the course of this monograph. However, he recorded the versions his interlocutors thought would interest him: and in an era when Vlach was already becoming the language of a national enemy, the subaltern Vlach toponym of an abandoned village in the Greek-speaking West Zagori of the 1870s, would not have been on the agenda…

Back to the topography of division. It is argued here that Paliochori was recorded in the 16th century as one of the villages of Negarades. The location is a gateway to the Zagori, yet its main connecting routes lie to the west and the village of Negarades (Figure 31), which was entrusted with the security of the crucial road from Janina to the fertile plains of Papingo with its *voynuk*s. Apano and Kato Soudena also possessed *voynuk*s, but, in contrast with these villages, we may only infer different locations of habitation for Negarades due to the ascribing of different qualities to its *timar*s: küçük and büzürg.[78]

78 Although Ottoman historians are sceptical on whether Küçük and Büzürg denote different geographical entities (Kotzageorgis, 2018), we know for a fact that in the case of Zagori this is the case: Kalota-i Küçük (cont. Greveniti) is different from Kalota-i Büzürg (cont. Kalota). Also, Çerniça Küçük is different from Çerniça Baya (cont. Kipoi).



Figure 31: Paliochori overlooking the plain of Negarades. © Faidon Moudopoulos-Athanasiou.

Tsernitsa

Tsernitsa is first recorded as three *timar*s in TT367 (1530). At the time, two of them were active and one abandoned, while external cultivators worked its land and paid 50 *akçe* to the *sipahi.* According to Lambridis (1870: 108), the population of Baya (contemporary Kipoi) increased after the abandonment of small and big Tsernitsa. Lazaridis (1975), in his description of Baya, offers further geographical information: small Tsernitsa was situated at the present-day location of the monastery of the Nativity of Theotokos (17th c.), near the main village (Figure 32); and Çerniça Büzürg was near the bridge of Lazaridis, which is almost identical to the location of the western neighbourhood of the present-day village of Kipoi.

The detailed register of 1564/5 provides further information. Only two Tsernitsa *timar*s were recorded: Çerniça Büzürg, and Çerniça Baya. Both villages possessed *voynuk* households: Çerniça Büzürg 12; and Çerniça Baya 32. Small Tsernitsa, recorded as such only in folkloric accounts and oral history, was probably the abandoned entry of TT367, in 1530. Plenty of 18th-century documents, from Lazaridis' archive in Koukouli, attest to the fact that after the construction of the monastery in the 17th century, the lands of Small Tsernitsa were cultivated by peasants from both Baya and Koukouli (adjacent village), while these plots were transferred intergenerationally as religious-legal documents confirm.

Looking back to the distribution of *voynuk* auxiliary forces in the landscape of Zagori (Figure 8), we realise that Baya is situated at the core of the region. It is one of the villages securing the main route of communication, from Metsovo to Konitsa. This explains the existence of privileged *voynuk*s in both *mahalle* that form the village today. In the context of the topography of division, Tsernitsa was divided into three *timar*s by the early Ottoman administration to accommodate the needs for revenue of local elites and *sipahi*s. However, this administrative division did not change the essence of these settlements, which remained villages of dispersed habitation. This shifts gradually in the 17th century when we enter the topography of transformation.

The topography of transformation: Zagori and Papingo (17th-19th c.)

The previous section highlighted how landscape archaeology alongside the critical evaluation of past paradigms and written sources may contribute to the interpretation of changes in settlement patterns and offer a different approach. We saw that ethnography and *Annales* historical research based on 19th-century sources posed limitations on resulting interpretations. Ethnography-based approaches emerge from a social anthropological perspective concentrating on 19th-20th-century temporalities (for Zagori, see Dalkavoukis, 2015a; Nitsiakos,

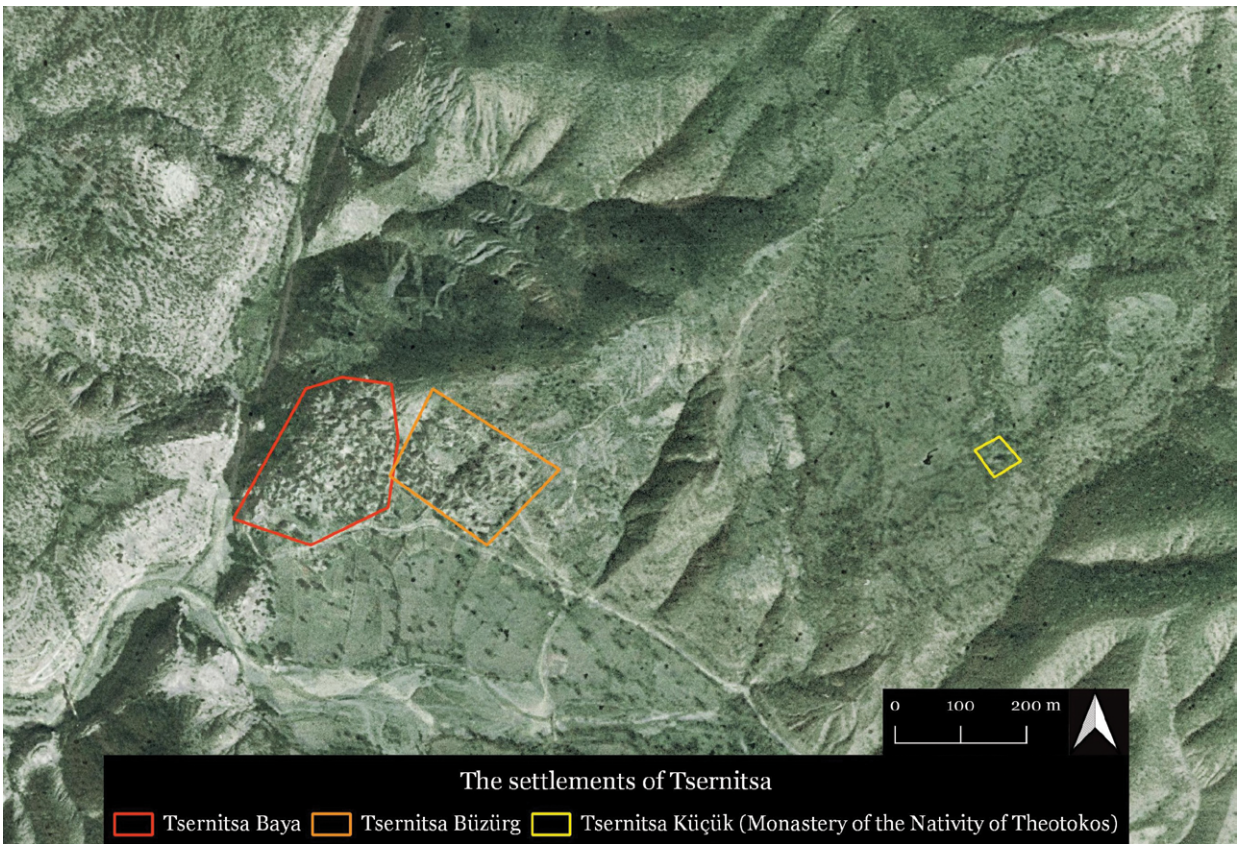


Figure 32: Present-day Kipoi village, the Tsernitsa villages of the 16th century. The shift of Çerniça Küçük into the monastery of the Nativity of Theotokos and its agricultural surroundings cultivated by peasants from neighbouring villages is visible in the field pattern of 1945. © Faidon Moudopoulos-Athanasiou.

2003; Potiropoulos, 2007), or in the most exceptional cases expand to the mid-17th century in the case of Sacred Forests (Stara, 2009; Stara et al., 2015b,a; 2016).

On the contrary, models attempting to explain the abandonment of villages in the *longue durée* emerge from an inspiring essay by Antoniadis-Bibicou (1965), assembling approximate dates for this in the Greek countryside (13th-19th c.) and offering broad interpretations such as the dismantling of the Byzantine empire (14th c.), changes in land regimes (emergence of *çiftlik*s – 17th-18th c.), and increasing mobility (18th c.). Such an attempt was adapted to Zagori (Sariyannis, 1986), distinguishing five phases: a Byzantine core near Janina; 14th-century abandonment due to Albanian migrations; a 1430 expansion of settlement towards Mt. Tymphi; 16th-century abandonment due to the second wave of Albanian southward migrations and pillaging (Sariyannis, 1986: 76-77).

As we have seen so far, these suggestions diverge from reality, especially because they assume 19th-century sources are accurate *de facto*. The memory of people in the 20th and 21st centuries regarding the abandonment of the villages is mostly mediated through such narratives. Consequently, this emerges as a shared limitation of ethnographic and historical interpretations of settlement change. Folkloric chronicles tend to stress historical events important for the collective memory (a raid of an Albanian bandit-party, a plague, or vague memories of an abandoned village in the distant past). Consequently, such approaches are promoted as agents of change, in contrast to the pragmatic observation that, for example, in Zagori no village was abandoned because of a raid or a plague. Resilience, one of the main adaptive characteristics of mountainous communities (see also Chapter Seven) is not included in the discussion. However, focussing on local archives and *in situ* observations rather than grand narratives and the ideological parameters of folkloric accounts brings these aspects to the fore.

Landscape archaeology has the potential to offer a new paradigm concerning the abandonment of early modern villages in the mountains, as it has done for the plains. A shift to the microscale offers a way out of these simplistic, top-down explanatory models. In contrast to archetypal narratives, villages were not abandoned, at least exclusively, due to landslides, the existence of snakes, or the assassination of a local Ottoman officer. On the

contrary, it is argued that settlement transformation in the context of the 17th and 18th centuries occurs through a process in which abandonment is only the first step that is followed by the emergence of different qualities of place, both inhabited and uninhabited. This argument follows the logic of the previously explained topography of division. Through the explicit analysis of the cases of Hagios Minas and Rizokastro (17th-18th c.) and their transformation into *çiftlik*s, I reflect on changes in the district as a whole.

Abandonment. 17th-18th c. Hagios Minas and Rizokastro

Folkloric explanations of abandonment: Kastraki and Hagios Minas

Although locals argue that the two sites lived separate lives, they tell the same storyline regarding their downfall: a curse, plague, and internal conflict. Saint Kosmas the Aetolian (or Patrokosmas) visited Zagori twice (1765-70 and 1777-79, Stara, 2009: 250) and, on his second journey, he passed by Hagios Minas and Artsista. According to the story, the villagers of Hagios Minas rejected his preaching. He found a welcoming audience in the village of Artsista, where inhabitants welcomed him and listened to his religious orations. While standing under an aged prickly oak (according to oral history still standing – Figure 33) by the church of Hagios Athanasios, Patrokosmas cursed the village of Hagios Minas to stop growing; whenever the village reached more than 40 inhabitants it would be burned (†Konstantinos Kyrkos, cited in Stara, 2021). Other interlocutors provide more details to the story. Patrokosmas also informed the villagers of Artsista that a plague (thanatikó) would hit Hagios Minas and Kastraki, and the only way to protect their faithful settlement from the sinful neighbours was to construct a golden plough and use two oxen to till around the border of the village, then sacrifice the oxen and bury them close to the border with Hagios Minas.[79] According to interlocutors, the community of Artsista followed the advice and buried the golden plough and the oxen near the border. When the plague hit Hagios Minas, Artsista survived and continued to thrive.

The same story is told regarding the abandonment of Kastraki, coupled with a tale of conflict between two powerful families: those of Stamatis and Gerenis. According to the legend, also recorded by Lambridis (1870: 22), members of Stamatis' family ambushed the wedding procession of Gerenis' daughter and killed her escort near the Klithonia bridge, within the borders of Kastraki village.[80] After a period of significant intra-communal conflict, and the murder of an Ottoman notable, those inhabitants of Hagios Minas that survived conflict and plague dispersed across the wider landscape (Lambridis, 1870: 22-24).

Although in a later account Lambridis distinguishes between Revnikon (for him interchangeable with Kastraki) and Hagios Minas (Lambridis, 1889: 26), the fate of the two villages is sealed by the same events. However, these recollections of events are archetypal: an intra-communal conflict between two notables (Stamatis and Gerenis); natural disasters (plague); conflict with the Ottoman authorities (killing of the Ottoman notable). We saw earlier that Petsas published a clay seal proving that Stamatis Gerenis was a real person, possibly a *timariot* or a high-rank official who erected Megali Ekklisia in the 15th century, as Lambridis (1989: 26) documented and oral history confirmed. Although it would be unreasonable to deny plagues as potential catastrophic events, the killing of the Ottoman officer is an exaggerated trope used in many instances to interpret abandonment (see also the similar case of Paliochori, discussed earlier, Lambridis, 1870: 31-32). We have seen that local elites adapted to the 15th-16th-century Ottoman realities, and although we cannot exclude isolated instances of peasants murdering tax-farmers (17th-18th c.), these interpretations are influenced by a nationalist reading of history (see also Chapters Two and Three) and the construction of the national Other and cannot be placed at the core of any interpretation.

Emergence: the rise of Speleotissa monastery (1644-1752) and a social-historical explanation of transformation

As mentioned in Chapter Four, available local community archives and Ottoman sources do not cover much of 17th-century Zagori. Fortunately, the codex of Speleotissa monastery (1818), preserved in the personal archives of I. Petsas, mentions the important monastic transactions between 1644 and 1764. During those 120 years, Speleotissa

79 Ritualistic ploughing around the village borders (περιάρωση or γκαίνιασμα) is attested in relationship to the inauguration of a new inhabited space, followed by ritualistic sacrifice of the animals (Kourtessi-Philippakis and Treuil, 2011; Nitsiakos, 2016: 24-25). In our case, this well attested ritual is documented as protecting against a very specific illness-curse, while such protective narratives are documented also for the villages of Tservari and Kapesovo.

80 A different version is part of a folk tale (Lambridis, 1870: 22)
Κοράσιο ετραγούδαε, πέρδικα, περδικούλα μου· | A girl was singing, my little partridge;
επάνω στο γεφύρι, γιας Γεραίνη μ', κόρη μ' γιας.| On the bridge, hail Gereni, hail my daughter.
Και το γεφύρι εσείσθηκε, Πέρδικα, περδικούλα μου, | And the bridge shook, my little partridge,
κι ο ποταμός εστάθη... | And the river stopped...
Και το θηριό αντικρίθηκε· | And the beast responded;
για πέστο, πέστο κόρη μου,| narrate it my daughter,
ματαδευτέρωσέ το.| and repeat it.
Το τί καλό έχω να ειπώ | What can I say
και να το δευτερώσω; | and what to repeat?
Έχασα κύριον και κυρά | I lost my lord and my lady
και δύω πρώτα ξαδέρφια. | and my two first cousins.



Figure 33: The *vakoúfiko* prickly oak tree (pournári) of Hagios Athanasios © Costas Zissis.

emerged and established itself as a major economic power in the region once controlled by Revniko. These documents introduce the researcher to the main economic and social processes that occurred in the second half of the 17th century, namely the systematic emergence of monasteries in the Greek mountains (Greene, 2015; Tsampouras, 2013). From this monastic codex, I transcribe the relevant events as published in Petsas and Saralis (1982: 90-97, unless otherwise stated).

1. **1664**: The economic development of the monastery began with the purchase of half of the (Old Village) of Hagios Minas watermill,[81] together with half of the bostan in Hlapa, in the Voïdomatis river. The people selling the watermill were peasants from Hagios Minas: Giorgos son of Manos, Giorgos son of Gianni Gini, Nikos son of Dimo and Manos Papas (priest).
2. **1659**: The villagers Huseinis, papa Ioannis, papa Stergios, Nikolo Mihalis, Korno Giannis, and Gino Dasios, together with the rest of the inhabitants, sold the region Hali (χαλί) *alias* Siadi (σιάδι = level ground) to the monastery.
3. **1659**: The bishop issued a title-deed (*tapu*) and transferred the ownership of the land of Velisaris Dimoulas from Kastraki to the monastery. The peasant was absent from Kastraki for many years leaving his fields uncultivated.
4. **1772**: Alizot Pasha[82] from Leskovik sold his land in the village of Hagios Minas, at the locations of Paliogefiro and Karavidari, to the monastery.
5. **1724**: Islam-beğs (sons of Islam-beği) sold a hut and the nearby field to the monastery.
6. **1725**: Tzintzos and his sister Alekso, children of Sandragona, from Kastraki sold seven plots of land: Kerasia (cherry tree), Kargia (almond tree), Kanavistria (hemp place), Itia, Kouloura, and Pisteria, in front of Bistergia in the area Voidomatitiko (probably close to the border with the village Voidomati). Pantazis Dimitri and his sons from Kastraki sold their field in Fteri (fern) and Kanavistria (hemp place) to Spiliotissa as well.
7. **1731**: Is(l)am-beği, son of Dost-beği, sold in 1731 the complete village of Kastraki to the monastery. He owned "few or many fields (χωράφια) and level areas (σιάδια) and ormania (woodlands) and mountains and valleys, either actively cultivated or not". This generic expression confirms that Islam-beği was the owner of the entire village.
8. **1737**: The monastery and the village of Artsista in partnership bought the property of Mehmet-ağa from Konitsa in Hagios Minas (arable fields, *livadia*-grazing fields, *ormani*-woodland).
9. **1737**: The bishop gave away one of the monastic fields in exchange for another in Voutanari, previously owned by Alizot-beği.
10. **1745**: The monastery settled peasants in the newly founded *çiftlik* of Mesovouni to cultivate its fields (Lambridis, 1870: 19).
11. **1747**: Yakub-beği, Ahmet-beği and Ibrahim-beği, sons of Islam-beği (act vii) sold their *çiftlik* to priest Damian of Speleotissa. It consisted of a "tall" building, surrounded by three hamlets in front of a vineyard; a house in Rahi and three threshing floors together with barns.[83]

81 "Ένα μάτι" – "one eye" (water channel) of the watermill.

82 Alizot Pasha was the predecessor of Ali Pasha, ruler of Janina. Besides owing part of the land of Hagios Minas, as this transaction informs us, he is known for the establishment of Alizot Çiftlik (cont. Geroplatanos) on contested land at the limit of the 17th-century Papingo district.

83 "It is nice that we possess the description of these structures. It would be good to locate them and excavate some of their parts, as they are characteristic of that very era" argued Petsas and Saralis (1982: 92).

12. **1752**: The monastery and the village of Artsista own the aforementioned *çiftlik* of Hagios Minas in partnership. The borders of this *çiftlik* are described in a legal document of the same year.[84]
13. **1752**: Spiliotissa bought three fields in Voidomati (probably the village not the river) from the grandchildren of Islam-beği (sons of Jakub-beği), expanding the *çiftlik* of Hagios Minas.
14. **1752**: Spiliotissa purchased the watermill of Vitsiko («γκουτζομύλι – παλιόμυλος») and dismantled it.
15. **1764**: Kastraki belonged to Orthodox notables from Artsista ("αρτζιστινοί ρωμαίοι"). Oikonomos, son of papa Mihaili sold a field to the bishop.

From karye villages to çiftliks: new Hagios Minas and Mesovouni

Having dismantled the watermill of Vitsiko (act. 14, 1752), the monastery as an institution owned the only functioning watermill in the region. At the time, Speleotissa and the village of Artsista had become the landowners of all properties once associated with Revniko in the 14th century. Artsista owned Kastraki, while the revenues from the *çiftlik*s of Hagios Minas and Mesovouni (acts 10 and 12) were shared by the monastery and the Artsista notables. However, this transformation was gradual and lasted around 150 years, during which period Hagios Minas and Kastraki were never abandoned.

The events described above reveal the gradual emergence of a monastery that in the course of 100 years succeeded in owning two *çiftlik*s (Hagios Minas and Mesovouni) and fields in a semi-abandoned settlement owned by its notable partners from Artsista (Kastraki, or Rizokastro). From the last analytical register mentioning the two villages (1583/4) to the first transaction of Speleotissa purchasing plots from *beğ*s of Konitsa and Leskovik, we can only assume that the villages gradually became indebted with the advent of tax-farming and increased in taxation. Some of the events recollected earlier (plague or conflict) might have occurred, but they did not eliminate these villages. Nevertheless, the village of Hagios Minas showed signs of decline already in the 16th century (see also Chapter Seven). It was the only settlement with decreasing population and income by the end of the century. This could be interpreted as the beginning of the decline of that sultanic *has*. Under this narrative of decline, and eventual economic failure, it is reasonable to conclude that the wealthy families of that village moved to Artsista, as Lambridis (1870) suggests, and names of wealthy family houses (e.g., archontiko of Stamatis, Tsiodoulos, 2009) hint further at this. After all, the village of Artsista emerged as the owner of half of the properties of the monastery by 1752, and the wealthy Orthodox families from Hagios Minas presumably would have had a role in these transactions. This transformation is mirrored in the *Government Gazette of the Greek Kingdom* (19 August 1919; Volume 1: 184), where the community of Artsista includes the settlements Vitsiko and Hagios Minas (therefore also the area of Kastraki, at the time abandoned), and the monastery of Speleotissa.

By the mid-18th century, Kastraki and Hagios Minas had been transformed into *çiftlik* properties. This signified the relocation of Hagios Minas and the gradual abandonment of Kastraki. Furthermore, the monastery settled peasants in the newly founded *çiftlik* of Mesovouni (est. 1745, Lambridis, 1870: 19) in what once used to be the western holdings of Revniko, later Hagios Minas. In the course of these 150 years, abandonment evolved in parallel with the emergence of new dynamics in a changing landscape. Transformation, therefore, was gradual and the abandonment of these settlements, in the context of the 17th and 18th centuries, did not happen overnight, as ethnographic information and static theoretical models might suggest.

Furthermore, as this case reveals, the emergence of monasteries has to be studied in parallel to settlement abandonment and the reshaping of the local elites. After all, during the 17th century, the *voynuk* minor military elites gave way to the *League of Zagorisians*, and the military nature of the elites shifted towards entrepreneurial activities. These factors should be considered together in the effort to model the topography of transformation.

The topography of transformation (17th-18th c.): a model for understanding settlement transformation since the mid-17th century

Settlement relocations are associated with churches and monasteries in the wider folkloric narratives of Zagori. One such tale narrates the two-wave relocation of Smoliaso (unidentified village), first to the church of Hagia Barbara in the vicinity of Kato Soudena, and subsequently merging with Kato Soudena and Tservari. According to the tale, villagers of Smoliaso constructed the church of Taxiarches in the plain of Soudena, in memory of their former community (for a valuable review, see Papagiannopoulos, 2017: 408). In two other instances, villages emerged around monasteries in the 17th and 18th centuries. In 1683 the village of Lygiades

84 This entry describes the borders: from one side Pergoulia [vineyards] and from there up the hill to Voutanari and Siadia [small plains] and Allatisia [place where peasants fed salt to the animals]. From there (the borders) follow Zygos up to Tzoufatrahi. Then they follow the stream, first at Prosilio and later from Anilio straight downhill to Voidomati and Karavidari, close to Kastraki. In another document of 1882, the borders of the *çiftlik* of Hagios Minas with Artsista are described. Lakkos Tsanistas to Zoumperi, up to Tsouka and Mnimata and then on the road until Tampourio opposite Megali Ekklisia and to the Lakkos, up by the field of Bakolas straight line until it finds the borders of Mesovouni.

solidified around the monastery of St. George (Lambridis, 1870: 56) and Mesovouni was founded as a *çiftlik* of Panaya Speleotissa (see above).

Monasteries and the economy of Zagori

Monasteries played an essential role in political geography and the economic landscape. They were located along roads, on difficult passes, and on fertile land, as well as within settlements, thus controlling crossings and profiting from agriculture and stock-raising. Bishops also played essential roles as intermediaries between the local population and the Ottoman administration (Tsefos, 2001: 19). As seen in Chapter Five, local notables played important roles as benefactors and donors of churches and were closely related to religious as well as political (*ayan/kocabaşı*) institutions, from Therianos in Vezitsa (1414) and the ktetor of Evangelistria in Kastraki (1575), to Karamessinis and Marinoglou in the 19th centuries.

The origins of the oldest monasteries in Zagori are told in foundation myths. Most institutions preceding the 16th century (Vuça, Vissoko, Sotira) are associated with the 7th-century Byzantine emperor Constantine Pogonatos. However, the aim here is not to research the origins of the monasteries in the region, but to situate them in the context of the early modern cultural landscape and the Ottoman context.

The late 16th and early 17th centuries mark a clear demarcation. This period witnessed an increased construction of new, and renovation of old, monasteries. The financial crisis moved religious artistic production from the plains to the mountains (Tsampouras, 2013: 7-10). It is there that provincial elites, conscious of the serious financial troubles, sought to fund painters while erecting new churches and monasteries.

"Post-Byzantine" Orthodox religious art, therefore, was not unconscious of the serious economic hazards. Artists expressed their anxieties through their work: in one instance a painter added to a dedicatory inscription the phrase "in times of need" (Tsampouras, 2013: 6). Some wealthy highland villages provided a safe working environment for these mobile artisans. It is not a coincidence that the first wave of such foundations includes the 16th-century examples from the Papingo region (for these monuments see Chouliaras, 2006).[85] The earliest post-16th century monastery in Zagori comes from its borderland with Papingo: the Assumption of Mary (Koimiseos tis Theotokou) in Tservari (1606). Prophet Elias in the wealthiest village of the region, Vezitsa, also emerges in the second quarter of the 17th century (1632, Tsefos, 2001: 263).

85 Megali Ekklisia (1570) and Evangelistria (1575) in Rizokastro (Kastraki of Hagios Minas); Hagioi Taxiarches (1611, Kato Sudena); Hagios Athanasios (1612, Klithonia); Hagios Dimitrios (1615, Doliana); Hagios Nikolaos (1619, Klithonia).

Contemporary research interprets the emergence of monasteries from the 17th century onwards within the context of the crisis (Tsampouras, 2013: 19; also Greene, 2015). The rise of taxation, and the fear of peasants residing in *karye* villages that their lands could be converted into *çiftlik*s, encouraged them to donate their lands to the monasteries as dowries (Arab. *waqf*). Monastic lands enjoyed significant tax-exemptions and these peasants, in turn, cultivated the same plots without the risk of over-taxation. The development of the monasteries as main property-holders in mountainous regions, such as Zagori, is thus attributed to the emergence of Christian endowments as an alternative to elite estate ownership of lowland *çiftlik*s (for an overview of the Christian waqfs since the time of the conquest, see Kolovos, 2016); it is seen as a different response to inflation, the decline of the *timar* system and the rise of *çiftlik*s. Hence the term *vakoúfiko* refers not only to the arable land but also to the livestock, trees, vineyards, watermills and even beehives of the church (Stara, 2009: 272).

Having seen the continuity and importance of minor local elites in the shaping of this landscape, it is important to examine the monasteries emerging as 17th-18th-century landowners with potential connections to local elites (*voynuk* or others). Monastic, or more broadly religious, properties survive in the present-day landscape of Zagori in the form of toponyms. Fields, pastures, and forests belonging to pious foundations are recognised as *vakoúfika* (*waqf*), denoting holdings of religious foundations within the Ottoman empire (also *kourí*, *ekklisiastikó*, *aforisméno*). As there is no "sacred forest" securely dated before 1700 (see Stara 2009 and the next section), one wonders to what extent sacred groves evolved to their present state under the framework of the *waqf* and the sharp increase of monastic institutions in Zagori from the 17th-century onwards. To explore these ideas in the context of the topography of transformation, I return to case studies emerging from fieldwork.

Dovra

As we saw earlier, Dovra in the 16th century consisted of four parts: the *timar*s Dovra 1, Dovra 2 (including *voynuk* households) and Dovra Küçük, and the *voynuk* village of Mavrangelo. By the 18th century, the village of Dovra Küçük had been abandoned and the land of Mavrangelo transformed into the monastery of Theotokos, known as the monastery of Asprangeloi (ca. 1600).

Tsernitsa

Similar observations emerge in the case of the three Tsernitsa villages. We saw that by 1530 Çerniça Küçük had been abandoned, with external cultivators working its fields. The two remaining *timar*s, Çerniça Büzürg and Çerniça Baya included *voynuk* families in 1564/5 and

1583/3, while both villages survived in partial defters of the late 17th century (TT 748-1670 and TTD 411-1690, together paying 12,998 *akçe* in both cases). In this very century, the monastery of the Dormition of Theotokos emerges in the former location of Çerniça Küçük. The land around the monastery (trees and fields) merges into *vakoúfika*, redistributed by the religious institution to peasants from Tsernitsa and Koukouli.

Negarades

As argued above, the Paliochori of Soudena was recorded as Negarades Büzürg, a settlement with *voynuk* families, in the 16th-century Ottoman registers. Through late 17th-century partial defters (TT 748-1670 and TTD 411-1690), we are aware that the village survived as such until the late 17th century. The monastery of Evangelistria in Apano Soudena emerged in the 18th century (Potiropoulos, 2007: 276) and, following the usual pattern, it purchased fields in the plain of Soudena and accepted donations in the form of endowments by the Orthodox peasants (Papageorgiou, 1995: 32-44). By the turn of the century, it owned parts of Paliochori.

Stanades

Stanades was a small village of 20 timariot, and five *voynuk* families in 1583/4. The settlement was situated in between the villages of Frangades (*timariot*s and *voynuk*s) and Liaskovetsi (only *timariot*s). It was situated above the three-arched stone bridge of Petsionis (est. 1811), the main passage towards Frangades and Central Zagori. Presumably, its *voynuk*s guarded the Eastern side of this passage in the 16th century, long before the establishment of the bridge.

The village of Stanades dissolved relatively recently: elder interlocutors remembered its location with accuracy and recalled that the patron-Saint of the village was Hagios Nikolaos. Oral history agrees with the Ottoman defters: Stanades appears in TT944 (1797/8), possessing two households. Locals guided me with remarkable accuracy to locate the ruined chapel of Hagios Nikolaos (Figure 34).

According to my elder interlocutors, the villagers of Stanades resettled in Frangades, and the existence of the Hagios Nikolaos monastery (est. 1578, according to Lambridis, 1870: 50) is related to the patron saint of the abandoned settlement. According to local testimonies,



Figure 34: The ruins of Hagios Nikolaos (view from the eastern side). © Faidon Moudopoulos-Athanasiou.

the initial monastery had the shape of a cross and was decorated on the exterior (Tsefos, 2001: 50).

The monastery of Hagios Nikolaos is located in between the villages of Stanades and Frangades, in the lower area. Although we possess documentation only for the year 1893, when the monastery owned 63km^2 of fields, 20km^2 of forest, and 4km^2 of grazing land (Papageorgiou, 1995: 40), the toponyms denoting religious ownership imply that it accumulated wealth gradually, as in the case of Speleotissa monastery.

Transformation through continuity

Chapters Five and Six argued for the continuity of local elites from the period of the "Despotate" to the Ottoman empire. The topography of division presented a landscape in which the Ottomans divided some of the larger and more strategically vital settlements into multiple *timar*s. This division facilitated regional adaptation to the financial requirements of the *timar* system. Simultaneously, the administration increased the security of the network, through the assignment of multiple *sipahi*s to different neighbourhoods of the dispersed settlements. As each distinct branch of the scattered neighbourhoods paid tribute to a different *timar* holder, they ensured that no large administrative entity would revolt or revert to banditry. Within this context, *voynuk*s continued to be recorded in the late 16th century and, although their military nature had by that time largely faded, their privilege in terms of lesser taxation than normal households persisted.

Simultaneously, the *ktetor*'s fresco at the monastery of Evangelistria (1575) in Rizokastro provided the earliest visual representation of a notable with mercantile, rather than military, attributes, with stylistic characteristics pointing towards mercantile relations with Italy and/or Moldavia. In combination with the medallion of Sigismund II (1550) discovered in Rizokastro (see above), we thus established elite mobility from the Papingo district to the north Balkans. The peace treaties between Sigismund II and the Ottoman empire enabled free trade between Wallachia and Moldavia, as vassal states, with the Ottoman lands. Consequently, we recorded one of the earliest *travel*s towards Wallachia, before the establishment of the *League of Zagorisians* in the late 17th century.

At the same time that the anonymous notable of Rizokastro was establishing his entrepreneurial activity abroad, Makrinos, one of the Orthodox notables of Janina, established the village of Makrino (1564/5) with its summer pasture (1583/4) in Eastern Zagori (see Chapter Two). The summer pasture (Kserovouni) is situated exactly where three *travels* routes merge into one main road leading to the north of the region. Makrinos settled Vlach-speaking peasants in the village, forming part of Eastern Zagori, or *Vlachozagoro* (the Vlach-speaking Zagori). Consequently, he claimed control over the flat grazing-land where three mobility routes merge and therefore caravans also stopped over to incorporate *travelling* Zagorisians in their numbers.

Both instances offer insights into the shift from the topography of division to that of transformation: the shifting tides from the minor military elites to the mobility of *travels* focussing on entrepreneurial activities. This period coincided with the emergence of the first monasteries in Zagori, a trend that increased in the 17th and 18th centuries. Furthermore, most of the small villages of Zagori and Papingo were abandoned or transformed during these centuries (17th and 18th).

As the example of Speleotissa revealed, the emergence of the monasteries was intertwined with the shifting interests of the local elites. Speleotissa purchased land from peasant families of Hagios Minas and Rizokastro, from notable beğs, and even from Alizot, the governor of Janina, who established some *çiftlik*s in the wider region. Furthermore, it managed the lands together with the village of Artsista, where the notables of Old Hagios Minas had migrated while their prosperous settlement was gradually shifting towards a monastic property. Consequently, the interests of the local elites influenced the changes that occurred during the topography of transformation.

We saw earlier that villages with *voynuk* interests were either transformed into monasteries (Mavrangelo to the monastery of Asprangelo) or gradually converted their arable to monastic land (Small Tsernitsa to the monastery of the Nativity of Theotokos; Stanades to Hagios Nikolaos monastery; Negarades to "Cloubachari", while some of its lands gradually passed to the ownership of the 18th-century monastery of Evangelistria). It is accepted that monasteries functioned as lesser local elites (Kotzageorgis, 2011) and, in the context of Zagori, the notables of the *League of Zagorisians* shared the interests of these institutions (see also Chapter Five).

The testimony of the icons

It is important to stress that the huge restructuring and development occurring in the 18th-19th centuries resulted in the loss of the pre-18th century religious (and broader archaeological) landscape, and only a few religious artefacts survive from earlier periods (Filidou, 2020). Table 5 shows the surviving pre-17th-century religious icons in Zagori. As the few remnants of an otherwise invisible era, those icons that were not replaced by newer trends in the late 17th and 18th centuries must have played a symbolic role for the communities, or for the individuals that had an impact on communal affairs, during that period.

No.	Date	Type	Church	Constr.	Village	Size	Workshop
1	**15th c.**	Virgin Hodegetria	Hagios Dimitrios	1779	Frangades	73x52 cm	Kastoria
2	**1544/5**	Virgin Hodegetria	Dormition of Mary	17th c.	Baya	76x54 cm	Kastoria
3	**1575**	Virgin Hodegetria	Evangelistria Monastery	1575-6	Rizokastro	75x50 cm	Linotopi (Nikolaos)
4	**16th c.**	Virgin Hodegetria	Hagios Dimitrios	1793	Apano Soudena	82x55 cm	Linotopi (Nikolaos)
5	**16th c.**	Virgin Hodegetria	Dormition of Mary	1616	Tservari	96x63 cm	Linotopi (Nikolaos)
6	**16th c.**	Virgin Hodegetria	Nativity of Mary	1791	Vradeto	Unrecorded	Unrecorded
7	**16th c.**	Dormition of Mary	Dormition of Mary	1616	Tservari	93x71 cm	Linotopi (Nikolaos)
8	**16th c.**	Christ Pantocrator	Nativity of Mary	1791	Vradeto	97x65 cm	Thebes (Kontarids)
9	**16th c.**	Christ Pantocrator	Hagios Dimitrios	1793	Apano Soudena	87x50 cm	Linotopi (Nikolaos)
10	**16th c.**	Christ Pantocrator	Dormition of Mary	1616	Tservari	94x66 cm	Linotopi (Nikolaos)
11	**1594/5**	Christ Saviour	Dormition of Mary	1788	Koukouli	52x81 cm	Linotopi (Nikolaos)
12	**16th c.**	Transfig. of Jesus	Transfiguration of Jesus	14th c.	Klithonia	0.80x5.2 m	Linotopi (Nikolaos)
13	**15th c.**	Supplication	Nativity of Mary	19th c.	Hagios Minas	80x48 cm	NW Macedonia
14	**15th c.**	St. Nicholas	Hagios Nikolaos	15th c.	Tservari	87x44 cm	NW Macedonia
15	**16th c.**	St. Athanasios	Transfiguration of Jesus	1854	Kalouta	81x41 cm	Thebes (Kontarids)
16	***16th c.***	St. John Baptist	Hagios Georgios	1792	Negades	19x23 cm	Linotopi (Nikolaos)

Table 5: A list of pre-17th century icons in Zagori (after Filidou, 2020).

With only three exceptions,[86] 15th- and 16th-century religious icons are located in secondary contexts. This has been attributed to the large-scale post-18th-century regional architectural development (Filidou, 2020). Icons were introduced to the new central places of worship or were installed in newly built monasteries. Furthermore, except for the icon of St. John the Baptist in Negades, all pre-17th-century cult items emerge from villages with known *voynuk* or other elites. In some instances, they were commissioned by specific families: the 16th-c. Virgin Hodegetria and Christ Pantocrator in Vradeto were associated with the Tsigaras family of merchants in Venice (16th c.), who originated from the village (Filidou, 2020: 196). The church of the Nativity of Mary (est. 1791), which subsequently housed the 16th-century icons was funded by Nikolaos Tsigaras, a descendant of that family. Moreover, we may assume that the icon of the Virgin Hodegetria from Evangelistria in Rizokastro was commissioned by the same unknown notable depicted in the fresco of 1575, both dating to the same year.

Finally, the 1544 Virgin Hodegetria from the monastery of the Dormition of Mary (17th c.) was commissioned by Eusebius "the grammatikos" of Baya and his son (Filidou, 2020: 200). *Grammatikos*, or *notarios*, is in this case an administrative officer of the community. However, the name Eusebius does not appear in the list of Baya's *voynuk*s (1564/5), either as a first name or patronym. In contrast, there are a few individuals recorded as sons of priests. Given the 20-year gap between the creation of the icon and the census, and the fact that *grammatikos* is associated with both secular and religious roles, perhaps the unnamed priest in the *voynuk* register was Eusebius. In the context of 16th-century communities in Zagori, literacy and such titles were rare and, since the donor is not a monk (he has a son), it is plausible that as a priest-member of the *voynuk*s, he had acquired the administrative role in the village, while also performing religious rites. If this is correct, the relocation of the icon to the newly built monastery at the location of the abandoned branch of Tsernitsa village, would be justified, revealing the parallel changes occurring during the era of the topography of transformation: *voynuk* elites adapted to mercantile and landownership activities, while villages were abandoned or relocated, and monasteries emerged as important stakeholders.

