

# ACROCORINTH IN 1668, A TURKISH ACCOUNT

(PLATES 114–115)

FOR his pages on the history of the fortifications of Acrocorinth in the period between the Turkish conquest in 1458 and the Venetian conquest in 1687, Antoine Bon had available as sources only the published observations of Jacob Spon and George Wheler, from their journey in 1676. Valuable as they are, these accounts are not systematic, and they present a picture sufficiently disordered that Bon was led to conclude that the descriptions of the two travellers confuse as much as they enlighten.<sup>1</sup> In fact, their remarks are reasonably sound as far as they go, but need comparison with an independent source before they can be thoroughly disentangled. Such a source exists, not in western European literatures, but in Ottoman Turkish. In the year 1668, a Turkish writer named Evliya Çelebi (Evliyá Tchelebí) came to Corinth, and his description of the fortifications in the eighth volume of his *Seyahatname*, “Travel-book,” is by far the best account of Turkish Acrocorinth before the Venetian occupation.<sup>2</sup>

Evliya was a traveller by vocation. He tells us that at the age of about 19 he saw the prophet Mohammed in a dream, and was invited to ask a favor. In his agitation, he stammered, and asked for travels (*seyahat*) rather than the conventional intercession with God (*şefaát*). Mohammed answered smiling, “God grant you intercession, and also travels and pilgrimages, in health and safety.”<sup>3</sup> Partly in deference to his family, Evliya restrained himself for ten years thereafter, but at the age of 29, in the year 1640, he slipped off from Istanbul to Bursa to try out Mohammed’s gift. From then on he never looked back. He was almost steadily on the move, sometimes on official, sometimes on private, business till at least 1672. He went throughout the Ottoman Empire, and as far as Abyssinia in the south. In the north, he claims to have visited the Rhineland and Dunkirk, but there is considerable doubt that he ever got past Vienna. The writing of his vast ten-volume *Seyahatname* occupied the years around 1680, which is the last recorded date.<sup>4</sup> The *Seyahatname*

<sup>1</sup> R. Carpenter and A. Bon, *Corinth*, III, ii, *The Defenses of Acrocorinth and the Lower Town*, Cambridge, 1936, pp. 146-149.

<sup>2</sup> The text of the *Seyahatname* exists in only one full edition, with a long and varied history of publication: Volumes I-VI, poorly edited, censored and largely abridged, Istanbul, 1314-1318 (ca. A.D. 1896-1900); VII-VIII, Istanbul, 1928; and in Latin letter transcription only, IX, Istanbul, 1935 and X, Istanbul, 1938.

<sup>3</sup> *Seyahatname* I, p. 30. For the transcription of words from Ottoman script, I have used the simplest form of the Modern Turkish alphabet. The sounds represented in this alphabet are largely self-explanatory, except that c = dj, ç = tch, and ş = sh; h after s and t is pronounced independently, and does not produce the English sounds sh or th.

<sup>4</sup> See the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*<sup>2</sup>, s. v., Ewliya Çelebi, 717-720, for further details, and an extensive bibliography.

was conceived on a generous plan. The overall theme was the author's personal travels and observations, but this material was to be filled out with copious documentation from archival sources, histories, and books of legend and tradition. The secondary matter is of no great value, since it is usually preserved in fuller form elsewhere, but Evliya's personal observations are priceless. His standing in the court of Sultan Mehmed IV was high enough that doors were open to him everywhere, and he could safely inspect and describe castles and military points where the interest of a Christian traveller would be extremely suspect. On the other hand, he sees with the eyes of a devout Moslem, to whom the infidel world is basically repugnant. He is not only ignorant of most Christian, and almost all pagan, tradition about the monuments he visits; his whole upbringing disinclines him to investigate it. His language bristles with the conventional pejorative terms for everything infidel, but his curiosity is usually too strong even for his religious scruples, and he errs more often by uncritical acceptance of absurdities than by rejection of anything. He is an incurable romancer, and rarely hesitates to indulge his taste for rhetorical exaggeration. His style ranges from an almost graceful simplicity to the worst baroque extremes of labored metaphor. He coins words shamelessly, often borrowing from half-understood languages he has heard on his travels. He has a passion for numbers, but they seem to have no concrete meaning for him. He can be reasonable with amounts from 1 to 10, is usually implausible from 10 to 40, and is totally erratic with any larger numbers. Attempts have been made to reduce his figures to reality on a consistent scale, but he seems rather to pluck them from his imagination for their sound alone. Therefore, when he speaks of 200 houses each in the Christian and Moslem sections of the citadel of Acrocorinth, the figure must be taken to mean anything between 50 and 250.

