

MARGARITI/MARGALIÇ: EMERGENCE, DEVELOPMENT AND DOWNFALL OF A MUSLIM TOWN AT THE EDGE OF THE ISLAMIC WORLD (GREEK EPIRUS)

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ABSTRACT

Margariti, Margaliç in Ottoman, is today a village situated in the extreme north-west of the district of Chamouria in the North-West of Greek Epirus, 9 km N.E. of the old Venetian stronghold of Parga (but 20 km over the road!) in the district of Chamouria. In Ottoman times (1430 -1913), especially in the 17th-19th centuries, Margariti was a town of considerable size and a centre of Albanian Islam. According to the “Father of Epirot History,” Aravandinos - who largely relied on local oral traditions – Margariti was founded by the Venetians in the 15th century. The famous Ottoman traveller Evliya Çelebi, who visited the place in 1081 (1670/71), calls it a conquest of Gedik Ahmed Pasha (d. 1482) in the time of Sultan Bayezid II, which is a nasty anachronism because the castle of Margariti was built almost a century after Gedik’s death (!). Aravandinos states that the inhabitants of Margariti were the first to embrace Islam and the members of the Ottoman cavalry, the Sipahis, were chosen from them. Later on the entire western part of Epirus became property of the Aghas of Margariti. They also transferred the seat of the *eparchie* from Mazaraki to Margariti, thus making their settlement the economic and administrative centre of the district. So far the story as told by Aravandinos. The greater part of his story, however, is legendary, as will be clear if we compare his story with hitherto unknown or unused Ottoman Turkish source materials, first of all the Tahrir Defterleri (afterwards “TD”) kept in the Prime Minister’s Ottoman Archives in Istanbul and partly in Ankara and in the Sofia National Library. It should be added here that this kind of administrative documents are as neutral as telephone directories or timetables of trains.

We dedicate the story of Margariti to Nenad Moaçanin who during his long carrier did so much to unravel the history of another border district of the Ottoman Empire, the fertile lowlands between the two mighty rivers of the northern part of south-eastern Europe, the Sava and the Drava, Syrmia/Srem and Slavonia.

The Ottoman population- and taxation register TD 367 from 1530, but based on the information of the register made under Selim I in 1519-1520 is the first source to mention the focal point of our story.¹ It mentions that the hamlet of “Margarit” had only 8 households, all Christians. (As it is an İcmal Defter the in-

¹ Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi, Istanbul (henceforth: BOA). Tahrir Defteri (henceforth: TD), no. 367, f. 273.

dividual names of the inhabitants are not mentioned in this register). The villages around Margariti also had no Muslims at all. In 1520 the villages of Dobro, Gurya, Karvunar, Kondosari, Kurtas, Mazaraki, Morfi, Smokvine and Turko-Palouko had together 278 households, all Christians and not one single Muslim. It is clear that Islam came much later to these districts, in short: the same as in the case in other comparable settlements in Epirus: Konitsa and Paramythia and the villages depending on them. The possibility that there were other villages with the same name has to be excluded. From the entire group of – mostly small - villages in the area, 357 altogether, there is no other with the name Margarit, or with the Ottoman form of Margaliç. In these 357 villages were 9.471 households of Christians and only two (!) households of Muslims.²

In the existing historiography is maintained that in 1572, shortly after the Battle of Lepanto, the inhabitants of the Venetian naval base Parga, together with a force of 6.000 Venetians, Corfiots and Pargiots besieged and captured Margariti and demolished the castle that had been built just before the attack. After the conclusion of peace between the Ottomans and Venice - 7 March 1573 Parga remained Venetian and Margariti Ottoman.³ The Tsamides / Chams who had escaped came back and rebuilt the castle. This story is also legendary, the more so because already in the year 1883 the Greek scholar Sathas (Documents inédites) had published a document dating from 15 April 1558 where the Signoria is informed that the Turks were busy building two castles in the neighbourhood of Parga, Margariti and Sopot.⁴ An Ottoman account about providing food stuffs to the garrison of “Margaliç, belonging to the Sandjak of Delvine,” from the year 958 (9 January - 29 December 1551 shows that the Ottomans were busy with Margariti seven years before the Venetian document. In another Venetian document, dated 27 August 1560, a delegation of citizens of Parga asked the Venetian government to have the “Fortezza di Margariti” destroyed. The Signoria declined because such an action meant a new war with the Ottomans. The 1551 Ottoman document has hitherto remained unknown.⁵ The original text of the document, and an English translation, is given as an appendix at the end of this article.