The communities of Zagori and Papingo naturally preserved those religious icons viewed important into the subsequent centuries. The complete spread of pre- 17th-century religious icons is unclear, although the small number of surviving pieces might point to a relatively modest distribution. On the other hand, given the emergence of new regional schools of painting in the 17th century (Filidou, 2020: 116) and the wider circulation of new styles, it is possible that only the most significant religious heirlooms were retained.

86 Virgin Hodegetria in the monastery of Evangelistria at Rizokastro, the Transfiguration of Jesus in the homonymous monastery of Klithonia, and St. Nicholas in the church of Hagios Nikolaos in Tservari.

Of the 16 surviving icons, six belong to the type of Virgin Hodegetria, the most common type of the post-14th century. The Virgin "leading the way" was the symbol of the Byzantine military and victories were attributed to the Hodegetria (Angelidi and Papamastorakis, 2000: 384). It became a widespread motif in the Orthodox world of the Balkans. The symbolism flourished from the Vlachernitissa church in Arta (13th c.) to the "post-Byzantine" Moldavian monastic murals (15th and 16th c.) depicting the AD 626 siege of Constantinople when Hodegetria performed a miracle and saved the city (Sullivan, 2017: 33). Moreover, the type was adapted for very different historical and geographical contexts and was imitated widely (Bacci, 2005: 323). Besides military connotations, Hodegetria is associated with mobility in the 15th and 16th centuries. In 1533, refugees from Koroni (Messenia) carried their icon of Hodegetria to Barile, Calabria, placing it in the church of Madonna di Constantinopoli. In 1523, Thomas Palaeologus, son of Demetrios, the last Despot of Mystras, emigrated to Naples and dedicated a votive chapel to Hodegetria in St. Giovanni Maggiore. Furthermore, mainland Albanian refugees arriving in the Italian town of Portocannone (1433), in Molise, established a church dedicated to the Virgin Hodegetria (for all these instances, see Bacci, 2005: 328-329).

We may simply infer that Hodegetria played an important ideological and symbolic role in the rituals of the *voynuk*s and other 16th century elites that were mobilising towards the north Balkans. However, their presence as agents of transformation, within the topography of the 17th-18th centuries, is highlighted by this fact. The Hodegetria of Baya was placed in the monastery of Theotokos, in the former village of Small Tsernitsa. In symbolic terms, this relocation signifies the changing orientation of the elites: from the *voynuk* village to the religious, financially profitable, monastic estate. The same applies to the 15th-century Supplication icon that is located in the 19th-century church of the *çiftlik* of Hagios Minas. The icon once belonged to a *karye* village (Old Hagios Minas) and nowadays it is placed in the church of the new village. This relocation is in line with the topography of transformation, and local elites, together with religious institutions, were the agents behind these changes on the microscale.

The unanticipated stratigraphy of the "Reappearances" project

The overwhelming development of Zagori in the 18th and 19th centuries assisted in de-historicising the previous centuries. The monumentality they brought about cancelled any visible traces of continuity. Through Chapters Five and Six, I have re-established the historicity of the minor local elites and argued that their agency assisted to a great extent in the transformation of the wider landscape from the 15th to the 18th century.

In the summer of 2020, we managed to record this intense alteration of the settlements stratigraphically, during a community heritage project led by the author in the village of Artsista (see Moudopoulos-Athanasiou 2021c; Moudopoulos-Athanasiou and Sklavounos 2022). Under the title "Reappearances",[87] the project reconstructed a 60m-long *kalderimi* (cobbled pathway) involving volunteers and the community in the appreciation and management of its own cultural landscape and public space.

To secure our construction against erosion, we had to demolish and reconstruct a dry-stone retaining wall of diverse dimensions (ranging from 2.4 to 3.5m in height). After deconstructing the dry-stone wall, we realised that our kalderimi (Kalderimi 1) was situated approx. 50cm above another kalderimi (Kalderimi 2). The profile of that old pathway is visible in Figure 35.

The slight declivity towards the right side is the product of erosion, as the old retaining wall had slightly collapsed. From 1.45m below the surface (to the left/west) to 1.80m (to the right/west), we uncovered an archaeological profile rich in carbon including pottery and animal bones bearing cutmarks. The aim of the project was not to initiate an excavation, and the location included working hazards. Therefore, we only recovered material from the profile and attempted to interpret the relevant stratigraphy, that is presented here.

The material culture discovered in the archaeological layer below the old kalderimi included painted wares (late 16th-first half of 17th c.) and brown-green sgraffito wares (second half of 15th-early 17th c.). Consequently, this layer is dated to the 16th century: 200 years before 1752, when the notables of Artsista began managing the estate of Hagios Minas together with the Monastery of Speleotissa, and two centuries before the peak of the intensive architectural development. Kalderimi 2 sealed this layer, while Kalderimi 1 dates to the late 19th century.

Roughly 350 years of history (early 16th c. – late 19th c.) are represented in 1.60 m of stratigraphy, of which the 16th and early 17th century traces occupy 15cm (1.45-1.60m). The other 1.45m of accumulation occupies ca. 200 years and includes two distinct kalderimi pathways: Kalderimi 2, built somewhere between the late 17th and early 19th c., and Kalderimi 1 constructed in the final decades of the 19th century. Albeit strikingly consistent with the narrative

87 "Reappearances: New kalderimi in Artsista, Zagori (NW Greece). Places of origin as a foundation for the development of participatory models in the heritage management of cultural landscapes". See: https://www.boulouki.org/projects-reapperances (Accessed: 31.01.2022).



Figure 35: The profile from “Reappearances” indicates the old cobbled pathway. © Faidon Moudopoulos-Athanasiou.

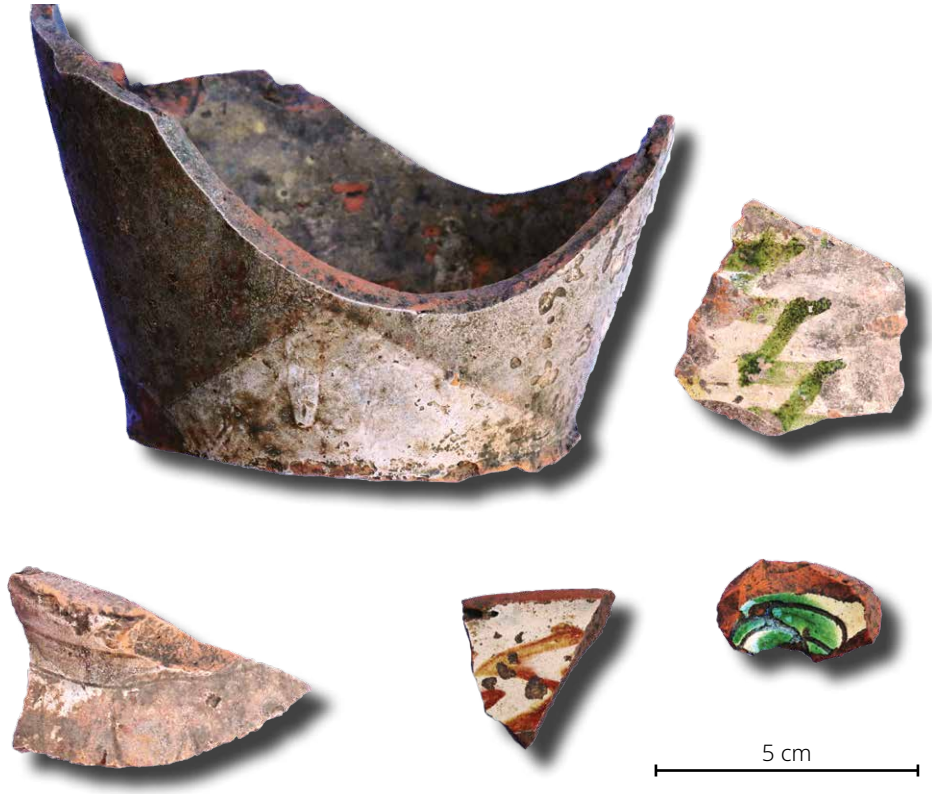


Figure 36: Selection from the 16th-century material culture discovered at the “Reappearaces” project. © Faidon Moudopoulos-Athanasiou.

as a whole, these layers form just one small section, in which build-up was sometimes influenced by retaining walls, and may not be representative of the whole village.

This stratigraphic development encapsulates in archaeological terms the intensive development observed in Zagori from the 18th century onwards. The diagnostic 16th-century sherds include Brown/Green Sgraffito Wares of Epirot provenance and Painted Wares from the workshops of Central Greece (Vionis, pers. comm.). According to the Ottoman registers, the village in that century was a sultanic *has*. Therefore, fine tableware introduced from the wider region does not come as a surprise (see also the material culture from Hagios Minas. However, the early Ottoman period, occupying 15cm of the matrix, follows the path to oblivion, alongside the wider topography of division outlined earlier. Contrastingly, the topography of transformation, visually manifested in the emergence of monasteries and mercantile wealth channelled into architecture, occupies 1.45m of the stratigraphic matrix. This arrangement confirms that Zagori had a distinct history in the pre-18th century period, yet the vast restructuring resulted in the loss of a great deal of information.

Chapter 7

Zagori through the 16th-century Ottoman imperial registers

Introduction

As seen in Chapter Two, the 14th-15th century Chronicles of *Janina* and *Tocco* referred to the districts of Papingo and Zagori. Papingo provided surplus to the city of Janina, while Zagori mustered its own army. Chapter Five addressed elite materialities and representations in Zagori, from the period of the nobles of the *Chronicles* to the dissolution of the *League of Zagorisians* in 1868. Furthermore, it established the imperial context that enabled the emergence of the *League*, placing it in the late 17th century (ca. 1670) and the rise of provincial administrators (*ayans*/*kocabaşıs*). Through Chapter Five and the various case studies of Chapter Six, we have determined that the transformations occurring in the regional settlement pattern from the 15th to the 18th century were, to a substantial extent, the product of internal elite agency, adapting to wider socioeconomic changes.

But, what of the peasantry? This chapter addresses the issue of peasant adaptation to the montane landscape of Zagori. We investigate this subject through the 16th-century Ottoman records addressing various aspects of the economy in Zagori and Papingo. The chapter is divided according to context: land ownership, population estimation and production. The last part extends beyond the recorded assets of surplus, addressing the role of polyculture, foraging and woodland management in the regional subsistence economy. The information of the registers, combined with other historical, folkloric, and ethnographic material, presents a detailed image for the 16th century, traces of which survive throughout the early modern period.

16th c. village status and the topography of division

The first surviving summary (*icmal*) register including the district under study dates to 1530, 100 years after the surrender of Janina to the Ottoman armies of Sinan Pasha. From that date until the last analytical cadaster of 1583, copied again in 1613, all villages of Zagori were recorded as *karye* village properties and some listed only *voynuk* households (see Chapter Five). The 103 *karye*[88] recorded in 1530 paid 152,162 akçe of tax. This was a substantial sum, pointing to an already developed network of villages. As argued earlier, Zagori and Papingo were populated already in the 14th century and therefore many of the 16th-century villages were thriving before the Ottoman conquest. The earlier status of these villages is unlikely to have been other than *karye*, with the nobles of Janina collecting tithes from the peasantry. Systematic sharecropping and use of dependent labour appeared in the 17th century, facilitated by the *çiftlik* estates (see below).

The prevalence of *karye* villages is in line with evidence from neighbouring regions in the Pindos. Metsovo (east of Zagori), has been known for its Vlach specialised pastoralism

88 *Karye*: village where each family owns their property, although they are liable to tax, in contrast to the residents of the estates. They are often erroneously called villages of "independent" peasants, in contrast with the dependent labour on estates such as *çiftlik*s. In this context, however, "independent" status by no means represents independence from the *timariots*, so the term is not used here to avoid confusion with the local narratives described in Chapter Two.

since the time of the first archaeologists in the area (Wace and Thompson, 1914). Nevertheless, this regional economy focussing on transhumant pastoralism evolved from 16th-century *karye* villages with extensive agricultural substrates (Dasoulas, 2019: 61-60; 321-329). Specialised pastoralism in Metsovo is the result of 17th-century local responses to structural changes in the broader Ottoman economy (the 17th c. crisis and emergence of the *çiftlik* estates).

Linotopi and Grammosta on Grammos are two similar *karye* cases. These villages were home to one of the principal painters' guilds during the 16th and 17th centuries (Tsambouras, 2013). Besides their focus on craftsmanship, 42% of their taxation was levied on agriculture (Dasoulas, 2012: 63). Linotopi was abandoned in the 18th century, but Grammosta developed into a montane town with 500 households, home to transhumant pastoralists, artisans and herders in the middle of the 17th century (Haciu, cited in Dasoulas, 2019: 64).

Zagori lies between the mountains of Metsovo (to the east) and Grammos (to the north) and operated under the same conditions during the 15th and 16th century Ottoman administration. Of the 103 properties recorded in TT 367 (1530), 13 were *has* and the rest *timar*s (for a full list see Appendix 1). Of the *has* that paid tax directly to the imperial treasury, seven belonged to Ayas Pasha, five to the *Sancakbeg* of Janina and one to the Sultan. The tax-rights of all *timar* properties belonged to the fortress-guards of Janina, and no *zeamet* properties were recorded.

Half a century later, TTK 28 (1583) recorded 87 (fiscal) settlements in the regions of Papingo and Zagori: 75 villages and 12 *mezraa*. Of the 13 settlements previously registered as *has*, only four remained under this fiscal category: two of them in the region of Papingo (*nahiye-i Papinkoz*) and two in Zagori (*nahiye-i Zagorye*). Hagios Minas was a *has* of Sinan Pasha and Artsista (Aristi) a *has* of the *Beylerbeg of Rum* in the region of Papingo. At the same time, Tservari (Elafotopos) and Skamneli were the two Sultanic *has* in Zagori. The rest of the Papingo villages included five *zeamet* properties and six *timar*s. Zagori had a similar proportion: 22 communities were *zeamet* and 31 *timar*s.

By the end of the 16th century, therefore, we see a reduction of *has* properties while *zeamet* and *timar* properties increase. Villages formerly recorded as *has* assets continued under different classifications. The shift from centralised administered financial entities (*has*) to a provincially managed financial system (*zeamet* and *timar*) reveals gradual administrative fragmentation in favour of the *timar* system and the *sipahi* cavalry forces.[89] This change is part of the Topography of Division, as outlined earlier, revealing an administrative perspective on this process.

Religion and the Topography of Transformation

The villages of Zagori remained universally Christian Orthodox after their peaceful submission to the Ottoman empire (1430). Based on the 16th-century registers, there were two minor exceptions. In 1530 the unidentified settlement of Ağnadova included two Muslim households (*hane-i Muslim*),[90] and the settlement of Dovra included three estates belonging to Muslims (1583).[91]

The case of the landholders in Dovra, Mehmet and Sinan, Janissary Ali and Murat, reveals one of the earliest phases of the Topography of Transformation. These Muslims acquired their estates in the 20-year interval between the registry of 1564/5 and 1583/4. These acquisitions form the prelude to the interference of various Muslim tax-farmers in the area from the 17th century onward. Furthermore, they are the earliest historical evidence for land ownership in the form of estates, rather than village-owned and collectively cultivated *mezraa*, slightly before the emergence of the first Orthodox monasteries as regional elites in the 17th-century context (as outlined earlier).

Population (data in Appendix 2)

Tahrir registers address issues of broader social and historical significance (Faroqhi, 2001). Early scholarship used them frequently to approximate both population numbers and agrarian production until Lowry (1992) criticised their uncritical use in creating detailed historical accounts and generalised patterns. Consequently, it became methodologically questionable to use them as systematic sources, while in the 21st century they have been rehabilitated as sources through the use of sampling and elementary statistics (Coşgel, 2004b: 87 ff).

Despite debates among Ottoman historians, understanding of the early modern Greek countryside has benefited significantly from these approaches (Bintliff, 2007; Kiel, 2007; Kolovos, 2017; Liakopoulos, 2019; Vionis, 2012), but they focus on a regional scale without aspirations to wider generalisation. Moreover, there is much uncertainty regarding household multipliers suitable for regional population estimation: from as high as 5 people per household (Barkan, 1957), to 3 – 3.5 (Asdrachas, 1978; Erder, 1975; Kolovos, 2012). I believe that in the case of Zagori, we would have to offer a contextualised reasoning behind any estimation on household sizes. To do so, I have decided to start backwards, analysing the 16th-

89 As mentioned in Chapter Five, the picture is always more complicated than the *timar* register within a *tahrir*. In a few instances complete villages are recorded in the *voynuk* cadasters when settlements were occupied only by members of the minor regional nobility.

90 TT 350: 270.

91 TT 586: 235 – 236. The first field belonged to Mehmet and Sinan: 500 *akçe*; the second to Janissary Ali: 1,500 *akçe*; and the third to Murat: 12,000 *akçe*.

century dynamics of Zagori by comparison with the well-documented 19th-century context.

The 19th century

The Ottoman *salname* cadastre of 1895 (Kokolakis, 2003a) and the complete 1906 register of the village of Artsista (Gouvis, 2003) offer indisputable total household and population numbers. Lambridis (1870) provides similar data to the registers, while other 19th-century sources offer fragmentary insights; Aravantinos (1856) refers vaguely to households (*tzakia* – literally hearths), and Nikolaidis (1851) records only population estimates.[92]

Together these sources provide reliable data. Ioannis Lambridis (Lambridis, 1870: 18 ff) offers a detailed population account, very close to the *salname* of 1895 in terms of relative numbers. Nikolaidis' covert military mission in 1851 was to assess the number and attitude of the "enslaved Greek Christians" in the Ottoman provinces of northern Greece, Albania, North Macedonia and Bulgaria (Douzinas, 1989). He recorded the population while neglecting the number of households.[93] The political nature of his mission renders some credibility to his account, but his data are of lower resolution than the precise 19th-century Ottoman censuses (Gouvis, 2003; Kokolakis, 2003a).

Six years after the survey of the Greek spy, Aravantinos (1856) published his estimate of the number of households and married couples in Epirus. Due to his Christian Orthodox political bias, he is considered a source of poor reliability for regions with strong Muslim components (Kokolakis, 2003a,b), but, as stated above, Zagori did not include Muslim households with two exceptions in the unidentified village of Ağnadova (see above). It is arguably safe, therefore, to use Aravantinos as a source of information. Furthermore, we have shown earlier that he had at his disposal fragmentary but accurate official registers (for the discussion of *Voinikio*, see Chapter Five).

Kokolakis (2003a: 396) argued that a multiplier of five people per household is relatively low for Zagori and its adjacent montane areas. He calculated every village's household multiplier based on the *salname* of 1895 and subsequently used each village's rate to approximate its total population in the earlier 19th century based on datasets recording only households. In the case of Zagori, he disregarded the data of Lambridis, although they agreed with his hypothesis that the end of the 19th century was a period of demographic decline compared to the middle of the century.

Forty villages from the 16th-century registers also appear in both substantial 19th-century sources. According to the *salname* of 1895, the mean number of persons per household is 4.7, with a standard deviation of 1.5.[94] Lambridis' information relied on data from 1868 offering a mean of 6.1 people per household, with a standard deviation of 1.3.

The only published exhaustive register of Ottoman Zagori addressing the microscale of the village (for the year 1906, Gouvis, 2003) provides information relevant to the whole region. According to this source, bachelors (*mücerred*) became head of the household at the age of 16, if the older head of the house died. The age of 16 falls in the middle of those suggested throughout the Empire (from 12 to 20 years old, Ataman, 1992: 188). The households of Artsista range from three to fifteen individuals, with a mean of 5.5 people (Gouvis, 2003). This figure falls between the equivalent figures of the *salname* (1895 – 4.7) and Lambridis (1868 – 6.1).

Liquid landscapes: the mobility of the travels

Late Ottoman Zagori tended towards large multigenerational households. However, a proportion of the recorded and taxed male population spent prolonged periods, or lived permanently, abroad (Dalkavoukis, 1999; see also Chapter One). The recorded, but absentee, males expose a significant bias of the 19th-century censuses when trying to estimate the population living in the mountains. Throughout the available dataset, the actual number of people residing in the mountains is lower than the recorded figures. For those migrating seasonally, mobility broadly lasted from the feast of St. George (April 23rd) to that of St. Demetrius (October 26th), whereas those residing permanently abroad returned to their homes on an irregular basis.

This consideration brings to the fore the concept of liquid landscapes (Sutton, 2000), as a critical standpoint regarding the accuracy and universality of source-based statistics. Records of this sort represent temporal snapshots implying stability within a broader liquid landscape defined through different modes of mobility (Forbes, 2007a; Sutton, 2000). In the case of Zagori, we can uncover this latent mobility by comparing the datasets of Nikolaidis and Aravantinos.

As stated above, Nikolaidis (1851: 1093, data collected in 1850) recorded total populations, while Aravantinos (1856) recorded only households. The maximum interval between the two accounts is five years (1850 – 1855). Based on the broader regional demographic picture (Kokolakis, 2003b), household numbers most probably remained similar over this period. In combination, the two registers reveal an average of 8.75 people per household with a

92 Pouqueville (1820) offers vague data that are most probably the oral estimations of his interlocutors while travelling. His account is also full of errors regarding toponyms and village names. Consequently, his data were deemed unreliable and are not used here.

93 Nikolaidis visited Zagori in 1850. He entered the region from Metsovo and crossed towards the west – northwest.

94 Kokkolakis suggests a household multiplier of five. The difference exists because I have omitted some villages of Eastern Zagori that belonged administratively to Grevena in the 16th century.

standard deviation of 3. These figures diverge significantly from the sample of Lambridis (6.1) and the 1895 *salname* presented above. The increased mean and standard deviation rates reveal the fluctuation of people within Zagori, highlighting the aspect of mobility that single-moment statistics cannot capture.

16th century population

Although Kokolakis (2003b,a) argued that the region witnessed a small demographic decline towards the end of the 19th century, the suggested differences are minor and do not signal broader changes. It is only after WWII that the population significantly decreased (Dalkavoukis, 2005; Green et al., 1998; Moudopoulos-Athanasiou, 2020b, also Chapter Two).

The 16th-century registers reveal a dynamic increase in both household and bachelor numbers. The following chart summarises the population in 1530, 1564 and 1583, based on 60 villages that appear in all three registers. It is worth noting that throughout the 16th century, the reference units (households and bachelors) remain stable, and therefore the variations are meaningful.

The above numbers reveal steady growth in both households and bachelors through the 16th century. Moreover, the total numbers are understated: I have excluded the widowed households (*bive*) recorded in 1530, as we lack these figures for the later analytical registers; and I have omitted the *voynuk*s from 1564 and 1583 because these families do not appear in the preceding summary *defter*.

We note that this picture is consistent with that throughout the Mediterranean in the 16th c. (Braudel, 1966), in contrast to the slightly declining (or stable) population of the 19th and early-20th centuries. As hinted earlier, the (at least seasonal) mobility of the *travels* finds its earliest textual documentation in 1670 Crete. As a result, the mid-17th century is a *terminus ante quem* for the intensification of this specific mode of mobility. Throughout this later period, mobility was well established, and households adapted their subsistence routines to the absence of the mobile part of the population.

However, fluctuation of the population was a characteristic of Zagori even in the early Ottoman centuries (15th and 16th centuries), because of the *voynuk*s. Individuals from these minor noble families were mobilised, at least on a seasonal basis, to serve in the stables of the sultan in Edirne. In Chapters Five and Six we elaborated on 16th-century material and spatial evidence for mobility, while these cases are implicit for the 15th century as well. Consequently, a *longue durée* of mobility characterised the region throughout the early modern period, but, at least for its beginning, in different terms to what Braudel envisioned: mobility in Zagori was associated with many parameters but not primarily related to vertical movement by pastoralists or seasonal agricultural workers.

Early hints of intensification of travelling

The 16th-century image presented above reveals some qualitative insights. Households and bachelors increase, as does their ratio (B:H). As reference units remain stable, it is evident that married couples increase, and each family has more children as we move towards the end of the century. This image implies the consolidation and intensification of *travelling*. Vassilis Dalkavoukis (Dalkavoukis, 1999), in his research into Zagorisian *travelling* assembled family histories and 19th-century folkloric narratives to define how mobility affected kinship. Generalised mobility influences directly the age of marriage and periodises reproduction. Males marry before their first *travel*, at a young age, and reproduce on periodic returns. The evolution of the 16th-century dataset points in that direction. By mid-century the B:H ratio has increased from 0.14 to 0.31 and in the later 16th-century Households increased by 66% mirroring the decrease in the age of marriage. In combination with the preceding discussion on the roots of 17th century *travelling* mobility, the relative population evolution during the 16th century as seen above supports a shift in the character of the previously solely elite (entrepreneurial) and military (*voynuk*) mobility, towards the more diverse pattern of the later centuries (artisans, seasonal workers, merchants etc.).

A historically adjusted 16th-century household multiplier

Zagori and Papingo remained a region of mixed-farmers, with a predominant agricultural component throughout the Ottoman period. As the nature of the economy did not change drastically in the period under study and as the parameters of the "liquid" landscape existed throughout the temporal framework under investigation, there is no reason to assume much lower household multipliers for the region in the 16th than in the 19th century.[95] Peasants continued to practise agriculture and animal husbandry, while their health conditions did not improve until modernisation in the second half of the 20th century (university-trained doctors became common after WWII). The following sections reveal how these population dynamics interplayed with regional agricultural and pastoral realities. Another grounded argument for employing a number larger than 3.5 as a household multiplier is that some settlements operate with less than 15 households. Demanding taskscapes in the montane landscape require larger households and substantial communal mutual aid (cf. Nitsiakos, 2015). It is unlikely that with 3-3.5 people per household such villages would have survived.

95 Regarding the 16th-century, demographic historians favour multipliers between 3 and 3.5 people per household (Asdrachas, 1978; Erder, 1975; Kolovos, 2012). This number is much lower than the above stated 19th century realities, and we see no obvious reason to abide by these numbers in the context-specific case of Zagori.

Table 6: Households (H), Bachelors (B) and ratio B:H, for Zagori and Papingo in the 16th century.

TT 367 - 1530			TT 350 - 1564			TTK 28 & 32 - 1583		
Households	Bachelors	B:H	Households	Bachelors	B:H	Households	Bachelors	B:H
1,606	224	0.14	1,774	553	0.31	2,664	1,116	0.41

Following the historically-informed discussion above, we could promote a household multiplier of 4 (plus the number of bachelors), to extract a rough 16th-century population estimate, based on the data of Table 6. This would render 6,648 people in 1530, 7,649 in 1564/5, and 11,772 in 1583/4. These estimates are rough and at the lower end of the likely scale, as *voynuk* families are excluded from the calculation for the reasons mentioned above.

Agricultural production

The 16th-century registers

The population estimates stated above reveal a booming mountainous region through the 16th century. As Zagorisian communities were sedentary, we would expect an extended agropastoral landscape, and, to an extent, Ottoman defters introduce the researcher to this setting. These documents recorded taxable resources and activities that would render profit to the imperial treasury (Coşgel, 2004b: 89). Surveyors recorded the anticipated taxes based on the averages of previous years. These rates form more useful indicators of average production, as collected taxes could vary significantly from one year to the next (Coşgel, 2004b: 89-90).

Personal, household and communal taxes were levied in cash, while tithes on production were measured on the output or input of activities and extracted in kind (Coşgel, 2004a: 5-6). Products such as cereals, pulses, and fibre, with a short harvest window, were subject to output taxation, collected during harvest in the field or on the threshing floor. Such *in situ* collection was closely monitored (Singer, 1994: 91) and cost-effective, as both quantity and quality were easily determined (Coşgel, 2004a: 17). Conversely, fruits and vegetables were taxed based on inputs: fruits according to the number of trees and vegetables based on the area of cultivated gardens (Coşgel, 2004a: 18) and taxation on gardens and orchards (*öşr-i bostan*) was proportional to the amount of land used. In this way, the authorities prevented underreporting and avoided variation in the size, quality, and ripeness of products.

Ottoman historians estimate cereal production by multiplying output taxes (measured in local *kile*) by the taxation rate (x 13.3, Coşgel, 2008: 375). They then convert the local *kile* to the standard *kile* of Istanbul (25 kg, Kabrda, 1973: 110) and estimate an average production per unit (village, region or district). As we lack the regional set of regulations (the *kanunname* of Janina), we cannot estimate the weight of the regional *kile* or *medre* (measure for liquids). We would have to estimate the local rates based on the neighbouring region of Metsovo (Dasoulas, 2019), in the district of Trikala, and this entails the risk of significant errors because the value of the latter varied considerably over time.[96] Additionally, since taxation relied on products beyond subsistence, similar figures can have different landscape imprints. Conversely, discussion of taxable resources in relative terms illustrates peasant adaptations to population increase.

The administrative districts of Papingo and Zagori consist of both mountain villages and settlements situated on the margins of the plains. First, I consider production estimates using the data of all 60 villages that appear in both analytical registers (1564 and 1583): 54 from the region of Zagori and four from Papingo.[97] This offers an overall picture of trends during the second half of the 16th century. In the following section, I divide the 60-village sample into two categories, based on their altitude and whether they are situated within the mountains or close to the plains (Appendix 3). This division reveals interesting differences in both growth trends and production estimates.

16th-century cultivation[98]

As mentioned earlier, there was a dynamic population rise during the 19 years from 1564 to 1583: numbers of households increased by 50% and of bachelors by 102%. This trend is not reflected in the taxation of crops grown under extensive cultivation. Wheat (*gendum*) and maslin (*mahlut*) remained stable.[99] Of the input taxes, gardens (*öşr-i bostan*) increase by 197%, from 1619 to 4813 *akçe*. Although we cannot convert *akçe* to land area (km^2), the extent of small plots and orchards by and large increased, especially bearing in mind that the *defters* record only surplus production and that the subsistence-consuming population had grown. *Resm-i piyaz*, the input tax on onions (*allium cepa*) appears only in the 1583 document (from zero in 1564 to 400 akçe nineteen years later). The tax on pigs increased by 80% and the levy on domestic hens by 12%. Vine cultivation decreased by 2% based on the quantity of must levied. We thus witness an intensification of cultivation with increased gardens and orchards, while

96 The *kile* of Trikkala fluctuates over time within the 16th century. In 1506 it weighs 2 *Kile Istanbul*, from 1520 to 1569 2.5 *Kile Istanbul* and in 1588 five *kile Istanbul* (Kabrda, 1973: 110).

97 TT 367 preserves half of the Papingo district. The first five villages survive only in the final register of TTK 28.

98 Unless otherwise stated, the statistics refer to data from the 60 villages appearing in both analytical registers.

99 Maslin (mixture of cereals) is the predominant crop (1834 kile in 1564, 1834.5 kile in 1583). Wheat follows (1514 kile in 1564, 1510.5 kile in 1583).

field crops remain stable. Among other, untaxed products cultivated for subsistence needs and therefore unrecorded, the rise of gardens and domestic animals, together with the appearance of onions points towards an irrigated garden economy. This is compatible with the population rise, as recorded in the same registers (see above).

In more detail, the tax on beehives increased by 29%. If we follow Kabrda's (1963: 41) suggestion that officials tax one *akçe* per beehive, Zagori and Papingo had 1,211 "registered" hives in 1564 and 1,561 in 1583. Only a few villages revealed a substantial surplus production of fruits and nuts, but small levies occurred in most cases – showing the existence of production mostly for household consumption. Finally, we may note a slight increase in the cultivation of linen and hemp, equal to 3%.

The resources addressed above form the most significant component of regional production taxes. Individual villages provide insights into different, scarcely taxable goods. Acorn tax (*öşr-i palamud*) appears in *Istar Papinkoz* (Papingo), cocoon tax in *Çernesi* (Elatochori) and *Frangades*, while charges on *prinokok* (cochineal) occurred in the village recorded as Iğlidyades (contemporary Lygiades).

The use of acorns as fodder for domestic animals in the mountains of Epirus is well attested ethnographically (Lymberopoulos, 1972), while during WWII it formed part of human nutrition (Aristi, interview with Stella Zissi, April 11th 2019. See also Halstead, 2014: 164). *Prinokok* (cochineal) was a highly-priced dye extracted from *Quercus coccifera*, the dominant evergreen oak species in the region (Stara et al., 2015b: 890). It was commonly used in the household-scale production of cloth (Lymberopoulos, 1972), and 16th-century Thesprotia also recorded instances of surplus (Balta et al., 2011). Acorns were used in the tanning industry and were an important export to Venice, from the Greek lands of the Ottoman empire, as the case of Keos also manifested (Kiel, 2007: 44). The fact that acorns and *prinokok* appeared only in two villages in the region need not indicate their absence from the other communities. Instead, it probably identifies the only two villages with significant production and the means to channel the products to the market. As is the case in most subsistence economies, the cloth was produced mostly for domestic consumption (cf. Forbes, 1976). Nonetheless, many villages paid levies on hemp (*kendir*) and flax (*ketan*), hinting that some of the textiles were sold in the festivals (*panegyria*) of Janina and Pogoniani.

Diversification, subsistence, and risks

This overview of regional taxes offers remarkable insights. The existence of surplus in cherries, walnuts, hazelnuts, and fruits in general (*meyve*), together with the charges on *prinokok*, acorns, and in one instance garlic (*sir*), point towards a landscape of diversified resources. The enormous increase of gardens and orchards (*bostan*) coincides with the introduction of onions, coupled with the substantial rise in domesticated pigs, arguing for the consolidation of a model based on polyculture, irrigated summer crops, and fragmentation of plots to reduce risks from crop failure (Forbes, 1976; Halstead, 2014). Moreover, as figures represent resources beyond subsistence, we must interpret their absence in some villages not as a lack of these products but as indicators of a household-based economy focussed on risk avoidance rather than surplus production. The emphasis on pigs and hens, less labour-demanding household animals kept in the yards, is consistent with the image of predominantly female labour, while men travel.

The inspection of major crops (wheat and maslin) shows similar tax-rates in 1564 and 1583. Yet, these stable rates conceal dynamic change. Registers inform us that wheat cultivation remained stable despite the significant population rise pointing to the limits of extensive farming in mountainous ecosystems. Rye (*çavdar*) is also taxed in Klithonia,[100] but presumably cultivated in other villages as well for subsistence. Maslin, (*mahlut* / *smigádi*) is a mixture of wheat and other cereals (Halstead, 2014: 361), and the relevant tax appears against all the villages. However, except for rye in Klithonia, other grains are never recorded in the taxable resources of the 60 villages presented above. However, they undeniably existed, as maslin prevailed as the first 16th-century regional staple crop, and this presupposes the existence of other cereals. The silence of the sources reveals that these crops must have been grown outside the tax sector to support peasants in the area. As wheat remained stable, cultivation of rye and other unrecorded cereals, such as barley, must have expanded on the highland terraces so that households could respond to the population rise. Ethnography informs us that peasants adapting to the mountainous landscape favoured rye, as a more resilient crop for high altitudes and poor soils: it was the dominant crop in Zagori, even within living memory. Consequently, Zagorisians paid tax in wheat but probably consumed other cereals for subsistence.

Leaving aside the hypothesised increase in the cultivation of rye hinted at by ethnographic observations, the fact that wheat and maslin rates remain stable despite the significant population rise implies a regional limit to the capacity for extensive cultivation. Monoculture poses threats to subsistence economies (Forbes, 1976; Halstead and O'Shea, 1989) and the great increase of labour-intensive resources (gardens, orchards and "household" animals – pigs and hens) point to the mixed-farming model

100 Rye appears as a taxable resource only in the village of Klithonia, the wealthiest village of the region, but unfortunately, its details survive partially in TT 350, and therefore I have excluded it from the overall regional calculations. Situated in the mountains of the Papingo district, in 1583 it pays 18,000 akçe, while the median village tax rate is 2,400 and the average 4,100.

as the selected strategy to cope with population rise. The modest commercialisation of wine and the existence of local notables (*voynuk*s) also leave a window open for the potential import of grain from the Janina markets and the regional bazaars, at least for a few elite households.

16th-century peasant responses to population rise

These insights point to the economy beyond the registers, allowing us to trace peasant adaptations to the mountainous landscape. Most of the arable land is poor and requires labour-intensive tactics to render the small agricultural plots productive, either on the lower slopes and plateaux or in the terraced highlands.

Nineteenth-century surveys categorise most fields in Zagori as useless (*bedel* and *edna*), with only a few fertile soils (*âlà*) (Papageorgiou, 1995: 49-50). Most rich areas were reserved for vine-cultivation, the main cash-crop. Cereals, therefore, had to be cultivated in small plots around the village, low-quality distant upland fields (sometimes up to 1,700 masl) and intensively managed gardens and orchards (*bostan*) following the system of crop-rotation. But the hidden component of rye cultivation is insufficient to address the demographic increase. The increased number of gardens, the rise of domestic pigs, and the introduction of onions[101] argue for a shift towards an intensification of cultivation as the primary response to demographic change.

Resm-i piyaz (onions) is absent from 1551 Thesprotia (Aydonat) (Balta et al., 2011) and forms a small percentage of the taxed production of the Aegean in the 17th century (Kiel, 2007: 43; Vionis, 2012: 53). Within 19 years (1564/5 – 1583/4) onions were introduced in the registers of eight villages.[102] Polyculture in small, fragmented plots and the irrigated garden economy must be seen as a response to population increase at a time with no evidence for the cultivation of New World crops in the region. In parts of the Empire, where orchard-focussed intensive cultivation prevailed, the two taxes were collected in one tithe, addressing polyculture explicitly by naming all crops cultivated in the garden (Solak, 2003: 11).[103] This is not the case in Zagori, arguing for a small-scale household oriented production with varied combinations.

Qualitative insights

As stated in Chapter Two, the division into districts (*nahiye*) represents administrative rather than cultural boundaries, fragmentary remnants of the final years of the "Despotate". As an alternative basis for classification, I divided a 60-village sample into two groups: 30 settlements at higher elevations also including the abandoned villages and 30 villages comprising the unidentified ones and those occupying lower slopes or situated in the plain of Janina (see Appendix 3). The unidentified villages of Ağnandova, Liğoka, and Muhyades are placed in the second segment because they do not appear as toponyms in the core region of Zagori (Oikonomou, 1991; and the unpublished catalogues of the Lazaridis archive), and therefore probably occupied lower areas beyond the core of Zagori.