Evliya's trip to Greece began in 1668, when he set off to watch the final assault against the Venetian garrison in Candia. He travelled slowly down through Macedonia and Thessaly, making many side trips, went on through Boeotia, Euboea and Attica, and came to Corinth some time in the middle of 1668. The translation of his description of Corinth, which follows, is made from the text of the only printed edition of the *Seyahatname*, but with constant reference to facsimiles of the surviving manuscripts, which were made available to me through the great courtesy of the Turkish Ministry of Education, the Library of the Topkapı Saray Museum, and the Süleymaniye Libraries. I have included the administrative details at the beginning of the account of Corinth since they give such a clear impression of the sort of thing that interested Evliya. The wealthy Zakariya Efendi named here will also be found in the pages of Wheler and Spon.

DESCRIPTION OF THE PROVINCE OF CORINTH  
or  
THE BUILDING OF THE ROCK-FAST CASTLE OF CORINTH

The castle was founded initially in the time of John the Baptist, by a misguided king of the Christian faith named Koritoz, but the name is erroneously pronounced Göridös. Later on it fell into Spanish hands, and thence it passed into the hands of the Venetian *Bundukani*,<sup>5</sup> a Frank, and prospered. During the reign of Sultan Mehmed Khan, the Conqueror, in the year 862 (A.D. 1457), when so many castles along the coast of the province of Morea were captured by the Ottoman Navy, this castle of Corinth did not submit. But Mehmed the Conqueror himself led a limitless army, great as the sea, against Mistra, the rampart and citadel of the province of Morea, and when he came to this region, the infidels in Corinth were overcome by the knowledge of their inability to withstand the majesty, splendor and ferocity of the Ottoman house. A dispute broke out, therefore, among the infidels within the castle, and the Franks of the *Bundukani* fled. The Greek infidels delivered the keys to the Sultan, and by the terms of an eloquent royal edict, remained in the castle as subjects of the Ottoman house, with a full pardon.

According to the cadaster of Sultan Mehmed Khan, Corinth, which is in the province of the Archipelago, under the authority of the Admiral of the Fleet, includes the appanage of the Commander of the Standard (*sancak beyi*), subject to direct grant from the Sultan (*has*), with a revenue of 219,000 aspers. There are 16 fiefs of the Ziamet class, and 911 of the Timariot class. Officers are the Commander of the Levy (*Alay beyi*) and a Captain of Troops (*Çeri basi*), and in times of campaign the total muster of the region, under the commander, comes to 3000 troops.

Now, however, it is set off as a separate province along with Morea, which has an assessment of 7,000,000 aspers, and together they form a Governorate. Corinth is the Pasha's reserve, and forms a grant to the Voivode, consisting of a fine castle with a 300 asper revenue. The Kaza of Megara is attached, and there are 306 district villages.

Among those resident at Corinth are its chief Kadi (*Şeyh ül-Islâm*), its Marshal of the Descendants of Mohammed (*Nakîb ül-Eşrâf*), the local commander of troops (*Sipah Kâhya Yeri*), the commander of Jannisaries, the Castle Commandant, 200 garrison personnel, the Inspector of Commerce, the Collector of Transit Dues and Head-tax, the City Intendant, the Chief Architect and several hundred magnates, Beys, and sons of Beys, Pashas, and sons of Pashas, to the number of . . . and the Commander of the Levy . . . and Zakariya Efendi, and Aziz Efendi, and Ca'fer Efendi, and Yoksun Ibrahim Beyzade, and Ali Ketkhuda, and Aziz Efendi-zade

<sup>5</sup> This curious title may have been invented by Evliya. It seems to be a strong adjectival form of *Bündükî*, which is eventually derived from an Arabic interpretation of the name of Venice.

Ahmed Aga, and Mustafa Efendi, and his son, the Commander of the Levy, and in addition to the above mentioned, several hundred magnates, munificent landed gentry.

### CONCERNING THE APPEARANCE OF THE SITE OF ACROCORINTH

A steep reddish rock, octagonal in form, whose eight corners face the eight winds, rises skywards in the middle of a six-mile wide isthmus between the Gulf of Corinth and the Gulf of Athens. On this is situated a castle without equal. A lofty platform, in ancient times built strong from top to bottom of cut stone, it is a mighty fortress standing ever-prepared, a sturdy defense on an embattled summit, and an immense rampart. From the castle, the whole of the Gulf of Athens and the Gulf of Corinth is laid out before you, for it is unequalled in its elevation toward the sky. Surrounded by a wall, mighty as Alexander's dike, 14,000 paces in circuit, it is a castle abundant in wealth. The master architect crowned the parapet with 7777 merlons, and battlements such as he built here are not to be found on any other fortress wall. There are altogether four distinct walls, situated on high steep cliffs, and there are five strong gates, but four of these are permanently shut, though there are posterns which open in time of siege.

The great gate, which faces west, leads out and down to the lower suburbs. But this is really three gateways, each with a strong iron gate, and there are division walls which set off the territory between each pair of gates. In the lowest division, just inside the first great gate, there are no houses except the little loggia just inside the gate for the guard to sit in, and three small vaulted rooms. The journey up the steep road from the lower town to this gate takes an hour and a half. There is a fine view from the gateway, so that night and day, the sentry-watch, and the armed gate-guards are sure to be prepared. Once inside the gate, one goes 200 paces up a steep, rock-hewn path to the middle gate, which also leads out westward. This too is a mighty gate with strong iron leaves.