The Ottoman *tahrir* defter TD 293, on p. 231-244 also from the year 956/1551 enumerates the members of the garrison of the “castle of Margaliç” with a castle commander (Dizdar) and 17 soldiers, paid from the tax revenue of a group of villages in the district of Margariti, all mentioned by name.⁶

² BOA. TD, no. 367, fol. 273.

³ Joseph v. Hammer-Purgstall, *Geschichte der Osmanischen Reiches*, vol. III (Pest, 1828), 600-602.

⁴ C. N. Sathas, *Documents inédites relatives à l'histoire de la Grèce au moyen âge*, V (Paris: Maisonneuve, 1883; reprint Athens: Grigoriadis, 1972), 212, 333f.

⁵ BOA. MAD, no 55, fol. 1v.

⁶ BOA. TD, no. 293, on fols. 231-244

The original of the *tabrir* of 991/1583, the last one made for the Sandjak of Delvina, is kept in the Archives of the “Tapu ve Kadastro Genel Müdürlüğü” (TKGM) in Ankara, in the section Kuyud-i Kadime (KK) T.D. 56.⁷ The working conditions in the Ankara archives had long been very stiff and difficult, for foreign researchers and well as for Turks. A few years ago the entire “lüzumsuz (needless) bürokrasi” (Turgut Özal) was abolished and new equipment and electronics, were installed. A photocopy of a document now takes a minute! Those not willing to go to Ankara can use a rather well-written copy (suret) of this register, T.D. 586 written in 1022 (1612/1613) and stored in the Prime Minister’s Ottoman Archives (BOA) in Istanbul.⁸ It shows that the garrison of the castle of Margaliç, now slightly bigger than before, was paid with the tax revenue of the great and rich village of Kramonište in the Nahiye Korendos in the district of Yánnina.

The *Mufassal tabrir* from 991 (1583) shows that Margaliç had grown very slow: from 8 households of Christians (or about 40 persons) of 1520 it had grown to 10 households and also 10 unmarried adult males (mücerred) pointing to a rather quickly growing population.⁹

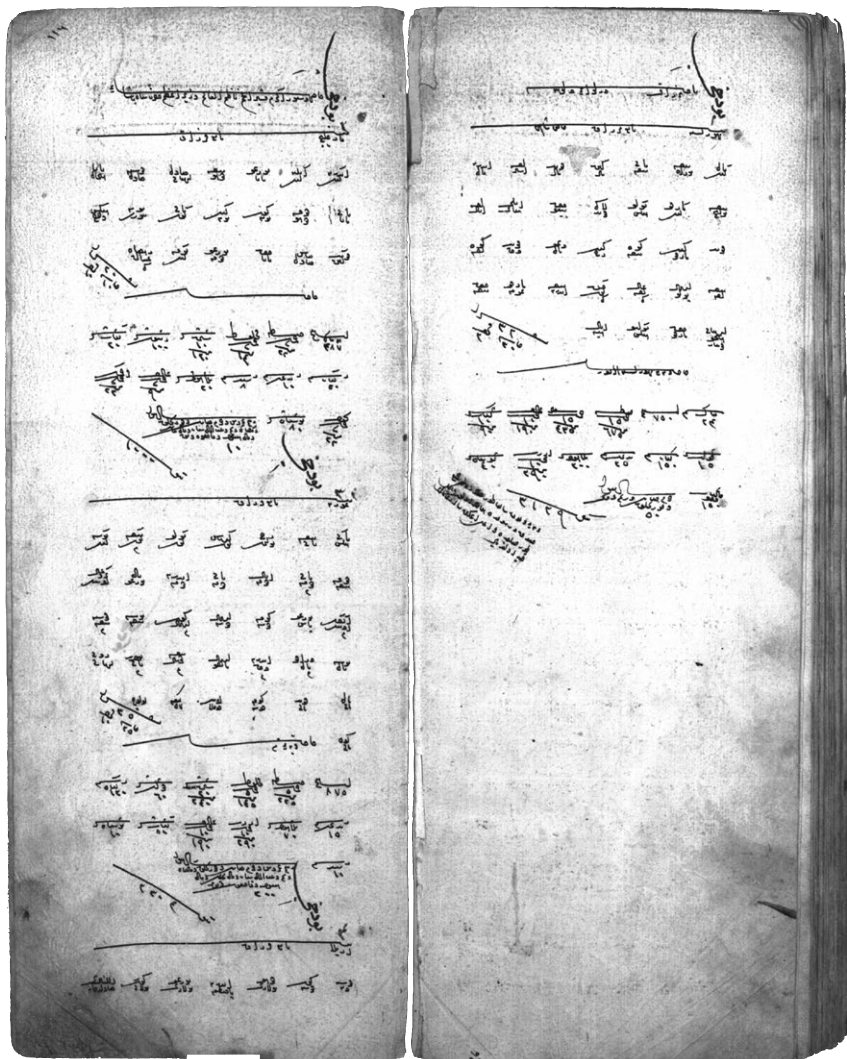
One of the heads of the households was a Muslim: Ramazan bin Abdullah, a recent convert. Behind his name is an indication (“k”) to his social status. Ramazan was “bennak” or a peasant who holds little or no land. Such a man did not pay the poll tax of one gold coin per year. He also rose in status. Both these things are usually seen as very important factors by the decision to convert to Islam.