The "mountain" settlements are more heavily populated. Highland households make up 71% of the recorded population in 1564 and 66% of the sample in 1583. They grow by 41% (from 1256 to 1768) and their bachelors increase by 72% (from 395 to 681). A faster growth rate appears in the less populated "lowlands": households increase by 73% (from 518 to 896) and bachelors by 175% (from 158 to 435). The considerable imbalance in the geographical distribution of the population (>66% lives in the "mountains") is not replicated in the production of wheat and maslin, as the relevant taxation is more evenly split between the two groups of villages.[104]

The comparison between aspects of intensive agriculture offers sharper insights. Vines, as the primary 16th-century cash crop, had the potential to monetise the economy to cope with taxation (Asdrachas, 1982). In the 60-village sample, we notice a decline in the tithe of must, and therefore vine cultivation by 2%. Looking separately at this for the two groups, however, we see that the "montane" group reveals an 11% increase, while the "lowlands" have a 24% decrease. In the "montane" subdivision, agricultural production remained stable, despite the population surge, but vines increased. This is an adaptive choice to maintain vine cultivation, while households prioritised the investment in intensive polyculture aiming for subsistence more broadly.[105] Vines are labour-intensive crops that share the same land-use logic with the gardens (*bostan*) analysed below.

The amount of land dedicated to gardens steeply increased in both divisions. In the "mountains", it rose by 224% (from 1024 akçe to 3316) suggesting that the primary response to population increase was the installation of

101 Klithonia once again offers some key insights. Situated in the mountains, it controls several lowland fields on the plain of Konitsa, where *manastir-i Sotira* acted as an autonomous fiscal entity in the 16th century. Klithonia is the sole village cultivating onions already in 1564. Together with its monastery they paid 290 *akçe* for its production (*resm-i piyaz*) – that is 38% of the rest of the district production in 1583.

102 1. Ağlitonyavista; 2. Rizokastro; 3. Voydomat; 4. Laliza; 5. Istar Papinkoz; 6. Iskamnel; 7. Viziça; 7. Manastir-i Arhaggelo; 8. Sopoçel.

103 e.g., *öşr-i bostan-piyaz-penbe* (garden with onions and cotton) and b*ostan-meyve* (fruit orchard).

104 58% – 61% of wheat production and 56% – 58% of maslin production lies in the mountains.

105 Vine cultivation surfaced as a response to growing populations in many instances. In the Peloponnese, the switch to the cultivation of raisins intensified in response to growing population and shrinking land-holdings (cf. Psychogios, 1995).

many gardens within 19 years. Onions are introduced in the sample in 1583, and montane villages cultivated 99% of them. The swine impost also increased by 80% from 1564 to 1583, evenly divided between the samples. These insights strengthen the case for a shift towards agricultural activities requiring labour-intensive strategies.

A garden economy of mixed-farming is the strategy that sustained Zagori throughout the early modern period until the breakdown of social cohesion after WWII, the Civil War, and the emigration of the 1960s (see Chapter Two). The data of the 19 years from TT 367 to TTK 28, in the final part of the 16th century, reveal the intensification of this development. Expansion and diversification of agricultural production were survival strategies allowing the montane communities of Zagori to avoid tax-related and environmental risks, remaining sedentary throughout the early modern period.

The visible manifestation of these decisions occupies lengthy parts of the books of 18th- and 19th-century travellers, while most of the material remains of these activities survive in ruins within forests. While walking from Baya (Kipoi) to Liaskovetsi (Leptokarya), Nikolaidis reflected on this early modern landscape as follows:

> This area around the bridge is fertile [Figure 37], with many small gardens, trees, grassland and watermills. The road crosses the river towards a hill, and ten minutes later descends to another current. Twenty minutes later it rises to a nice plateau full of oaks. (…) The road adapts to the anomalies of the terrain, moving around the massive blocks of schist. It provides to the observer a view of the magnificent beauty of nature and the industriousness, to the extent possible, of human society. Many beautiful women cover the surface of the pleasant but also barren mountains. They cultivate with any means the few plots of land suitable for cultivation. White flocks adorn the ungrateful rocks; vineyards grow in between the rocks promising vigour to the men and voluptuousness to the women. (Nikolaidis, 1851: 1080-1081, translated by the author).

Nikolaidis illustrated the economic model of mixed-farming and animal husbandry. In a nutshell, he outlines the necessity to diversify resources (polyculture by the watermills in the fertile valley), set against the plateau of oaks, economically significant for providing leaf-fodder, acorns, and wood (Halstead, 1998; Stara, 2009; and 7.8 below). The model of polyculture implied by the changing information of the registers is more diverse at the time Nikolaidis travels in the region (1851). The introduction of sorghum (17th century) and maize (18th century) (Stoianovich, 1953: 405) and potatoes diversified the model, while many upland areas were sown with lentils. However, the argument that *karye* villages resisted the introduction of new crops because the *Kulturträger* was simultaneously the bearer of serfdom" (the structure of 17th-century *çiftlik*s, Stoianovich, 1953: 406) cannot be sustained as we have seen that the hierarchies of the mountainous communes of Zagori were related to the elites of Janina (Chapter Five).

Mobility characterises the Zagori at least from the 15th century and the establishment of the *voynuk*s. Therefore, throughout these centuries, agricultural labour was gendered to varying degrees. Nikolaidis addressed the vital role of women in intensive polyculture in another passage:

> Of the 21,560 individuals listed above, the males abandon this barren land, migrating, practising the trade, crafts, and other occupations abroad. They make money and return to (…) families. (…) The women of Zagori (…) suffer from the consequences of the Original Sin, destined **to carry heavy weights on their backs but also ploughing and using the hoe extensively to cultivate this barren and ungrateful land**. They are beautiful and pale like nereids, striders with flexible bodies and fast legs, like deer. For long, they are left without male protection (…) replacing their husbands in every male work successfully, being the masters of the household as well as the fields. Zagorisians are so familiar with this female-structured society that they forgot the male last-names and call the husbands by the female name. (Nikolaidis, 1851. Translated by the author, emphasis added).

While men travelled abroad to raise money for their households, women shaped the mountainous landscape of subsistence. These gendered roles of mixed-farming agriculture in Zagori remain underexplored (but see Dalkavoukis, 2015b), lying in the shadow of the elite and male-focussed "grand narratives" analysed in Chapter One. Their stories are told mostly by men (Dalkavoukis, 2015b; Lambridis, 1889; Lazaridis, 1978; Nikolaidis, 1982; 1851)[106] and female lives in the mountain remain the substrate for the establishment of the *League of Zagorisians* and the elite narratives.

Although Nikolaidis portrayed women as heads of households and independent, the social structure of Zagori was male-dominated. Besides the dowry

106 Of the 175 titles relevant to the history of Zagori listed on the website of the Zagorisian Alliance Cultural Foundation (Σύνδεσμος Ζαγορισίων), only one addresses the *second sex* (after Beauvoir, 1949) in its title: https://izagori.gr/publications/bibliography.html (Accessed: 03.05.2020).

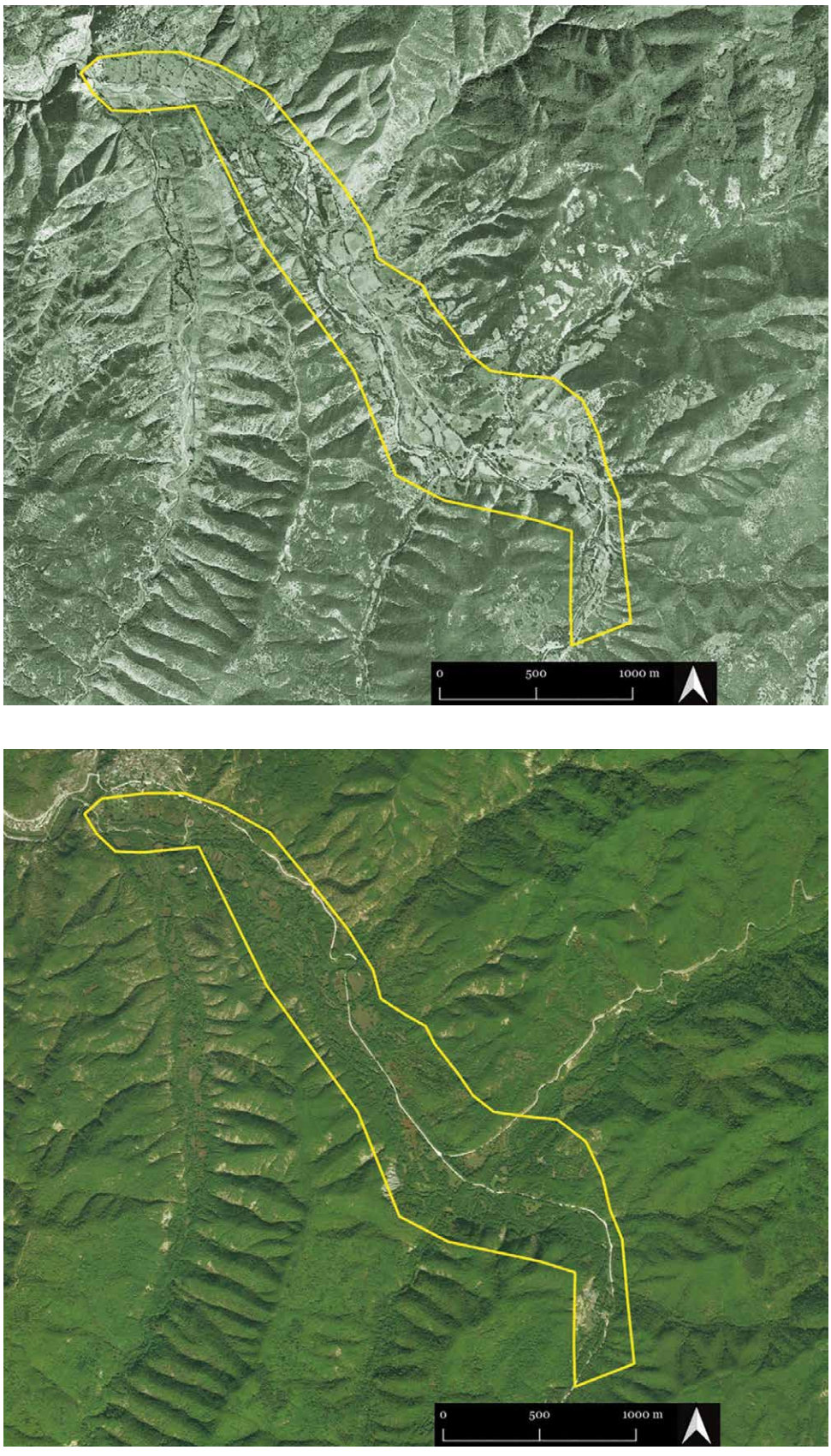


Figure 37: The area described by Nikolaidis, in 1945 and 2021. © Faidon Moudopoulos-Athanasiou.



Figure 38: The Final Judgement and the women stealing zucchini, cabbage and leek. © romiazirou.blogspot.com.

system addressed above, the presence of a female zone (*gynaeconitis*) in churches mirrors gender-related labour divisions. In St. George's church in Negades (1792), the descent into hell is depicted in the *gynaeconitis*, at the church's west-end. Among the common deadly sins, there are two gender-specific and agriculturally significant reasons for eternal punishment (Figure 38): "the woman stealing the zucchini" and "the woman pocketing the cabbage and the leek" (Kontopanagou, 2010: 355). These representations confirm that women formed the basis of peasant households, and often stole from other households to subsidise their families.

All three vegetables depicted are products of intensive gardening, upon which Zagori relied for survival, and whoever dared to steal from another household's gardens was cast out of Heaven. Cabbage theft as a deadly sin highlights the scarcity of resources: in 1583, only the village of Tsernesi (150 households) records a small surplus of cabbages (*öşr-i lahana*), equal to 20 *akçe*. The location of this scene in the *gynaeconitis* highlights the engendered roles of intensive, irrigated, garden cultivation, consolidated in the second half of the 16th-century.

A comparative approach – Metsovo

I argued above that the registers reveal important economic adjustments. A comparison with the neighbouring district of Metsovo strengthens the case that this image is an adaptive choice based on human agency, instead of environmental determinism. Until the late 16th century, the district of Metsovo maintained an important sedentary component, while 61% – 66% of its taxation was levied on non-herding activities (based on data from 1454/5 and 1506 – Dasoulas, 2020: 321-326). By the mid. 17th century, the settlement pattern of Metsovo changed from a majority of sedentary villages around 900 masl practising herding and agriculture to the "stereotypical" transhumant pastoral economy known today, at 1,300 masl and above (Dasoulas, 2019: 77-80). Dasoulas rightly interprets this change through the lens of the 17th-century macroeconomic changes in the Ottoman Empire. The demise of the *timar* and the rise of the elite *çiftlik* estates generated numerous winter pastures in the lowlands. Communities in Metsovo possessed extended highland pastures. The dangerous mountainous passages of the area were protected as a *derbend* since 1568 (Kolovos, forthcoming),[107] and the risk of animal theft was subsequently low. As a result, transhumant pastoralism presented itself as an opportunity with low cost, low risk and high yields (wool and other secondary products) (Dasoulas, 2019: 80) for the elites of the area.

In contrast to Metsovo, Zagori adjusted to demographic increase and macroeconomic alterations with a sedentary strategy. The appearance of significantly more orchards, onions, and pigs in the 1583 *tahrir* supports this hypothesis. These resources form the basis for the diversified and intensive agriculture of subsistence, together with the introduction of maize, later in the 17th century.

Under this historical understanding, McNeill's (1992: 163) argument is reversed: the model of polycropping is not a result of the introduction of maize from the New World. It forms part of a response to population rise, rather than being its cause. "Herculean labour: cutting timber, [and] building terraces" (McNeill, 1992: 163), does not intensify in the

107 Metsovo (Miçova in the sources) was a *derbend* already in 1568/9, as seen in Chapter Five, and had 450 Christian households. *Derbends* experienced similar tax-exemption and privileges to the *voynuk*s and allowed elite families to maintain power and wealth that would enable them to invest in transhumant pastoralism by the turn of the century.

17th century. It runs through the 16th century and is, to an extent, a regional reality since the 14th century.

The mezraa areas

Mezraa areas were fields taxed for their surplus cereal production, as opposed to pastures, vineyards, and orchards (İnalcık and Quataert, 1994: 164). Within the context of 16th-century growth, these areas, situated at the margins of village territories, were essential for the subsistence economies. The term stood for either land of abandoned villages or remote cultivated areas (İnalcık, 1991: 959). As the classical *timar* relied upon all potential income from agricultural activities, the Sublime Porte assigned these regions to *sipahi*s. Before the devaluation of silver (late 16th-century, cf. Pamuk, 2000), *sipahi*s saw in the *mezraa* an incentive for additional income. Thus, they kept the arable lands in cultivation using villagers from neighbouring communities, which were subsequently taxed.

On the communal scale, these areas were significant resources for surplus production (İnalcık, 1991: 960) or, in the case of Zagori, niches that would guarantee agricultural subsistence and diversification of production. Villages possessing such lands paid tax collectively, and *mezraa* in extreme cases could be converted into summer pastures (*yaylak*) or winter pastures (*kışlak*) and *vice versa* according to need. The distance of *mezraa* from the villages and their inaccessibility led authorities to collect levies once a year, based on the total output produced (Coşgel, 2004a: 6).

Zagori possessed two types of *mezraa*. Most of these areas were assigned to specific villages (16), but a few properties (8) stood out as independently registered fief revenues. Zagori and Papingo form a region larger than 1000 km^2, with 69 villages recorded in 1583, and only 24 *mezraa*, 66,6% of which belong to specific communities. Satellite cultivable areas, however scarce, played a vital role in the subsistence of the mountainous landscape; hence most were incorporated into the village holdings. Furthermore, the existence of only a few *mezraa* fits well within the dynamics of a landscape where every cultivable niche was valuable: only in a few instances was land unused.

The fewer independent plots (recorded since 1530) provide different insights. Six of them appeared on TT 350 (1564) and generated a sum of 4,750 *akçe*. In 1583, their income dropped to 4,209 *akçe*. Two of the properties appear to pay the same amount, while three others show a significant reduction in the amount collected.[108] Only the two wealthiest areas maintained their tax rate. These belonged to individuals, as their names indicate: the *mezraa* of Yanni Kondomanol and Duru, paid 1,000 and 1,500 *akçe* respectively in all surveys.

Such remote areas were difficult to cultivate systematically, as they required increased peasant mobility. Scholars assume that *mezraa* formed part of the invisible village economy, trying to hide resources from the tax collectors (İnalcık, 1991: 961). Nevertheless, precisely because some information on resources remained hidden, local leaders were present to minimise evasion (Coşgel, 2004b: 90). As regional notables were presumably aware of the *mezraa* potential, it is likely that hidden resources (if any) existed in different areas of Zagori, at higher altitudes and in distant locations, away from the network of communications and known only to the peasantry. Factors such as the cost-efficiency of peasant labour and geographical restrictions defined to an extent subsistence strategy. In the mountains especially, where such areas are scarce, it was potentially challenging for the *sipahi* to enforce cultivation, as this would not yield significant revenues to compensate for the cost of bringing external labour to work the limited number of unclaimed areas.

The reduced income estimates of the *mezraa* belonging to communities, support the fluctuating pattern of cultivation. This suggestion does not apply to owners probably creating surplus for their households, such as Yanni Kondomanol and Duru. These properties are reminiscent of private holdings (*mülk*) but not recorded as such (for the only *mülk* property).

The *mezraa* associated with certain villages[109] are indicators of peasant mobility or changes in settlement pattern. The village Dovra owns the area of Hagio Yorgi (St. George) in the district of Kurenda, present-day Zitsa. The land lies west of the Janina basin, more than 20 km from the village. One of the three *timar*s forming the village Çerniça (Kipoi) in 1530 (TT 367: 269-271) was noted as abandoned but farmed by external peasants. This case does not even require increased peasant mobility as families belonging to the different *timar*s (Çerniça Baya and Çerniça Büzürg) would have been cultivating these fields, paying the tax to a different timariot.[110] *Mezraa-i Kato Ziça* (or *Kaloğeritsa*) in the district of Grevena belonged to Vovousa. Before the census of 1564 it was recorded as a village, subsequently abandoned, and cultivated by peasants from Vovousa (TT 350: 414). This case too does not necessarily indicate

108 Mezraa-i Butzuna Tarlades (?), 87% revenue loss – from 600 to 100 *akçe*; Mezraa-i Dubaka, 40% loss – from 1,000 akçe to 600; Mezraa-i Lounga 20% loss from 500 to 400 akçe.

109 Vradeto (Ivra(de)to Küçük) possessed a *mezraa* named Klisura *alias* Koursoviça. The monastery of Archangels (*Manastir-i Arhaggelo*), today uncharted in the forested area between Leptokarya (Liaskovetsi) and Frangades possessed a mezraa that goes by the name Busniça.

110 All three Çerniça *timar*s belong to different guards of the Janina castle.

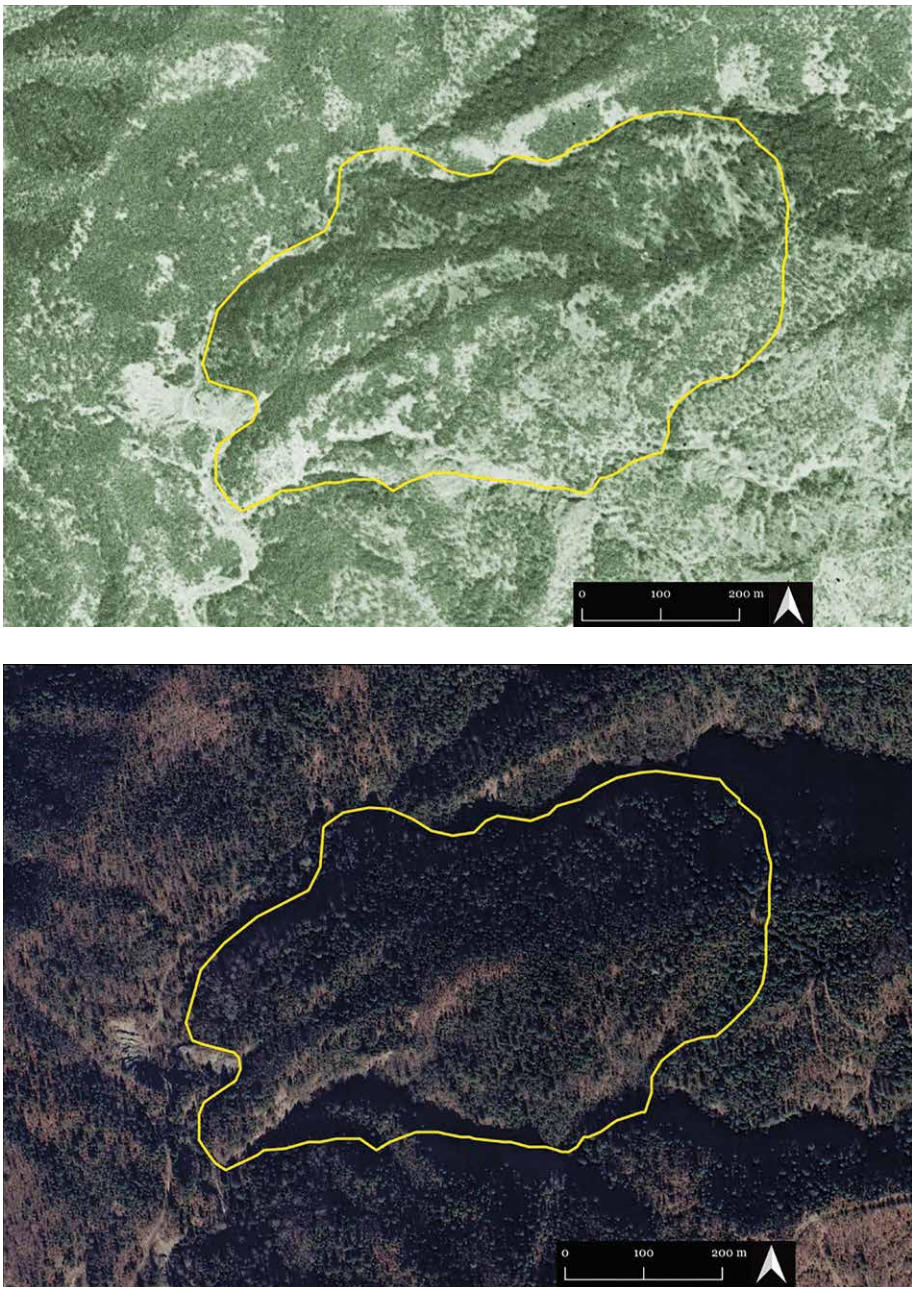


Figure 39: *Mezraa-i* Lounga, in 1945 and 2021. © Faidon Moudopoulos-Athanasiou.

significant peasant mobility, as Vovousa is on the border between Zagori and Grevena.

From the above, it becomes obvious that the nature of these holdings is context-specific and *mezraa* only a descriptive fiscal term that does not result in a strict typology of holdings (Kotzageorgis, 2018: 5). Some of them were abandoned villages, cultivated by external peasants, while others formed the foundation of future settlements. In some other instances, they were just arable land. However, despite the vague definition, such areas were rare but important in the mountainous region under study.

The identification of the associated toponyms is challenging even in the plains, where such areas existed for centuries as solely arable land (Bennet, 2007; Kotzageorgis, 2018). Beyond the plains, the endeavour is more complicated: most of the non-Greek toponyms were hellenised, rendering any hope futile (for the well documented case of Greek Macedonia, see Alexopoulos, 2011; Lithoksoou, 1993). One final difficulty lies in the toponyms, mostly referring to distant names, forgotten through the centuries: such are the cases of Yanni Kondomanol, Duru and Dino Bama in Zagori. The following section reveals the data for the only *mezraa* located in the context of the present survey.

Mezraa-i Lounga

Mezraa-i Lounga (Table 7), in the village of Frangades, is the exception to this rule. If we follow the vague, but descriptive, the definition of *mezraa* areas, Lounga does not fulfil the criteria. The elongated area has natural borders: a small stream to the north and west, another stream to the south and southeast, and the steep elevation of the mountain to the east. The area today is dense woodland, and for the last century, it has been used as an area for timber exports (interview with Kyr-Napoleo, 89 years old, 25 April 2019).

The aerial imagery from the early 20th century does not reveal any hint of cultivation besides the remnants of a few potential fields (Figure 39). Yet, throughout the 16th-century, this area yielded levies related to agriculture. Despite the radical transformation of this landscape into a dense mixed forest (pine and oaks) and associated changes in sediments and erosion, fieldwork provided some scarce material remains related to the 16th-century practice. Surveying such a dense forest is an exhausting endeavour, as in some instances steep elevation and uncharted pathways draw one's attention away from archaeology. We recovered one extensive field boundary, two small rectangular structures (3 by 3 m.), one "extensively" preserved terrace and scarce hints of other structures (Figure 40).

But more importantly, we discovered a few levelled openings with relatively young trees, substantial sediment and some adjacent traces of terracing. These are situated on the eastern slopes and the steep mountain to the north – northwest, protecting them from harsh winds. Wild boars, the sole proprietors of this landscape today, play their part in revealing the deep sediments of these catchments (Figure 41). These conditions are highly favourable for rain-fed cultivation. In a less wooded landscape, these east-facing extended flat terraces could have formed the location for the rain-fed cultivation noted in the 16th-century registers.

As regards the composition of the Lounga woodland, young pine trees prevail, followed by a smaller proportion of deciduous oaks. Evidence of felled trunks is apparent, yet we recorded logging traces only in oaks that must have been ancient trees, based on the growth pattern of the new branches and the narratives of former loggers from Frangades village. The trees emerging from the coppiced oaks do not develop vertically in the classic pattern of competition for light. These emerging branches must have grown before the emergence of the dense pine forest. Besides

TT 367: 270	TT 350: 451	TTK 28: 127a
132 akçe	500 akçe	400 akçe

Table 7: Revenues of *mezraa-i* Lounga.

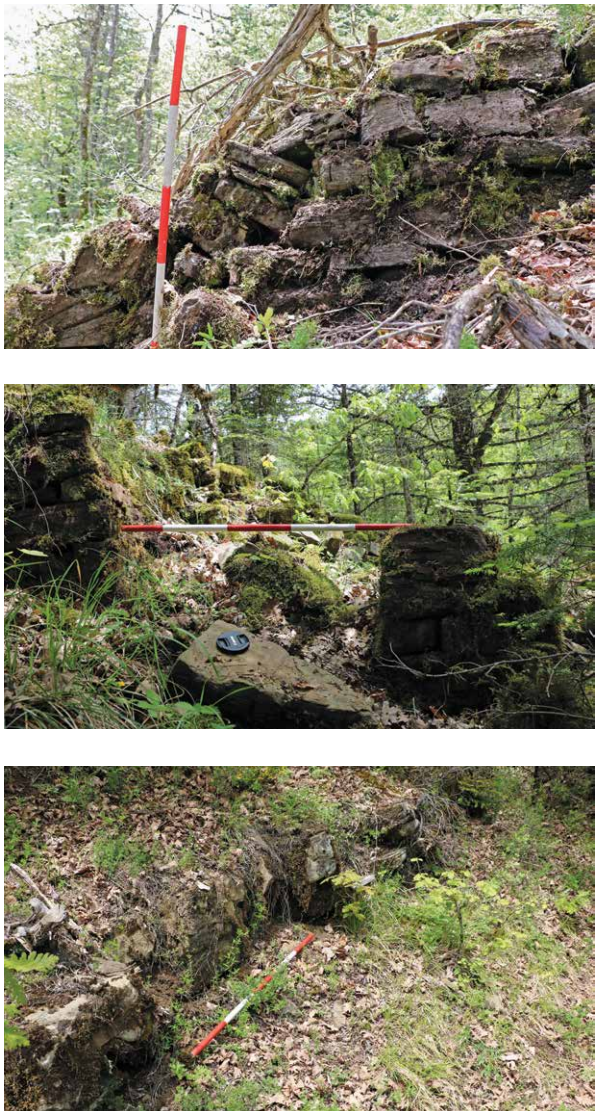


Figure 40: Field boundaries, structures and terraces at *mezraa-i* Lounga. © Faidon Moudopoulos-Athanasiou.



Figure 41: Deep sediments favourable for rain-fed cultivation revealed by wild boars. © Faidon Moudopoulos-Athanasiou.





Figure 42: Young oaks emerging from ancient, coppiced, trees and ancient individual *Quercus frainetto*. © Faidon Moudopoulos-Athanasiou.

logged oaks, we discovered two ancient individual trees (*Quercus frainetto*) situated at the highest point of Lounga at 1,100 masl (Figure 42). Their development also reveals that they grew in open space. Their trunk circumferences were 4.2 and 4.8 meters, respectively. A relative estimation,[111] in the absence of coring evidence, suggested 331 years for the first and 378 years for the second tree.

The data from ancient individual and ancient logged oaks reveal a window onto the late 17th-century. Lounga was a completely different landscape. Without the dense pine forest and with oaks having developed in open spaces, the area resembled the typical agricultural landscape of Zagori during the early modern period: slopes defined by three different streams, a few plateaux for rainfed cultivation, two small rectangular structures, a few surviving terraces, and a few field boundaries.

This is not the typical image of a lowland *mezraa* dedicated to agriculture. Nonetheless, it fits the description of a satellite resource for the diversified sedentary subsistence mountainous economy. The administration sought ways to incorporate the diversified countryside into its fiscal mechanisms, through the *mezraa* units. The area was more critical than its farming prospects. Paraphrasing Forbes (1976), Lounga in the 16th-century context provided a little bit of many things: besides cereals, it probably provided leafy hay, wood, grazing land, and non-wood forest products.

Shared properties: the mezraa and beyond

Dovra shared a *mezraa* with Vezitsa (Vitsa). Such features frequently appear in the 16th-century registers related to the borderlands between communities. These two villages of Zagori share borders up to the present on the peak of a mountain named Gorilla, in the vicinity of Paliochori (see also the relevant parts in Chapter Six).

Mezraa shared by multiple villages were not cultivated communally. Quite the contrary, the field pattern recovered on the contemporary border between Vezitsa and Dovra (Figure 43) revealed small, fragmented fields pointing to exploitation by households. A set of published archival information (Lazaridis, 1977) informs us that plots were subjected to fragmentation as households split, or kinship relationships altered. Furthermore, the property of those unable to pay their household shares were auctioned to the highest bidder (*mezátia*, < Ott. Turk. *mezad*, Lazaridis 1977: 17-18). In this way, wealthy families of some villages came to own arable land in distant areas.

The pastoral element

The yaylak summer pastures

During the 18th and 19th centuries, most of the mountain communities of Zagori rented their summer pastures to transhumant and nomadic pastoralists (Dalkavoukis, 2005; Lazaridis, 1981; Moudopoulos-Athanasiou, 2022a). If this model existed in the 16th century, the profit from the transactions would have been recorded in the registers, in the form of *resm-i yaylak* tax to the sedentary communities. The absence, therefore, of many recorded summer pastures in the 16th-century registers is an important point for consideration.

Only three villages had recorded *yaylak*s:[112] Klithonia (*Ağlitonyavista* – 30 akçe) and Papingo (*Istar Papinkoz* – 200 akçe), on the edges of Papingo district, and the newly founded Makrino (20 *akçe*)[113] in Zagori. The first two villages act as gateways to the summer pastures of Papingo (see also Chapter Eight). Based on their high taxation rates, Klithonia (18,000 *akçe*) and

111 Based on the calculator at: http://www.tree-guide.com/tree-age-calculator (Accessed: 10.05.2020).

112 In TTK 28 (1583).

113 For the role of Makrino in understanding the early Ottoman elites of Zagori, see Chapter Five.

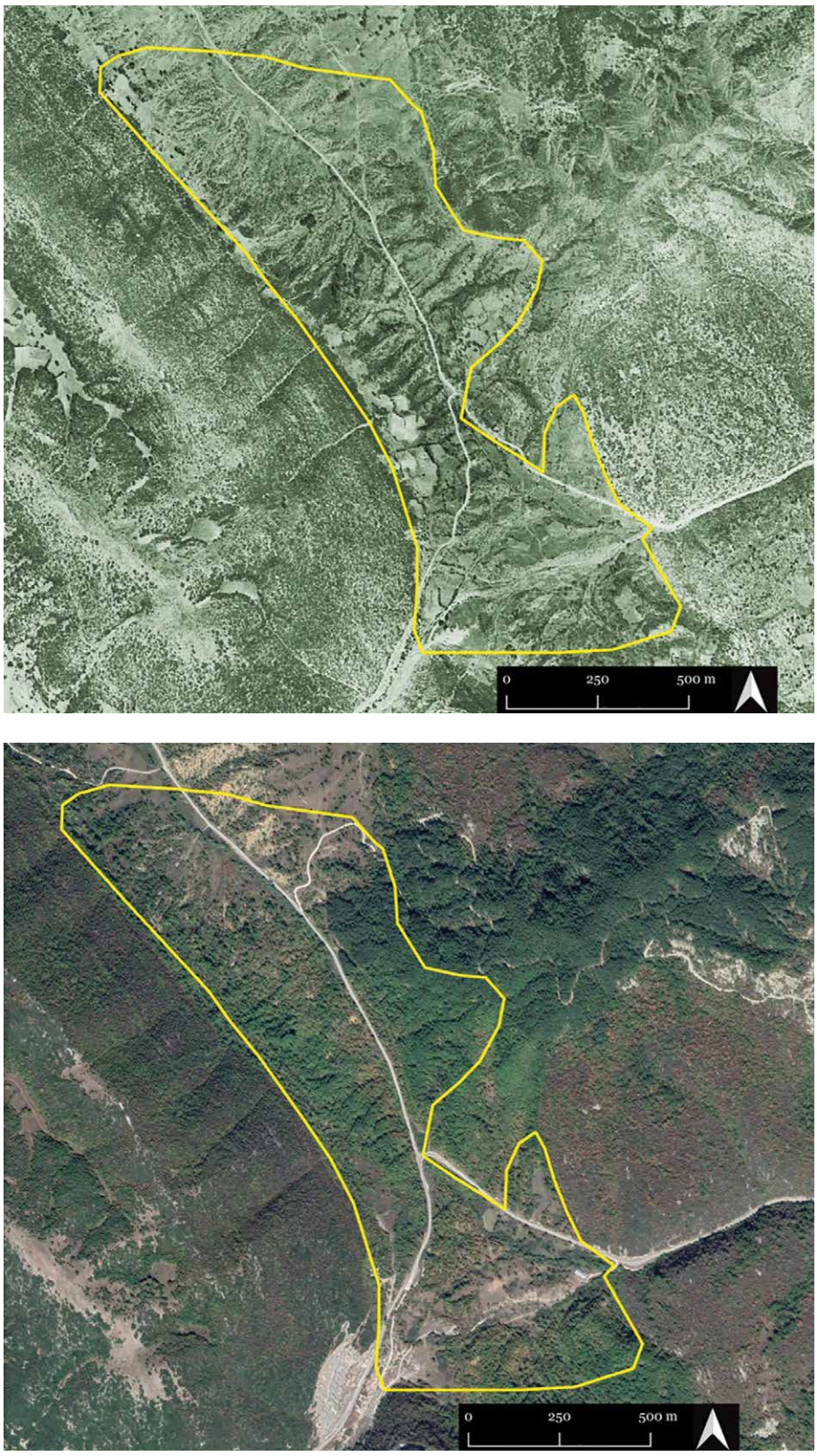


Figure 43: The field pattern on the contemporary border between Vezitsa and Dovra, 1945 and 2021. © Faidon Moudopoulos-Athanasiou.

Papingo (16,000 *akçe*) presumably rented their summer pastures to transhumant and nomadic pastoralists in the 16th century. This reveals their interaction with the large flock-owners of the century. By contrast, Makrino was a newly registered village (*hariç ez defter*) in 1564 and, nineteen years later, the village's summer pasture appeared for the first time.

The hidden component of pastoralism (16th-19th c.)

It would be wrong to assume other villages had no pastoral component. Rather the suggested model of animal husbandry alongside mixed-farming is a form of herding that remained invisible to the surplus-oriented nature of the registers. As defters record the peasantry's surplus assets, we must consider whether other communities with privileged access to summer pastures (e.g., Vradeto, Kapesovo, Tsepelovo, and Skamneli) used them in the context of self-sufficiency.

The primary restriction of the 16th-century database is the absence of figures related to the region's pastoral aspect. The tax on herds (*'an-'Ādet-i ağnām*) is recorded in different parts of the registers which do not survive or which we have not yet been able to locate. Although lacking the relevant data for Papingo and Zagori, we know that the whole region of Janina (*Yanya livasi*) paid 724,780 *akçe* in 1530 (Kiliç, 2016: 25). This number allows for an estimate of the total pastoral component of the region, as each *akçe* accounted for two sheep or goats, excluding kids younger than one-year-old. As a result, the total number of sheep and goats surpassed 1,429,560 head. Papingo and Zagori had an unspecified share in this total.

Aravantinos (1856b: 396-397) copied the official yearly animal register in his book on the history of Epirus. If we select the districts that formed part of this geographical region in 1530,[114] the taxable sum is 1,446,762 *guruş*. In the 19th century, the ratio was one *guruş* per head (Papageorgiou, 1995: 83) and therefore we are dealing with a very similar number of animals for both distant years (1,429,560 – 1,446,762).

In Aravantinos' defter, Zagori (incl. Papingo) paid 54,000 *guruş* and therefore possessed herds with over 54,000 individual animals, excluding lambs/kids. That is 4% of the total number of the district. This figure accounts for the herds of Zagorisians and not transhumant and nomadic pastoralists renting the Zagori summer pastures. As Zagori remained sedentary throughout the early modern period and practised animal husbandry alongside polyculture, we can hypothesise that the region occupied a similar percentage of the 1530 total: that is approximately 53,000 head (see below).

114 These areas are: 1-Yanya kazası; 2-Narda kazası; 3-Grebene kazası; 4-Rinasa kazası; 5-Koniçe nahiyesi & Permedi kazası (Kiliç, 2016: 2).