A small subdivision of the castle stretches 500 paces up the steep slope from this middle gate, and here the infidel Greeks have their ill-starred houses, having been granted pardon and peace when they gave over the keys of the castle to Sultan Mehmed. There is not a single Muslim house here, but there are altogether 200 Greek houses, some churches and 10 shops. There are no gardens or orchards, since it is on a rock.

One goes up steeply from here to the third gate, which has two flanking towers. One of these is filled to the brim with millet, barley, wheat and bearded rice, while the other is filled with clean firewood, so that all requirements and necessities are providentially kept in store, for in times of siege provisions are essential. In one tower there are also horse-driven mills, and wheel mills driven by man-power and thousands of hand-mills. Inside this third gate, in the settled quarter within the castle, there are altogether 200 Muslim houses, built below of masonry, and roofed all over with

tiles. There are no infidel houses, and if it were not that some Muslims have infidel wives, no infidels at all could enter here. There are altogether four important places of prayer. One of these is the mosque of Mehmed the Conqueror, an abbreviated but serviceable place of worship of the old sort. There is also the Beyzade mosque, and the Ahmed Pasha mosque. The Fethiye mosque was originally a Christian church, but was later converted to a mosque. In addition to these there are 2 neighborhood mosques, a coffee house, and a small shop, but in all this great fortified settlement there are no other public buildings, because the castle is so high that everyone would be worn out with going up and down. Therefore, public buildings in the castle are few, but all the principal personages have their houses and cellars in the lower town, and indeed, the interior of the castle is such a field of rocks and ruins that one cannot walk safely there.

There are, by the will of God, 366 sources of water on top of this steep high rock, of which the western ones all yield bitter water, but those on the east yield water as sweet as the water of life itself. Under the mosque of Sultan Mehmed in the castle there are two vaulted cisterns, sources of delicious life-giving water, cold as ice even in the month of July. And this is a miracle of God the creator, that there are no mountains near by higher than Acrocorinth from which you might say that the water flows to this castle. But we believe and declare it for truth that God is all-powerful, for the elevation of the mountain of well-watered Acrocorinth above the surrounding mountains is an impediment, and it is beyond the wit of man to comprehend how there may be so many wells and fountains, but the works of the Artificer are without limit. The date of one fountain is as follows:

e. g.	<p style="text-align: center;">أمر بناء هذا لله الباري حسن اغا ابن مصطفى ابن الحاجي حسن اغا خالصا ماله لله تعالى و طلباه الماء تحريرا في أواسط شهر ربيع الاول سنة إحدى و ألف</p>
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“Hasan Aga son of Mustafa son of Hasan Aga ordered the building of this for God the Creator, dedicating his wealth to God, and beseeching him for water, on a date in the middle of Rabi’ I, in the thousand and first year [of the Hegira (A.D. 1592)],” and the date of one close by is:

e. g.	<p style="text-align: center;">أمر هذا لموي جاري الحاجي اغا حسبنا لله تعالى تحريرا في أواسط شهر ربيع الاخر سنة ستة و أربعين و تسعماية</p>
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“Haci Aga ordered this for flowing water, for the love of God, on a date in the middle of Rabi’ II, in the nine hundred and forty sixth year [of the Hegira (A.D.

1539) ],”<sup>6</sup> and these fountains are noted for their abundant flow of water. There are other fountains to the west, but their water is bitter, and yet it is good as a digestive, and for other purposes, as well as for watering animals.

Along the wall in the south corner of the main circuit that is presently being described, on a high steep peak, there is a rectangular inner redoubt. Here the Castle Commandant has his residence, and the Intendant, and there is a weapons store and a few cannon, but nothing else. From the towers and ramparts of the redoubt one can see the castle of Santa Maura at the edge of the Adriatic Sea, and the city of Arta, and the mountains over Yanina. Looking to the east, one can make out altogether 23 islands in the Aegean Sea. For this is a soaring rampart, crowned by a platform that touches the very sky.

Eastward from this inner redoubt there is a secondary fortress wall, called the new castle, which was built later than the main circuit. This stretch of wall was added here because the infidels once captured the castle from this side. Taken altogether then, the entire castle has five subdivisions.

At the peak of the castle, Gazi Ibrahim Baba is buried, may his tomb be sanctified, and this is a place of pilgrimage. This region of the castle is deserted, and foxes, jackals and hares live here, since the castle is so immense. There are also in the castle, placed there by Mehmed the Conqueror, cannon of such immensity as to strike terror into the hearts of puny men, and it is wonderful how such huge cannon barrels were brought to the very summit of this high castle. They too are a remarkable sight. There is not a trace of any lead roofed buildings in the castle.

*Seyahatname*, VIII, pp. 275-279.

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At this point Evliya starts back down the hill to visit and describe the lower town, but the ancient remains there are at best unimportant to him, and except for his notice of the fountain at Hadji Mustapha, his observations are almost exclusively social and linguistic. He ends with an extraordinary tale of an attempt made by the Pope to dig a canal across the isthmus, and then begins his description of Morea.