The 1583 *tabrir* also allows an impression of the village economy and the kind of people who lived there. Remarkable is the presence of no less than three papas with Greek names among the population: Papa Yani, Papa Yorgo and Papa Mihal. One name looks Slavic: Kosta, the others had specific Albanian names, Gjin, Gjon, Duka. The village paid a total tax of 1.000 Akçe per year, or 100 Akçe per household, which is a common average for villages situated on arable land that were not very productive. Besides small amounts of wheat (2 loads, price 22 Akçe) mixed cereals (mahlut), also 2 loads but worth only 14 Akçe, followed by lentils, chickpeas and flax, the largest posts were wine 10 medres, worth 120 Akçe and tax on olives, 100 Akçe. Because we do not (yet) know the size of a load (himl) of cereals and the local measures for olive oil and wine in this part of Epirus we better abstain from making reconstructions of the total production per household, keeping in mind that here one tenth of the value of the harvest was taken as tax. We give the full original text as illustration.

⁷ Tapu ve Kadastro Genel Müdürlüğü, Ankara (henceforth:TKGM). Kuyud-i Kadime (henceforth: KK), 56, fol. 116r.

⁸ BOA. TD, no. 586.

⁹ TKGM. KK, no. 56, fol. 116r.



Tapu ve Kadastro Genel Müdürlüğü (TKGM), Ankara. Kuyud-i Kadime (KK), 56, folio 116^R

In the first decade of the 19th century, half a century before Aravandinos wrote, William Martin Leake also wrote down the story that the castle of Margariti was built between 1571 and 1575.¹⁰ His source was a local chronicle of Parga, which was most probably also used by Aravandinos and was written long after the events it describes. The Ottoman administrative sources used here give a more reliable picture.

In the 17th century Margariti developed into a Muslim town of importance, certainly if we take in account the hostile rural environment which could support only

¹⁰ William Martin Leake, *Travels through Northern Greece*, I (London, 1835), 523.

a limited population. Our main source is the account of Evliya Çelebi who visited Margariti in 1081 (1670/71) on his way from Aydonat/Paramythia to Parga and from there via Sayiáda to Delvina in Albania.¹¹ Evliya's visit coincided with the last years of the Cretan War, when the threat of a Venetian attack or raid was imminent. An Ottoman budget of 1669/70 shows that the small castle of Margariti had eight *topçiyân* (gunners).¹² Next to them was a force of Janissaries, whose numbers are not given in the budget but must have ranged between 40 and 50 men. As comparison the great castles of the inland towns of Yánnina and Arta might be given. The budget has for both castles a force of 72 men, gunners and soldiers of the garrisons. The Venetian threat can be measured by the strength of the garrison of the coastal strongholds: Preveza had 217 men, Aya Mavra (Lefkada) 285 men and Navpaktos/Lepanto 329.¹³