16th-century Zagori and Metsovo

To test this hypothesis, we can compare Zagori to the region of Metsovo in the 15th and 16th centuries, when Metsovo also practised animal husbandry, with a greater focus on the pastoral aspect due to its richer pastures. As mentioned above, the tax on herds (*'an-'Ādet-i ağnām*) for Metsovo accounted for 39% of its total taxation in 1456 and 34% in 1506.[115] Based on the formula of 1 *akçe* per 2 head, Metsovo had >32,880 head in 1456 and >36,000 in 1506, while a large portion of the economy (>25%) derived from agriculture.

As the villages of Metsovo were fewer and had access to more significant grazing lands than Zagori, we can hypothesise that the pastoral element of our region should have been comfortably less than 36% of the total production tax. I divided the suggested number of animals presented above by two to reflect the proposed herd tax (*'an-'Ādet-i ağnām*) for the year 1530, in *akçe*. If the hypothesis is valid, the amount (26,679) should be at most 30% of the *total production tax* of Zagori in 1530 (Appendix 2.2).

The *total production tax* equals the total tax revenues of Zagori in 1530, minus the Christian household tax (*ispence*), minus the Christian widow tax,[116] minus fodder tax.[117] The production tax of Zagori (incl. Papingo) equals: 162,619 – (46,550 + 1,788 + 9,870) = 104,411 *akçe*. The hypothesised herd tax at 26,679 *akçe* is 25.6% of the total production tax. This suggested model of household exploitation did not allow for substantial secondary product surplus, or for pasture rentals that would have been visible in the registers. Grosso modo, we detect a lesser pastoral component than Metsovo, by 10%. This difference is in tune with the different regional developments of subsequent centuries. Metsovo focussed on pastoralism, while Zagorisians persisted in the mixed farming model. However, as we will see below, until the emergence of Sarakatsani as tenants of the summer pastures (late 18th-19th century), it is possible that local Zagorisian elites kept large numbers of flocks in the summer pastures of Zagori, thereby avoiding the *resm-i yaylak*.

Herds in Zagori 17th-19th century

From the 18th century onwards, we possess documented contracts (*kontráta*), between communities and individual herders (the Lazaridis archive and Papageorgiou, 1995).

115 All the statistics for 15th and 16th century Metsovo are extracted from Dasoulas (2020: 322-325).

116 Following the description of the *ispence* and the dependent *bive*, or widow tax, in Mehmed the Conqueror's *Kanunname*: "For every non-Muslim he is to give to the sipahi twenty-five akçe as *ispence*, and a son mature for the *haraç* [is to give] the full *ispence* and the widow who has no farm [is to give] six *akçe* a year (…)" (Norman, 1997: 10). Therefore: Christian household tax = (no. of households + bachelors) x 25 *akçe*; Christian widow tax = no. of *bive* x 6 *akçe*.

117 6 *akçe* per household. Therefore: fodder tax (*resm-i giyah*) = no. of households x 6.

These agreements lasted for six months (summer grazing) and, like the rentals of the summer pastures, they involved monetary transactions. Household livestock was usually divided into two flocks with different shepherds: one for the goats and one for the sheep. If a village possessed a significant number of oxen, they were assigned to a third herder (Papageorgiou, 1995: 59-60).

Already from the 18th century, the communal herds of villages with extended summer pastures were excluded from the *yaylak*. Wealthy transhumant pastoralists, either local or from the broader region of Epirus, with properties in the lowlands, rented the summer pastures, paying rent to the communities in silver. Table 8 reveals the names of the recorded notables raising large herds in Zagori from the 17th to the 19th century, before the installation of specific Sarakatsani *tselingáta* in the summer pastures of Zagori around the 1840s.

Data increase as we move to the second half of the 18th century, but the first mention from 1620 comes only 37 years after the analytical register of 1583. Michael Therianos, a descendant of Voevoda Therianos, the notable who founded the monastery of Hagia Paraskevi (1414), under the rule of Carlo I Tocco (see Chapter Two), owned a herd of 6,000 animals grazing the summer pastures of the same village in the period from 1620 to 1635. The notable used as winter pasture the region of Kalpaki, belonging to the community of Tservari on the border between the 16th-century districts of Zagori and Papingo. This relationship reveals hereditary privileges, related to tax-farming during the "Despotate" and stock-raising in the early 17th century for over 200 years, compatible with the argument of elite continuity. This continuity breaks in the 19th century, together with the elimination of the *ayan* pashalik of Ali Pasha. The principal elite families supporting the previous status quo, members of Ali's administration and owners of transhumant herds and *çiftlik*s (such as Marinoglou and Karamessinis), were persecuted and their properties destroyed. It is only after these events that Sarakatsani, profiting from the subsequent gap, begin renting the summer pastures of Zagori systematically (post-1830, contra Hammond, 1976: 48, who argues that Sarakatsani favoured Zagori timelessly due to the "lack of competition").

Date	Individual	Community	No. of Animals
1620-1635	Michael Therianos	Monodendri	6000
1735	A. Ntanisis	Tsernesi	5500
1763	Kontodimos	Vradeto	3500
1763	Tziambalos	Vradeto	5000
1792	N. Mpakolas	Manasi	2000
1790s onward	Vasdekis family	Vezitsa	1000 (early 20th c.)
1774 – 1820	Karamessinis family (Ioannoutsos and his son, Alexios)	Kapesovo	approx. 2000
1803	Mpekaris	Tsondila	5000
1830 – 1833	Hassani Baba	Koukouli	unknown
1850 (and before)	Ioannis Vasdekis	Skamneli	2,000

Table 8: Herds belonging to wealthy individuals, grazing in Zagori 17th-19th centuries, before the establishment of the Sarakatsani in the summer pastures (the 1830s) (Data collected from Moudopoulos-Athanasiou, 2022a; Papageorgiou, 1995: 64; Tsiodoulos, 2009: 258).

The case of Vezitsa

Until the late 18th century, Monodendri was one of the three neighbourhoods (*mahalle*) of Vezitsa. The following tables show population numbers (1530 – 1583) of the three *mahalle*s together with significant resources as portrayed in the analytical registers.

The information reveals a marked population increase in the second half of the 16th century, which is mirrored by the sharp decrease of most taxable, and therefore surplus, resources. It seems that the village reached the limits of its agricultural potential to feed the sedentary population.

Ethnographic insights on pastoralism in the village of Vezitsa, basically including three settlements (Kato Vezitsa, Mesios Mahallas and Monodendri), reveal the complexity of the pastoral component in Zagori. In the late 19th century and the first half of the 20th century, there were four different types of herds in the settlement. Each house owned a few goats (and fewer sheep), following the model of animal husbandry to meet household needs. In the summer, these animals formed two different communal herds, managed by two different herders: one for sheep and one for goats. These communal herds were called *varvária*. A few wealthier sedentary families owned herds of 60-120 head each. These families joined their herds, forming a second, larger, communal herd with limited rights to the summer pastures and the lower pastures (*varkó* – in the plain of Soudena).

In addition to these communal herds were the transhumant pastoralist families from Vezitsa, who had rights to the communal summer pastures, such as the Vasdekis family (Table 8, at least since 1790). They had fixed summer pastures in Vezitsa but their winter pastures varied. These herds grazed in the summer pastures and in *varkó*. In some instances, they formed contracts with Sarakatsani nomad

Household No. AD 1530	Household No. AD 1564	Household No. AD 1583
152	106	300

Table 9: Household numbers of Vezitsa according to TT 350, TT 586, TTK 28.

	Wheat	Maslin	Must	Hen	Orchards	Linen	Hives	Swine	Onions
1564	10	30	100	0	0	0	47	36	0
1583	2	2	105	300	300	10	20	10	10
Change	-80%	-93%	+5%				-57%	-72%	

Table 10: The primary taxable resources of Vezitsa in 1564 and 1583.

pastoralists, merging their flocks: in this way, Sarakatsani obtained grazing rights to the uplands of Vezitsa and the local transhumant pastoralists profited in money, or kind from the alliance. By the 20th century, Sarakatsani pastoralists were able to lease these pastures on their own from the communities, and finally, they obtained rights to graze them freely, after their sedentarisation by the Metaxas regime in 1938 (see also Chapter Two). Albeit owners of transhumant herds, these families of Vezitsa spent the winter in the village, and only a couple of family members were dispatched to the winter pastures. Consequently, these families also raised approx. 10-15 goats for household needs.

The existence of 300 households in 1583/4 implies, at a rough estimate, 2,000 head in communal herds. In the ethnographic record, such communal herds were banned from the summer pastures, which were reserved for transhumant grazing. Communal goat-herds (*varvária*) grazed inside the steep slopes of Vikos Gorge during the late 19th and 20th centuries, leaving the upland pastures for larger flocks. Although the gorge is known to have sustained even larger numbers of goats, it is possible that during the 16th-century population peak, several communal herds expanded to the highland pastures.

The example of the notable Therianos in 1620 reveals that, alongside the village's struggle for agropastoral subsistence, elite herds exploited a significant part of its summer pastures early in the 17th century and this sort of transhumance surfaces in the sources at the beginning of the 17th century and continues up to the early 20th century. The only 16th-century exception in Zagori, Makrino, is a small Vlach settlement installed on behalf of a noble Janina family. As the *resm-i yaylak* paid by this small village does not make sense given its size, we may assume that the notable family of Janina used the summer pasture *Ikserovoun* of Makrino as a summer grazing area for their transhumant herds, alongside the local Vlach livestock.

The 17th-century shift

Evliya Çelebi, who travelled in the region in 1670, reported that the plain of Janina possessed the highest number of *çiftlik*s in Rumelia (71 estates, Kolovos, forthcoming).

> Each çiftlik had a net income of a thousand or even five to ten thousand guruš. These are the çiftliks of the pashas, beğis and ayans of Janina. Once a year the products arrive in Janina from the villages and the çiftliks [of the plain]. 20-30,000 chickens, 5-10,000 hens, thousands of araba (carts) with wood, 100 kadar[118] of Venetian sugar and many local liquors. (…) The çiftliks are equipped with all the necessary tools, all the pots from bakir (bronze) and textiles. If someone moves from a village to a çiftlik, he does not have to transport anything from one place to the other. In every çiftlik, there are 100-200 double mattresses and bed-covers for the guests (Evliya Çelebi [1670] cited in Kolovos, forthcoming translated by the author).

Çelebi's account reveals that by 1670 the *çiftlik* system was already thriving in the plain of Janina. This extended passage illustrates how *çiftlik*s became drivers for economic transformation in the whole region and the mountains of Zagori, both in terms of pastoralism and agriculture.

The emergence of lowland winter pastures (fallow land on the *çiftlik*s) explains the presence of Therianos' herd in the *yaylak* of Vezitsa from 1620 to 1635. An elite family of this sort, titulary to land in the region since the 15th century, could have been among the first to adapt to the new economic opportunities, connecting the emergence of *çiftlik*s with transhumant pastoralism. The same applies to 18th-century families (see Tables 9 and 10 above). The cases of the notables Kontodimos and Karamessinis provide good examples. Both were key families for the *League of Zagorisians* and owned *çiftlik*s in the lowlands of Janina and Arta, while renting the summer pastures of their own villages to accommodate their transhumant herds during the summer (Papageorgiou, 1995: 60).[119]

According to Çelebi's account, *çiftlik*s were equipped to welcome a force of seasonal workers from neighbouring villages. Estates possessed all necessary tools and resources. The traveller seems aware of this economic development as his comment addresses this form of economic relations explicitly: *if someone moves from a* [karye] *village to a çiftlik* [to work], *he does not have to transport anything from one place to the other.* This greatly facilitated seasonal mobility by the peasantry that was not part of the 17th-century network of elite *travels* but sought monetised income to cope with increased 17th-century household taxation. Consequently, the 17th-century nobility consolidated the travels (see Chapter Five), but also opened the doors to

118 1 *kadar* = 44 *okka* = 56.408 kg

119 It is interesting to note that Papageorgiou, although aware of the nature of their lowland estates, chooses to address them as "private lands", de-Ottomanised, plausibly because the *çiftlik* estates are associated with the Ottoman/Turkish elites.

peasant mobility (towards *çiftlik*s) on an unprecedented scale. Peasant mobility spread widely during the 17th-century and progressively diversified to include a range of craftsmen and individual entrepreneurs, such as bakers and teachers (post mid-18th century).

From a 16th-century without monetised summer pastures,[120] we move gradually to the 18th century where most of the villages rented their pastures to members of the elite for the grazing of their transhumant herds. Occasionally, notables rented their own village's summer pastures. One such case is the Kontodimos family (late 18th to early 19th century), General Dignitaries (*kocabaşı*s) of Zagori from Kapesovo. They rented the *yaylak* of Kapesovo for their transhumant flocks. This rent, in turn, was channelled into the tax-paying obligations of the village's *re'aya*. In that sense, the General Dignitary increased his profit and expanded his network by paying the local community the money enabling them to fulfil their financial obligations to his tax-farmer partners. It is no coincidence that the summer pastures fell broadly into the hands of Sarakatsani only after 1840 when the *League of Zagorisians* weakened following the fall of Ali Pasha and the *Tanzimat* before ceasing to exist in 1868. The Archive of Ali Pasha preserves documents strengthening this case. The families of Marinoglou and Kontodimos, or Noutsos, both *General Dignitaries* of Zagori during the late 18th and early 19th centuries, rented the *tzelepiko* tax (*adet-i ağnam*), the right to collect (and profit from) the tax on the district's herds (Panayotopoulos et al., 2007, documents no. 152 and 210). Simultaneously, they owned transhumant herds, as documents from the same archive suggest (Panayotopoulos et al., 2007, document no. 632).

Besides Zagori notables, elite families from other regions also used the summer pastures. The family of Basdekis (or Vasdekis) controlled the *armatolik* of Pelion from 1774 (Makris, 1955: 11) and shared the same values with the elites of the *League* (heads of the Zagori *armatolik*). Although they all held positions within the Ottoman administration, the Vasdekis were also members of the Society of Friends. A branch of their family moved to Zagori (*terminus ante quem* 1780) and raised substantial herds in Vezitsa. Kinship networks and domestic wall paintings allow us to trace an instance of mingling between the elites of Zagori and the Vasdekis family, at least from the latter part of the 18th century. A descendant of the family branch from Vezitsa, Alexandros Vasdekis, married the daughter of a notable in Skamneli in 1850 and, against the norms of patrilocality, settled in the bride's house, which took his name (Vasdekis' mansion, Tsiodoulos, 2009: 257-258). He raised a herd of 2,000 sheep and goats, grazing in the summer pastures of Skamneli. The rococo frieze frescoes of his house (Tsiodoulos, 2009: 257) reveal his interconnections with the west-facing ideology of the Zagori (and Pelion) elites.[121] This instance outlines a strategic movement of the notable towards the more extensive summer pastures of Skamneli, while such kinship mobility of grooms from Vezitsa to other villages with wealthy summer pastures (Vradeto, Skamneli and Tsepelovo) is remembered as a tactical family move up to the present, in ethnographic encounters with the Vasdekis family.

The 16th-century demographic rise also increased the need for grazing lands for communal herds. Therefore, the absence of *yaylak* in the 16th-century registers may be a response to population growth and the increased need for grazing lands for subsistence purposes. Conversely, the growth of the 17th-century *çiftlik*s in the lowlands and the consolidation of elite *travel* mobility created a twofold opportunity. The rise of taxation and inflation drove increased monetisation of the agricultural economy (favouring sharecropping), while extended winter pastures provided an economic opportunity for elites owning lowland estates. Furthermore, large estates provided incentives for seasonal peasant mobility to work in the *çiftlik*s, responding to the increased taxation. These large estates with abundant fallow winter pasture also enabled the intensification of transhumant pastoralism driven by the wider structural changes in the empire. *Çiftlik*s were the facilitators of this dynamic change (peasant mobility and intensification of transhumance) as Karavidas noted 90 years ago (1931: 111ff).

By the late 18th century, the ethnic term Vlach had become synonymous with transhumant pastoralists. However, not all elites investing in transhumant pastoralism were of Vlach origin. For example, in 1812, Alexios Noutsos appears in a document recording the taxation of the winter pastures entitled "the winter pastures shared by Vlachs, as listed below" (Panayotopoulos et al., 2007, document no. 632). Perhaps it is not far-fetched to suggest that the broad identification of transhumant pastoralists with Vlachs is because of the specialisation of the 17th century Vlach elites of Metsovo in this initiative. This view is consistent with the many ethnographic examples of non-Vlach shepherds who describe their profession as "Vlach". My own ethnographic explorations have highlighted that the Vlach-speaking communities of Eastern Zagori (*Vlachozagoro*) identified primarily as Zagorisians and named the Sarakatsani nomad

120 Besides the three villages analysed above.

121 The argument regarding painting bears a further significance. The same painters that decorated the elite households of Zagori also painted houses on Pelion. Most of these painters emerged from the village of Chionades, indicating the existence of a common artistic (alongside ideological) language amongst the regional montane elites.

pastoralists, or the mobile herders appointed through *kontráta* (contracts, see above) to graze the communal herds, as "Vlach", that is shepherds in the present.

Monasteries and the economy of Zagori

Monasteries also controlled significant herds. The following table, listing censuses and receipts of monastic livestock within Zagori confirms this.

As a result, the montane landscape of Zagori accommodated three different types of herds. During the early Ottoman period (15th-16th century), most flocks were related to the local subsistence economy. Monasteries too must have had private flocks, but we possess no direct trace of them. From the 17th-century to the end of the Ottoman period, communal and monastic herds had to share the pastures with large transhumant flocks. This situation required careful planning and resource management, leading to the production of various legal documents strictly defining the borders between communities, the grazing areas within each community, and the areas that only transhumant pastoralists should occupy. Communities agreed with the monasteries on the areas that monastic herds were allowed to graze.

As mentioned earlier, monasteries also controlled arable land that they redistributed to peasants from *karye* villages (for the case of Evangelistria in Apano Soudena, see Potiropoulos, 2007: 288) or to sharecroppers as a form of dependent labour (for the example of Speleotissa in Aristi, see Petsas and Saralis, 1982: 95 ff). Monastic, or more broadly religious, properties survive in the present-day landscape of Zagori in the form of toponyms.

Beyond the village: woodlands and trees

The preceding sections on agriculture and pastoralism revealed a model of land use characterised by fragmentation, polyculture, and animal husbandry. From the 17th century, elite estates (*çiftlik*s) and religious institutions emerged as owners of fertile land in the plains and extensive areas in the mountains (Kotzageorgis, 2011). As in the wider Pindos (*e.g.* Halstead, 1998; Nitsiakos, 2015), people in Zagori organised their economy around resources also deriving from wooded areas (managed and sacred, Saratsi, 2005; Stara, 2009).

Consequently, to understand the early modern dynamic landscape of Zagori, we must go beyond the written sources. We have seen that Lounga was recorded as a *mezraa*, but probably served multiple functions other than surplus grain production that were beyond the interest of the registers. A similar argument could be made for the process we followed to rediscover the component of animal husbandry. What matters most is the landscape beyond the imperial gaze and outside the villages and their immediate surroundings. Settlements in the present are considered as the dominant cultural aspect of the wider landscape (for the division between cultural and natural landscape in Zagori, see Chapter Two and Dalkavoukis, 2015a; Moudopoulos-Athanasiou, 2020a; Stara et al., 2015a).

However, game, non-timber forest products (hereafter NTFP), and "wild greens", even from domesticated spaces such as gardens, diversified consumption. Some wooded areas (like *livádia*, Stara, 2009: 295) acted as *voskolívada*, designated grazing areas within the forest, increasing the limited extent of pasture land. Therefore, the outer margins of the village territories, the woodlands, plateaux, and highlands are polysemic and their diversity defines the complexity of the cultural landscape under study.

In the Ottoman context, woodlands were divided into three categories: public woodlands, groves belonging to religious foundations, communal forests, and private coppices (Grispos, 1973: 251; Seirinidou, 2014). There is no recorded public forest in Zagori (*miri koru*) before assimilation into the Greek Kingdom (1914, also

Village	Monastery	Est. (after Tsefos, 2001)	Date	Animals	No.	Total
Skamneli	Hagios Nikoalos	late 17th c.	1736	sheep	850	1526
				goats	600	
				cows	51	
				oxen	8	
				horses	12	
				mules	5	
Tsepelovo	Hagios Yannis Rogovo	1749 (reconstructed)	1799	sheep (galária = milking)	278	1058
				sheep (sterfa = barren)	33	
				sheep (zygouri >1 year old)	215	
				rams	24	
				goats	508	

Table 11: Monastic livestock in Zagori (Papageorgiou, 1995).

Moudopoulos-Athanasiou, 2020b; Saratsi, 2009 see also Chapter Two). Conversely, communal forests (Ott. *baltalık*, in Zagori: *koinotikó*, *kourí*, *aforisméno*, *livádi*, *kladerá*), private coppices (Ott. *koru*, in Zagori *kourí*) and woodlands belonging to pious foundations (Ott. *vakf*, in Zagori *vakoúfiko*, *kourí*, *ekklisiastikó*, *aforisméno*)[122] existed in most villages (Stara, 2009: 266 ff).

The multiple local names address different practices, as wooded areas performed various economically or culturally significant roles. They acted as grazing areas (*livádi*), sources of leaf-fodder (e.g., *kladerá*) and barriers against erosion and landslides (e.g., *kourí*, *aforisméno*). Quantitative discourse analysis has revealed that locals attach multiple values to trees: 2,799 responses were related to utilitarian values, 610 to aesthetic, 360 to symbolic, 314 to ecological, and 239 to historical (Stara, 2009: 102). As a result, Zagori possesses ancient individual trees (Saratsi, 2005; Stara, 2009; Stara et al., 2015; 2016), ancient communal woodlands, private coppices, protected – and protective – forests,[123] and also sacred forests, belonging (or dedicated) to religious foundations (for an overview see Stara, 2009).

However, the absence of the term *baltalık* in Zagori prompts further considerations. The forest Pournariá in Aristi (Stara, 2021) belonged to the community and was reserved for times of need. However, the monitoring of leaf fodder collection (from *kladerá*) was overseen by a verger of the local church, who collected the defined price: 2 *guruş* per loaded mule; 1 *guruş* per loaded donkey; 0.5 *guruş* per woman with *zaliki* (a stack of leafy hay on her back) (Stara, 2021). This forest, although communal (*baltalık*), is commemorated within oral memory as *vakoúfiko*. As the church had also secular duties within the Ottoman administration, in Christian communes with no Ottoman legal presence, such as Zagori, fragile communal resources (such as woodlands with limited individual trees) were monitored by the church and the local notables. This example shows that *vakoúfiko* in Zagori has both religious (sacred woodlands) and secular (communal woodlands) connotations. The process of *becoming* an endowment will be discussed in Chapter Eight.

Woodland products: arboriculture

Stara's (2009: 221) research located ancient shredded and pollarded individual trees, highlighting the value of oaks (evergreen and deciduous) in the economy of the montane cultural landscape: they provided leaf fodder, wood and acorns (Halstead, 2014; Halstead et al., 1998; Saratsi, 2005; Stara, 2009). Nevertheless, besides the two 16th-century villages paying acorn and cochineal taxes, these crucial resources remain unrecorded. By contrast, surplus from fruits (cherries) and nuts (walnuts and hazelnuts) frequently appears in the 16th-century registers. Ancient individual trees of this sort survive to the present day in the region, although in the later centuries they have been the target of loggers.

As these recorded assets reflect the districts' surplus fruit production, we infer that they were the dominant fruit trees of the 16th century. The same is valid for the 19th-century when Zagori channelled cherries, walnuts, hazelnuts, and apples to the market of Janina (Papageorgiou, 1995: 54-55). Pouqueville (1820: 117-219) noted that Zagori had a crucial role in providing fruits to the market due to climate differentiation: the regional products ripened precisely at the time the annual crop of the plains of Amphilochia ran out. This seasonal complementarity is not a product of 19th-century realities and probably benefitted the local economy in all preceding Ottoman centuries.

Yet, fruit trees were tied to subsistence as much as to exports. Such trees acted as field-boundaries or landmarks within the system of small-scale household agriculture. As such, they form a case amplifying the notion of diversification and polyculture: fruit trees and managed trees coexisted in space with the small plots for agriculture. Fragmentation of plots, even within living memory resulted in separate status of ownership. In many instances, one heir owned the plot and another one the trees situated within its boundary.

Consuming the "wild"

Foraging of NTFP never stopped and played an essential role in the subsistence strategies of peasant communities (Clark Forbes, 1976b; Psychogios, 1995: 51). Zagori is not an exception. However, piecemeal foraging (Halstead, 2014: 238) usually stands at the core of ethnoarchaeological studies, focussing either on the *transition* from foraging to agriculture or on the relationship between foraging and clearance (slash-and-burn) agriculture (but see Clark Forbes, 1976b, a). Also, sources focussing on agriculture have led historians to the study of surplus activities (Psychogios, 1995: 51). Nevertheless, NTFP were omnipresent in the cultural landscape of Zagori in the form of consumption, collective practices, *rituals*, practical medicine and also as by-products of polyculture. Foraging activities such as hunting, fishing, weeding, collection of herbs, management of trees and logging, all played important roles in achieving subsistence.

122 There is no straightforward definition of the sacred forests, as the term is polysemic and evolves throughout the centuries of Ottoman rule. In broad terms they are resources belonging to pious foundations (waqf – hence *vakoúfiko*). The term evolved from denoting Muslim religious properties to incorporate those of Orthodox monasteries and ended up referring to multi-religious shrines (see De Rapper, 2012). The Sacred Forests of the villages of Zagori and Konitsa have been inscribed in the National Catalogue of Intangible Heritage (UNESCO – Ministry of Culture and Sports) since 2014. http://ayla.culture.gr/en/iera-dasi-twn-xwriwn-tou-zagoriou-kai-tis-konitsas/ (Accessed: 15.05.2020).

123 A traditional form of protective forests analogous to the Swiss concept of Schutzwald (Wasser and Perren, 2014).

The example of mushrooms

Mushrooms were the chief regional NTFP (Stara, 2017). Ethnographic studies tended to neglect them and, even when recorded, they were classified among the lower consumables (vegetables). Moreover, quantitative research reveals that they were considered the food of the poor in many subsistence-oriented agricultural areas of Greece, and also in Zagori, eaten together with nettles, pulses and other "low-esteemed" products (Vrachionidou, 2007: 62; 91).

A few testimonies from the Archive of Folklore (University of Athens) highlight the role of mushrooms in the taskscapes of Zagori. One informant narrated a story of people going "to *livádi* to collect big mushrooms (bouloumanítara)" (cited in Vrachionidou, 2007: 70). In this instance, the typology of the forest, *livádi* (communal forest with mature trees, used as grazeland), reveals the complementarity of activities in woodlands that provided much more than logging. Taskscapes overlapped in this diversified landscape: areas for the grazing of household herds provided also fodder from mature individual trees and NTFP. The diversity of resources that forests provided reduced substantially the energy required to fulfil the taskscapes of subsistence (see also Clark Forbes, 1976b).

Local residents have also developed a cure for "crazy mushrooms" (zourlomanítara), involving the consumption of crushed charcoal (karvouno stoumpigmeno, cited in Vrachionidou, 2007: 111). The existence of a cure implies substantial consumption. Mushrooms are also connected with subsistence strategies and risk management because "if you dream of mushrooms, you should expect financial difficulties" (interview from Kato Soudena, cited in Vrachionidou, 2007: 285).

Elements of piecemeal foraging also existed beyond forests, but in areas with mature and ancient trees. As mentioned earlier, fruit trees and oaks (evergreen and deciduous) were cultivated inside the small, fragmented plots. Behind this practice, lies an economy in labour expenditure, as ploughing and manuring occur simultaneously with crop-sowing (Forbes, 1976: 248). Weeding these same fields during spring provides another source of piecemeal foraging. Wild greens, such as nettles and lápata (*Rumex obtusifolius*) find their way into the diet of the communities of Zagori, for which the "spinach pie", promoted as "traditional", was never made from spinach. Up to the present, it is called pie made of greens.[124]

Foraging herbs: household consumption and specialised surplus

The landscape beyond the settlements was crucial to the subsistence strategies of Zagorisians and also interwoven with folklore. In the village of Megalo Papingo, the collection of mountain tea (*Sideritis* sp.) is associated with the festival of Hagia Kyriaki and was a gendered collective activity. The Saint's Chapel, situated two hours away from the village towards the peak of the mountain, is part of an extensively terraced landscape. Within living memory, villagers from Papingo cultivated rye in its vicinity. The festival of the Saint took place *in situ* on the 7th of July and, the following day, peasants engaged with the collection of mountain tea (Stara, 2009: 78).[125] The practice of "unleashing" (amolysiá) lasted from dusk till dawn and was gender exclusive, as only women were allowed to participate. The collective and festive elements of this activity placed sustainable limits on the collection of the plant, framed within a collective context of resource and ecosystem management.

Forest products and the over 1,700 plant species existing in the region of Zagori (Charitonidou et al., 2019; Authier, 2021; Vokou et al., 1993) go beyond the concept of piecemeal foraging. They paved the ground for the development of *vikoyatroi* medical practitioners, one of the main categories of Zagorisian craft mobility.[126] As mentioned earlier, their existence was recorded in legal documents from Crete as early as 1670. Some established firms in the Balkans, such as Petralis from Skamneli in Bucharest (1719, Patselis, 1952: 7), and others appear in Ankara treating hernias, in the second half of the 18th century (cf. Anastasopoulos and Kyriakopoulos, 2019). For this specialised niche, foraging NTFP evolved into a systematic process leading to surplus accumulation.[127]

NTFP and weeds growing in vineyards or fields formed an invisible, yet fundamental asset in the subsistence economy of Zagori. Furthermore, medicinal plants allowed specialisation and generation of surplus, facilitating one branch of the *travels*. Forests and other remote areas in Zagori never functioned exclusively as sources of wood. They provided leaf-fodder, acted as grazing land (livádi) and as barriers against soil erosion. Moreover, they provided a range of resources complementing the subsistence economy and the same applies to individual trees.

Chapter summary

The 16th-century registers record a proportional population increase. From 1530 to 1564/5 households rise mildly but the number of bachelors increases sharply. In the two decades from 1564/5 to 1583/4 the opposite

124 Literally cabbage pie, but láhana denotes the category of greens rather than cabbages per se.

125 The communal activity was called "the release" (amolysiá).

126 A significant portion of this knowledge is lost, but various efforts have been made to associate medicinal plants from Zagori with the recipes of *Vikoyatroi* (Lazaridis, 1986; Malamas, 1982; Patselis, 1952). Although some of them were established in distant lands, the majority of *Vikoyatroi* worked seasonally and spent winters in Zagori (Patselis, 1952: 7).

127 Like agriculture, foraging also entails activities throughout the year and requires a set of specialised knowledge transmitted transgenerationally.

occurs: bachelors increase mildly and household numbers by 66%. This increase is plausibly related to the intensification of *travelling*, occurring at approximately the same period. To adapt to this mobile way of life, households needed more people, and, as males married before their first trip, the age of marriage dropped. This pattern is visible in the registers. By the mid-16th century, bachelors rise and 20 years later households increase exponentially, while the number of bachelors also rises, hinting at a lowering of the age of marriage.

The second half of the 16th century also brought an exponential increase in gardens and orchards, while staple crops remained stable. The recorded surplus of onions, vegetables, and fruits point to the intensification of a garden economy of irrigated plots alongside population increase. As a result, this economic adaptation to the montane landscape is a response to the population rise and the consolidation of *travelling* mobility. The increased garden economy and the rise of household animals (pigs and hens) highlight the emergence of the female agricultural labour that shaped Zagori in subsequent centuries and these registers represent the era in which *travelling* became generalised. In this context, *mezraa* areas were important components of the agropastoral economy. As the survey at the location of mezraa-i Lounga showed, it most probably provided a little bit of many things (wood, agricultural areas, pasture).

Although the pastoral component was recorded separately, through a comparative study we showed that Zagori and Papingo had a modest pastoral component (less than 30% of its overall taxation), while only three villages rented their summer pastures to transhumant herders. The case of Makrino (Chapter Five) revealed elite involvement in transhumance pastoralism, while the summer pastures of Klithonia and Papingo, the wealthiest communities of the 16th century, argue for an increased monetisation of these communities, and their rich pastures.

The 17th century is the catalyst for the transformation we witnessed emerging in the second half of the 16th century. The rise of monasteries and *çiftlik*s required sharecroppers to cultivate the large estates, establishing the ground for extensive peasant "transhumant" mobility. Simultaneously, the fallow winter pastures in these estates facilitated large-scale transhumance in the region. Until the 1840s, Zagorisian notables, such as Therianos (17th c.) and Karamessinis (18th c.), owned transhumant herds, profiting from the Janina *ayan* administration. The Zagorisian notables investing in transhumance shared the downfall of Ali Pasha and the resulting gap facilitated the arrival of the Sarakatsani on the summer pastures of the region.

Chapter 8

Non-elite landscapes

Introduction

The present chapter investigates the reflection in the landscape of the information presented in Chapter Seven. We saw that the districts of Zagori and Papingo supported a substantial population throughout the 16th century. The sedentary villages invested substantial resources in cultivation for households needs. To what extent does this image extend to the highlands, and how does agriculture overlap with pastoralism in areas considered solely summer pastures? Furthermore, how might we understand the post-16th-century abandonment of "non-*voynuk*", non-elite villages, in terms of the wider shifts of the 17th century outlined above and the resilience of local elites as described in Chapters Five and Six.

To answer these questions, Chapter Eight is divided into two parts. The first part approaches the highlands and explores the existence of an agricultural element in what are now considered predominantly pastoral areas. The second investigates various case studies of abandoned *karye* villages under the framework of the Topography of Transformation (17th-18th c.), as seen also in Chapter Six. But in contrast to the settlements presented in Chapter Six, here we do not investigate elite agency in the transformation of these sites, but the changing qualities of these areas, from inhabited spaces to other, often contested, landscapes.

Approaching the highlands: pathway dependence

Hiking and surveying in abandoned early modern landscapes is a lonely process presenting many challenges. The risks in need of mitigation led to the adoption of a methodology of extensive and non-systematic survey, following pathways made by grazing animals or, when applicable, forest roads and hiking trails. Consequently, the interpretation depends on the pathways followed (Ingold and Vergunst, 2008), and the emerging comparisons of different areas are influenced by that very movement.

Hagia Kyriaki – Papingo

The extended highland plateau west of Megalo Papingo and north of Klithonia takes its name from the chapel of Hagia Kyriaki, on the outskirts of Megalo Papingo (Figure 44). The regional elevation ranges from 1500 to 1700 masl and in the present day the area is used as summer pasture. However, in the past, it was associated with the cultivation of rye (Papaioannou, 1977). The requirement for the mostly female cultivators to undertake long and arduous vertical mobility to sow and harvest the crops is alive within the memory of present-day inhabitants. Intrigued by this narrative of upland cultivation in a region that for the past decades has been the realm of transhumant herds, I surveyed the area aiming to define the extent of past cultivation at such a high altitude. However, the history of this landscape transcends the communal borders and parts of the surveyed landscape belong to the community of Klithonia. Consequently, the survey expanded to patches in both regional territories.

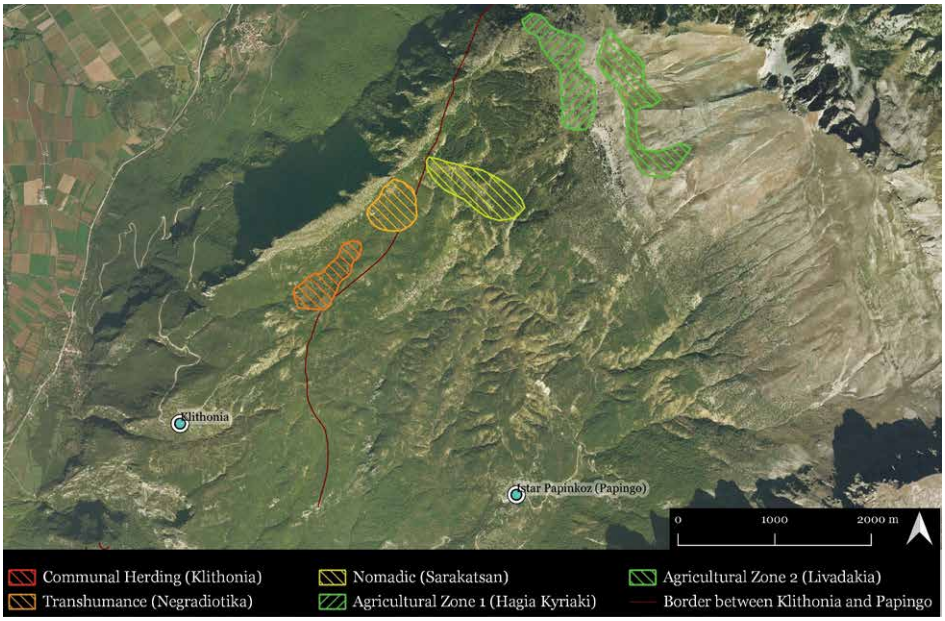


Figure 44: Map of Klithonia and Papingo showing the areas of interest. © Faidon Moudopoulos-Athanasiou.



Figure 45: Pastoral hut constructed from flysch above the village. © Faidon Moudopoulos-Athanasiou.

The road to Hagia Kyriaki

The forest road leading to the area crosses the uplands of Klithonia, passing through extensive pine forests which nowadays are the haunt of hunters and occasional loggers. However, traces of abandoned pastoral structures are evident within the dense forest.

Sporadic dry-stone animal enclosures were recorded on the margins of the road. They are built with the raw materials available in every microenvironment: immediately above the village of Klithonia (1000-1400 masl), in an area exploited by local herders until the postwar period, pens are built using the available flysch (Figure 45).

At the upper limit of this zone, on the western margin below the limestone cliffs of Koula peak and adjacent to the forest road, lies a large pen within adjacent collapsed structures. A sea of mature pine trees emerges from within the enclosure, indicating that it has been abandoned for at least a few centuries. Once more, shepherds used local material this time from the limestone blocks of Koula. The stones were used unworked and only the rectangular structure ($4m^2$) acting as an entrance to the enclosure, and as a milking station, is made of more refined masonry (Figure 46). Above the enclosure lie the remains of a few dry-stone structures (Figure 47), potentially linked to a seasonal habitation related to the pastoral activities. The



Figure 46: Parts of the enclosure at Negradiotika. © Faidon Moudopoulos-Athanasiou.