The first paragraph in the description of the site of Acrocorinth is pure bombast, and is best omitted entirely from consideration. The only plausible remark is the statement that the citadel has five gates, but there is no convincing way of counting five gates in the existing circuit wall, whether the main gate is taken as one or as three. What follows, however, is specific and relatively clear. It indicates, first of all, that the three gateways of the western entrance were all in reasonable repair, and

<sup>6</sup> Cf. P. MacKay, “The Fountain at Hadji Mustapha,” *Hesperia*, XXXVI, 1967, pp. 193-195. Since none of the manuscripts accurately transmits the inscription there, I have little hope of accuracy here either. I have preserved the forms that seem to me most likely to reflect the text of the inscription.

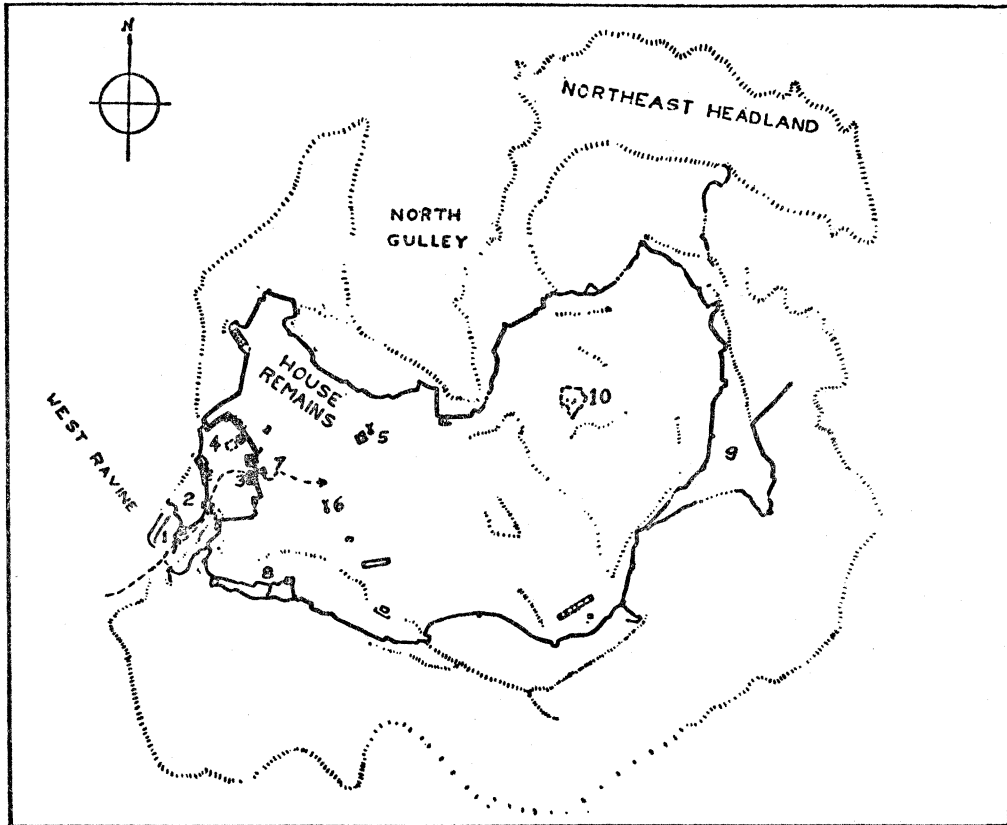


FIG. 1. PLAN OF TURKISH ACROCORINTH

- 1, 2, 3. Three gates of western entrance.
4. Christian residential quarter.
5. Mosque, unidentified.
6. Mosque of Sultan Mehmed II the Conqueror.
7. Possible site of Fethiye mosque.
8. Southwest redoubt, the Commandant's residence.
9. The new castle ("Ovraiocastro").
10. Tomb of Gazi Ibrahim Baba.

Spon's "deux portes" is simply an error.<sup>7</sup> The lowest gate and courtyard might have left little impression, since Evliya notices only a single detached building in this space. There are still some walls standing here but they are not likely to be survivals from the 17th century.<sup>8</sup> None of the present remains seems to correspond with the "loggia just inside the gate," but since Evliya's language suggests that it was right against

<sup>7</sup> Texts of the relevant parts of Wheler and Spon are published side by side in *Corinth*, III, ii, pp. 146-148.

<sup>8</sup> These may be seen in the right half of the photograph in K. Andrews, *Castles of the Morea*, Princeton, 1953, p. 142, fig. 158.

the inner face of the gate (kapının iç yüzünde), he may simply mean the vaulted passageway in the wall itself.