Evliya describes the castle of Margariti as a pentagon of 870 paces in circumference (about 520 m.) which is a massive exaggeration. The castle had a garrison of 200 men, also wildly exaggerated. It was built of cut stone, a fine building containing a hundred houses, a mosque of the Sultan but no public buildings inside. The open town of "Marğaliç" (Varoş) was large, containing 1.200 stone-build houses placed in gardens. The houses were finely built and looked prosperous. The number of houses as given by Evliya would yield a total population of 5-6.000 people. The lower number is more likely, taking into account the generally small size of families known from many parts of Europe, including Greece.

Evliya noted that the Varoş was divided in seven mahalles. The town had two Friday Mosques with stone-built minarets and tile covered roofs (*keremid*) and seven mesdjids divided over the mahalles. Medjids were small oratoria without a *minbar*/pulpit because the Friday Service was not held in this kind of buildings. Evliya furthermore mentions two primary schools (*mektep*), two dervish convents (*tekke*), a hamam, two khans/caravanserais and a number of shops.

Shortly after Evliya's visit Margariti must have received a college for higher Islamic education, a *medrese*. This institution in Margariti is mentioned in an official list of schools of higher education in the administrative Yearbook (*Salnâme*) of the Yanya Vilayeti of 1318 (=1 May 1900-20 April 1901) where is said that it was built by a certain "Piri Pasha."¹⁴

¹¹ Evliya Çelebi, *Seyahatnâme*, vol. VIII, Türk Tarih Külliyyatı 13 (Istanbul 1928), 663-64 (Ottoman script). Also: Seyit Ali Kahraman, Yücel Dağlı, Robert Dankoff, eds., *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, vol. 8 (Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2003), 294-95.

¹² Ömer Lütfi Barkan, "1079-1080 (1669-70) Mâli Yılına ait bir Osmanlı Bütçesi ve Ekleri," *İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası* 17 (1955/56): 278, 280.

¹³ Barkan, "1079-1080 (1669-70) Mâli Yılına ait bir Osmanlı Bütçesi ve Ekleri," 278, 280.

¹⁴ *Salnâme-i Vilâyet-i Yanya* (Yanya, 1318/1901), 207-208.

In the “Who is Who in the Ottoman Empire” (Mehmed Süreya’s *Sicill-i Osmânî*, 1894) five persons called Pîrî Pasha are mentioned.¹⁵ Four of them are much too early and without any tie with the Balkans. The only possible person as patron of the Margariti medrese must be “*Pîrî Paşa ümeradan olub 1079’de (1668/69) Trbhala Mutesarrıf oldı, ba’de irtihâl eylemişdir.*” In English: “Pîrî Pasha was one of the Sandjak Beys. In 1668/69 he was Governor of (the Sandjak) of Trikala. He died afterwards.”

The medrese of Pîrî Pasha is not mentioned in the official list of medreses in the Ottoman Balkans from 1660 and would have been built in the 1670s.¹⁶ The date concords with Margariti being a town of a 3-4.000 inhabitants as suggested by Evliya Çelebi. With the construction of this college for higher learning the development of Margariti as a Muslim town was completed.

If we can believe Aravandinos the town had in the 18th century 8.500 inhabitants. Even if this number is exaggerated the jump Margariti made from 35 or 40 inhabitants in 1520 to 5.000/6.000 in the 1750s is comet-like. The prosperity of Margariti was brought to an end not by the militant Christian inhabitants of Parga but by the powerful ruler of north-western Greece, Ali Pasha of Tepelene. Ali occupied Margariti in 1811 after a stubborn resistance led by Hasan Ağa of Margariti. Two years earlier Leake had visited Margariti and noted that it was divided in two mahalles, containing 800 houses.¹⁷ During the reforms of Tanzimat, 1861, Margariti became the centre of a Kaza in the Sandjak Preveza. In 1880 the “spy report” of Colonel Kokkidis noted that Margariti had 240 Christian inhabitants and 1.100 “Turk-Alvanon.” It was thus for 82% Muslim Albanian. The Kaza of Margariti counted 48 villages with 3.813 Christian inhabitants and 15.202 “Mahomedani,” was thus for 80% Muslim.¹⁸