Figure 47: Area with the collapsed structures at Negradiotika. © Faidon Moudopoulos-Athanasiou.

toponym of this area is Negradiotika (belonging to the village Negrades). Negrades, as we saw earlier, is situated on the Kalpaki plain and, during the 16th century, was part of the Zagori district. According to the registers presented in Chapter Seven, at that period, the village of Klithonia, the richest in the region, profited from renting out its summer pastures (*yaylak*). The historical data, combined with the toponym and the evidence that the site was abandoned before the 19th century and the arrival of Sarakatsani in the region, situates these structures in the context of early Ottoman transhumance.

The Sarakatsani occupied, among other locations, the area of Angathi spring, above Negradiotika and below the agricultural landscape of Hagia Kyriaki. The two huts and one enclosure recorded (Figure 48) form part of a wider pastoral landscape in which Sarakatsani families rented for years the same pastures until, eventually, they became sedentary inhabitants of the villages (Campbell, 1964; Dalkavoukis, 2005). Although Sarakatsani nomadic pastoralists are broadly associated with wooden huts built with perishable materials (Campbell, 1964: 33), these traces serve as tangible reminders that cultural expressions are bound to the availability of resources and sociohistorical conditions: in cases where *tselingáta* had fixed summer pastures, it is possible to record more permanent structures, as part of a longer engagement with dwelling in a specific area.



Figure 48: Sarakatsani huts and enclosures. © Faidon Moudopoulos-Athanasiou.

The agricultural landscape of Hagia Kyriaki

The forest road ends under the agricultural landscape of Hagia Kyriaki. Situated above the zone of the pine trees, this sub-alpine area is the realm of a few individual old Robolo trees (*Pinus leucodermis*). The agricultural landscape of Hagia Kyriaki is divided into two zones: the lower part (Zone A) at 1530-1600 masl and the upper part, named Livadakia (little meadows), from 1650 to 1760 masl. An intermediate peak (1800 masl) separates the two zones.

Zone A (approx. 300m^2) has no other toponym than that of the broader region (Hagia Kyriaki). It consists of a slope that retains soil thanks to the extensive (wo) man-made dry-stone terraces and the massive limestone blocks, left by Pleistocene glaciers, that have accumulated on its western edges preventing soil from eroding off the cliffs. Figure 49 reveal the complexity of this agricultural landscape that includes a few field boundaries, terraces, and clearance cairns.

The opposite occurred in Livadakia (Zone B, approx. 270m^2), an area that is not a slope but a series of tiny polje, accumulating sediments and limestone blocks from the steep cliffs surrounding them that have again been eroded by Pleistocene glaciers. As seen in Figure 50, the pen (Stani tou Lefteri), the flimsy huts, the wired enclosures and the rock shelter serving today as the shelter of the herder, protecting him from the wind, lie on the northern margins of Livadakia, leaving the core of the former agricultural landscape as grazing land (Figure 51). Some terraces exist on the margins and in the centre, but the field boundaries mark the most dominant divisions. However, in one instance, we observe two types of fields: a series of three parallel terraces, the higher of which is cut by a field boundary (Figure 52). This reveals the potential existence of two different phases of agricultural occupation, as the open terraces predate the superimposed enclosed field.

On the evolution of this landscape

The advent of pastoralism at Hagia Kyriaki is a product of the abandonment of the early modern way of life. In the wider area between Klithonia and Megalo Papingo, we discovered four different adaptations to the mountains, which in some instances coexisted: communal herding above the village of Klithonia, pre-18th century transhumant pastoralism in Negradiotika, instances of nomadic pastoralism (Sarakatsani pens below Hagia Kyriaki), and the agricultural landscape situated at a higher altitude than the three layers of pastoralism. Nowadays, abandonment has transformed the three pastoral landscapes into impenetrable forests and the agricultural landscape has evolved into the only contemporary pastoral landscape.

The peak of Lapato is situated above the agricultural landscape of Hagia Kyriaki. Traced as far back as living memory goes, Robolo trees in that area were used for barrel construction. The skilled workers would cut the trees and assemble the barrels in situ. Then they would lay the barrels next to the steep, northern edge overlooking the plain of Konitsa, so that winter avalanches would carry the barrels below. Through this example, the mountainous landscape emerges as a multi-referential field. Far from a purely pastoral landscape, the various modes of pastoralism account for only a part of the cultural landscape mosaic.

The agropastoral landscape above Mikro Papingo

The territory above Mikro Papingo features in all regional tour-guides as the path leading to the refuge of Astraka (2000 masl) and the famous glacial "Dragon Lake" situated at 2050 masl. Current understanding is that the area has constituted a pastoral landscape since the Neolithic period, a view inferred from analysis of pollen from a marsh below the refuge (Willis, 1992).



Figure 49: The agricultural landscape of Zone A. © Faidon Moudopoulos-Athanasiou.



Figure 50: Stani tou Lefteri. © Faidon Moudopoulos-Athanasiou.



Figure 51: Pastoral area in Livadakia, formerly cultivated. © Faidon Moudopoulos-Athanasiou.



Figure 52: Two different phases of agricultural occupation. © Faidon Moudopoulos-Athanasiou.

This section follows a similar analysis to Hagia Kyriaki, outlining fieldwork observations from the bottom up, thus dividing the area into altitudinal layers. The following observations reveal that ethnographic and archaeological documentation contradicts the dominant view of a purely pastoral landscape.

The first layer covers the contemporary forested zone, which includes two springs (Avragonios and Antalki) and sporadic seasonal streams. Contemporary visitors experience a dense and mixed forest, with young evergreen prickly oaks, older individual fruit and other managed trees, and junipers. Until the immediate postwar years, however, this area was the focus of montane peasant labour, divided into small and fragmented family plots for cultivation that covered even some virtually unreachable slopes (Figure 53).

Comparison of recent satellite and historical aerial photographs from 1945 reveals a sharp contrast. Although in 1945 the agricultural landscape was already in decline, as hinted by the prolonged afforestation in the southern part of the area, the field pattern is clear. The fields close to the village were irrigated with water channels today inaccessible due to the young and dense forest. Historical terraces and managed trees are visible in a few instances between lines of young trees (Figure 54).

Shepherds and hikers are the sole seasonal visitors to the area above the current tree-line. However, the very steps facilitating their ascent are the surviving traces of collapsed terraces. As hinted by the 1945 aerial imagery, the area reveals the heavily eroded signs of an agricultural landscape. This agricultural landscape ceases at ca. 1750 masl., above the third fountain named Traphos. The placename is common, encountered from Crete to Mani and northern Greece, and evokes the early-modern taskscapes that formed this landscape: traphos is a terrace, holding soil for agricultural purposes (Oikonomou, 1991: 403).

This zone, although predominantly agricultural, has been gradually transformed into a pastoral landscape. The small rock shelters on its western edges, formerly incorporated into the extensive network of terracing, act nowadays as goat-shelters (Figure 55). Likewise, the Sarakatsani pen of Tsoumanis situated next to Traphos sits on top of an enclosed and densely terraced agricultural landscape (Figure 56). In the absence of material culture and excavations, it is very difficult to date this landscape. However, traphos is a word of medieval origin, encountered, *inter alia*, in documents regarding medieval Crete (e.g. AD 1280, Gasparis, 1997: 95). Furthermore, montane peasants in the wider region refer to the process of opening new fields for hillside cultivation as "xetraphisma", arguing for peasant continuity of sorts in the area. Having in mind that Papingo had a strong agricultural background since, at least, the period of the *Chronicle of Tocco* (late 14th c.), we might suspect that this landscape dates back to that period.

Zone 3 consists of another heavily eroded agricultural landscape adjacent to a ridge, with no traces of the terraces visible in the aerial photograph of 1945. On the steeper

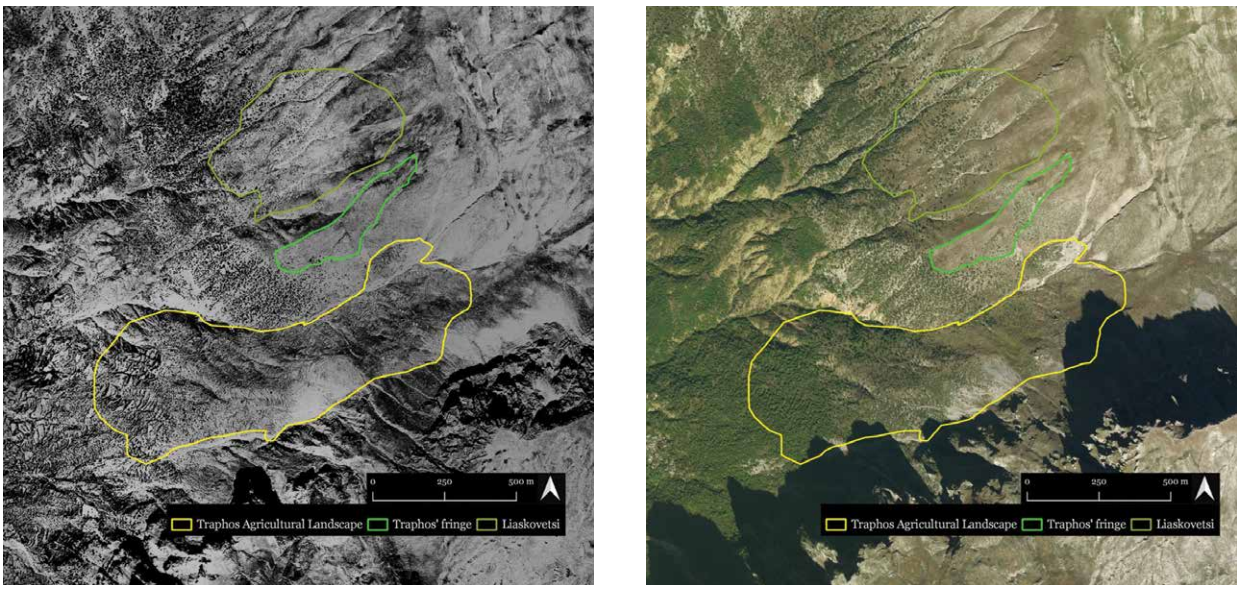


Figure 53: Map of the agropastoral landscape above Mikro Papingo with annotated points of interest, 1945-2021. © Faidon Moudopoulos-Athanasiou.



Figure 54: Terraces and managed trees below the current tree line. © Faidon Moudopoulos-Athanasiou.

part of the area, there is a ruined hut with two rooms and a couple of potential enclosures in front (Figure 57). The mature Robolo tree that developed on top of the structure, hastening its collapse, is a marker of relative chronology, placing the hut in the context of its adjacent early modern agricultural landscape. The southern edge of Zone 3 ends on a ridge overlooking Mikro Papingo. A few terraces create a levelled area with the remains of a large sheepfold, a mature *stálos* tree (mid-day shelter for livestock), and a rectangular hut (4m^2). Situated at the fringe of this agricultural landscape, this niche was used for pastoral activities relatively earlier than the rest of the Zone. This reveals an intermediate character with both agricultural and pastoral traces. However, the pastoral structures are not the typical 19th and 20th-century constructions evoking the nomadic Sarakatsani pastoralists. The first hut is situated in an area unavailable for cultivation, while the complex around the *stálos* tree bears earlier traces of hillside cultivation, possibly contemporary to the pastoral structures, as hinted by the cleared area north of the hut.

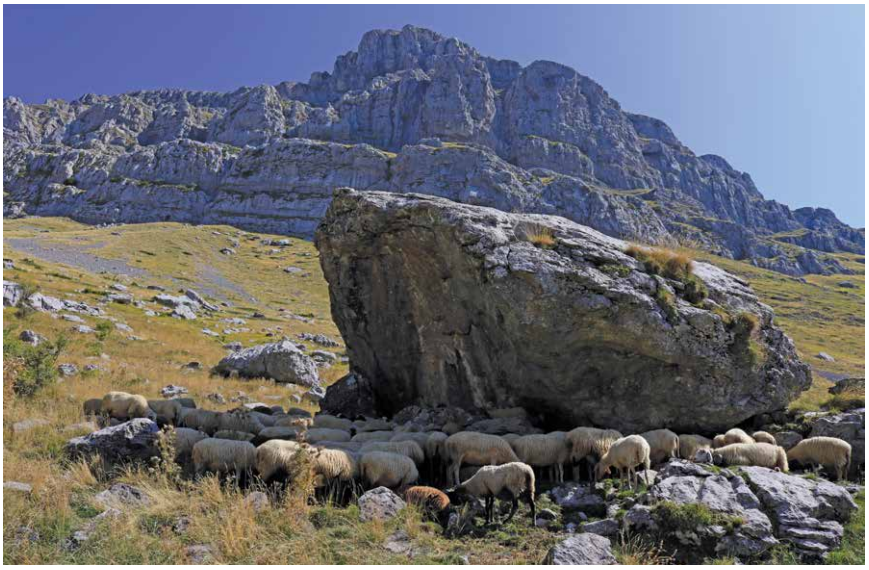


Figure 55: Small rock shelters once part of the extensive terracing system, today sheep-shelters. © Faidon Moudopoulos-Athanasiou.



Figure 56: Agricultural landscape near the Sarakatsani pen at Traphos. © Faidon Moudopoulos-Athanasiou.



Figure 57: Ruined hut. © Faidon Moudopoulos-Athanasiou.





Figure 58: The fringes of the Traphos landscape. © Faidon Moudopoulos-Athanasiou.



Figure 59: Traces of fields in the tiny patches of open ground. © Faidon Moudopoulos-Athanasiou.

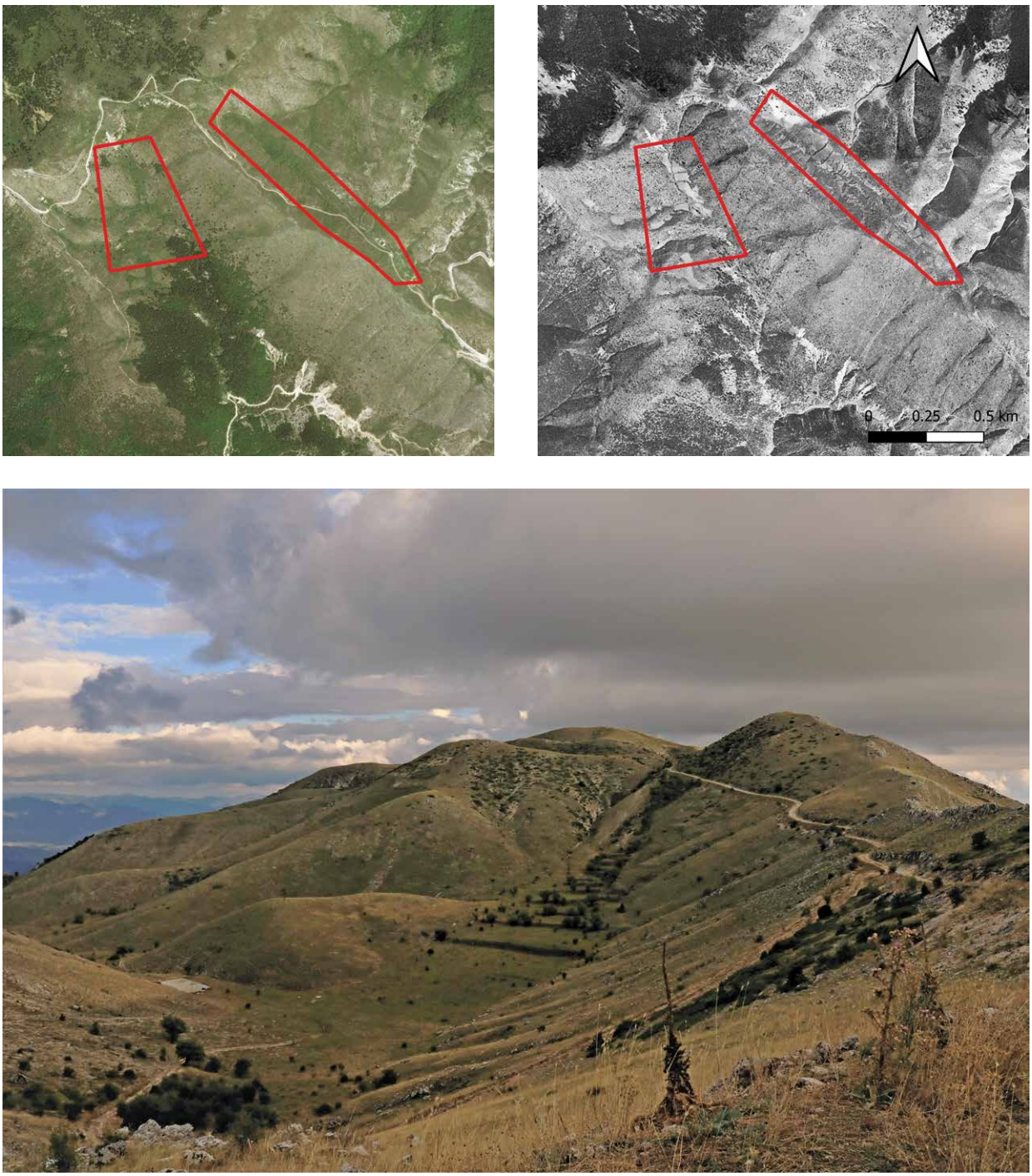


Figure 60: Agricultural niches on Mitsikeli, 1945-2020. © Faidon Moudopoulos-Athanasiou.

Zone 4, is yet another terraced slope, situated NW of Zone 3, at the same altitude range (ca. 1450-1600 masl). The area is called Liaskovetsi, a known name of villages in the wider area: Leskovik in Albania (see Chapter Two), and Liaskovetsi, in Zagori (contemporary name Leptokarya). The folkloric narrative of Papingo suggests that a village existed in that area, that gradually merged with Papingo (Lambridis, 1870: 3-4). However, no traces of settlement were located during the walkover survey: no pottery and no structures, besides a few pens and a sheepfold on the lower slopes.

Zones 3 and 4 are divided by a steep ridge. Its surface provides abundant eroded limestone blocks, as raw

material for the construction of the adjacent pastoral structures (Figure 58). Although the terrain is remarkably rough, the agriculturalists of Mikro Papingo used to cultivate even its smallest possible patches (Figure 59). This remarkable agricultural adaptation adds another archaeological layer to the history of the region, where pastoralism otherwise seems to dominate the folkloric, ethnographic, and historical narratives.

The plateau of Mitsikeli

Mount Mitsikeli forms the natural boundary between Janina and Zagori, although, as we saw in Chapter Five, Zagori expanded also on both sides of the mountain during the 16th century. One of its plateaux, at 1600 masl, marks the borders between four villages: Manassi (NE side), Lygiades (S side), Vanishta (Krya) and Braya (Perivleptos) (SW). This area is of interest because three types of settlements border with each other. Manassi is a Zagori village that, according to the analysis in Chapter Five, falls into the category of those created by notable families. The later history of Lygiades develops around the monastery of Hagios Georgios (1683); its earlier appearance in the 16th-century registers under the name Iğlidyades (Ghligiades) and in an early 17th-century religious manuscript (Filidou, 2020: 16) is insignificant for the argument regarding land-use presented here. Braya and Vanishta, on the SW slopes of Mitsikeli, were gradually converted into *çiftlik* estates, thereby abolishing the *karye* status shared with the other Zagori villages through the centuries. A survey of the border area between these four villages thus presents the opportunity to investigate potentially different adaptations in the montane landscape, by communities that emerge in the present following different trajectories.

Access to the plateau is provided through the territory of Tsondila (Dikorfo), which owns another part of Mitsikeli. As in the previous instances, traces of agriculture have been transformed into rough pastures. Figure 60 reveals formerly cultivated agricultural niches (1945, 1400masl) and the contemporary status of this land, grazed predominantly by cows. The same applies to the plateau between the four villages. Although historical imagery and fieldwork observations reveal a primarily agricultural landscape, at present the area bears only pastoral traces. Figure 61 confirms that the pastures sustaining cows nowadays are situated on top of an agricultural landscape including terraces, field boundaries and clearance cairns. In one instance a hut has been converted into a pen, for the needs of contemporary herders.

The larger area belongs to the community of Manassi, while the three other villages share small segments. Manassi, as a village of Zagori, focussed on mixed crop and animal husbandry and continued agricultural activity on the plateau until the mid-20th century. Likewise, the *çiftlik*s of the plain, Braya and Vanishta, seem to have cultivated the area until the 20th century. Although they belonged to a different, centralised, economic model with predominant pastoral elements (Vanishta in 1925 possessed 5,369.5 stremmata of summer pastures Vakatsas, 2006: 74), the small plateau remained in agricultural use until recently, as fieldwork revealed. Areas lower on the slopes of Mitsikeli belonging to Vanishta and Braya bear no visible signs of agricultural activity and must be attributed to pastoral usage.

The village of Lygiades appears in the 16th-century registers as a small insignificant *timar*. However, one century later it grew significantly, as it evolved around the newly founded monastery of Hagios Georgios (1681). In a similar fashion to Speleotissa (Tsefos, 2001: 17, see also Chapter Six), and consistent with the role of monasteries as local, mostly highland, minor elites of the Ottoman era (Greene, 2021; Kotzageorgis, 2011; Tsambouras, 2013), it administered most of the lands of Lygiades. It is interesting to note that the monastery was established without the approval of the Ottoman authorities and was destroyed the same year (1681), only to be reconstructed two years later (Lambridis, 1870: 50).

The village of Lygiades owned the westernmost part of the plateau under investigation and that niche also bears agricultural traces beneath contemporary pastoral activity. However, this is an exception, as in all other highland areas of Lygiades, there are no signs of past agricultural use. Moreover, older pastoral infrastructure (pens and artificial watering facilities) appears in its wider landscape. Only immediately above the village of Lygiades have we located patches of highland cultivation, near the village.

Observing an antithesis

Manassi, as a village investing much in subsistence agriculture and owning the greater part of the highland plateau, used the area for cultivation. Vanishta and Braya were transformed into *çiftlik*s in the 18th century. In the 19th and early 20th centuries, the owners of these lowland *çiftlik*s managed most of the highlands as rough pasture. However, despite this difference in economic orientation, peasants from Braya and Vanishta continued to cultivate their share of the plateau similarly to the community of Manassi, maintaining pre-18th century practices.

Lygiades, on the contrary, developed alongside the monastery and the pastoral element played the most important role in the highlands. Within living memory, no local informant recalled people from Lygiades cultivating the western edge of the plateau.[128] The monastery of Hagios Georgios rented out these fields as *vakoúfika* to cultivators

128 We have to bear in mind that the Wehrmacht, and the Edelweiss Alpinist Division, burned down the village of Lygiades and executed the villagers, in an action to promote Nazi law and order in the region of Janina (Schminck-Gustavus, 2011).

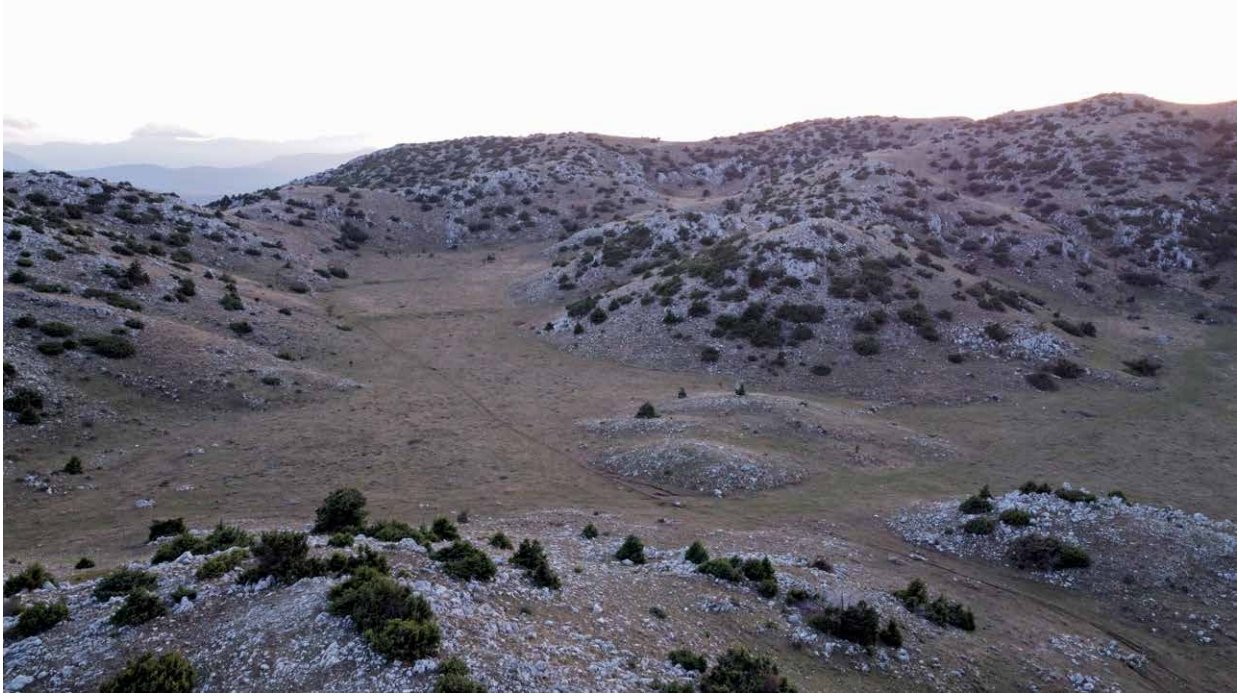


Figure 61: The abandoned agricultural landscape of the plateau of Mitsikeli. © Faidon Moudopoulos-Athanasiou.

from different villages, mostly Manassi. Consequently, the plateau survived as an agricultural landscape until the decline of the communities. In this case, too, the dominance of pastoralism in the highlands is the product of abandonment.

The Tymphi Plateau

The Tymphi Plateau lies immediately southwest of Traphos. It is defined by the peaks of Astraka (2377 masl), Gkamila (2497), Gkoura (2467), and Tsiouka Rossa (2432 masl), and the gorge of Megalakkos, providing a way out towards Central Zagori and the villages of Tsepelovo and Vradeto. These plateaux and peaks are the realms of transhumant and nomadic pastoralists and are divided into areas belonging to different Zagorisian communities, which own grazing rights.

As communities rented the summer pastures to mobile pastoralists, these were the greatest financial asset to cope with the demands of tax-farmers and other major obligations. Consequently, their borders were strictly monitored and, although only a few tangible markers existed for their identification, they were respected by owners and tenants. For the present research, I surveyed the upland pastures of Kapesovo and Koukouli on the plateau of Tymphi for multiple reasons: they are relatively approachable (4hrs hike from the road), some of the last remaining transhumant pastoralists take their flocks up to these communal summer pastures, and the archive of Lazaridis includes many unpublished documents related to this area.

Such documents inform us of the landmarks used to define the communal borders. These were peaks, ridges (ράχες), following the directions of the seasonal torrents (νεροσυρμές). In cases where such natural boundaries were not available, communities erected "towers" (πύργοι), that is small, or medium size dry-stone pillars made from the immediately available material (limestone or flysch) indicating the limits of grazing access. In some instances, such liminal towers were built hollow, serving also as cool shelters for the herders during the summer months (Figure 62).

Pastoral appropriation of the landscape

According to my transhumant herder interlocutors, the large flocks were divided and spread out on the pastures: the *tsélingas*, or head-herder, lived in the *stani* structures, while other shepherds (*tsopanakia*) slept in rock shelters or other natural shelters in their allocated grazing areas. The glaciers of the Pleistocene (cf. Hughes et al., 2006b) have generated abundant rock shelters and easily extractable raw materials. Consequently, shepherds without building experience could convert small rock shelters into drystone huts (Figure 63), while the same applies to enclosures.

Therefore this landscape facilitated the adaptation, and reproduction of the hierarchies and logistics of transhumant and nomadic pastoralists: division of the



Figure 62: A tower/marker of the summer pasture borders (background), a shelter (foreground), and Georgios Papatheodorou for scaling. © Faidon Moudopoulos-Athanasiou.



Figure 63: The conversion of a natural eroded limestone block into a hut/shelter. © Faidon Moudopoulos-Athanasiou.



Figure 64: The ruin of the Koulia. © Faidon Moudopoulos-Athanasiou.

main herd into smaller ones, and dispersed, extensive grazing. The pastoral-related site distribution in the surveyed area (Koukouli, Kapesovo, and parts of Vradeto) supports this pattern.

However, the scarcity of water resources is obvious, and also recorded in oral histories. Besides the few artificial watering pools (loutses), only a couple of springs provide water throughout the summer in dry conditions. For that reason, the borders between Koukouli and Kapesovo were once altered in the "distant past" as one of my interlocutors recollected. "Kapesovo had no spring, so Koukouli agreed to alter the border allowing the Kapesovites to access Asprovrysi, while we (Koukouliotes) obtained water from the fountain of Baba", he said without being able to place this transaction in history, but it was before the early 19th-century arrival of the Sarakatsani in the area.

The fountain of Baba is part of a wider development on the summer pasture of Koukouli in 1830. As stated in Chapter Three, at the time when Leo von Klenze was preparing the cleansing of post-classical monuments in Athens, a Bektashi Muslim herder from Kolonje (today in Albania), Hassani Baba, rented the summer pastures and improved their infrastructure. He invested in constructing a small tower (κούλια) for his pleasure (ραχάτι) and his



Figure 65: The fountain of Baba. © Faidon Moudopoulos-Athanasiou.

distinguished guests (καλούς μουσαφηραίους) (Figure 64). His story, preserved in the archive of Lazaridis (1954; 1981) and evaluated in ethnoarchaeological terms recently (Moudopoulos-Athanasiou, 2022b,a), presents an interesting case linking the recent pastoral past related to the Sarakatsani (cf. Campbell, 1964; Dalkavoukis, 2005) with the deeper history of the region.

As we saw earlier, quite a few notables of Zagori owned transhumant herds for which they rented winter pastures towards the western plains of Epirus, at least since the 17th century. These herds would have had free access to the communal summer pastures, or – as outlined in Chapter Seven – some rich families would rent the *yaylak*s enabling the communities to pay the tax-farmers, who were related to their economic network, profiting thus from their patronage network.

Hassani Baba arrived in Tymphi before 1830, in the immediate years after the collapse of the *ayan* pashalik of Ali Pasha at Janina, and the disempowerment of the Zagorisian notables who were part of his client network. At the same time, the Bektashi order was outlawed, during the "Auspicious Incident" (disbanding of the Janissary corps in Constantinople and the Ottoman Empire in general, 1826). These events are connected, and the Bektashi Hassani Baba likely chose to spend his summers in Zagori, a predominantly Orthodox area, to avoid religious retaliations. He constructed a sanctuary for himself and his guests, members of his spiritual branch of Sufi Islam, away from the main roads and in a region beyond any sultanic suspicion. Furthermore, he constructed the fountain of Baba (14 m length – Figure 65), to which a perpendicular irrigation channel was attached that carried water to a seasonal garden, known locally as the "garden of the lady" (ο κήπος της Κυράς); here, according to oral history, the wife of Hassani Baba grew the season's vegetables. When Hassani left the summer pastures of Koukouli, in 1833, he left the tower as an endowment (βακούφικο) to the central church of the village (St. George), to "light the candle of Virgin Mary". Each shepherd subsequently wishing to use the tower would have to pay 30 *akçe* to the church. As no Sarakatsan pastoralist wished to cover this expense, the tower collapsed over the years. Although his presence on Tymphi was short-lived, it offers crucial insights into the history of the area.

The presence of a Bektashi herder, leaving an endowment to the Orthodox church of Koukouli, while

in some instances Christian notables from these very Zagorisian villages profited (directly or indirectly) from taxes on their communities, highlights the need to investigate this period beyond national stereotypes, as argued in Chapter Three. Furthermore, Hassani's case reveals an intermediate period, between the time when Zagorisian transhumant herds used the summer pastures (until the late 18th century) and the advent of the nomadic Sarakatsani (after 1840) and their eventual sedentarisation (1938). Finally, the existence of his garden, in this area considered to be deterministically pastoral (1650 masl), reveals once more that the cultural landscape of Zagori is shaped by the historically contingent needs of the local communities, while alternative possibilities might have occurred due to shifts in human agency and forms of dwelling.

A Synthesis: Upland cultivation, summer pastures, the Vikos Gorge, and the "hidden" component of pastoralism

So far, we have seen that many upland regions, today considered pastoral, preserve significant layers of past agricultural practices. The argument was put forward that the communities of Zagori chose to adapt in a sedentary fashion to the 16th-century population rise, opting also for significant amounts of upland cultivation. However, we also estimated that Zagori in the 16th century possessed ca 53,000 animals excluding large elite flocks and any transhumant ones. At first glance, it seems that the diversification of agriculture (Chapter Seven) and upland agriculture could not coexist with large numbers of communal and transhumant herds. This would have posed problems for the continuity and reproduction of the economic model outlined above, including mixed-farming and animal husbandry together with other forms of mobile, specialised pastoralism.

The parameter enabling the coexistence of these practices, without the need to shift towards other economies,[129] is the unique conditions provided by the Vikos Gorge, the world's deepest in proportion to its width (according to Guinness World Records, Folkard et al., 2004: 52). It is 15km in length and drains a basin of 184 km^2 (Woodward et al., 2004). Its diverse relief, protecting from cold air currents, generated a stable environment during the otherwise swift climatic alterations of the Quaternary. This stability rendered the location one of the most important refugia for plant species in the SW Balkans (Médail and Diadema, 2009; Tzedakis, 1993; Tzedakis et al., 2002).[130] These very conditions made the Vikos Gorge a pristine, mainly winter, but also summer, pasture for goats. The importance of goats for the economy of Zagori has been highlighted in folkloric and other essays (e.g., Papageorgiou, 2015: 75-76) and the existence of rock shelters that were used as winter goat-shelters is well known through the case of Klithi, at the end of the gorge towards the plain of Konitsa (Bailey et al., 1997; Galanidou, 1997).[131]

However, the connection between the favourable climatic conditions, the abundance of rock shelters and the diverse relief (arguably the perfect conditions for goat grazing) have never been viewed in the context of the wider early modern economy of Zagori, although some of the glacial formations in the area are named after such pens (Stani Grava, Hughes et al., 2006a: 424). In fact, the arrangements inside the Gorge mirror those of the highlands: various communities exploit different grazing areas within Vikos (Figure 66).

The peculiarities of the Vikos Gorge facilitated the economic model of the Zagorisians throughout the early modern period. Such a stable winter pasture favoured a sedentary mode of life, with emphasis on goat-herding. If the gorge acted as a refugium for plant species throughout the Quaternary climatic alterations, it would certainly have enabled year-round browsing in recent centuries (whether or not Zagori was affected by the Little Ice Age), leaving upland areas available for rainfed cultivation.

The use of rock shelters as goat-shelters is still evident despite the prolonged forestation blocking access to all areas beyond the main pathway (Figure 67), in a region that until the 1970s fed more than 5,000 goats, according to oral testimonies. The remains of dry-stone huts, rock shelters, shrines, managed springs, and anti-erosion terraces (Figures 68 and 69) point towards the complex economy of the gorge, home also to a great variety of medicinal plants used by the Vikoyatroi (cf. Malamas, 1982). These herds living inside the gorge were rarely recorded in official censuses; hence, they represent the hidden component of local pastoralism, in a mountainous area with a dominant agricultural imprint. This hidden component enabled such agricultural expansion to the highlands facilitating the sedentary adaptation to the 16th-century population rise.

Topography of transformation: the abandoned villages

What of the relationship to the wider landscape of the villages that were abandoned in post-16th century Zagori? In Chapter Six, we saw that in some cases abandonment was subject to local elite adaptations.

129 E.g., post-17th century Metsovo–transhumance; and Mastorochoria (Craftsmen Villages) – itinerant groups of specialised workmen

130 E.g., *Fagus sylvatica, Aesculum hippocastanum, Ramonda serbica.* Individual trees of this sort are still located inside the gorge.

131 It is interesting to note that the only requirement of the Konitsa Diocese, owner of Klithi rock shelter, for excavations to be allowed to begin, was for the British team to construct a new winter-shelter for the goats (Bailey, 2021).

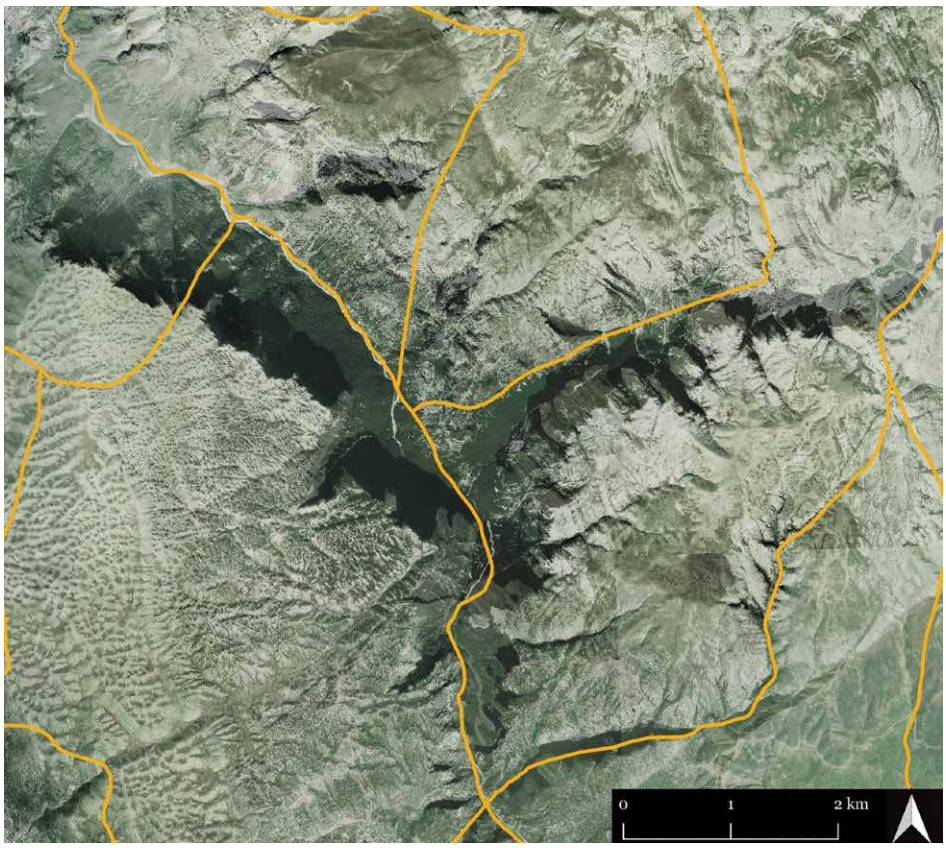


Figure 66: Map showing the community borders inside the Vikos Gorge. © Faidon Moudopoulos-Athanasiou.