As he moves through the second gateway into the residential quarters, Evliya makes the extremely important observation that the Christians and Moslems lived in separate divisions of the castle. It is odd that neither Spon nor Wheler recorded this, but it was presumably a matter of less concern to them than to Evliya, for whom, in his more pious moments, the density of the Christian population in Greece was quite distasteful. Perhaps the exclusion of Christians from the inner circuit was not quite so absolute as Evliya delights to claim, but some sort of separation of creeds was a common enough feature of towns in the Ottoman Empire. The Christian quarter must have been extremely crowded, however much we reduce Evliya's improbable figure of 200 houses. All the actively Christian churches must also be fit into this small area. The only building of any consequence that can presently be seen is the church discussed by Bon.<sup>9</sup> It is probably Venetian as he argues, but it may mark the site of the "Catholicon" in Wheler's account. The list of provisions stored in the two towers flanking the third gate is characteristically exaggerated, but probably indicates their intended use. There is no obvious explanation for the extraordinary number of grinding mills kept here.

Evliya gives names to four mosques in the Moslem quarter, but only the mosque of Mehmed II the Conqueror can be securely identified. There are some ambiguities in the Turkish, but the several indications of its location and appearance, taken together, are sufficient to fix its site near the lone, free-standing minaret base on the right of the main street which runs up from the gate.<sup>10</sup> The text states that there are two sources of fresh water (iki aded ab-ı zülâl çeşme-i can perverleri) which are either below the mosque in a general sense, or directly underneath it. The key word, which follows at some distance in the sentence, is *revâk* (Arabic, *riwāk*), which is used of structures such as the long vaulted porticos around the three sides of a mosque courtyard away from the sacred area. The only structure that fits this description is the Byzantine cistern running along under the terrace in front of the free-standing minaret.<sup>11</sup> The two vaults of this cistern account for Evliya's "two sources" and the word used for the location (*dibinde*) may be interpreted in its strictest sense, to mean directly underneath the mosque. It is not explained how this water was made available to the believers, but it was probably brought up in buckets to a tank with faucets standing outside the entrance to the mosque.

The mosque's location, directly over a cistern, explains some curious features of the minaret, which is crowded in against the slope rising to the south, away from the cistern terrace (Pl. 114, a, b). The south wall of the cistern runs along fairly

<sup>9</sup> *Corinth*, III, ii, p. 261.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 262.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 257-259.



close under the north face of the minaret, where the doorway gives entrance to the minaret stairs, and the builder was obviously concerned that none of the concentrated weight of the minaret should bear on the walls or roof of the cistern. This made necessary a rather curious relationship of the minaret to its mosque. The base of the minaret, below the conical transition to a cylindrical tower, is not so much a square

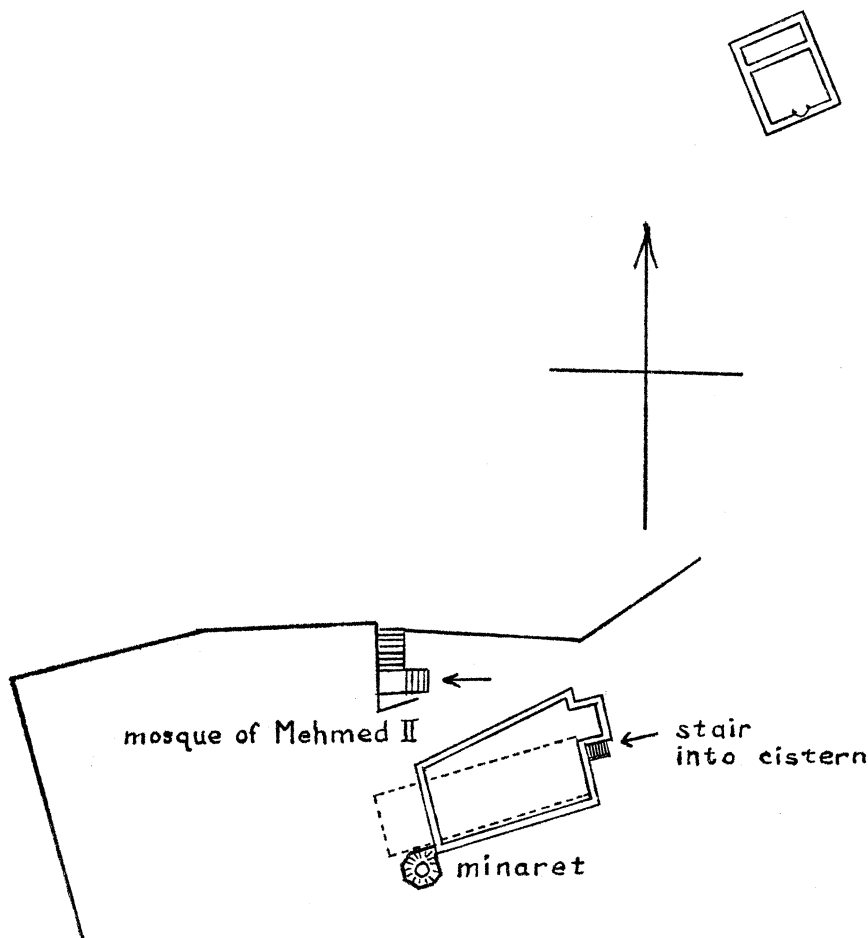


FIG. 2. MOSQUE OF SULTAN MEHMED II

as an irregular octagon. The north and east faces of the octagon have been brought out into the one rectangular corner of the structure, and the north face is continued out eastward, evidently to meet the wall of the mosque, and provide a visual link between it and the minaret, which would otherwise stand completely free (Fig. 2; Pl. 115, a).