The *Salnâme* of the Vilayet of Yanya from 1311 (1894) notes that the “Kasaba of Margaliç,” belonging to the Sandjak of Preveza, had 1.153 male and 1077 female inhabitants living in 546 houses (gives 4 inhabitants per house). The entire Kaza Margaliç contained 73 villages. Town and villages together had 12.576 male and 11.379 female inhabitants living in 5.224 houses. Over the road Margaliç was 16 hours travelling from Preveza.

Around the year 1881, when Arta was ceded to Greece but Preveza remained Ottoman, local notables from the district sent several warnings and protests to the

¹⁵ Mehmed Süreya, *Sicill-i Osmânî*, vol II (Istanbul, Matba’-i Amire, 1311 (1894)), 45.

¹⁶ M. Kemal Özergin, “Eski bir Rûznâme gore Istanbul ve Rumeli Medreseleri,” *Tarih Enstitüsü Dergisi* 4-5 (1974): 263-290.

¹⁷ Leake, *Travels*, IV, 71.

¹⁸ I. Kokkidis, *Odoiporika Ipeiros kai Thessalias* (Athens, 1880), 36 and 78-80. The writer of these lines would like to thank his Greek colleague Elias Kolovos for making this rare but rich source available for him.

Sultan, that, in case the districts of Preveza, Narda, and Yanya were given to Greece they would rise in revolt to prevent this.¹⁹ In March 1879 telegrams to Yıldız Palace warned that a cessation to Greece would bring disaster for the Albanian (Muslim) population.²⁰

In 1316/1898 the *Kâmûsü'l-A'lam* of Sami Bey Frasherî (Şemseddin Sami) describes Margariti as a town with about 3.000 inhabitants, all of which were Muslim Albanians (which is slightly exaggerated).²¹ The Kaza of Margariç, together with the nahiyes (subdistrict under a Na'ib) Parga and Fenar included 71 villages with a total of 25.000 inhabitants, all spoke Albanian and the greater part of them was Muslim.

In February 1913 the Greek army took over Margariti and its district, Chamouria. An exodus of Muslim Albanians followed the onslaught of the conquest. According to the Greek census of 1928 (*Plitismos tis Ellados*) the town of Margariti numbered only 1.805 inhabitants of which 200 were Greeks. The Eparchy of Margariti had 14.531 inhabitants of which only 5.000 were Tsamides/Chams. These dry numbers reflect some-thing of what the change of masters meant for this region.

At the end of World War II, the prophecy of the notables of Preveza to Sultan Abdülhamid from 1880 was fulfilled. Albanian Islam in Chamouria was annihilated. Those who could save themselves fled to Albania, mosques, baths, tekkes and other objects remembering on Islam were torn down, blown up or set to fire. The little town and many of its villages became deserted for more than a half. According to the Greek census of 1960 the "town" of Margariti had not more than 982 inhabitants.²² The town and its 48 villages together had a total population of 6.464, or: two thirds less than mentioned by Kokkidis in 1880. During our visit of the summer of 1977 the formerly great village of Katavothra near Margariti was still wholly deserted, the houses and the village mosque roofless ruins. In May 2015 this village was partly revived with a Greek population, the house ruins gone but the mosque still left to further decay.

Other minarets are (2015) preserved in Margariti and in the village of Kotsika. They are the silent witnesses of the little-known expulsion of a European Muslim community that in the turbulent years of the World War II made the wrong political decision. In the village of Koutsi (now: Polyneri) a tiny Muslim community

¹⁹ BOA. Yıldız Hususi, No165/145, of 15. 2. 1297 (end of November 1880).

²⁰ BOA, Yıldız 16, 9/2, 15.11.1297 / medio October 1880. İlber Ortaylı, "Ioanina and its port-town Preveza in the late Ottoman period (1864/1895)," in İlber Ortaylı, *Ottoman Studies* (Istanbul: Bilgi University Press, 2004), 143-152.