This section approaches case studies under the lens of non-elite change and focusses on land-use change and communal adaptations. This approach enriches static historical observations on the creation of *mezraa* areas and the conversion of such areas into summer, or winter, pastures, arguing that in the montane landscape such broad divisions do not do justice to the complexity of dynamic transformations.

Laliza

Laliza was recorded as a *timar* throughout the 16th-century registers and was subsequently abandoned at an unknown date. In 1530 the village consisted of three entries and a total of 29 households and four bachelors; in 1564/5, the population appears lower (ten households and six bachelors), only to regain its residents in 1583/4 (30 households and nine bachelors).

In the broader district of Janina, there is another village by this name in the municipality of Zitsa, while another instance is recorded close to Olympia. The name derives from Albanian and is either a place rich in "red poppies" (*lal/e*, *-ja*), or the derogatory name *beğis* / notables gave to the poor peasants from the fields of Myzeqe (Oikonomou, 2002: 164-165). As poppies are a very generic trait of the Epirot landscape, the second option sounds more convincing, bearing in mind that



Figure 67: Kalderimi (cobbled pathway) inside the Gorge. © Faidon Moudopoulos-Athanasiou.



Figure 68: Above, two of the rock shelters and below, the remains of a hut. © Faidon Moudopoulos-Athanasiou.



Figure 69: A shrine placed next to a fountain. © Faidon Moudopoulos-Athanasiou.

peasant households were to an extent mobile within the early modern period (Forbes, 2007a; Horden and Purcell, 2000; Sutton, 2000) and that poorer peasants tend to move more frequently. This mobility might also explain the disappearance of 19 households from 1530 to 1564/5 and their reappearance 20 years later, in 1583/4. This suggestion is supported to an extent by the single oral testimony about the village and also by the evolution of this landscape and its land-use from the 18th century onwards.

Oral history

It is very difficult to retrieve narratives regarding abandoned settlements, especially in a case where the territory is incorporated into a large village, in our case Artsista. That is because those stories do not define the history of the living settlement, such as the case of Kastraki and Hagios Minas (Chapter Six), but instead are related to the microscale and therefore known only to families whose taskscapes were connected to the specific area. Laliza is a location in the region of the miniature floodplain of Kallithea, on the border between Artsista, Doliana, and Ravenia. In the second half of the 20th century, the area was used as winter pasture and also contained a few agricultural plots.

I located only one elderly woman who dwelled among these taskscapes and was able to provide an accurate location for the position of the settlement and remembered a relevant tale, passed down to her by the narratives of older women. According to this, the village dissolved in the distant past due to intensive landslides. However, as the houses collapsed, one household was trapped inside their storerooms, which were abundant. These people inhabited the area, underground, for many more years, using the leftovers of their production. People passing by were able to hear noises and a persistent rooster's squawk. This squawk, according to the tale, gave the name to the area (the rooster squawk = lálize – Laliza). Despite the interesting para-etymology generated through mechanisms of dwelling, the tale describes a situation where most inhabitants move but a few remain.

The evolution of a landscape

According to the above-stated testimony, the settlement of Laliza was located above Katavóthra (Figure 70), a drainage channel created before 1775 and expanded between 1892 and 1894 in a communal effort to dry out the micro-floodplain of Kallithea, increase the productivity of the fields and redistribute the holdings equally among the households of Artsista (Petsas and Saralis, 1982: 210-219). However, the area locals name Laliza in the 21st century refers to the lower, fertile, parts of the floodplain, as annotated in Figure 71.

The implication is that Laliza in the 16th century was a larger area, encompassing the plain but expanding



Figure 70: The Katavothra drainage during the effort to block it in the 1980s. © Faidon Moudopoulos-Athanasiou.

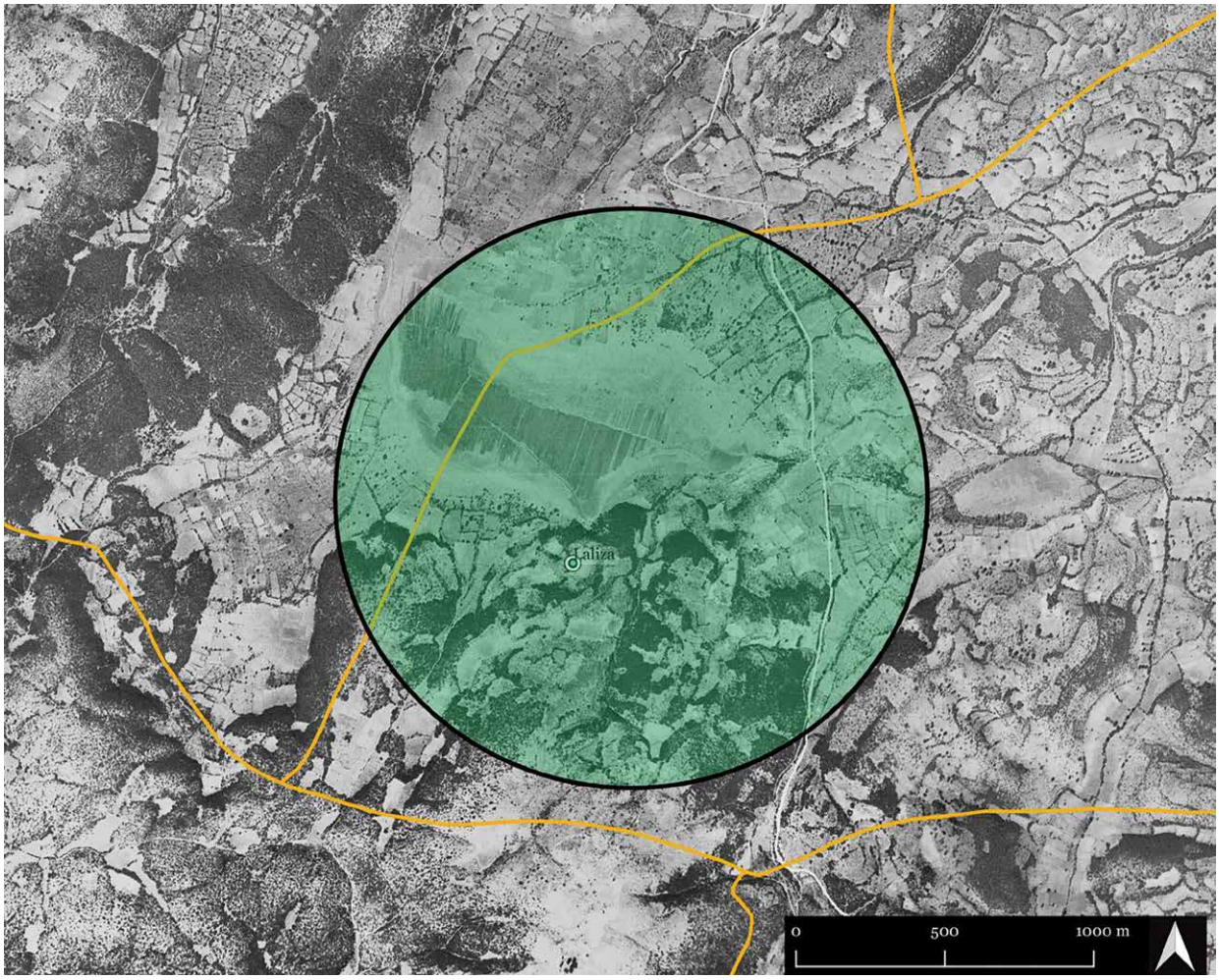


Figure 71: The abandoned settlement of Laliza, situated on the fertile lowlands between the borders of (Old) Hagios Minas, Artsista, Ravenya and Doliana. © Faidon Moudopoulos-Athanasiou.

to the slope. Although the narrative suggested that the village collapsed due to landslides, the area above the pool revealed the ruins of at least one structure that became a clearance cairn in later periods (Figure 72), while plentiful handmade potsherds are visible in the neighbouring fields.

Consequently, the village left visible markers, and reading the historical processes that defined this landscape allows us to understand the process of ruination and the relevant appropriation of space by other forms of dwelling and different taskscapes. The "lake" of Kallithea is a typical karst polje with alluvial sediments, a *varkó* in the regional toponymy, that during periods of rainfall becomes a lake. Such areas, due to the alluvial sedimentation processes, become fertile areas, and the proximity to water allows for intensive cultivation when the water retreats.

There is no record of the century in which Laliza dissolved, but by 1775 the fertile fields belonged to individuals from Artsista (*e.g.* Papa Michali and Christo Tzoufeti), growing cereals and vines (Petsas and Saralis, 1982: 202-204). The fertile area around the lake had become a field of discourse between the communities of Artsista and Ano Ravenia, and a committee led by the Bishop of Vella and Konitsa was generated to resolve the legal dispute. They decided to dig a ditch defining the borders, and this placed all the fields of the region Laliza under the ownership of Artsista (Petsas and Saralis, 1982). However, the dispute continued and in 1834 another committee decreed that the borders of 1775 were final. To seal the local conflict, peasants from Artsista and Ano Ravenia were obliged to erect two towers (Pyrgos – shrines) dedicated to St. Demetrius and St. George and define the line of the border for future generations.

With this agreement, Ano Ravenia did not have access to the fields of Laliza but retained the right to use the drainage pool to wash their clothes and textiles (Petsas and Saralis, 1982: 204). This detailed example reveals that extra-communal disputes emerged for the appropriation of the lands of abandoned villages, an issue that we will encounter in subsequent case studies as well.

By 1832, many fields had been sold to the monastery of Speleotissa, which, as we saw earlier, had become the major economic power in the region. In 1892 the community of Artsista, using resources from the village and offerings from wealthy emigré individuals, began a two-year project to dry out the polje, create a census, enumerate the cultivated plots and redistribute them equally to all families. This plan cost 13,178 *guruş*, which covered the wages of workmen, craftsmen, an engineer and the production of a map of the lake (Petsas and Saralis, 1982: 210). The redistribution effort produced strips of land (lourides, Figure 73), 4x50m, and each family drew plots from a pool, both closer and further away from the central point that, even after drainage, held water. At the same period, the part of Laliza situated on the slope, up to the peak of Prophet Elias (the border between Aristi and Doliana), was rented as winter pasture to transhumant pastoralists.

By the 18th century, Laliza had become an important resource to the community of Artsista. Yet, the area is situated on the border between the communities of Artsista, Doliana and Ano Ravenia. According to the available dates, the village of Laliza dissolved within the 17th century. At that time, Doliana became a *çiftlik* and Ano Ravenia remained a medium-sized *timar*. Artsista, on the other hand, a sultanic *has* in the 16th-century, benefited economically from the creation and development of the Speleotissa monastery (1644), which the assembly of the village (*kocabaşı*) managed together with the monks. When the fields by the lake fell into the hands of tax farmers and *beğ*s from Konitsa, during the financial crisis of the 17th century (Nitsiakos, 2003: 77), it was only natural that the wealthier commune of Artsista, together with the monastery would acquire them. The aforementioned right of the people of Ano Ravenia to be able to use the pool (1775), and the existence of a few plots in Laliza owned by families in Doliana, may indicate that, when Laliza was abandoned, some of its families joined the other two villages and retained their holdings.

Koziako

According to the Ottoman registers, the village of Koziako had 12 families in 1530, 13 in 1564/5, and 16 in 1583/4. Interestingly, one of the folkloric narratives about its abandonment places this in 1600 (Oikonomou, 1977), while the different accounts all tell the story of 16 families moving to other villages in the region, mostly Negades and Tsepelovo (see below). Consequently, this is one of the rare examples where a folkloric account matches exactly with the information of the registers.

Today, the ruined village lies within a very dense forest (Figure 74). However, structures survive to a substantial height and are surprisingly well preserved. The village contains houses built with the drystone technique, using the limestone raw material available immediately above the settlement (Figure 75). It expands horizontally, on the slopes of Koziakos mountain, situated on the main communication road leading to the summer pastures of Makrino.

Despite difficult off-road access, I located many structures including houses, kitchens, terraces and anti-erosion retaining walls (Figure 76). Furthermore, folkloric tradition recalled three churches in Koziako: Hagia Triada, still standing- albeit slightly relocated, and Hagios Nikolaos and Panaya, in a ruined state. Although contemporary interlocutors pointed me to the whereabouts of only the two first churches, I also located the third, during the walkover survey (Figure 77). They are of the same character as the churches discovered in other abandoned villages: single-aisle and of modest dimensions.

The three churches define the village. Hagia Triada lies at the exit of the village towards Ora Kali, Negades, and the core of Zagori. Hagios Nikolaos lies on the western fringe of the village, marking the end of the inhabited area and the beginning of fields and grazing land. It is interesting to note that, within the territory of Hagios Nikolaos, the geology shifts from limestone formations inside the village to flysch at the beginning of the extended fields (Figure 78). The church of Panaya is situated on top of the terraced flysch-based slope overlooking the fertile land, positioned at the gateway to the summer pastures.

This arrangement is reflected in the building material used for the domestic structures. Raw limestone blocks with minimal modification form the basis of construction, with thin flysch blocks used to fill the gaps. The level of craftsmanship is limited due to the raw material available nearby. In the second *mahalle* of Koziako, further south towards the village of Negades, the few structures discovered are built with flysch sheets in what seems like a more skilled construction (Figure 79), albeit ultimately shaped by the quality of the raw materials.

As a village of modest population, it sustained few fields and gardens – like most *timar*s of Zagori in the 16th century, while the pastoral component in an area with such rich pastures must be considered self-evident. Based on the evidence, and although the site deserves more profound research, Koziako was a village with two small neighbourhoods, the central of which had three churches. It



Figure 73: The layout of lourides plots (1945). © Faidon Moudopoulos-Athanasiou.



Figure 74: The dense forest in Koziako village. © Faidon Moudopoulos-Athanasiou.



Figure 75: Raw material in the village. © Faidon Moudopoulos-Athanasiou.



Figure 76: Domestic remains in Koziako. Interior walls (above) and a fireplace/stove (below). © Faidon Moudopoulos-Athanasiou.



Figure 77: Panaya church in Koziako. © Faidon Moudopoulos-Athanasiou.



Figure 78: The area of Flysch sediments in Koziako. © Faidon Moudopoulos-Athanasiou.



Figure 79: House in upper Koziako village. © Faidon Moudopoulos-Athanasiou.

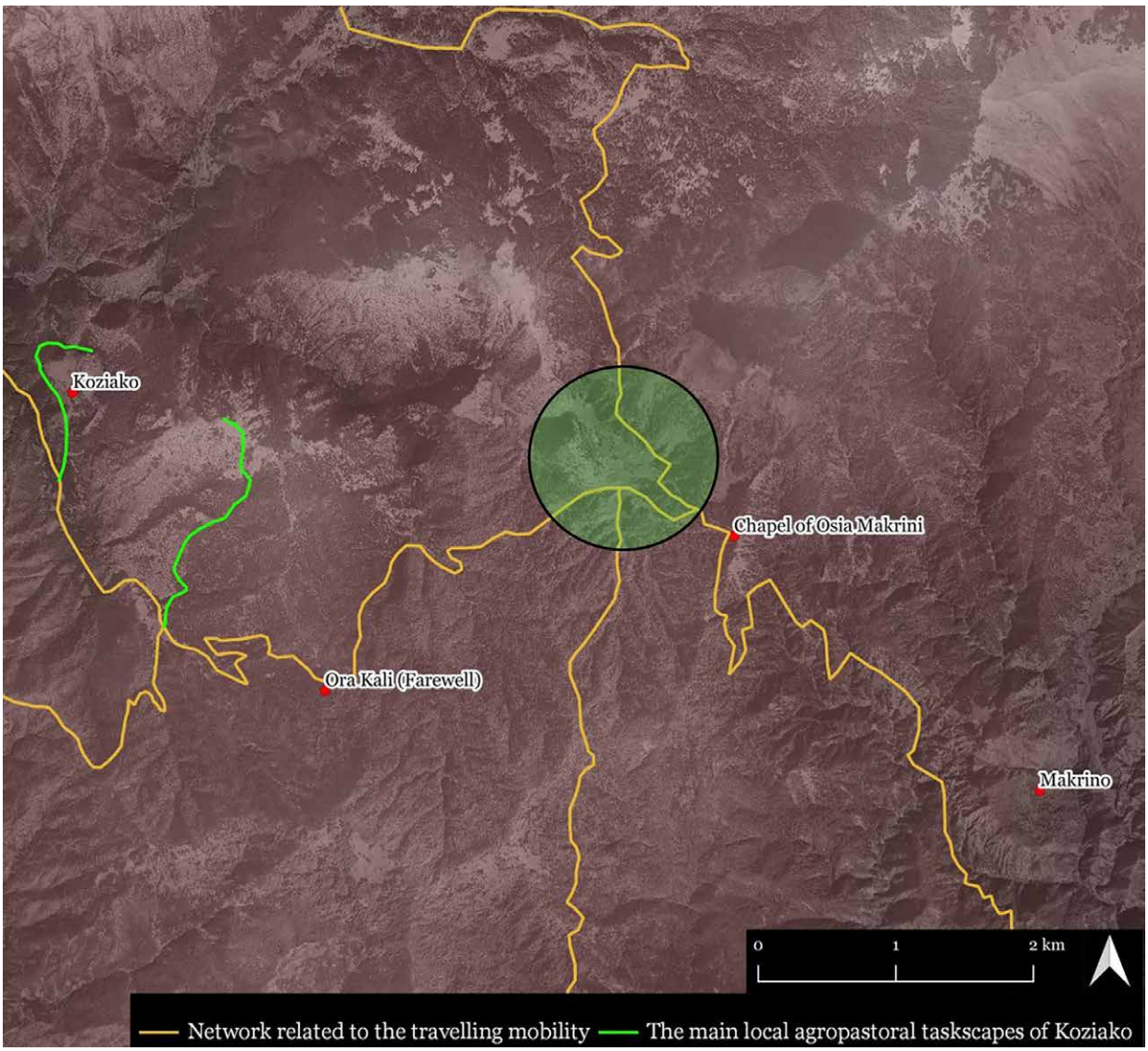


Figure 80: The summer pasture of Makrino creating a new central network node on the border of Koziako. © Faidon Moudopoulos-Athanasiou.

was situated on the axis of movement into (and out of) Zagori and its summer pastures bordered with the Kservouni of Makrino, a village which appeared in the historical record a few decades before the abandonment of Koziako. In terms of network analysis, it is a node connecting pathways arriving from every direction, and its abandonment might be implicitly connected with the emergence of elite-owned Makrino, on its border (Figure 80). Based on the evidence presented below, Makrinos must have bought the land of its summer pasture, Kserovouni, from the declining community of Koziako.

Koziako after the abandonment

Georgios Sotiris from Negades composed a handwritten history of Zagori in verse in 1936. This manuscript is now lost, but the relevant part regarding the story of Koziako is preserved in the notes of Oikonomou (1977: 26-28), an amateur historian from Negades. I present it here in full, as I believe it adds considerable insights to the history of the site, patterns of mobility on the microscale, the conflict between communities for land, and also highlights an underdeveloped potential for the combination of archaeology and Modern Greek Studies.

ORIGINAL	**TRANSLATION**
Ο Κοζιακός γνωρίζετε μικρόν ήτο χωρίον,	Koziakos was a small village,
Προ χρόνων διελύθηκε κ'ειν έρημον τοπίον.	Dissolved into a desolate landscape, years ago.
Έχει ωραία θέρετρα, που βόσκουν τα κοπάδια,	It had beautiful summer pastures for grazing,
Και τα κωδούνια αρμονικά αχούν εις τα λαγκάδια.	And the bells of herds were echoing inside gorges.
Οικογενείας δέκα έξ είχε και όλες φύγαν,	There were 16 families; all left,
Και εξ' αυτών αι ένδεκα εις τους Νεγάδες πήγαν.	11 went to Negades.
Υπάρχει τούρκικον χαρτί με τα ονόματά των,	There is a Turkish document with their names,
Σημειωμένα εις αυτό ως και τα κτήματά των.	Which also recorded their land-holdings.
Μία εις το Τσεπέλοβον, κ' εις το Σκαμνέλι μια,	One went to Tsepelovo, another to Skamneli,
Δυό υπήγαν μακρυά εις την Επισκοπίτσα,	Two more in Episkopitsa, far away,
Κ' εις τους Νεγάδες γύρισαν μετά καιρόν τ' αγγόνια,	Their grandchildren returned later to Negades,
Είναι και τώρ' απόγονοι, ας πέρασαν και χρόνια.	Their kin survive today, even if centuries went by.
Των δέκα έξ η άλλη μια, πήγε στη Γερομνήμη,	Another of the 16 went to Geromnimi,
Σώζοντ' αυτής απόγονοι, γνήσιοι κι όχι φήμη.	Their heirs prosper today as well.
Προ χρόνων ενενήντα δυό, είσθε Τσεπελοβίται,	92 years ago [1844], people from Tsepelovo,
Οι σήμερον του Κωζακού, νόμιμ' ιδιοκτήται (1844).	Became the rightful owners of Koziakos.
Για τους ναούς του Κοζακού, Άϊ Νικόλα, Αγία Τριάδα,	We need to lament the churches of Koziakos,
Και Παναγιά σ' αυτούς πρέπει Ιερεμιάδα.	St. Nikolaos, Holy Trinity and the Virgin.
Εικόνες δεν υπάρχουνε, δεν είναι ούτε πύλη,	There are no icons, no doors,
Σαράβαλα τα κτίρια, είναι χωρίς καντήλι.	The buildings are ruined, without a candle.
Ο Άγιος Νικόλαος καθώς κ' η Παναγία,	Hagios Nikolaos and the Virgin are rubble,
Λιθοσωριές έχουν σ'αυτές οι πιστικοί μαντρία.	They have become pens.
Κ' εκεί που άλλοτε άναφταν οι Χριστιανοί κανδήλες,	And where Christians once lighted candles,
Κρεμούνε τώρα οι πιστικοί αγκλίτσες και τσαντήλες.	Shepherds hang crooks & bags of fresh cheese.
Κάποτε συνεζήτησαν δια τον Αϊ Νικόλα,	Once they talked about Hagios Nikolas,
Είπαν δεν ήτο Εκκλησιά, αλλά του Μπάσια Ν'κόλα.	It was no church, but property of Basha N'kola.
Καλύβα που κοιμάτ' αυτός κ' η οικογένειά του,	A hut where he sleeps with his family,
Αντάμα με τα πρόβατα, κριάρια και σκυλιά του.	Together with his sheep, rams and dogs.
Και όμως όλ' ομολογούν, πως ήτο Εκκλησία	Yet everyone admits it was a church
Ο Άγιος Νικόλαος, φαίνονται τα σημεία.	Hagios Nikolaos, the marks are visible.
Φαίνονται και τα μνήματα και το Άγιον Βήμα,	The chancel and graves are visible
Κι όσοι καλύβια λέγουσι πείσματος είταν θύμα.	And those who talk of huts are stubborn.
Λιθοσωρειά και ο Ναός είναι της Παναγίας,	The church of Panaya is also rubble
Πλην φαίνονται ερείπια που είναι εκκλησίας.	Yet, the ruins of a church are plain to see.
Κ' εκεί που έψαλλαν ψαλμούς και θεία λειτουργία	In place of holy communion and psalms
Τώρα βελάζουν πρόβατα και υλακτούν σκυλία.	Now sheep bleat and dogs howl.
Κι όπου ποτέ εψάλλετο ο Ύμνος των Αγγέλων,	And where the Hymn of the Angels was sung
Η ταραχή ακούεται κι' ο σάλαγος ποιμένων.	Echoes the disturbing sounds of shepherds.
Κι όπου αχούσαν σήμαντρα και θυμιατ' ασημένια,	And where silver censers and church-bells rang
Λαλεί φλογέρα και βροντούν κωδούνια σιδερένα.	Flutes warble and iron bells sound.
Μονάχα η Αγιατριάς, κι αυτ' έχει καταπέσει,	Only the Holy Trinity, and that collapsed,
Κάπως την επισκεύασαν εις την ιδίαν θέσι.	Is somehow rebuilt on the same spot.
Παναϊα, Αϊ Νικόλας, είθε να βοηθήσουν	May the Virgin and St Nikolas help
Αληθινούς Χριστιανούς, τις εκκλησιές να κτίσουν.	True Christians, to build the churches.
Καλοί Τσεπελοβίται σεις τώρα ιδιοκτήται,	Good people of Tsepelovo, current owners,
Του Κοζακού τις εκκλησιές, να κτίσετε προβήτε,	Reconstruct the churches of Koziako,
Από τα εισοδήματα που έχει κάθε χρόνον,	Spend a small fraction,
Ξοδεύσατε από αυτά μικρό ποσόν και μόνον,	From your annual income,
Μικρότερες να κτίσετε αυτού τις εκκλησίες,	Erect these churches smaller,
Να συγχωρέσει ο Θεός όλων τας αμαρτίας.	So God may forgive all our sins.
Αυτά διά τον Κοζακόν λέγουν εις τους Νεγάδες,	That is what they say about Koziako in Negades,
Ανεκαθεν και γέροντες και νέοι και παπάδες,	Elders, young, and priests,
Και πως αυτοί τον Κοζιακόν τριακόσια χρόνια είχαν,	And that they held Koziako for 300 years,

Προ χρόνων ενενήντα δυό Τσεπελοβίται πήραν.	And 92 years ago, Tsepelovo took it.
Τσεπελοβίτ' όμως αλλιώς λέγουν και διηγούναι,	People from Tsepelovo tell the story otherwise,
Πως πρώτα το Τσεπέλοβον γέροντες ενθυμούνται.	Elders remember the first location of Tsepelovo.
Πως στην Ζωνδήλα αντικρύ στον Αϊ Νικόλα ήταν,	In Zondila opposite St Nikolaos,
Παλαιόθεν φύγαν απ' εκεί στον Κοζιακόν πως πήγαν,	They relocated to Koziako,
Εικοσιεπτά οικογένειαι τον Κοζιακόν εστήσαν,	And 27 families settled there,
Και Άγιον Νικόλαον κι έκτισαν εκκλησία.	Constructing the church of St Nikolaos.
Λέγουν σφραγίδα έχουνε Κοινότης Αϊ Νικόλα,	They have an old seal revealing the truth,
Γράφει και είναι παλαιά και φανερώνει όλα.	It is inscribed "community of St Nikolas".
Από παλιό Τσεπέλοβον στο νέον πως υπήγαν,	From old Tsepelovo they relocated to the new,
Και τ Αγίου Νικόλαου την εκκλησία κτίσαν.	Constructing the church of St Nikolas.
Αυτά του Δούβαλ' ο Σούλης είπε στο πανηγύρι,	So spoke Soulis Douvalis at the festival,
Στο Ρογκοβό του Πρόδρομου Αγιάνν' το Μοναστήρι.	Of St. John's monastery at Rogovo.
Αυτά τα επιβεβαίωσαν κι άλλοι Τσεπελοβίται,	Other people from Tsepelovo confirmed this,
Γιατ' είναι οι σημερινοί Κοζακού ιδιοκτήται.	Because they're the present owners of Koziako.
Τσεπέλοβον και οι Νεγάδες γειτονικά χωρία,	Neighbouring Tsepelovo and Negades
Παλαιόθεν για τον Κοζακόν έχουν φιλονικεία.	Have disputed Koziako for many years.
Ποιοί έχουν το δίκαιον εν γνώσει και αλήθεια,	The other villages don't want to say,
Δε θέλουν για να το ειπούν τα άλλα τα χωρία.	Who's right and who's wrong.
Το δίκιο πάει περίπατο τ' άδικο κυριεύει,	Right flees and wrong prevails,
Εξεθρονίσθ' η αλήθεια, το ψέμα βασιλεύει.	Truth is replaced and falsehood rules.
Διαβάσατε και κρίνατε καλοί Τσεπελοβίται,	Do read and decide good Tsepelovites,
Τους στίχους περί Κοζακού κι ως θέλετε φρονείτε.	The verses on Koziako and believe what you wish.
Σας εκτιμώ σας βεβαιώ, ειλικρινείας πλήρης,	I treasure you, honestly,
Αν θέλετε πιστεύσατε Γεώργιος Σωτήρης.	Believe it, if you want, Georgios Sotiris

This narrative offers various avenues for historical, anthropological, and spatial observations. For the present discussion, we conclude that, from its abandonment, Koziako was a subject of dispute between Negades and Tsepelovo. According to the most convincing narrative, the area belonged to Negades until 1844, when a teacher from Negades sold the *tapu* (ownership) to the village of Tsepelovo. This triggered a legal dispute which ended in 1907 (Oikonomou 1977). That year, the Ottoman authorities invited elders from the villages of Skamneli, Makrino, Dragari, Dolyani, Frangades and Baya, to present their views on this legal dispute. As Negades failed to present ancient documents contradicting the 1844 verdict (*ferman*, published in Giannakos, 2009: 28-29),[132] the case was closed.

However, Tsepelovo does not border with the area of Koziako, and the similarity between the 16th-century Ottoman registers and the Negades narrative is striking. As a result, we may safely side with Negades, and recalibrate the narrative: no teacher sold the *tapu* to Tsepelovo. Instead, most probably notables from Tsepelovo bought the right to tax-farm (*malikâne*) the region of Koziako in perpetuity. Hence, they appropriated the area in the decades when Tsepelovo emerged as the dominant village of Zagori, eventually becoming the regional capital (1868), in line with the demands of the *Tanzimat* reforms.

Another reason to believe that the majority of families went to Negades is a local narrative regarding the relocation of holy places. According to oral history, when households moved to Negades, they constructed a church of Hagia Triada on the outskirts of the village, *in memoriam* of their holy church. When Hadji-Manthos Ginos, benefactor of St. George's church at Negades, paid for the construction of the three-aisled church (1792), he dedicated the northern aisle to Hagia Trias, as a tribute to these families (Oikonomou, 1977: 321). Koziako lies north of Negades, a fact spatially justifying the selection of the northern aisle as Hagia Trias.

We saw earlier a similar narrative, in the case of the abandoned village of Stanades. In that case, it was Hagios Nikolaos, the village church, that was relocated to Frangades upon abandonment, while the lands of Stanades were disputed between Frangades and Liaskovetsi. The Tsepelovo version of the story, as presented by Georgios Sotiris, unravels another common thread: Koziako was allegedly founded by the people of Tsepelovo, who relocated there from

132 "it was proven by the law of *sariah* that the aforementioned lands belong to Tzepelova (sic) (…) while a *ferman* was given to the hands of the *reaya* of Tzepelova, so that no one else would intervene, the *reaya* of Negades protested, arguing that these lands belong to their own abandoned village of Koziako (…)".



Figure 81: Mature pine tree inside a terrace in Koziako. © Faidon Moudopoulos-Athanasiou.

their old village. There they founded the church of Hagios Nikolaos, which was also the church of the previous village. Furthermore, as they founded the new Tsepelovo village, after the abandonment of Koziako, they built the church of Hagios Nikolaos (1760). However, the village of Tsepelovo coexisted with Koziako in the 16th century, since when it has remained in its current location. Consequently, the argument falls down, but we begin to grasp a pattern of movement, either accurate or with potential for sustaining legal disputes. While villages dissolved and merged, their inhabitants took with them their patron saints. Yet, the former locations retained their sacred character, which is why Georgios Sotiris and the people of Negades used the argument of desecration (i.e., people from Tsepelovo converting churches into pens) to reveal the mistaken change of ownership.

The existence of a Turkish document, recording the property of the families that moved from Koziako to Negades (see above), means that peasants to an extent continued to return and cultivate their holdings – and graze their animals. Agriculture gave way to a dense forest from the 17th to the 19th century (Figure 81), while pastoralism thrived in the region until the 20th century. The rectangular shape of the churches served well the needs of pastoralists, who are known for converting churches into pens in the abandoned settlement of Negrades, above the plain of Soudena, in a region used as communal pastures of Apano Soudena (Papagiannopoulos, 2017). As these structures are constructed with the drystone technique, they are susceptible to erosion – facilitated by livestock and especially goats. At present, herding in this part of Zagori has ceased and the area is used only for logging activities.

Vrizatzeno

Vrizatzeno (or Vrzaçna in the Ottoman registers) was a medium-sized *timar* during the 16th century, having 48-50 households (1564/5 – 1583/4). Affected by a plague, the village was abandoned and subsequently its land was sold by the tax-farmers owning the area to the village of Vovousa in 1750/1 (Dasoulas, 2019: 94; Papageorgiou, 1995: 20-23). The location of the village, situated beneath a limestone rock formation named *kourí* (protective forest) and close to the Vardas river, provided a safe and relatively warm location in comparison to the village of Vovousa. Hence, shepherds from this village used the location as winter pasture, in a regime with fixed winter and summer pastures.

The forest around the rock formation of *kourí* is a protective one, but the shape of the ancient individual oak trees reveals that they were pollarded at a younger age (Figure 83). Managed trees are compatible with the post-habitation function of the area as winter pasture. It is plausible, therefore, that the forest of *kourí* was managed as long as Vovousa owned it, and restrictions – in the sense



Figure 82: Limestone formations in Kourí and Hagios Nikolaos (left). © Faidon Moudopoulos-Athanasiou.

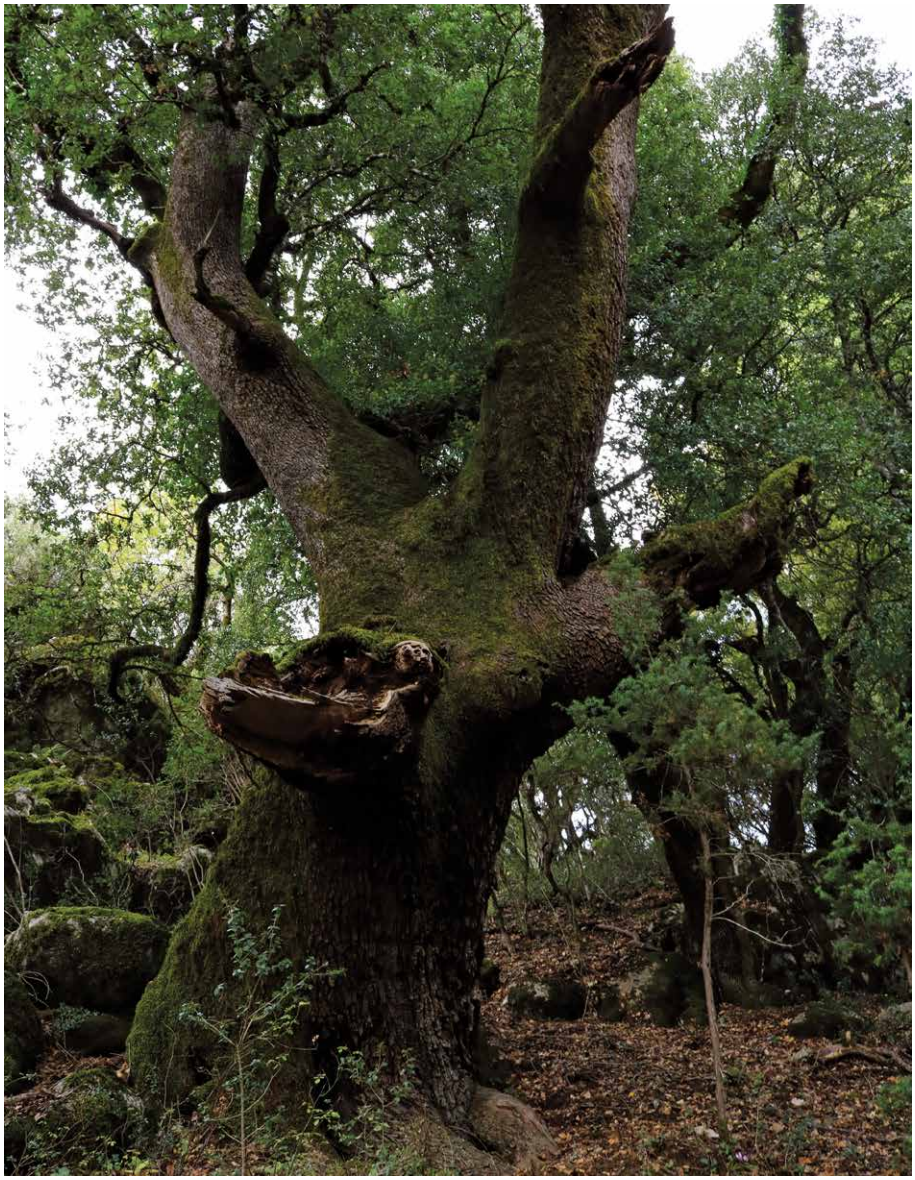


Figure 83: Pollarded mature tree within the sacred forest of Kourí. © Faidon Moudopoulos-Athanasiou.