There does not seem to be a trace left of the walls of the mosque. In Pouqueville's time it was already a heap of rubbish, and there is nothing convincing visible now on

the surface of the ground. It may nevertheless be possible to indicate its general appearance. On the Venetian maps of Corinth,<sup>12</sup> there is the outline of a single large, curiously shaped building in the appropriate location, and if this outline is roughly drawn in over the outline of the great cistern, it illustrates persuasively the curious remark of Evliya that it is "an abbreviated but serviceable place of worship of the old sort (*tarz-ı kadīm müfid muhtasar ma'bedgâh*)."<sup>13</sup> A mosque "of the old sort" should be of the Ulu Cami plan, in which the floor area is broken up by numerous supports for the ceiling, and the roof is commonly made up of many small masonry caps rather than the single large dome over an integral floor area seen in later styles.<sup>13</sup> The curious outline of the building on the Venetian plans would correspond better to the Ulu Cami type of mosque than to any other, and its irregular shape would also justify Evliya's description of it as "abbreviated."

The well preserved building to the north of Mehmed II's mosque is either the Beyzade mosque or the Ahmed Pasha mosque (Pl. 115, b).<sup>14</sup> The founder's inscription, which is missing from its space over the door, may perhaps be lying in the rubble near by. Since Evliya did not quote it, it is possible, but by no means certain, that it was missing even in his day. The Fethiye mosque might be located in the jumble of columns and architectural fragments to the left of the main street, just inside the third gate.<sup>15</sup> There are traces here of both Christian and Moslem graffiti. Two essential subjects of wonder for the traveller to Corinth are the water supply in the citadel and the view. Evliya's enthusiasm about the water is impressive, though the profusion of wells and cisterns made it as dangerous then as it is now to walk among the house ruins. His description of the view from the southwest redoubt is absolutely spectacular. It is strongly reminiscent of the modern claim that the lights of Constantinople can be seen from the peak of Mt. Parnassus.

In the eastern half of the citadel, on the true summit of Acrocorinth, what Wheler calls the "little mosque" at the site of the temple of Aphrodite is not strictly speaking a mosque at all. The mosque in Islam is a place of community worship, and will rarely if ever be located at any distance from a residential area. Outlying shrines such as this "tomb of Gazi Ibrahim Baba" are connected with the cult of saints—always a somewhat suspect accretion to orthodox Islamic doctrine. The sanctity of the place may be underlined by the building of a sort of miniature mosque, but it will not be called by the commonly used terms for a place of community worship (*mescid*, *cami*). Evliya uses the term *ziyaretgâh*, "a place to visit."

<sup>12</sup> *Castles of the Morea*, pl. XXXI, XXXII; cf. *Corinth*, III, ii, p. 156, fig. 99, "M. moschea, hora chiesa di S. Paolo."

<sup>13</sup> Cf. B. Ünsal, *Turkish Islamic Architecture*, London, 1959, p. 15. "Ulu Cami" is not a descriptive term, but it is useful to suggest a type of structure related in plan to mosques called Ulu Cami in Bursa and elsewhere.

<sup>14</sup> *Corinth*, III, ii, pp. 262-263.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 262.

It is unfortunate that Evliya's language does not entirely remove confusions about the eastern subdivision of the castle. It seems fairly clear that he has the stretch of wall at Fig. 1, 9 chiefly in mind, and that he knew of only a single subordinate command for this region. Despite the tradition that the castle was once captured from this side (perhaps a reminiscence of Matthew Asen's relief of the garrison in 1458), the command of this division must have been pretty much a sinecure for the Aga.<sup>16</sup> Bon has been curiously misled by the conventional name "Ovraiocastro" given to this deserted region. In the Christian and Moslem traditions of the period the oldest builders were necessarily the Jews, and often Solomon himself is given credit for the most spectacular remains. Evliya assigns to Solomon the founding of Athens, Thessalonica and Kavalla. In any case, Ovraiocastro, and its twin, Oraiocastro, are two of the commonest conventional names given to deserted fortress walls anywhere in Greece. If a local informant is pressed for an explanation of these names he will certainly oblige with a plausible story. In the case of an "Oraiocastro," it will be a version of the Sleeping Beauty tale, and in the case of an "Ovraiocastro" a tale such as Spon and Wheler heard. There is no more reason to think that the Ovraiocastro on Acrocorinth was ever a ghetto than there is in the case of the fortress at Rhamnous in Attica, which also bears the name.<sup>17</sup>