²¹ Şemseddin Sami, *Kâmûsü'l-A'lam*, vol. VI (Istanbul, 1898), 4095.

²² *Population de la Grèce / Plithismos tis Ellados* (Athens, 1962), 81.

still survives which until recently still had an Imam.²³ In the time of the Colonel's Dictatorship (1967-1974) the mosque of Koutsis was blown up by local fanatics.

At the southern edge of what is now the village of Margariti the overgrown ruins of the castle can still be seen and its plan traced. It was indeed a pentagonal building. The form of the work is largely determined by the shape of the hill on which it stands, its largest wall being 28 m. long, constituting its south-western front, facing the plain below. Two of the five corners are strengthened by a bastion in the characteristic Ottoman way - five-sided, without the sharp pointed form of the saillant, obligatory for Western fortification. On the northern corner is (or better: was) a large bastion of circular form. From these three bastions sufficient flanking fire could be given on the curtain walls. Following the walls inside is a long row of vaulted casemates, all very much ruined. It can be said that Evliya Çelebi described the castle of Margariti in a very accurate manner. The measurements he gave, however, are more than three times the real size! In other descriptions of castles, for example Elbasan, Arkadia in the Peloponnese or Kriva Palanka in the Republic of Skopje-Macedonia Evliya did the same, most probably to make them looking more impressive. In this context should be added that "Çelebi" is not a family name but a title (well-bred, educated, gentleman, man of refinement). Family names were only given to Turks during the great reforms of Kemal Atatürk. "Çelebi wrote that ..." or "Mr. Çelebi noted..." as to many people wrote, and still write, would in Turkish be the equivalent of "Mister - Mister".

In 1977 a sizeable minaret of a totally destroyed mosque stood at the hillside on the eastern edge of Margariti. In 2015 it still stood there in much the same shape, explaining that this relic enjoyed some sort of protection by the Greek Ephoria of Byzantine and Post-Byzantine monuments in Yánnina.

The second mosque of Margariti is gone entirely. In 1977 old inhabitants pointed out to us the place where it had been, in the middle of the Çarşı, the shopping centre. The place where the hamam had been was also remembered locally. The higher parts of the former town are still full of ruined houses in all stages of decay, standing in unkempt gardens.

In May 2015 the mosque of Katavothra had further decayed but was still standing. Elsewhere in Greece exemplary restorations of Ottoman monuments have been carried out, in Athens, Kavala, Konitsa, Larissa, Pylos/Navarino, Serres, Thessaloniki, Trikkala, Verria, Yánnina, etc. In the town of Konitsa in north-eastern Epirus similar things as in Margariti did happen in 1945/48. In spite of this the

²³ L. Baltiotis, "The Muslim Chams of Northwestern Greece: The grounds for the expulsion of a 'non-Existent' Minority Community," *European Journal of Turkish Studies* 12 (2011). <https://journals.openedition.org/ejts/4444>.

preservation of the Ottoman monuments of Konitsa, four mausolea (türbe) and one primary school for Muslims (mekteb), were carefully restored and propagated in the website of the Municipality of the town. In the core district of Chamouria next to nothing was done, the bad memories of the expulsion of the Chams are evidently too fresh.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

Short indication about the provisions of grains for the castles of Tirod (?), Loros and Margalic in the province of Delvina in the year 958 (1551) in the Table of Contents of the register of the repair- and construction work of the State in the years 958 – 964 (= 1551-1557), in total 154 building - or repair projects (castle, mosques, palaces, schools, stables, bridges etc.)

APPENDIX II

BOA: MAD 55, fol 1b, line 4:

“İnşa’at ve tamirât, fihrist, line 4: Muhâsebe-i erzen ki zahîre-i kale- Tirud (?) ve kale-i Loros (?) ve kale-i Margaliç der Liva-i Delvina be ma’rife-i Ahmed Bey al-mezbûr fi sene 958.”

Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi, Maliyeden Müdevver No 55, folio 1b:

Table of contents (fihrist) of building and repair, line four: Account of the millet send as provision of the castle of Tirud (?), the castle of Loros (?) and the castle of Margaliç belonging to the province of Delvina under resposabilty of the afore mentioned Ahmed Bey in the year 958 (1551)

(In the foregoing accounts Ahmed Bey is mentioned together with his rank: “Mir-i Livâ-i Delvina” (Sandjak Bey).