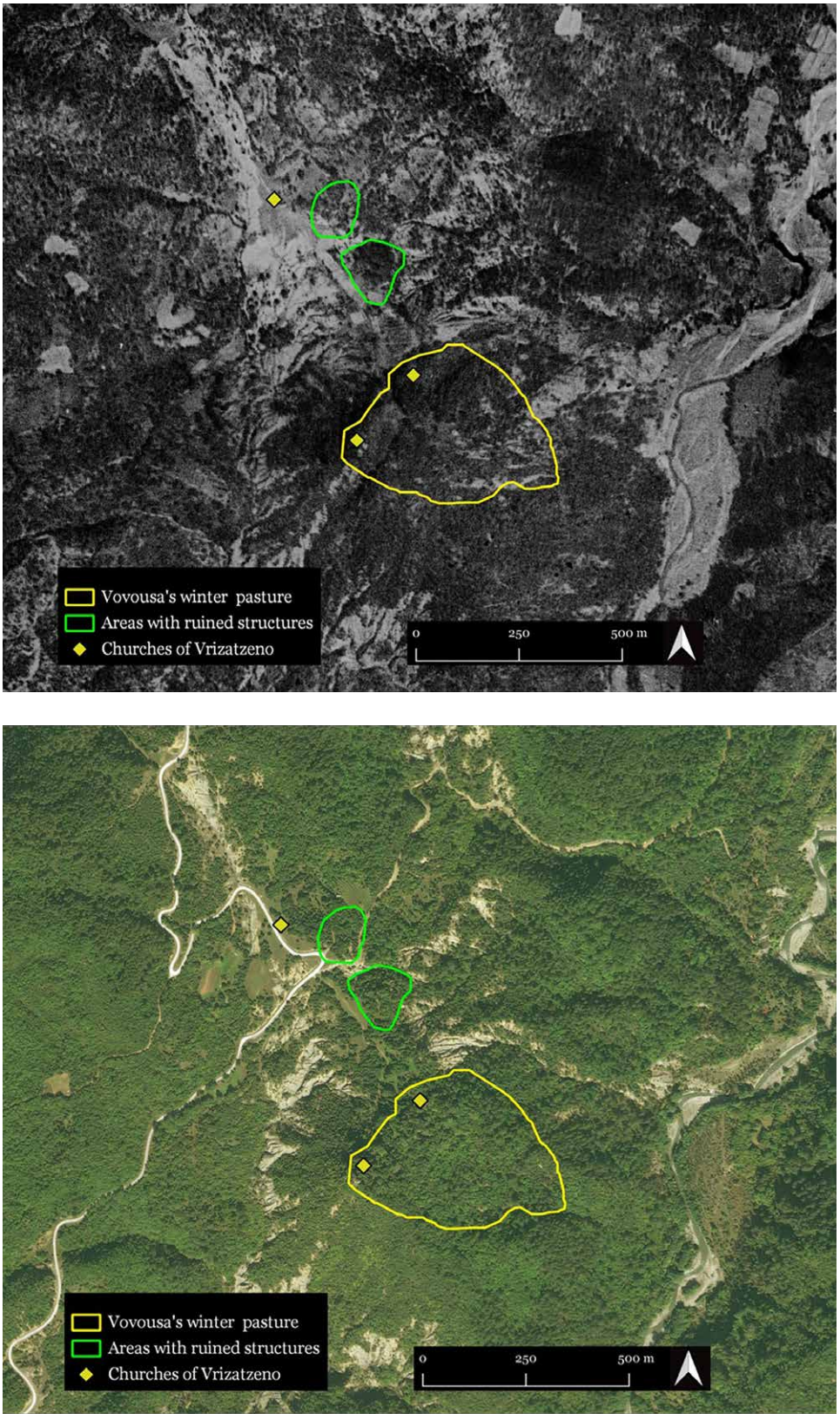


Figure 84: Map of Vrizatzeno including the areas discussed in the text (1945 and 2021).
© Faidon Moudopoulos-Athanasiou.

of complete prohibition – plausibly emerged when the area passed to the ownership of Dolyani between 1825-31 a period when Vovousa was abandoned (Koltsidas, 1997).

Like Koziako, Vrizatzeno had three churches: Hagios Nikolaos, on top of *kourí*, Hagia Paraskevi, immediately below the rock formation, and Hagioi Apostoloi, further north (Figure 84). Structures are decently preserved in the area between Hagia Paraskevi and Hagioi Apostoloi, where I have located a few single-room structures and also more complex ones (see Figure 85). Only sporadic sherds and tiles were recorded in that area.

Around *kourí* and the church of Hagios Nikolaos, the picture is reversed: no architectural remains, and an abundance of surface pottery (Figure 86). These limestone formations, with sharp openings and gaps, facilitated the creation of pens. Furthermore, they protected herds from strong winds, providing the ideal base for use of winter pastures, next to the oak forest. The absence of architectural remains and the abundance of sherds reveal a picture of heavy disturbance and erosion that might have occurred as a result of the shift from an inhabited space to a winter pasture.





Figure 85: Ruined structures in Vrizatzeno, at some distance from Kourí. © Faidon Moudopoulos-Athanasiou.

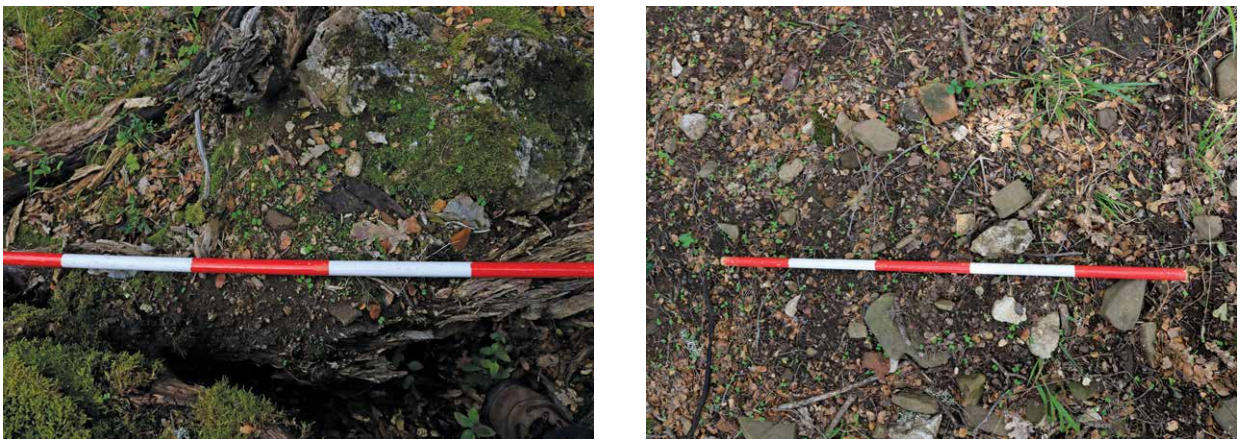


Figure 86: Sherds visible in Kourí. © Faidon Moudopoulos-Athanasiou.

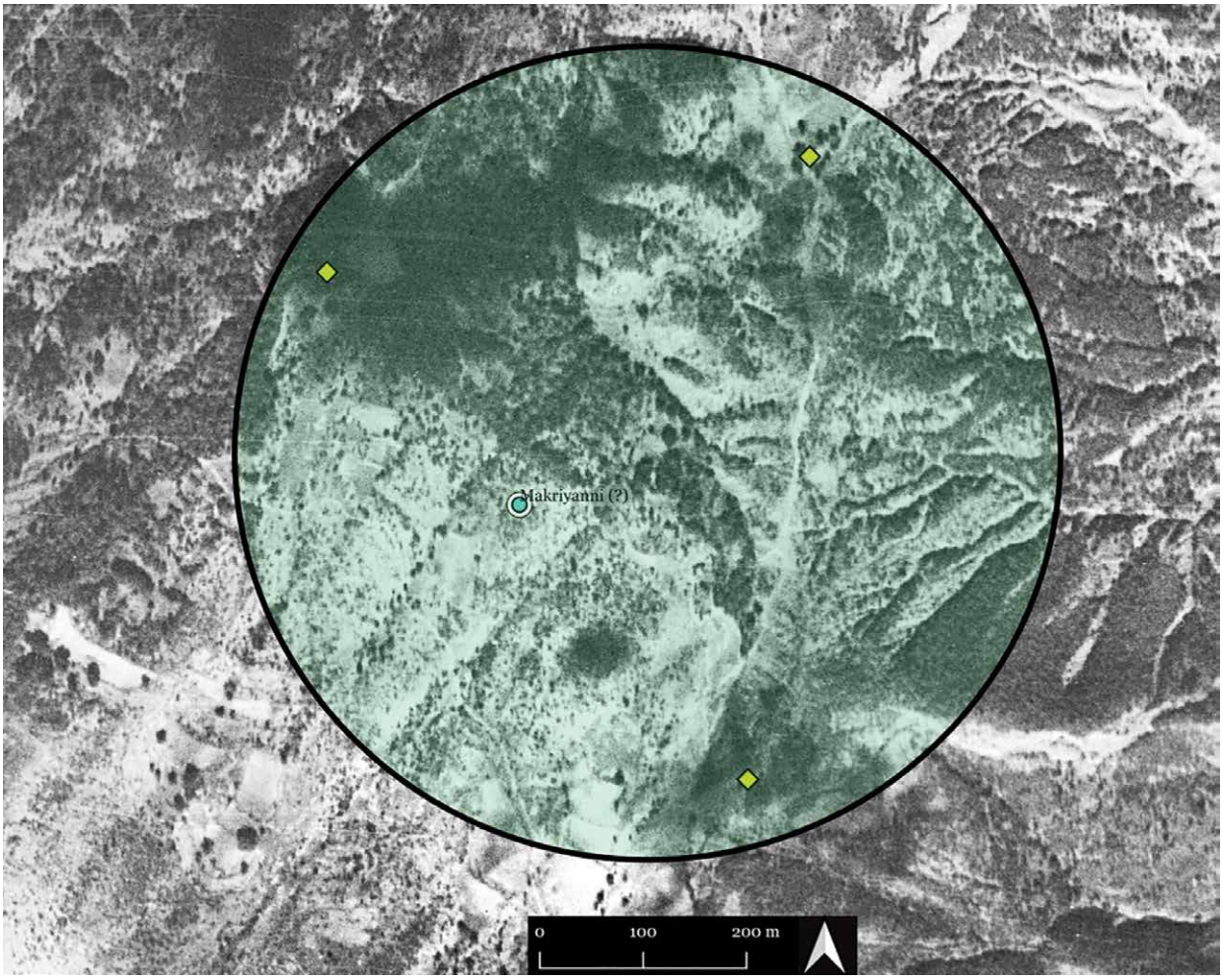


Figure 87: Makriyanni (?), a village of eight households (16th c.), as defined by the three chapels of Hagia Paraskevi, Hagios Elias and Panaya (highlighted in yellow). © Faidon Moudopoulos-Athanasiou.

Makriyanni (?)

The area between the villages of Boultsi and Tsondila is defined by the existence of three churches, Hagia Paraskevi, Hagios Elias, and Panaya. It forms a triangle (Figure 87) and while all the area now belongs to Tsondila, it was contested in the past. According to Lambridis, the abandoned villages of Makriyanni, Dovres, and Rizo contributed to the growth of the population of Boultsi and Tsondila (Lambridis, 1870: 52-53). Of these three, only Makriyanni is detected with confidence in the 16th-century registers, being a modest settlement of 17 households. Although we cannot argue certainly for which village was situated in the area of the three churches, it certainly ought to be of the size of Makriyanni.

We located two areas with remains of structures and despite poor visibility, we recorded two of them

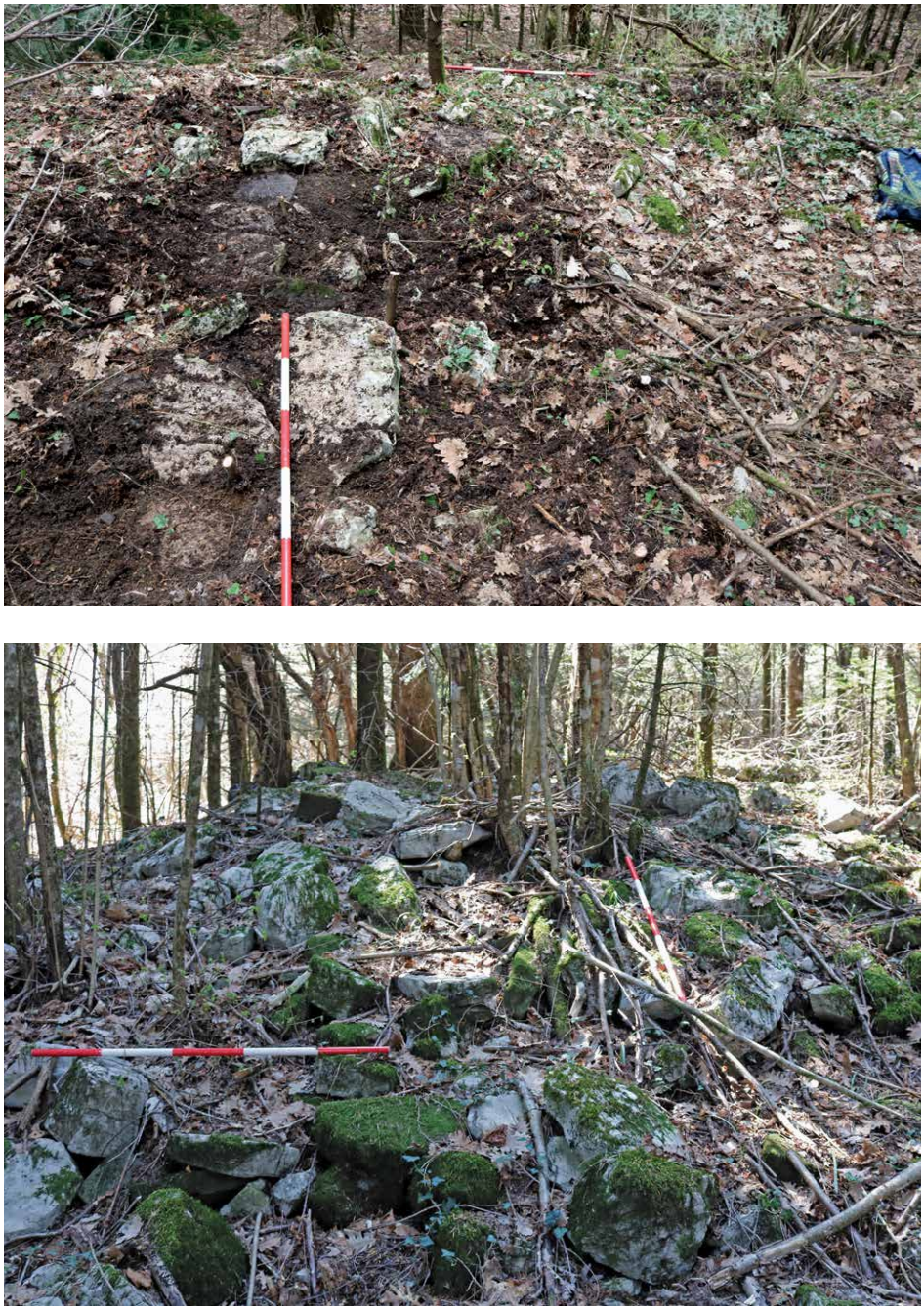


Figure 88: Ruins in Makriyanni. © Faidon Moudopoulos-Athanasiou.

(Figure 88). Local history recalls the existence of ruins near the church of Panaya (Papagiannopoulos, 1994: 90), but there we recorded only the existence of handmade pottery in bad condition (Figure 89). However, the area around this church has been adapted to the needs of hillside cultivation (Figure 90), as gentle slopes favoured agriculture. Hagios Elias is situated on top of a hill, on the slopes of which people from Tsondila cultivated vineyards before WWII. The area near Hagia Paraskevi was an agricultural landscape as well, before abandonment and subsequent forestation. Consequently, after the abandonment of the settlement, the area became an agricultural landscape, arguably taking advantage of the many small streams and springs.

However, the area has more archaeological qualities than merely enhancing the agricultural potential of Tsondila. Throughout the Zagori, churches dedicated to Hagia Paraskevi functioned as *lazaretti*, ensuring that travellers were free of disease before they arrived in the villages (Stara, pers. comm.). Furthermore, in some instances, churches of Hagia Paraskevi were devoted to burying those who died from the plague. One such history is associated with the case under discussion (Papagiannopoulos, 1994: 61;90). The present administration has decided to "modernise" the area around the chapel, and this has entailed the grubbing up of the ancient sacred *Fraxinus ornus* trees surrounding it (Figure 91). These "improvements" confirmed the narrative of the existence of a cemetery, far from the village of Tsondila. The bulldozer unearthed human remains and tombstones and left them scattered *in situ* (Figure 92). As the largest sacred tree was deposited on the slope, I had the opportunity to investigate its roots (Figure 93). Tombstones were intertwined with the roots,

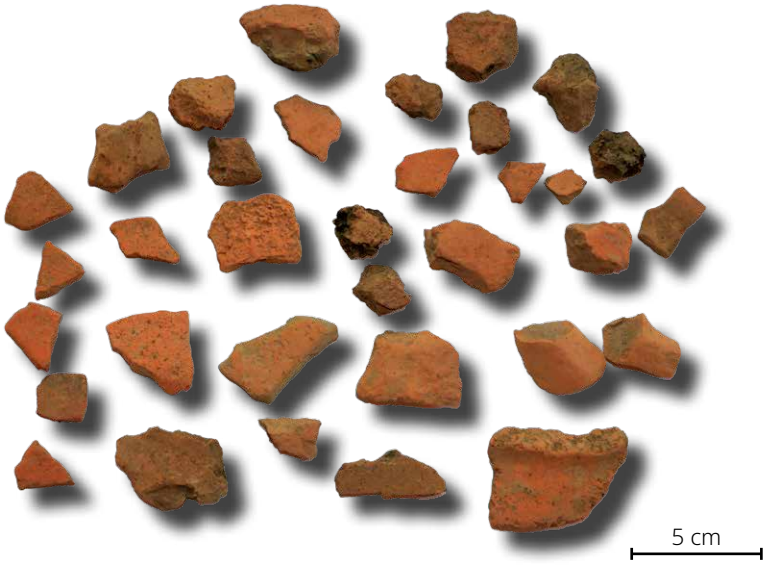


Figure 89: Pottery from Panaya. © Faidon Moudopoulos-Athanasiou.





Figure 90: Field boundaries around Panaya. © Faidon Moudopoulos-Athanasiou.

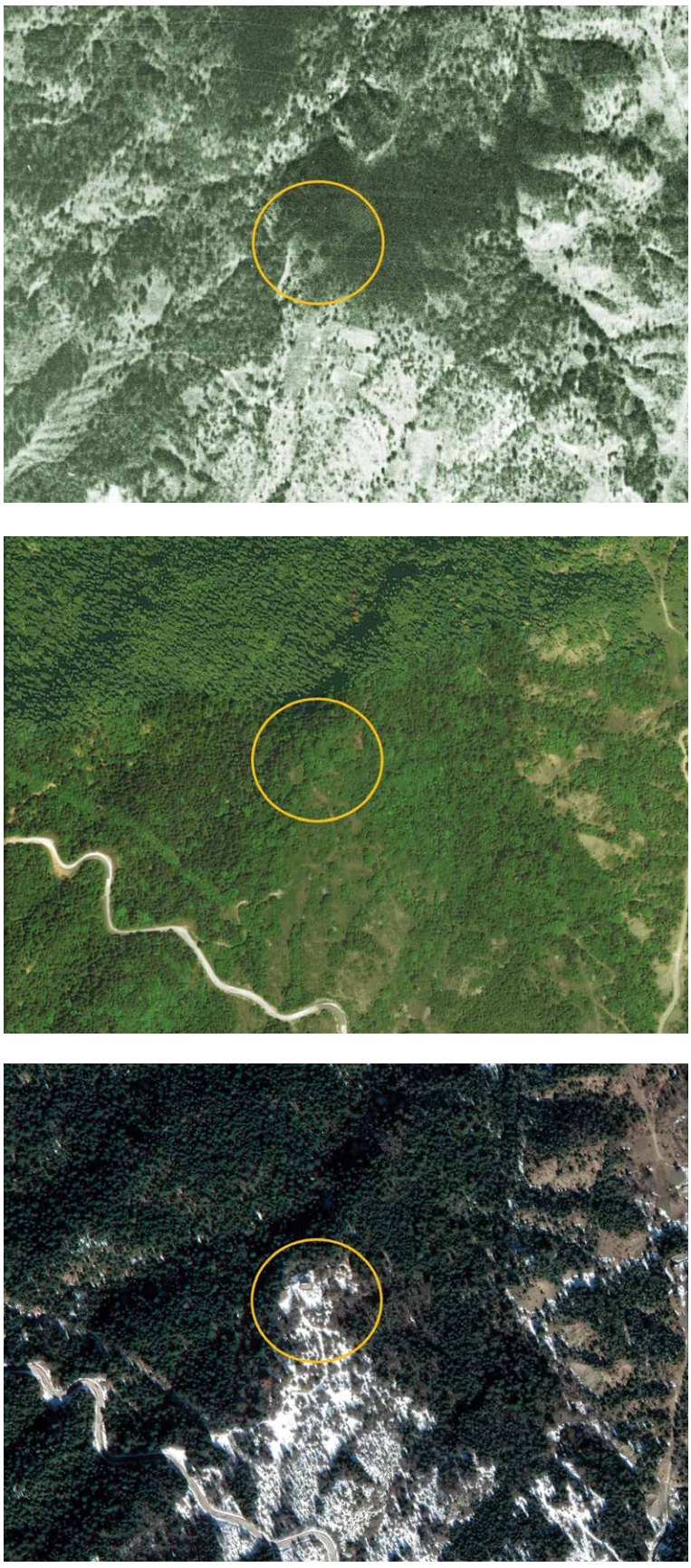


Figure 91: The sacred trees around Hagia Paraskevi and the effects of modernisation, 1945, 2017, 2020. © Faidon Moudopoulos-Athanasiou.



Figure 92: Collected scattered human remains. © Faidon Moudopoulos-Athanasiou.



Figure 93: Excavating under the roots. © Faidon Moudopoulos-Athanasiou.





Figure 94: A tombstone and bone fragments under the roots. © Faidon Moudopoulos-Athanasiou.

while under the tree I located and cleared fragments of human remains (Figure 94). As the sacred tree grew above the established grave, the advent of tourist-oriented modernisation in the region has demonstrated that, in some instances, *vakoúfika* emerged on top of already sacred, or in this case unholy, locations.

A summary

How is the 16th-century image provided by the registers, and the wider early modern observations on subsistence economy and mobility, reflected in the landscape of Zagori? The cases presented in Chapter Eight contribute in detail to the argument that the communities of Zagori adapted in a sedentary manner to the population rise of the 16th century and practised agriculture alongside animal husbandry. The component of mobile pastoralism was also highlighted, but was proven to be of no universal value, as the existence of agricultural traces in the highlands indicate.

Through the different case studies, we addressed the various nuances of pastoralism and its intertwinement with agriculture. In Hagia Kyriaki the agricultural area was located above three different layers of pastoral activities: communal herding; transhumant herds from Negrades, linked to the *yaylak* of Klithonia in the 16th-century registers; and nomadic pastoralism, the realm of the Sarakatsani and their huts. The landscape of Traphos provided a window onto the mountainous agricultural past of the region, and the related extensive hillside cultivation at high altitude, while the survey of the Plateau of Mitsikeli revealed how different communities adapted to the same location in different ways, according to their contrasting communal status (i.e., *çiftlik*, *karye*, and village around a monastery). Likewise, through the divisions of the Tymphi summer pastures and the variety of different pre-Sarakatsani exploitation, we argued for different potential forms of pastoralism, ranging from communal herding, to transhumant and nomadic. The

case of Hassani Baba, cultivating his garden in the *yaylak* of Koukouli, provided a different lens through which to treat pastoralism and its interconnections to the local communities, beyond polarised divisions, like that of Christian – Muslim which is an ideological construct of the nation state's ethnocentric histories (Moudopoulos-Athanasiou, 2022a).

However, the conditions enabling Zagorisians to adapt in a sedentary fashion to the changes of the 16th-17th century, while adjacent areas opted for transhumance, or specialised mobile craftmanship, remains a critical question. In Chapters Five and Six, we revealed that the elites of Zagori had consolidated a network of movement since, at least, the early 15th century and possibly even earlier. The resulting monetary influx supported the sedentary adaptation of the communities to population rise, while the extensive agricultural exploitation of the highland landscape resulted in a relative decrease in grazing areas. The Vikos Gorge, due to its unique characteristics, housed a significant number of goats throughout the year, facilitating a sedentary model of herding alongside transhumance, while enabling upland cultivation in areas that otherwise would have been necessary for pastoralism.

The continuous struggle for resources and the interests of the imperial authorities in keeping areas cultivated, or pastorally active (summer and winter pastures) was exemplified in the case studies of this chapter. While we had previously located the 16th-century mezraa-i Lounga, arguing that the area provided a little of everything to the community of Frangades (wood, terraced cultivation, non-timber forest products), in the second part of Chapter Eight we presented contextualised approaches to understanding this dynamic process of landscape transformation. Laliza from a small village became a contested *mezraa* between the communities of Artsista and Ravenya. The non-elite households of Koziako moved to other villages while initially keeping rights to their land. However, the area was also a rich summer pasture. Consequently, Koziako was transformed into a *mezraa* that also included a little bit of everything: cultivation, pastures, and wood. Vrizatzeno, after its elimination due to a plague, was sold to Vovousa, which used it as winter pasture (*kışlak*). Makriyanni (?) became a *mezraa* of Tsondila. Although a landscape of primarily agricultural significance, the area also had spiritual importance. Hagia Paraskevi, a liminal place between the community and the world beyond, acted as a *lazaretto* and a cemetery for the plague-stricken people of Tsondila.

Chapter 9

Synthesis

Beyond gazing: a history from within

In the preliminary methodological notes of the Introduction, I stressed the necessity to recognise the accumulated layers of epistemological paradigms and move past the historical framework of the emergence of the nation-states, its effect on folkloric narratives and the politicised periodisation of Greek history. This approach to the Zagori, I argued, would reveal a different version of history, focussing on the various forms of *dwelling* and the local actors that shaped this cultural landscape from within, in the historical *longue durée*.

Looking back over the previous chapters, this approach proved fruitful and shed light on very diverse aspects of the Zagori cultural landscape. The first chapter introduced the contemporary historical and landscape parameters favouring *gazing* and the touristified understanding of place. It laid the foundations for moving past a set of dominant ideas in contemporary popular discourse. These included the perception of "alpine pastures" as determining pastoral use of the uplands, traditional historical understandings (*Voinikio*) and carrying capacity models trying to interpret the landscape from afar.

The second chapter provided an alternative historical account focussing on social history, placing local parameters to the fore. Through combining sources, we revealed that Zagori and Papingo were already established districts with existing networks of villages in the 14th century. These regions were generating a small agricultural surplus of importance to the town of Janina and they possessed structured elites (e.g., Grand Constable, Voevoda Michael Therianos), while Zagori could also muster its own army. Interestingly enough, the sources revealed the importance of both Zagorisian elites and peasantry to the landscape of the "Despotate" before the region's assimilation into the Ottoman imperial context. The elites of Zagori were among those who decided the ascent of Carlo I Tocco as ruler of Janina. Together with the military elites of the castle, they travelled to Leukas to escort the new Despot to the town. At the same time, fear of peasant rebellion and its potential impact on the town became evident in two instances placing non-elite agency to the fore, also in written sources. The *Chronicle of Janina* narrated that the people of Revniko marched towards the castle demanding the repair of the fortifications (during the reign of Thomas Prelumbovic), while, after the death of Esau Buondelmonti, peasants, including from the districts of Papingo and Zagori, refused to pay their tithes and marched into town.

Peaceful assimilation and elite reproduction

Zagori and Papingo retained their regional importance within the Ottoman context. Following their peaceful assimilation, local elites maintained their privileges, mostly through the status of the *voynuk*, auxiliary military forces. The empire provided them with a stable institutional environment for safeguarding their properties, especially in light of earlier peasant uprising and rebellion. Simultaneously, non-elites retained the same sedentary agropastoral montane economy that, as we saw, changed in the mid-to-late 16th century.

The 17th-century shift from the *timar* to tax-farming, which saw also the rise of provincial notables, known as *ayan*s, saw the adaptive transformation of the *voynuk* elites (mobile military) to the *League of Zagorisians* (mobile entrepreneurial and tax-farming). In this context, the networks of local elites were consolidated, focussing on mercantile and tax-farming activities, while important families, such as the heirs of Voevoda Michael Therianos, also owned large transhumant herds.

In 1774, the notables of Zagori ruled over the town of Janina together with the nobles of the town (*varosh*), before lobbying the Sublime Porte for the establishment of Ali Pasha to the pashalik of Epirus. It is no coincidence that Zagorisian notables played an important role in the ascent of both Carlo I Tocco (last Despot of Epirus) and Ali Pasha to ruler of Janina. And the major elite agents acting towards this end were depicted in religious frescoes, as revealed in earlier chapters (Michael Voevoda Therianos – 1414; Ioannis Marinoglou and Noutsos Karamessinis – 18th c.). Therefore, the historical discussion pointed to a substantial level of elite continuity, from the 14th-century "Despotate" to 1914, and the incorporation of Zagori into the Greek Kingdom.

The great transformation: gazing

The great transformation emerged after the incorporation of Zagori into the Greek Kingdom, and principally since the Metaxas dictatorship. The war on goats and land reform to eliminate large estates gradually undermined transhumance and led to afforestation due to the lack of grazing and postwar abandonment. Forests and National Parks emerged as ideologically purified national reserves, in which degenerate, Ottoman, practices such as pollarding, coppicing and goat-grazing had to be eliminated.

The case study of the "Stone Forest" highlighted the exclusion of the human agency of dwellers from the contemporary understanding of Zagori. An abandoned premodern quarry and the more-than-human taskscapes related to the extraction of stone are nowadays appreciated through experiential phenomenology, as the product of natural processes, namely erosion of limestone formations due to Quaternary glacial activity and forest, because the quarrying leftovers are shaped like trees. In the course of the development of post-Byzantine archaeology, such sites beyond the settlements and without traces of chapels and frescoes were naturalised, fitting the *gazing* touristic understanding of landscape, in the context of a *paysage*, to be observed and admired from afar.

Continuity through change (14th-19th c.)

Within this framework, the second part of the monograph set out to offer a different reading of this cultural landscape from within, focussing on the elite and non-elite imprint on Zagori and Papingo. The methodology provided a breadth of tools leading to an unexpected wealth of information, addressing different aspects of regional history through the lens of fieldwork and archival research.

The critical evaluation of the *Voinikio* in the light of the minor military *voynuk* elites of the Ottoman period contributed to the argument of continuity from the period of the "Despotate" to the early Ottoman administration. As uncovered in the registers, the *voynuk*s and their villages guarded the main passes leading from the town of Janina to the mountains and Konitsa, while their household privilege was gradually reduced to lower taxation in comparison to the other *reaya* of the villages. Under this understanding, we moved past the paradigm of the national historiography, which regarded *Voinikio* as a communal privilege in opposition to the Ottoman administration of Janina.

We also noted that the villages that had *voynuk* families were those in Central Zagori, around the area that later became the centre of the local provincial administration of the *League of Zagorisians*. This geographic observation argues for the constant adaptation of local elites within shifting regimes, a remarkable resilience of local structures. This theory was supported further through fieldwork and the noted shifts in settlement pattern.

Division (14th-17th c.)

We pointed to the late 16th and 17th centuries as the main period of transformation on many levels: the shift from the *voynuk* to the *League*, the widespread emergence of the monasteries and *çiftlik* estates and the diversification and intensification of mobility (*travels*). The minor military elites and fief holders of the "Despotate", such as Voevoda Michael Therianos, mobile to an extent due to the nature of their status, were maintained as auxiliary military forces in the Ottoman army. *Voynuk*s, together with the *sipahi*, prevailed in the new Ottoman *status quo*.

Fieldwork, the study of the Ottoman registers and deeper research into 19th century folkloric accounts revealed an image of continuity through adaptations to the new imperial context. In contrast to the 19th-century accounts arguing for the destruction of fortified settlements, such as Revniko, we presented the framework of the topography of division. Under this understanding, the Ottoman administration did not destroy sites but divided large decentralised settlements into smaller administrative units to fit the model of *timar* land holding. Thus, Revniko was divided into two sites, Hagios Minas and Rizokastro of Hagios Minas (that is the castle on the foothill of Hagios Minas). The same pattern was observed in the villages of Tservari, Dovra, Negarades and Tsernitsa.

This administrative fragmentation of settlements comprising different neighbourhoods facilitated adaptation to the *timar* system through the creation of many small-

scale fiefs to sustain the *sipahi*s and satisfy all minor pre-Ottoman, assimilated elites, such as the *voynuk*s. Consequently, the continuity of minor elites from the final period of the "Despotate" to the Ottoman era resulted in an administrative adaptation that was initially perceived as a change in the settlement pattern, but in fact was of a fiscal nature.

Adaptation (17th-19th c.)

The spatial shift in the settlement pattern occurred later, in the late 16th and 17th centuries. The emergence of Makrino village in 1564/5 contextualises this gradual turn. The notable family of Makrinos established the village of Makrino and settled it with Vlach-speaking sedentary households. The new village emerged at the junction of two historically significant montane routes of the *travels.* At this junction, Makrinos established his summer pasture in 1583/4, a *yaylak* for his elite-initiated transhumant herds. However, space in this context carries multiple weight. This junction, situated after the liminal points of Ora Kali (*Farewell*), where Central Zagorisian communities bid farewell to those *travelling*, functioned also as a place where the individual (elite and non-elite) Zagorisians merged with the Vlach caravans leading to the north. Such places possessed financial interest, as *travellers* would pay the caravan leaders for security, and in turn, caravan leaders would pay tribute to the owner of the land on which they stationed the caravan. Therefore, Makrinos and the establishment of this village and *yaylak*, as recorded in the 16th-century Ottoman registers, captures a snapshot in time of the gradual shift from the military mobility of the *voynuk*s towards the late Ottoman model of *ayan*-like notables focussing on entrepreneurial, tax-farming and herding activities, with mobility now including non-elites (see below).

Local elites adapted to this transformation once more, and this time adaptation resulted in the change of settlement pattern. Zagori saw the emergence of monasteries from the 16th century, but this process intensified in the 17th century. These religious institutions functioned as provincial elites and, in some instances, we documented their connection to local notables. In the case of Western Zagori, or Papingo district, the notables of Artsista together with the monks of Speleotissa monastery bought out the decaying old village of Hagios Minas and the resources of Rizokastro. This shift resulted in the relocation of Hagios Minas towards the lower slopes of the mountain, alongside its transformation from a *karye* village into a *çiftlik* of the monastery. It also resulted in the gradual abandonment of the fortified village of Rizokastro, known today as Kastraki (small castle) of Hagios Minas. Furthermore, in the 18th century, Speleotissa established a second *çiftlik*, the village of Mesovouni, introducing more sharecroppers to the area.

At the same time, the *voynuk* village of Mavrangelo, once a neighbourhood of the *karye* village of Dovra, was transformed into the monastery of the Virgin of Asprangeloi. Likewise, the smallest of the three neighbourhoods of Tsernitsa was converted into the monastery of the Dormition of Theotokos, an initiative involving former *voynuk* notables from Çerniça Baya, the only neighbourhood of the village that survives until the present. Similarly, the *voynuk* village of Stanades, once guarding the passage via Petsionis' three-arched bridge, gradually merged with Frangades, while the monastery of Hagios Nikolaos emerged in the most fertile lowlands between the two villages, overseeing the plots of elite interest.

These transformations went in line with the transition from the *timar* to the *malikane* system of tax-farming, which enabled the rise of the provincial *ayan*s/*kocabaşı*s and thus the emergence of the *League of Zagorisians*. Regional-scale tax-farming by local notables, many of whom emerged from the ranks of cancelled *voynuk*s, the rise of monasteries as provincial land-holding elites, and the mobility of the *travels* (entrepreneurial, and political on the upper level of social stratification) wove the network of a very strong provincial administration controlling Zagori but profiting mostly from activities beyond the mountains.

Besides Makrinos, one of the earliest examples is the ktetor of Evangelistria monastery in Rizokastro, who already in the second half of the 16th century was engaging in mercantile activities in Wallachia, benefitting from Ottoman-Polish trade treaties. The regularisation of elite mobility (for peasant mobility see below) enabled the architectural rebuilding of Zagori from the 18th century, the product of *elite* emigré male activities in the context of the empire.

Non-elite landscapes

Through the chapters above, it became clear that a critical and archaeologically informed interpretation of a cultural landscape goes beyond the dilemmas of text and archaeology, namely the potential of historians to uncover elite traces in the landscape and archaeologists to give voice to the underprivileged actors of history. The perspective of *dwelling* offered fertile ground to also question the nature of the Zagorisian elites, whose agency inside Zagori was hidden behind a national reading of the history of the *League*, favouring their success stories in the wider Ottoman and Mediterranean context.

The same breadth of information emerged from the investigation of non-elite forms of dwelling. The 14th-century insights from the Chronicles provided an important foundation for the development of some landscape-based interpretations. They informed us of a substantial population in the districts of Papingo and Zagori, the

existence of a surplus in agricultural products and the climate of instability, unrest and rebellion. The peasantry of the mountains on a few occasions rebelled against the nobles and the administration of Janina and these elites, including Zagorisian notables, sought the strength of the Ottoman empire to maintain their possessions.

In this transition to Ottoman rule, non-elites found themselves in a more administratively fragmented landscape but remained sedentary agropastoralists. In line with the wider population rise in the Mediterranean, Zagori saw a sweeping population rise in the late 16th century, as recorded in the Ottoman registers. The simultaneous intensification of the irrigated garden economy and its products (*bostans*, onions), and domestic animals (pigs and hens) suggest that Zagorisian communities chose to adapt sedentarily in the montane landscape.

However, the increasing ratio of Bachelors to Households (B:H) suggested a drop in the age of marriage and childbearing at an earlier age. This strategy ties with the household model of *travelling*, where bachelors sought to marry before their first trip, to secure their reproduction. As argued above, in the early Ottoman period mobility was mostly an elite initiative. The population rise and the subsequent sedentary adaptation to this landscape might be regarded as the trigger factor for the intensification and broadening of mobility, and the consolidation of the *travels*.

These events coincide with Makrinos' initiative to locate his *yaylak* at a place controlling a node in the network of mobility. This move makes more sense when seen in the context of intensification of *travelling*, as caravan stops to collect individual *travellers* are profitable when non-elite, insecure peasants wish to join these armed and structured, safe, mobile caravans. The rise of the large estates (*çiftlik*s) and the monasteries, requiring a large number of seasonal peasant labourers, facilitated the increase of mobility.

The mixed-farming and animal husbandry model of the Zagori required substantial communal herds. Indeed, as seen in the relevant chapter, communities used to have three different communal herds, leaving aside transhumant and nomadic ones. In the 16th century, we argued that the value of these herds was less than 30% of the total regional tax. At the same time, transhumant, or nomadic, pastoralism was recorded only in three villages, possibly the product of elite initiative as the names of the early 17th-century flock owners suggested.

In the economies of the *karye* villages, woodlands, trees and remote cultivable areas (*mezraa*) played a vital role and were often contested between villages. The survey in the single identified *mezraa* (Lounga) provided insights into a marginal area far from the villages that was able to provide a little bit of many things: a few large fields, ancient individual managed trees for fodder and firewood, non-wood forest products and grazing.