The comparison between the accounts of Evliya and those of Spon and Wheler reveals one clear error in each of the European accounts. Spon was wrong in counting only two gates at the west, and Wheler reversed his directions in putting Ovraiocastro under the *western* top of the hill. Otherwise the descriptions seem remarkably good, especially when we remember that it may not have been possible for Europeans to take any sort of notes on the spot, for fear of an accusation of spying. Moreover, Wheler's expansion of Spon's account, despite the caution voiced by Bon, seems essentially sound. His language, however, and perhaps his proofreading, are clumsy. I doubt that he intended to suggest, for instance, that all the residential area was between the second and third gates. He does not explicitly say so, he is simply unclear.<sup>18</sup> The number of mosques given by the Europeans is probably a hasty guess. Here we must accept Evliya's precise identification of four community mosques (*cami*) and two neighborhood mosques (*mescid*) in addition to the shrine at the peak.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 143, and cf. pp. 135-136.

<sup>17</sup> There is one other curious misconception in Bon's text on page 150, where he criticizes the account of Giacomo Corner for its statement that Corinth is on a mountain rising to three peaks. It is true that the eastern and highest peak together with the peak of the southwest redoubt are the only two of any real significance, but the third peak, north of the gates, is quite evident to an observer standing just inside the third gate, and it is well defined by the contour lines on the Survey Map published with *Corinth*, III, ii. An observation from just inside the gate would also explain Corner's statement that the inner keep was on the highest peak. In true elevation, the southwest redoubt at 544 m. is appreciably lower than the eastern summit at 575 m., but from near the gate, the redoubt, especially on account of its steepness, would look higher.

<sup>18</sup> *Corinth*, III, ii, p. 148.

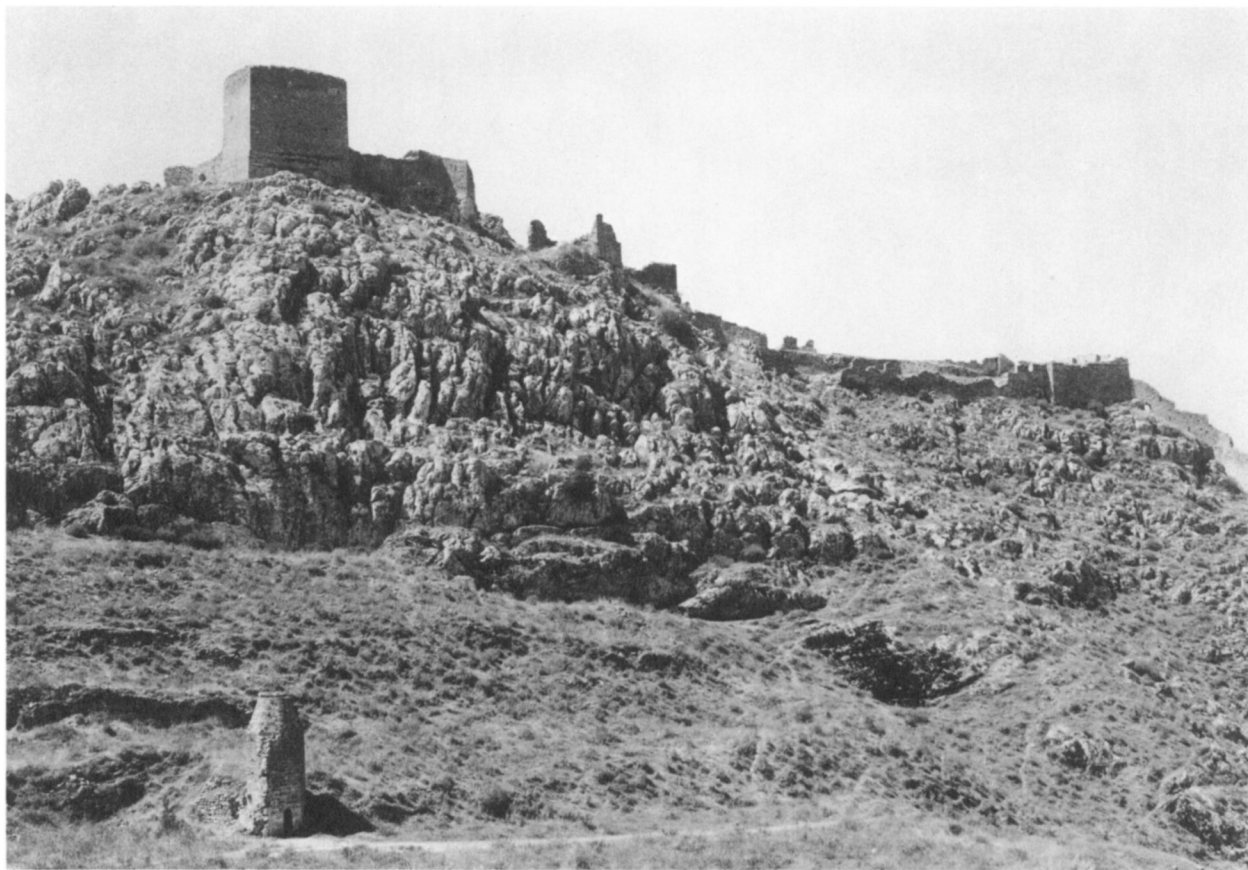
The five or six churches of the Greeks must indeed have been small, since they had all to be crowded into the space between the second and third gates.