APPENDIX III

Provisions for the Castle of Margariti 957, A.D. 1551 according to BOA, MAD 55, Fol.27

(MainText):

İcmal-i muhasebe baha-i zahire-i Kal'e Tirud ? ve Louros (22 km due north of Preveza) ve Margaliç be ma’rife-i Ahmed Bey Mir-i Livâ-i Delvine ber müceb-i muhâsebe-i

Mir-i müşâ alehi ve Mevlana Müslihuddin Kadı-i Belgrad-i Arnaud.

Asl Mal

An tahvil-i ...Emin-i mukata'amahsûl-i

Memleha-i el vaki fi 22 Zilka'de sene 957

35000

Vuziya min zalike tamamen

Baha-i erzen bera-yi zahire-i kila'-i mezbure

... 3500 kile fi 10 35000 (Akçe)

Minha-i kil'a-i mezkûrin 3500 kile

Becihet-i kale-i Temud ?? 1500 kile Becihet-i kale-i Margaliç 1000 kile

becihet-i kale-i Louros 1000 kile

In English:

Summary account of the expenditure for provisions for the castles of Tirud (?), Louros (?) and Margaliç under responsibility of the mentioned Commander and of Master Müslihuddin, Cadi of Albanian Belgrad ((= Berat in Central Albania).

Initial capital:

Turned over by ... Trusty of the revenue of the taxfarm of the salt works (memlâha) of ... taking place on 2 November of the year 1550: 30.000 (Akçe).

Total of all expenditure

Price the purchase of millet /sorghum for the provisions of the mentioned castles 3.500 bushel (kile/keyl) of 10 (Akçe) per bushel is 35.000 (the standart Istanbul keyl measured 25.⁶⁵⁶kilogram).

Intended for the Castle of Tirud: 1.500 keyl, for the Castle of Margaliç 1.000 keyl, and for the Castle of Louros 1.000 keyl.

APPENDIX IV

The demographic development of Margariti and its district in numbers

1520	8 Households	35 à 40 Chr. Inhab.	Christ. inhabitants	(B.O.A. 367, p. 273)
1583	Tahrir Defter: 10 hâne, 10 mücerred, 1 Muslim	40 à 50 Chr. Inh.	T.K.G.M. KK.TT d. 56	
1671	1.200 Households	5.160 Inhabitants	No Data	Evliya, VIII
1760 (ca.)		8.500 „	„ „	Aravandinos
1809	800 „ „	3.480 „	„ „	Leake, Travels, IV
1880		1.100 Musl. Inhab.	240 Chr. Inhab.	Kokkidis
1894	546 „ „	2.230 Inhabitants	No Data	Salnâme Yanya
1898		3.000 Musl. Inhab.	(260) Christ. Inhab.	Kâmûsü'l-'Alam
1926		1.605 „ „	200 „ „	Greek census
1960		0 „ „	982 „ „	Greek census

Comment:

The numbers given here suggest that Kokkidis as well as Sami Bey in his Kâmûs “corrected” their numbers slightly, either upward or downward according to their preference. Evliya and Aravandinos certainly exaggerated their total numbers.

Leake and the *Salnâme* of 1898 look more reliable. The most reliable are doubtlessly the *tabrir defters* because they were made by a team of highly trained experts, adding up their numbers of households, unmarried adult males (*mücerred*) and widows village by village, house by house in a process of careful calculation, splitting up the numbers in six categories: heads of households (*hâne*) unmarried adult males, and widows (*bive*) as well as in religious groups, Muslims, Christians and Jews because all groups paid a different amount of taxes.

Widows – as head of an incomplete household – paid by far the least. About nationality and language the compilers of the *tabrirs* were not interested at all.

ILLUSTRATIONS

Illustration 1

Ex-town of Margariti, mosque ruin, 1977



Illustration 2
Margariti, the village of Katavothra, 1977



Illustration 3
District of Margariti, the village of Katavothra seen from the north, 1977