Fieldwork in the highlands proved that many areas now considered deterministically pastoral were of vital agricultural significance for local communities in the *longue durée*. *In situ* observations offered a multi-layer analysis of the landscape. In Klithonia, we located three different altitudinal layers of pastoral activity (communal herding – transhumance – nomadic) below the terraces and fields of Hagia Kyriaki. Furthermore, in the landscape around Traphos spring above Mikro Papingo, we uncovered a broad agricultural landscape suited to both rain-fed and irrigated cultivation. Similar observations occurred in Mitsikeli, while on the plateau of Tymphi, the case of Hassani Baba and his irrigated garden below the peak of Astraka revealed that, even in the places most profoundly linked with pastoralism, small-scale agriculture is possible.

However, pastoralism in all its forms, from communal herds to nomadic pastoralism, existed in the Zagori. The sedentary adaptation to the mountains, requiring extensive use of the highlands as agricultural space, required the existence of a third space for pastoralism, beyond the village outskirts and the highland plateaux. The Vikos Gorge with its mild and humid microclimate offered a large and rich year-round pasture. This allowed extensive communal and private goatherds from the villages around the gorge to graze permanently inside the gorge. This third space allowed the use of upland areas for agriculture facilitating the sedentary adaptation to 16th-century population rise, alongside the intensification of garden and upland agriculture and the consolidation of the *travels*.

We also located through fieldwork most of the small settlements recorded in the 16th-century registers that were subsequently abandoned. These bear their own significant narratives regarding the post-16th-century Zagori. They form contested spaces between larger villages, due to their importance in arable land and pastures. The village of Laliza, initially a small peasant village of poor peasants from Myzeqe, was absorbed into the large settlement of Artsista with its elite collaborators of the Speleotissa monastery. Likewise, Koziako, although initially belonging to Negades, after its abandonment was bought by (or its tax was leased to) Tsepelovo, the capital of Zagori after the *Tanzimat* reforms. Vrizatzeno, after its extermination by plague, was bought by tax-farmers (*malikane*) and leased permanently to herders from Vovousa, to be used as winter pasture. When Vovousa was abandoned between 1825 and 1831, Vrizatzeno was assimilated to the property of neighbouring Dolyani. Makriyanni (?) shared a similar fate, while its lands were converted to arable fields for the village of Tsondila.

In structural terms, the above stories share the same characteristics. Small settlements being abandoned, their lands transformed into *mezraa*, or *kışlak*, and leased by tax-farmers to specific villages. However, the real value of such investigations in the microscale lies on the plurality of post-habitation adaptations to these landscapes, in sharp contrast to the structural nature of the transformation (from *karye* to *mezraa* or *kışlak*). It is only thus that we grasp the agency of the people who dwelled in and shaped these landscapes. Laliza offered insights into the quarrel between the privileged village of Artsista and the peasant settlement of Ano Ravenya for the fertile lands by the seasonal lake and the mediation of the religious authorities in shaping the definite border, resulting in the erection of sacred shrines defining their exact location. Koziako informed us of mobility patterns in the microscale, conflict between communities for such vital areas, and the dialectics of space, from settlement to summer pasture and logging. Vrizatzeno provided more insights into these dialectics. Herders from Vovousa used the area near the limestone formations of *Kourí* as winter pastures, due to their favourable conditions, blocking the wind and providing abundant spots for the creation of flimsy pens. Furthermore, the mature forest offered abundant leafy hay. This use of space facilitated erosion leading to the destruction of all dry-stone structures from the area, while only pottery survives on the ground. In contrast, the second neighbourhood of Vrizatzeno, situated in an unprotected location providing unfavourable conditions for the sheltering of herds, preserves its structures, now lost inside young forests that are products of the larger regional afforestation. When the community of Dolyani gained control of Kourí, it annexed the mature forest by the rock formation as a sacred forest, protecting its property through religion against any further claims from Vovousa. Makriyanni (?) and the unexpected discovery of the destroyed cemetery beneath the sacred trees of Hagia Paraskevi, provided another, archaeological, layer to the history of the sacred trees and forests of Zagori.

Contribution to the field

As the previous sections make clear, this monograph has contributed significantly to the local history of Zagori. However, its inclusive methodology and historically informed extensive highland survey are of broader significance. The combination of local and imperial archives to inform the survey and the critical evaluation of sources and prevailing narratives enabled a radically different understanding of a montane area in NW Greece.

2021 marked the 200th anniversary of the Greek Revolution of 1821. This study offered a different account of the mountains than that promoted in celebratory narratives of the bicentenary, viewing the highlands as the realm of revolutionary *klephts* and dispersed habitation. This research on the Zagori, and the district of Janina, has revealed a great deal of continuity between the "Despotate" and the subsequent Ottoman administration, while showing that the established network of the Zagori predates the area's assimilation into the Empire. Furthermore, it has argued for the emergence of the systematic Zagorisian mobility of the *travel*s in the late 16th century, a period coinciding with population rise and an economic adaptation to the montane landscape based on sedentary mixed farming and upland cultivation.

Culturally and historically informed fieldwork, therefore, is possible also in the mountains. Sieving through folkloric and other local archives for archaeologically significant accounts is productive and can direct researchers to context-specific extended surveys. In our case, this approach has led to the understanding of settlement patterns in the long term, through the location of abandoned villages. Furthermore, it has permitted examination of the mountain landscape in layers, revealing that the predominantly pastoral elements in highland Zagori are to an extent the product of post-19th century abandonment, while the post-Medieval uplands were also used extensively for cultivation. The case of Zagori highlighted the necessity to treat mountains as highly dynamic cultural landscapes in need of complex interpretations.

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Glossary of Terms

Auspicious incident: The forced disbandment and destruction of the Janissaries in 1836 by Sultan Mahmut II. Janissaries were related to the Bektashi order of Sufi Islam, and their disbandment coincided with the demise of the order.

Akçe: The silver coin of the Ottoman Empire.

Ayans: Local notables who engaged in the administration of provincial towns and districts (late 16th to early 19th c.). They rose in parallel to the decentralisation of the Ottoman empire, the demise of the *timar* system and the rise of tax-farming. The tanzimat reforms (second half of the 19th century) terminated these local administrators. In the context of Janina, the extermination of the client network of Ali Pasha (1822) accelerated the process, but the League of Zagorisians survived until the mid-19th c.

Çiftlik: A form of land use including large estates emerging in parallel to the rise of tax-farming and *ayan* provincial administration (17thc.). They facilitated the intensification of transhumant pastoralism due to the system of bare-fallow cultivation. Also, a type of settlement owned by powerful landowners (definition in contrast to *karye* villages).

Has: The largest fiscal category of *karye* villages in the timar system, paying taxes directly to the imperial treasury of Istanbul.

Iltizam: Tax-farming system, in which taxes were leased annually.

Kannunname: The regional set of regulations, created after the initial annexation of a region to the Ottoman empire.

Karye: Village with communal administration, in contrast to *çiftlik* settlements.

Kışlak: Winter pastures.

Kontrata: Contracts of any kind, signed between *karye* villages and external agents (*e.g.* herders, builders etc.).

Kocabaşı: Lit. elder in Turkish, Christian Orthodox notable in the Ottoman provinces, similar to a Muslim *ayan*.

League of Zagorisians: The provincial (*kocabaşı*-like) administration of Zagori from the 17th century onwards. Wealthy Zagorisian families leased and maintained the right to farm taxes in Zagori, administering the region without the intervention of external authorities.

Malikane: The tax-farming system replacing *iltizam* in 1695. Tax-farmer under this new fiscal regime leased the right to tax collection for life.

Mezraa: Abandoned fiefs and ruined settlements, situated beyond a *karye* village limits having defined geographical borders. These lands formed part of the timar only when cultivated from external cultivators, generating revenue for *sipahi* or other minor elites.

Mülk: Freehold land (private property) and exempt from some land taxes.

Sipahi: Cavalrymen and fief-holders gaining revenue from *karye* villages under the *timar* land regime.

Subashi: Ottoman government title, commander of a town or region.

Tahrir: Surveys of regional fiscal assets and subsequent recording into registers. These surveys were conducted in situ until the second half of the 16th century.

Timar: *Timar system*: land regime in which fiefs (*timar*) were distributed to *sipahi* and other minor elites to collect taxes and maintain in the form of temporary land grants. *Timar village*: the small-size fiscal category of *karye* villages in the *timar* system.

Travels / Travelling: The name of the mode of mobility of the Zagorisians (ταξιδεμός) since its intensification in the late 17th and 18th century.

Tselingáta: The social organisation of transhumant / nomad herders.

Vikoyatroi: Medical practitioners from Zagori using herbs and other local recipes from Vikos Gorge and other areas in Zagori to treat a variety of medical conditions. They were not an organised guild but they reached all the corners of the empire, from Wallachia and Crete to Ankara, while some Zagorisian doctors made their way to the Sultanic courtyards.

Voinikio: The narrative of the Enlightenment, recognising the treaty of Voinikio as a community privilege for the villages of Zagori resulting in the autonomy from the Ottoman institutions.

*Voynuk*s: Minor local elites, serving as military auxiliary forces. They survive from the pre-Ottoman Balkan social structures.

Yaylak: Summer pastures.

Zeamet: The medium-size fiscal category of *karye* villages in the *timar* system.

Appendices

Appendix 1 Village names

Ottoman	Old	Modern
Ağlitonyavista	G(h)litoniavista /Klithoniavista	Klithonia
Ayo Mina	Hagios Minas	Hagios Minas
Arçista	Artsista	Aristi
Ağnadova	Unknown	
Bişa Valtano (?)	Unknown	
Braya	Braya	Perivleptos
Bulçu	Boultsi	Elati
Bulçiko / Pulçiko	Unknown	
Çebelova	Tsepelovo	Tsepelovo
Çernes	Tsernesi	Elatochori
Çerniça [Küçük]	Baya	Kipoi
Çerniça Baya		
Çerniça Büzürg		
Çervar	Tservari	Elafotopos
Çodili	Tsondila	Dikorfo
Çodili Küçük		
Dobro (?)	Abandoned	
Dolyana	Doliana	
Dolyani (-i Büzürg)	Doliani	
Dovra	Dovra	Aspraggeloi
Dovar Küçük	Koutsodobri	Abandoned
Dragay (Dragany)	Dragari	Kastanonas
Dristinik (Drestenik)	Dresteniko	Tristeno
Flamburari	Flambourari / Floro	Flambourari
Frangades	Frangades	
Kabas (?)	Unknown	
Kalota-i Büzürg	Kalouta	Kalouta
Kalota-i Küçük *alias* Grevenid	Mikri Kalouta and Greveniti	Greveniti
Kamnya	Kamnia	Anthrakitis

Ottoman	Old	Modern
Kamnya	Kamnia	Anthrakitis
Kapesova	Kapesovo	Kapesovo
Kavalar *alias* Micula [Nicola]	Kavallari	
Kozyako	Koziako	Abandoned
Iklim Birgoz	Unknown	
Kilova (?)	Unknown	
Kukuli	Koukouli	Koukouli
Lâğaba	Lioumba [?]	
Laliza	Abandoned	
Leskoviç	Liaskovetsi	Leptokarya
Iğlidyades	G(h)ligiades	Lygiades
Liğoka	Ligopsa [?]	
Makrino	Makrino	Makrino
Makriyani	Abandoned	
Manasi	Manassis	
Mavrangel	Mavrangelos	Monastery of Asprangeloi
Mavrovun	Mavrovouni	
Megali Rahi	Abandoned	
Melişaraligo	Unknown	
Mihal	Unknown	
Mirkan [Marmara (?)] *alias* Mirko	Unknown	
Muhyades	Unknown	
Gardades *alias* Muhtades	Unknown	
Negades	Negades	
Negarades	Negrades	
Negarades Büzürg		
Negarades Küçük		
Nihor	Unknown	

Ottoman	Old	Modern
Istar Papinkoz	Mikro & Megalo Papingo	
Istar Papinkoz		
Peçal	Petsali	
Protopapa	Protopapa	
Radovan	Radovani	abandoned
Ravenya	Ano & Kato Ravenia	
Rizokastro	Kastraki of Ayos Minas	Abandoned
Rumyo [Rumba (?)]	Unknown	
Istudena	Apano & Kato Soudena	
Apano Istudena		
Kato Istudena		
Sopoçel	Sopotseli	Dilofo
Iskamnel	Skamneli	
Iskamnel-i Büzürg		
Iskamnel-i Küçük		
Istanades	Stanades	Abandoned
Vanişta	Vanishta	Krya
Varveş	Varvesi	Hagioi Apostoloi
Vinça [Vitza]	Unknown	
Visoko	Vissoko	Monastery of Vissoko
Viziça	Vezitsa / Vyzitsa	Vitsa & Monodendri
Voydomat	Voidomati	Abandoned
Voğusa	Vovousa	
Vurlades	Vourlades	Disperi
Ivra[de]to-i Küçük	Vradeto	
Vrzaçna	Vryzatzeno	Abandoned
Vuça with Manastir	Voutsa monastery, village abandoned	
Vuçiko	Vitsiko	Vikos
Islarova *alias* Petriç	Zlarovo & Petritsa, abandoned	

	TT 367 1530 AD				TT 350 1564/1565			TTK 28; TTK 32; TT 580 1583/1584			Pouqueville, 1820. Tome 1, Livre 2, Chapitre 3 (197-219)	Nikolaidis 1851: 1093	Lambridis 1868		Salname 1895 (Kokolakis 2003)			
Village	**House-holds**	**Bachelors**	**Widows**	**Total**	**House-holds**	**Bachelors**	**Total**	**House-holds**	**Bachelors**	**Total**	**Feux (Hearths)**	**Greek Souls**	**House-holds**	**Individuals**	**House-holds**	**Male**	**Female**	**Total Ind.**
A																		
Ayo Mina	80	8	35	123	Destroyed			31	30	61			20	132	30	80	75	155
Arçista	80	7	23	110	Destroyed			120	31	151	150	600	170	940	183	410	489	899
Ağlitonyavista	44	5	26	75	Destroyed			150	46	196								
Ağnadova	18	0	0	18	8	3	11	25	7	32								
B																		
Bişa Valtano (?)					20	4	24											
Braya	15	3	6	24	10	2	12	25	7	32								
Bulçu	15	1	0	16	4	0	4				70	700	84	450	101	256	276	532
Bulçu	20	12	0	32	6	2	8											
Bulçu					44	5	49											
Bulçu voynugân-i mensuh					5	0	5	0	0	64								
Bulçu voynugân-i zevaid					8	3	10	0	0	5								
Bulçiko [Pulçiko]								3	1	4								
C																		
Çernes	10	1	2	13	60	34	94	150	74	224	200	600	177	1500	187	363	359	722
Çernes	50	13	11	74	40	27	67											
Çerniça	2	4	1	7														
Çerniça	25	3	8	36														
Çerniça voynugân-i zevaid					6	2	8											
Çerniça Büzürg					20	3	23	15	6	21								
Çerniça Büzürg voynugân-i mensuh					12	0	12			23								
Çerniça Baya					12	5	17				100	500	151	840	153	341	338	679

	TT 367 1530 AD				TT 350 1564/1565			TTK 28; TTK 32; TT 580 1583/1584			Pouqueville, 1820. Tome 1, Livre 2, Chapitre 3 (197-219)	Nikolaidis 1851: 1093	Lambridis 1868		Salname 1895 (Kokolakis 2003)			
Village	**House-holds**	**Bachelors**	**Widows**	**Total**	**House-holds**	**Bachelors**	**Total**	**House-holds**	**Bachelors**	**Total**	**Feux (Hearths)**	**Greek Souls**	**House-holds**	**Individuals**	**House-holds**	**Male**	**Female**	**Total Ind.**
Baya voynugân-i mensuh					30	0	30			28								
Baya voynugân-i zevaid					2	0	2											
Çebelova	30	2	2	34	50	7	57				200	800	170	1000	187	385	374	759
Çervar	80	13	15	108	70	39	109	100	61	161	150	650	170	800	78	408	442	850
Çervar	25	3	7	35														
Çervar voynugân-i mensuh					3	0	3			3								
Çervar voynugân-i zevaid					5	1	6			6								
Çervar-i Küçük								30	9	39								
Çodili	25	4	6	35	14	8	22	30	12	42	200	700	137	800	163	349	358	707
Çodili Küçük					10	0	10											
Çodili Küçük voynugân-i mensuh										38								
D																		
Dobro (?)					14	3	17	10	6	16								
Dolyana	70	4	8	82				40	31	71	200							
Dolyana								150	46	196								
Dolyani-i Büzürg	100	25	11	136														
Dolyani	30	6	0	36	40	22	62	50	22	72	100	300	89	450	85	146	171	317
Dolyani	20	4	3	27														
Dolyani	105	10	1	116														
Dovra	15	4	1	20	95	11	106	60	23	83	100	1000	171	1300	175	389	419	808
Dovra	25	1	5	31														

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Village	**House-holds**	**Bachelors**	**Widows**	**Total**	**House-holds**	**Bachelors**	**Total**	**House-holds**	**Bachelors**	**Total**	**Feux (Hearths)**	**Greek Souls**	**House-holds**	**Individuals**	**House-holds**	**Male**	**Female**	**Total Ind.**
Dovra voynugân-i mensuh								0	0	32								
Dovar Küçük					15	7	22											
Dragay [Dragany]	13	3	1	17	20	5	25				60	400	65	310	58	95	108	203
Dragay [Dragany]	8	2	1	11														
Dragany	13	3	1	17														
Dragany	8	2	1	11														
Dragany	4	0	0	4														
Dristinik [Drestenik]	30	5	5	40	60	22	82	80	33	113		400	100	700	190	342	397	739
Dristinik	25	3	3	31														
F																		
Flamburari					35	8	43	50	27	77	100	500	150	680	151	288	347	635
Flamburari					5	2	7											
Frangades	20	1	3	24	30	9	39	100	28	128		500	118	900	125	243	257	500
Frangades	4	1	1	6	3	0	3											
Frangades	13	1	2	16	10	2	12											
Frangades voynugân-i mensuh					4	0	4	0	0	13								
K																		
Kabas (?) voynugân-i zevaid	0	0	0	3	0	3												
Kalota	25	3	2	30							200	600	125	760	126	213	228	441
Kalota-i Büzürg					30	7	37	50	17	67								
Kalota-i Küçük	40	1	4	44	19	0	19	60	29	89	200	1000	226	1500	264	542	587	1129
Kalota-i Küçük	6	1	0	7	19	0	19											

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Village	**House-holds**	**Bachelors**	**Widows**	**Total**	**House-holds**	**Bachelors**	**Total**	**House-holds**	**Bachelors**	**Total**	**Feux (Hearths)**	**Greek Souls**	**House-holds**	**Individuals**	**House-holds**	**Male**	**Female**	**Total Ind.**
Kalota-i Küçük alias Grevenid							destroyed											
Kamnya	14	2	0	16	20	6	26	40	12	52	60	200	37	300	46	51	67	118
Kapesova	25	2	3	30				50	19	69	80	260	67	400	64	105	107	212
Kavalar alias Micula [Nicola]	25	4	2		20	8	28	30	10	40	60	200	36	310	43	88	78	166
Kozyako	12	0	0	0			[13]	10	6	16								
Iklim Birgoz voynugân-i zevaid					5	0	5			5								
Kilova (?)								30	15	45								
Kukuli	6	0	1	7	Destroyed	Destroyed	[13]	30	30	60	150	500	110	590	115	148	188	336
Kukuli voynugân-i mensug					4	0	4	0	0	7								
Kukuli voynugân-i zevaid					4	1	5	0	0	11								
L																		
Lâğaba							haric ez defter	6	2	8								
Laliza	9	2	2	13	10	6	16	30	9	39								
Laliza	15	2	3	20														
Leskoviç	25	4	5	34	15	4	19	35	11	46	200	750	200	1000	174	287	320	607
Iğlidyades	32	1	4	37	37	10	47	40	19	59								
Iğlidyades	15	1	3	19														
Liğoka	18	2	2	22	20	8	28	25	11	36								
M																		
Makrino				30	8	38	25	11	36	100	400	96	450	90	186	186	372	
Makriyani					8	9	17	10	5	15								
Manasi	10	2	6	18	20	10	30				100	300	59	430	60	114	134	248

	TT 367 1530 AD				TT 350 1564/1565			TTK 28; TTK 32; TT 580 1583/1584			Pouqueville, 1820. Tome 1, Livre 2, Chapitre 3 (197-219)	Nikolaidis 1851: 1093	Lambridis 1868		Salname 1895 (Kokolakis 2003)			
Village	**House-holds**	**Bachelors**	**Widows**	**Total**	**House-holds**	**Bachelors**	**Total**	**House-holds**	**Bachelors**	**Total**	**Feux (Hearths)**	**Greek Souls**	**House-holds**	**Individuals**	**House-holds**	**Male**	**Female**	**Total Ind.**
Manas[i]					30	8	38	20	9	29								
Manasi voynugân-i mensuh					20	4	24	0	0	21								
Manastir-i Sotira								10	3	13								
Manastir-i Arhaggelo (?)					30	9	39	40	15	55								
Mavrangel voynugân-i mensuh					11	0	11	0	0	27								
Mavrovun	90	7	11	108	50	15	65	35	10	45	50	200	40	200	52	115	147	262
Megali Rahi	15	3	2	20	10	4	14	20	9	29								
Mesovun											40		21	130	28	75	83	158
Melişaraligo								10	6	16								
Mihal voynugân-i zevaid					6	2	8											
Mirkan [Marmara (?)] alias Mirko					10	1	11	6	3	9								
Mirkan [Marmara (?)] alias Mirko voynugân-i zevaid								0	0	2								
Muhyades	12	2	1	15	23	5	28											
Muhyades	12	1	1	14	10	4	14											
Gardades alias Muhtades					15	6	21	40	21	61								
N																		
Negades	25	3	9	37	10	20	30	40	10	50	150	500	80	690	90	235	232	467
Negades	25	5	5	35														
Negades	25	3	8	36														

	TT 367 1530 AD				TT 350 1564/1565			TTK 28; TTK 32; TT 580 1583/1584			Pouqueville, 1820. Tome 1, Livre 2, Chapitre 3 (197-219)	Nikolaidis 1851: 1093	Lambridis 1868		Salname 1895 (Kokolakis 2003)			
Village	**House-holds**	**Bachelors**	**Widows**	**Total**	**House-holds**	**Bachelors**	**Total**	**House-holds**	**Bachelors**	**Total**	**Feux (Hearths)**	**Greek Souls**	**House-holds**	**Individuals**	**House-holds**	**Male**	**Female**	**Total Ind.**
Negarades	25	5	5					40	24	64								
Negarades Büzürg					Destroyed	Destroyed	[30]											
Negarades Küçük					18	5	23											
Negarades voynugân-i mensuh					45	5	50	0	0	53								
Negarades voynugân-i zevaid					4	0	4											
Nihor	40	1	12	53														
P																		
Papinkoz	30	2	4	36							160	700			159	292	349	641
Papinkoz	10	1	1	12														
Istar Papinkoz	8	1	3	12	23	5	28	180	34	214								
Istar Papinkoz	7	1	2	10	12	3	13											
Istar Papinkoz	8	1	3	12	10	3	13											
Istar Papinkoz	10	1	2	13	8	0	8											
Istar Papinkoz	15	4	6	25	87	20	107											
Istar Papinkoz	17	0	3	20	2	0	2											
Istar Papinkoz	12	2	2	16														
Istar Papinkoz	15	1	4	20														
Mikro Papigo													47	400				
Papigo Mahala													100	700				
Peçal	7	1	0	8														

	TT 367 1530 AD				TT 350 1564/1565			TTK 28; TTK 32; TT 580 1583/1584			Pouqueville, 1820. Tome 1, Livre 2, Chapitre 3 (197-219)	Nikolaidis 1851: 1093	Lambridis 1868		Salname 1895 (Kokolakis 2003)			
Village	**House-holds**	**Bachelors**	**Widows**	**Total**	**House-holds**	**Bachelors**	**Total**	**House-holds**	**Bachelors**	**Total**	**Feux (Hearths)**	**Greek Souls**	**House-holds**	**Individuals**	**House-holds**	**Male**	**Female**	**Total Ind.**
Peçal	5	0	2	7														
Peçal voynugân-i mensuh								0	0	8								
Protopapa voynugân-i mensuh					20	4	24			30								
R																		
Radovan	15	1	2	18	22	10	32	15	9	24								
Ravenya					40	16	56	60	29	89								
Ano Ravenya											130	300	80	400	75	203	225	428
Kato Ravenya											60	350	40	200	52	207	209	416
Rizokastro	23	3	11	37	25	6	31	35	15	50								
Rumyo [Rumba (?)]	8	2	1	11				30	15	45								
S																		
Istudena	23	2	10	35														
Istudena	23	2	10	35														
Apano Istudena	15	3	2	20														
Apano Istudena	15	2	4	21	20	8	28	90	26	116	180	500	128	800	134	306	314	620
Apano Istudena	8	1	2	11	12	3	15											
Apano Istudena	17	2	2	21	21	7	28											
Apano Istudena					15	2	17											
Apano Istudena voynugân-i zevaid					3	0	3	0	0	3								
Kato Istudena	13	2	3	28	30	5	35	60	22	82	200	500	116	550	161	402	411	813

	TT 367 1530 AD				TT 350 1564/1565			TTK 28; TTK 32; TT 580 1583/1584			Pouqueville, 1820. Tome 1, Livre 2, Chapitre 3 (197-219)	Nikolaidis 1851: 1093	Lambridis 1868		Salname 1895 (Kokolakis 2003)			
Village	**House-holds**	**Bachelors**	**Widows**	**Total**	**House-holds**	**Bachelors**	**Total**	**House-holds**	**Bachelors**	**Total**	**Feux (Hearths)**	**Greek Souls**	**House-holds**	**Individuals**	**House-holds**	**Male**	**Female**	**Total Ind.**
Kato Istudena	6	1	2	9	12	5	17											
Kato Istudena					14	4	18											
Kato Istudena voynugân-i mensuh					48	4	52	0	0	57								
Kato Istudena voynugân-i zevaid					9	2	11	0	0	14								
Kato Istudena voynugân-i zevaid					5	1	6											
Sopoçel voynugân-i mensuh	4	1	1	6	13	3	16	20	6	26		350	116	550	118	197	242	439
Sopoçel voynugân-i mensuh					18	0	18	0	0	23								
Sopoçel voynugân-i zevaid					4	0	4											
Iskamnel Büzürg	60	12	2	74														
Iskamnel Küçük	8	1	1	10														
Iskamnel	5	0	0	5	200	59	259	250	58	308	150	600	184	1000	169	369	396	765
Iskamnel voynugân-i zevaid					4	0	4	0	0	3								
Istanades					20	7	27	20	10	30								
Istanades voynugân-i zevaid					5	0	5	0	0	2								
V																		
Vanişta					9	3	12	10	6	16								
Varveş	35	5	1	41	25	0	25	6	3	9								
Varveş voynugân-i mensuh								0	0	56								
Vinça [Vitza]	45	3	8	56														

	TT 367 1530 AD				TT 350 1564/1565			TTK 28; TTK 32; TT 580 1583/1584			Pouqueville, 1820. Tome 1, Livre 2, Chapitre 3 (197-219)	Nikolaidis 1851: 1093	Lambridis 1868		Salname 1895 (Kokolakis 2003)			
Village	**House-holds**	**Bachelors**	**Widows**	**Total**	**House-holds**	**Bachelors**	**Total**	**House-holds**	**Bachelors**	**Total**	**Feux (Hearths)**	**Greek Souls**	**House-holds**	**Individuals**	**House-holds**	**Male**	**Female**	**Total Ind.**
Visoko	5	2	0	7	15	3	18	40	20	60								
Visoko	2	0	0	2	15	3	18											
Visoko voynugân-i mensuh					3	0	3	0	0	12								
Viziça	100	6	18	124	106	14	120	300	156	456								
Viziça	52	5	12	69														
Viziça voynugân-i mensuh					6	1	7	0	0	14								
Ano Viziça [Monodendrī]												750	106	700	100	241	255	496
Viziça [Mesos Mahalas]											230 (kato - mesi)	500	74	600	75	168	187	355
Viziça [Kato Mahalas]													63	430	72	182	199	381
Voydomat	30	5	16	51	15	3	18	20	6	26			8					
Voğusa	52	0	1	53	25	10	35	20	18	38	150		50	210	58	269	228	497
Vurlades	18	1	0	19	12	4	16	25	10	35								
Vurlades voynugân-i mensuh					4	0	4	0	0	7								
Vurlades voynugân-i zevaid					3	1	4	0	0	4								
Ivra[de]to Küçük					10	6	16	10	20	30	90	150	44	360	44	73	100	173
Vrzaçna					30	18	48	30	20	50								
Vuça with manastır					23	3	26	35	15	50								
Vuçiko	38	2	8	48	40	13	53	35	18	53	60	200	40	190	42	74	91	165
Z																		
Islarova	9	0	1	10	4	0	4	3	1	4								

	TT 367 1530 AD				TT 350 1564/1565			TTK 28; TTK 32; TT 580 1583/1584			Pouqueville, 1820. Tome 1, Livre 2, Chapitre 3 (197-219)	Nikolaidis 1851: 1093	Lambridis 1868		Salname 1895 (Kokolakis 2003)			
Village	**House-holds**	**Bachelors**	**Widows**	**Total**	**House-holds**	**Bachelors**	**Total**	**House-holds**	**Bachelors**	**Total**	**Feux (Hearths)**	**Greek Souls**	**House-holds**	**Individuals**	**House-holds**	**Male**	**Female**	**Total Ind.**
Islarova alias Petriç voynugân-i mensuh					9	0	9											
Islarova voynugân-i mensuh								0	0	18								

Total population of the villages recorded in 1530, surviving into the 19th century

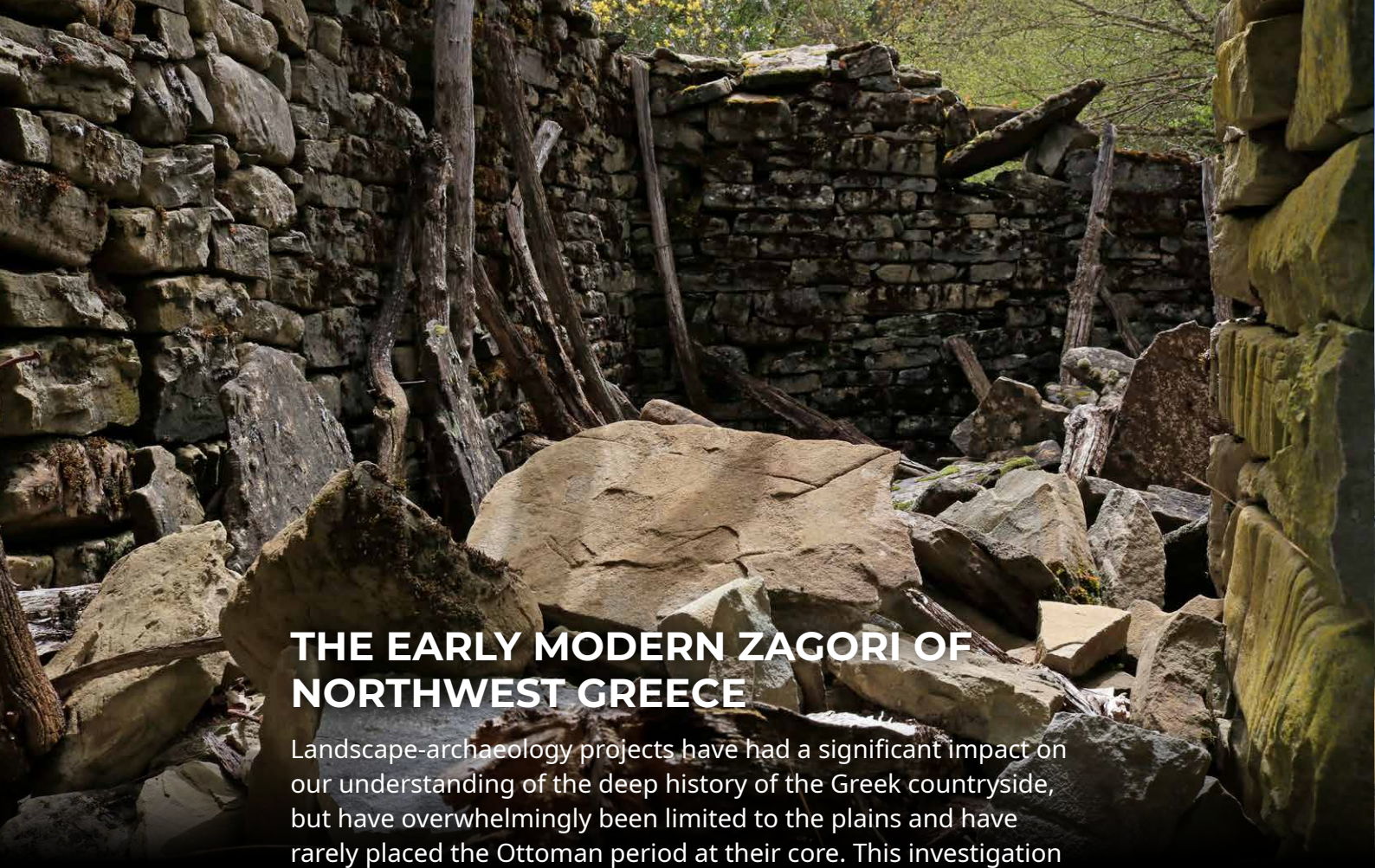
Household No.	Bachelor No.	Widow No.	Total Tax (akçe)			
1645	217	298	162,619			

Appendix 3 Village production

TAX	**Households**			**Bachelors**			**Gendum (wheat) -*kile***			**Mahlut (maslin) -*kile***		
Register Date	1564-1565	1583-1584	%Increase	1564-1565	1583-1584	%Increase	1564-1565	1583-1584	%Increase	1564-1565	1583-1584	%Increase
Vuçiko, Rizokastro, Istar-i Papinkoz, Voydomat	257	270		61	73		170	187		225	210	
Nahiye-i Zagorye	1517	2394		492	1043		1344	1323.5		1609	1624.5	
60 villages	1774	2664	50%	553	1116	102%	1514	1510.5	-0.0023	1834	1834.5	0.00027
30 selected-mountainous villages	1256	1768	41%	395	681	72%	879	927	0.05461	1035	1058	0.02222
30 other villages	518	896	73%	158	435	175%	635	583.5	-0.0811	799	776.5	-0.0282
TAX	**Shira (must) – medre (metron)**			**Adeti Makian (tithe on domestic hen) – *akce***			**Osri Bostan (orchard tax) – *akce***			**Ketan ve kenevir ve kendir – *akce***		
Register Date	1564-1565	1583-1584	%Increase	1564-1565	1583-1584	%Increase	1564-1565	1583-1584	%Increase	1564-1565	1583-1584	%Increase
Vuçiko, Rizokastro, Istar-i Papinkoz, Voydomat	150	155		229	265		211	560		356	390	
Nahiye-i Zagorye	1069	1037		2113	2359		1408	4253		1554	1571	
60 villages	1219	1192	-2%	2342	2624	12%	1619	4813	197%	1910	1961	3%
30 selected-mountainous villages	761	842	11%	1816	1718	-5%	1024	3316	224%	1247	965	-23%
30 other villages	458	350	-24%	526	906	72%	595	1497	152%	663	996	50%
TAX	**Beehives: Gevare+ Kovan *akce***			**Fruits & Nuts (cherry walnuts hazelenuts and meyve) – *akce***			**bidaat-i hinzr (swine impost) – *akce***			**resm-i piyaz (white beans) – *akce***		
Register Date	1564-1565	1583-1584	%Increase	1564-1565	1583-1584	%Increase	1564-1565	1583-1584	%Increase	1564-1565	1583-1584	
Vuçiko, Rizokastro, Istar-i Papinkoz, Voydomat	65	230		13	105		30	160		0	350	
Nahiye-i Zagorye	1146	1331		792	457		475	747		0	50	
60 villages	1211	1561	29%	805	562	-30%	505	907	80%		400	
30 selected-mountainous villages	740	820	11%	324	515	59%	296	520	76%	0	395	
30 other villages	471	741	57%	481	47	-90%	209	387	85%	0	5	

“Lowland” group: 1. Vrzaçna; 2. Manastir-i Arhaggelo; 3. Flamburari; 4. Negrades Küçük; 5. Negrades Büzürg; 6. Vuça; 7. Liğoka; 8. Dristinik; 9. Braya; 10. Vanişta; 11. Kamnia; 12. Dragany; 13. Ağnadova; 14. Dobro; 15. Rumyo; 16. Mirko; 17. Manasi;18. Muhyades; 19. Bişa Valtano; 20. Varveş; 21. Vurlades; 22. Bulçu; 23. Kalota-i Büzürg; 24. Kavalar (alias Nikola); 26.Rizokastro; 27. Voydomat; 28. Ravenya; 29. Laliza; 30. Mavrovun.

“Montane” group: 1. Çervar; 2. Iskamnel; 3. Voğusa; 4. Viziça; 5. Dovra; 6. Makriyani; 7. Makrino; 8. Megali Rahi; 9. Istanades; 10. Negrades; 11. Apano Istudena; 12. Kato Istudena; 13. Frangades; 14. Çerniça; 15. Kozyako 16. Islarova; 17. Radovan 18. Greveniti; 19. Negades; 20. Dolyani; 21.Sopocel; 22. Leskoviç; 23. Çernes; 24. Iğlidyades; 25. Visoko; 26. Çodili; 27. Ivra(de)to-i Küçük; 28. Kapesovo/Çebelova; 29. Istar Papinkoz; 30. Vuçiko.



THE EARLY MODERN ZAGORI OF NORTHWEST GREECE

Landscape-archaeology projects have had a significant impact on our understanding of the deep history of the Greek countryside, but have overwhelmingly been limited to the plains and have rarely placed the Ottoman period at their core. This investigation of Zagori in Northwest Greece explores the archaeology and cultural history of a mountainous area that famously thrived in the Ottoman period.

This engagement with an upland region in the early modern period sheds light on previously neglected aspects of Greek landscape history. The inclusive methodology combines critical historiography, archival research, oral history and landscape-archaeological survey to achieve novel insights into this montane landscape and its distinctive history and cultural heritage.

Contrary to the dominant nationalist historiography, it demonstrates the continuity of regional elites from the Byzantine to Ottoman period in Epirus and reveals how this shaped settlement patterns and elite/non-elite sedentary adaptations in this montane region. It also gives voice from within to the labour-intensive, engendered, cultural landscape of the Zagori peasantry and challenges the view of external scholarly observers that mountains support a predominantly pastoral way of life.

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