Both the European and the Turkish accounts indicate the desertion of the castle for the lower town. Despite the persistent threat of Venetian raids (Megara had been sacked in the winter of 1655, and Spon reports that even after the fall of Candia the Turks were still reluctant to return), Corinthians, Greek and Turk alike felt some safety in their relative distance from the dangerous Saronic gulf.<sup>19</sup> A refuge was there if they needed it, but they no longer felt it essential to keep up their residences there.

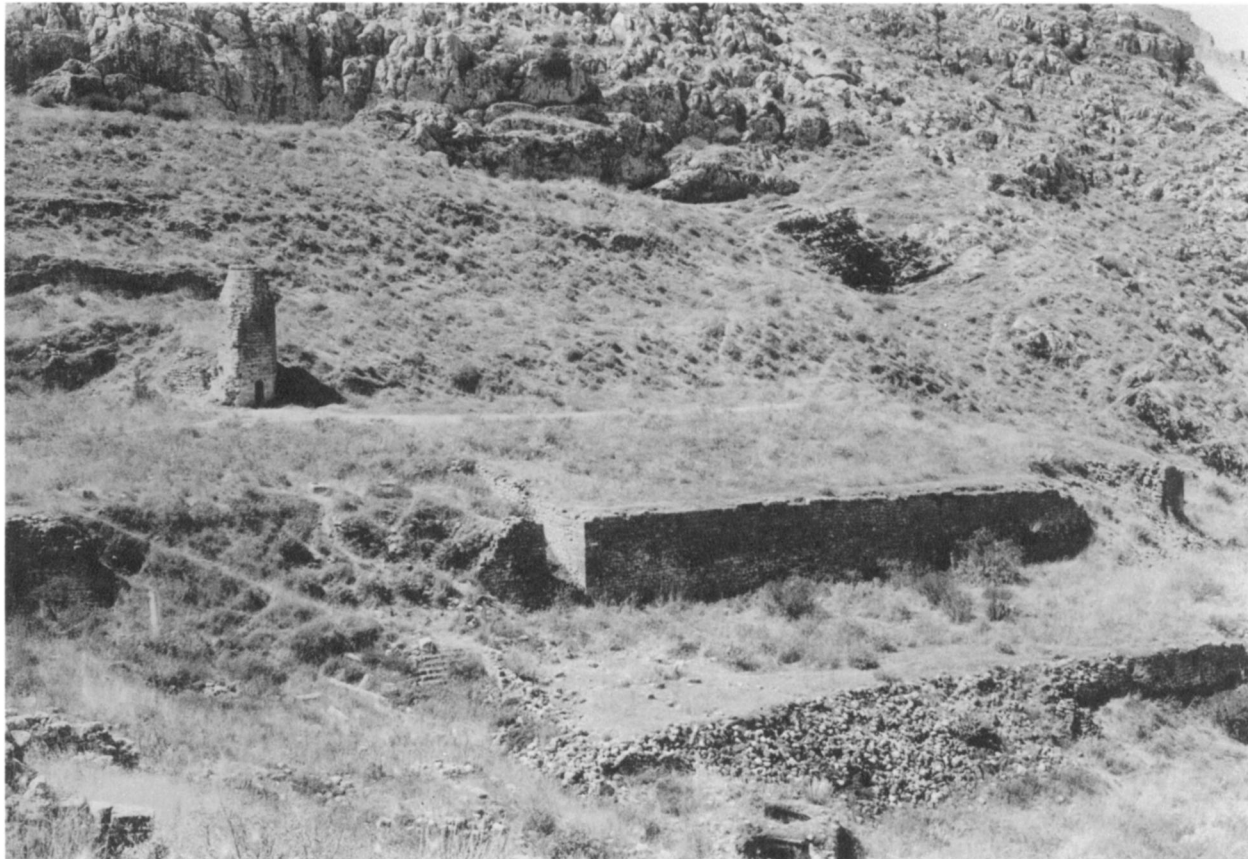
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<sup>19</sup> J. Spon et G. Wheler, *Voyage d'Italie, de Dalmatie, de Grèce et du Levant*, Lyon, 1678, vol. II, p. 287, "Les Turcs n'osent plus demeurer à Megare depuis qu'un de leurs Vayvodes y fut enlevé par des Corsairs Chrétiens." Cf. Zinkeisen, *Das Osmanische Reich*, Gotha, 1856, IV, p. 851.



a. The Southwest Redoubt, with the Minaret below.



b. The Terrace of the Great Cistern, from the North.



a. View from the East, across the Site of Mehmed II's Mosque.



b. The Mosque in the North half of the Moslem Residential Quarter.